ENCYCLOPEDIA BIBLICA

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME II

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LITERARY
POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY
THE ARCHÆOLOGY GEOGRAPHY
AND NATURAL HISTORY
OF THE BIBLE

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VOLUME II

E to K

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ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

APK	F. Spiegel, *Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften*, 1862, (2) '81.
Crit. Bib. . . .	Cheyne, *Critica Biblica* (in preparation).
Ohnefalsch-Richter .	M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel, und Homer*, 1893.
SMAW . . .	*Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich.

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E

EAGLE. The eagle **of** EV, the **GREAT VULTURE** of RV^mg. (נֶשֶׁר ; ἀετός), is identified by Tristram with ***Gyps fulvus***, the Griffon, not a true Eagle but a member of the family Vulturidæ. Griffons are still very common in Palestine, which is about the centre of their area of distribution, whence they spread across Asia, around the Mediterranean area and through Northern Africa.[1] They are noble birds of large size, and form conspicuous objects in the landscape as towards evening they perch on the peaks of rocks or cliffs (Job **39** 28 29), or when soaring. The comparison of invaders to a swooping vulture is often employed in the OT (cp Dt. **2849** Job **926** Hab. 18 Jer. **4840** etc.). They are carrion feeders and sight their food from afar. Their head and neck are bald, a fact which did not escape the notice of the prophet Micah (Mi. **116**). They nest in colonies, some of which contain a hundred pairs of birds. They are said to be remarkably long-lived, probably attaining a century or more (allusions in Ps. 1035 and perhaps [see 𝔊] in Is. 4031). The Himyarites had an idol *nasr* which was in the form of a Vulture (cp *ZDMG* 29 600), and the same worship among the Arabs is attested by the Syriac ***Doctrine of Addai*** (Phillips, 24).[2]

The Gr. ἀετός may be applied to vultures, and the Romans seem to have classed the eagle among the family *Vulturidæ* (see Pliny, *HN* 103 **13 23**). Is there any connection between ἀετός and עַיִט (see BIRD, § 1)? Possibly the bird found on the Assyrian sculptures (see the illustrations in Vigouroux, *s.v.* 'aigle ') and on the Persian (Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 1 4) and Roman (Plin. *HN* **13 23**) standards is meant to represent not the true eagle but a vulture. In Christian art the Egyptian pbmnix appears as an eagle and becomes a symbol of the resurrection (see Wiedemann, *Rel. of Anc. Egyptians*, 193). In the fifth century A.D. the eagle became an emblem of John the evangelist (see *Dict. of Chr. Antiqq.*, *s.v.* 'Evangelists'). A. E. S.—S. A. C.

EAGLE, GIER. See GIER EAGLE.

EANES (ΜΑΝΗϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 21 MAASEIAH, ii., 11.

EARNEST (ἀρραβών), the warrant or security for the performance of a promise or for the ratification of an engagement, is used thrice in NT (2 Cor. 1 22 55 Eph. 1 13 *f.*), but always in a figurative sense of the gifts of the Holy Spirit bestowed upon the apostles and Christians generally, as a pledge that they should obtain far greater blessings in the future. See PLEDGE.

EARRING. For Judg. 8 24 Prov. 25 12 etc. (נזם, *nézem*) and Ezek. 16 12 etc. (עגיל, *'āgīl*) see RING, § 2, and for Prov. *l.c.* cp BASKET. For Is. 3 20 etc. (לחשׁ, *láḥaš*) see AMULETS, RING, § 2, and MAGIC, § 3 (3).

The tip of the ear (תְּנוּךְ, *tenukh*) was specially protected by sacred rites (see *SBOT* on Is. **66 17**).

EARTH AND WORLD.' The conception of 'universe' is usually expressed in OT by 'heaven and earth' (*e.g.*, Gen. **11** 21 14 19), though there is a still more complete expression : 'heaven above, earth beneath, and the water under the earth' (Ex. **204**, cp Gen. **4925**). So in Assyrian *elâti u šaplāti* 'things above and things below,' or (Creation-tablet, i. 1 *f.*) 'the heaven above, the earth beneath,' to which l. 3 adds 'the ocean.' There is also (Is. **4424** ; cp **457**) a general term כֹּל, 'everything' (πάντα), corresponding *to* Assyr. *kullatu*, *gimru*.

1. The 'earth.' 'Earth' of EV represents three Hebrew words. (1) אֶרֶץ (*'éreṣ*), properly the earth, including Shĕōl ; hence either the visible surface of our earth (Gen. **26**, and often) or the nether world (*e.g.*, **Ex.** 15 12 **Is.** 14 12 **294**). (2) אֲדָמָה (*ădāmāh*), [i.] the soil which is tilled, Gen. 2 5 3 17 etc., [ii.] the ground, Gen. 12 5 6 20 etc. (3) עָפָר (*'āphār*), properly earth as a material (Gen. 2 7), then the earth (Is. 2 19), then dust (Gen. 3 14), then the nether world (Job 17 **16** Ps. 30 9 [10] etc.). 𝔊 renders (but not universally) all three words by γῆ.

Whilst the **AV** uses 'world' as a synonym for 'earth' both in OT and in NT. it is only in NT (see below, § 3) that it occurs in the sense of 'universe.'

2. The 'world.' The reason is that Jewish writers had adopted a much more convenient term than 'heaven and earth' to express an expanded conception of the 'universe.'

First, however, let us note the Heb. words rendered 'world.'

1. חֶלֶד, *ḥéled*, Ps. 17 14 49 2 [1]. If the text is correct, we have here a singularly interesting transition from 'lifetime' to 'the world of living men' ; for the primary sense of *ḥeled* (if the word exists at all) is 'life-time' (Ps. **39 6** [5], **89 48** [47], Job **1117** and emended text of 10 20).[1] Unfortunately *ḥeled* in Ps. 17 **14** is certainly corrupt. From men of the world whose portion is in life' is an expression both obscure in itself and unsuitable to the context. In Is. **38** 11 *ḥeled* is read only by critical conjecture ; the text has *ḥedel*, which means neither 'world' nor anything else : there is no such word.[2] The true reading is doubtless *tēbēl* 'world,' and *so* too we should read in Ps. **492** [1]. Hymn-writers do not generally select the rarest and most doubtful words. There is but one pure Hebrew word for 'world' (see *3).*

2. חֶדֶל, *ḥédel*, **Is. 38** 11, **on** the assumption that 'cessation' (the supposed meaning) is equivalent to 'fleeting world.' Many critics, with some MSS, including Cod. Bab., read חֶלֶד, *ḥéled*. See, however, no. 1.

3. תֵּבֵל, *tēbēl*, 'mother-earth'?—a word of primitive mythological origin (Gunkel, Hommel), hence never occurring with the article. Once it is used in antithesis to *midbār*, 'desert' (Is. **14** 17) ; but generally it is quite synonymous with *'éreṣ*, 'earth.' Thus in 1 S. **28** (RV)—

[1] For hieroglyphic picture of vulture see EGYPT, § 9, n. 12.

[2] Cp the Syriac name נשריהב ('"NSR" gave'), and see We. *Heid.* 20 (*Heid.*(2) 23), and WRS *Kin.* 209, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 226, n. 3; *ZDMG* **40** 186 ['86].

[1] In Job **1117** it is an improvement to read יְמֵי חלדך, 'the days of thy lifetime (shall be brighter than noontide),' and in 10 20 חלדי, 'Are not the days of my lifetime few?' hut we should most probably read הבלך and הבלי, 'thy fleeting days.' (Che. *Exp. Times*, **10** 381 ['99]).

[2] Cp Ps. **39** 5 [4], where EV has 'how frail **I** am,' but where the Hebrew has, not 'frail,' but 'ceasing' (Dr. *Parallel Psalter*). חָדֵל, *ḥādēl*, too, is probably not a real word.

For the pillars of the earth are Yahwè's,
And he hath set the world upon them ;

And Prov. 8 26 (RV),

While as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields,
Nor the beginning of the dust of the world.[1]

In Job 37 12 RV we have the strange expression 'the habitable world' (AV 'the world in the earth'); and in Prov. 8 31 RV 'his habitable earth' (AV 'the habitable part of his earth'). The phrases are the same, and are due to corruption of the text.[2] 𝔊 impartially renders both ארץ and תבל sometimes by γῆ sometimes by *ἡ οἰκουμένη*.

4. עֹלָם, *'ōlām*, a difficult word, meaning (1) antiquity, (2) indefinite length of time. The etymology is doubtful. Most connect it with עלם, 'to hide'; but probably ־ָם *-ām* is a noun-ending (so Barth). Compare Ass. *ullu*, 'remote,' in the phrase *ultu ullā* 'from of old'; *ullānu* 'far-off time,' *i.e.*, 'past time' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 64 *f.*). For a less probable view, see Lag. *Uebers.* 115. Twice rendered 'world' in AV: Ps. 73 12, 'Behold these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world,' RV (better) 'and being alway at ease' (וְשַׁלְוֵי עוֹלָם); Eccles. 3 11 (so also **RV**), 'Also he hath set the world in their heart' (𝔊[B], *σύμπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα*), a riddle which admits of more than one solution (see Che. *Job and Solomon*, 210). However, even if man is a microcosm we cannot expect to find this advanced idea in Ecclesiastes, and the occurrence of *'ōlām*, 'world,' in Sirach is improbable. *Hā'ōlām* needs to be emended.[3] We must give up the 'microcosm' and the 'desiderium æternitatis' and take in exchange an assurance that the 'travail' of the student of God's works is good : 'I have seen the travail which God has given to the sons of men to exercise themselves therewith. He has made everything beautiful in its time; also he has suggested all that travail (אֶת־כָּל־הָעִנְיָן; 𝔊 attests כָּל) to the sons of men (read לִבְנֵי אדם, not בלבם מבלי).'

By NT times the word *'ōlām* must have received the new meaning 'world,' for *αἰών* = עולם is used in this sense.

3. Meaning of 'ōlām in NT times. We can doubtless trace this new development to the rise (under Persian stimulus) of a belief in 'new heavens and a new earth' (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 88, and cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 370; *OPs.* 405), and the intercourse of educated Jews with Greek-speaking neighbours would confirm the usage. It is true the sense of 'time' is not entirely lost; hut a new sense has been grafted on the old. 'This *'ōlām*' is not merely 'this age'; but the earth which is the theatre of the events of 'this age,' and 'the coming *'ōlām*' is not merely the great future period initiated hy the Divine Advent, but the new earth which will be the theatre of the expected great events. Hence the author of Hebrews can even say (Heh. 1 2), 'By whom also he made the worlds' (*τοὺς αἰῶνας*; Del. and Biesenthal אֶת־עוֹלָמוֹת), and again (Heb. 11 3), 'we understand that the worlds (*οἱ αἰῶνες*) have been framed by the word of God.' The phrase *οἱ αἰῶνες* means, not the ages of human history (as in Heb. 926, cp 1 Cor. 10 11), hut the material worlds which make up the universe[4] (*πάντα*, Heb. 1 2; *τὸ βλεπόμενον*, 11 3 6).

On the Jewish references to the two *'ōlāmīm* see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (1898, pp. 121 *ff.*), where it is pointed out that the famous saying ascribed to Simeon the Righteous (*circa* 280 B.C.), respecting the three things on which 'the world' (הָעוֹלָם) rests, cannot be authentic. Dalman also denies that Enoch 48 6 49 16 *ff.* 71 15, where the creation of 'the world' is referred to, belong to the original Book of the Similitudes. As to 71 15 there can be no question. chap. 71 is 'most certainly a later addition' (Charles). At ahy rate, 45 5 refers to the renovation of the heaven and the earth, on which see above. In 72 1 73 3 8 82 1 5 7, the conception of the created world no doubt occurs, and in 4 Ezra 'sæculum' (Syr. עלמא) occurs frequently. From the end of the first century A.D. onwards עולם is used so often in the sense of 'world' that we cannot doubt its universality. It has even penetrated into the older Targums. Cp *ὁ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεύς* (2 Macc. 7 9); *ὁ κύριος τοῦ κόσμου* (2 Macc. 13 14); *δεσπότης πάσης τῆς κτίσεως* (3 Macc. 2 2). 'Lord of the world' occurs in Enoch 81 9; Ass. Mos. 1 11; Jubil. 25 23. These and similar appellations are never found in NT (Dalman, 142).

In the NT we find (*a*) *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, (*b*) *ὁ κόσμος*, (*c*) *κτίσις*.

4. Terms for 'earth' and 'world' in NT. (*a*) *ἡ οἰκ.* is the habitable globe (Mt. 24 14 Rom. 10 18 etc.); also the Roman Empire (Acts 17 6); also = *αἰών* (Heb. 2 5), see above (§ 3).

(*b*) *ὁ κόσμος* is the earth, or its inhabitants (*e.g.*, Mt. 4 8 5 14, Mk. 16 15, Jn. 1 29); also the universe (*τὸ ὅλον τοῦτο*, Plat. *Gorg.* 408 A), as in *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* (*e.g.*, Mt. 13 35 [not in best MSS.], cp 24 21); also with *οὗτος* = 'this *'ōlām*' (Jn. 1 12, opp. to *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*; so Jn. 18 36 1 Cor. 3 19, 5 10 and Eph. 2 2, where note the strange compound phrase *κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*). *ὁ κόσμος* without *οὗτος* in 1 Jn. 2 15 *ff.* 3 17; and in the derived sense of 'worldlings' (cp the phrase, too probably incorrect, מֵתִים מֵחֶלֶד in Ps. 17 14). With *οὗτος* in Jn. 12 31 14 30 [not Ti.] 16 11 1 Cor. 3 19; without *οὗτος* in Jn. 7 7 1 Cor. 1 21 and often. Hence the adjective *κοσμικός*; in Heb. 9 1, *τὸ ἅγιον κοσμικόν* as opposed to the heavenly antitype of the tabernacle; Tit. 2 12.

(*c*) *κτίσις*, the universe (cp Wisd. 5 17 19 6), Mk. 10 6 13 19; 2 Pet. 3 4 Col. 1 15 Rev. 3 14. In Heb. 9 11 this *κτίσις*,' and in Gal. 6 15 2 Cor. 5 17, *καινὴ κτίσις*. The latter phrase, however, is applied morally and spiritually (cp Jn. 3 5 7 Rom. 6 4, and the phrase *καινὸς ἄνθρωπος* , Eph. 2 15 4 24). In the sense of 'the coming *'ōlām*' it does'hot occur in NT (but see Enoch 72 1 Jubil. 1 29; and cp Bar. 32 6 4 Ezra 7 75). We have the new heavens and the new earth, however, in 2 Pet. 3 13 Rev. 21 1; and if we had to render *ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ* (Mt. 19 28) into Aramaic or Hebrew we should have to follow Pesh. which gives 'in the new world' (עלמא). The Greek phrase quoted is in Dalman's words, 'the property of the evangelist.' On 'thk elements of the world' (thrice in NT) see ELEMENTS. T. K. C.

EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS). Like the Babylonians, the Hebrews divided the world (*i.e.*, earth and heaven) into four parts. We find the phrase 'the four skirts (כְּנָפוֹת,[1] *πτέρυγες*) of the earth,' Is. 11 12 Ezek. 7 2, cp Job 37 3 38 13; and in Rev. 7 1 20 3, 'the four corners (*γωνίαι*) of the earth.' Probably, too, 'the four ends (קְצוֹת) of the earth' could be said; cp Jer. 49 36, 'the four ends of the heaven.' The four quarters could be described also as 'the four winds' (as in Ass.): see Ezek. 37 9 (especially), Dan. 8 8 11 4 Zech. 2 6 [10] 1 Ch. 9 24 Mt. 24 31. Similarly, 'to all winds' means 'in all directions' (Jer. 49 32 Ezek. 5 10 12, etc.).

1. Quadruple Divisions. The east was called 'the front' (קֶדֶם); the west, 'the back part' (אָחוֹר); the south, 'the right' (יָמִין; Aq. Sym., *δεξιάν* [Ps. 89 13]); and the north, 'the left' (שְׂמֹאל). The N. is called also צָפוֹן, which is perhaps to be compared with Ar. *ṣaban* (from *ṣabawun*, east wind, E).[2] The S. is also דָּרוֹם (root uncertain); the E. usually מִזְרָח, 'the (region of the) sun-rising,' and the W. either יָם, 'the sea,'[3] or מַעֲרָב, 'the (region of the) sunset'; sometimes also (*e.g.*, 1 Ch. 9 24), improperly, נֶגֶב, strictly the 'dry' S. region of Palestine; see, further, GEOGRAPHY, § 2. We now turn to the application and associations of the several terms.

2. North and South. North and south are applied (*a*) to quarters of the heavens. So Job 26 7 (crit. emend.) —

[1] The text needs emendation (see next note). Read probably,
Ere he had made the land and the grass (וחציר)
And had clothed with green (וידשא) the clods of mother-earth.

[2] See Che. *JQR*, Oct. 1897, pp. 16 *f.*

[3] The latest commentator (Siegfried, 1898) holds that הָעֹלָם means 'the future'; but this is hardly to be proved by 2 16 3 14 9 6 12 5. Somewhat more plausible, but still improbable, is Dalman's paraphrase, 'die unabsehbare Weltzeit.'

[4] Note also that *οἰκουμένη* in Heb. 2 5 corresponds to *αἰών* in 6 5 (Dalman).

[1] Cp the Ass. phrase *kippat samê irṣitim*, usually, 'the ends of heaven and earth' (Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.* כנף). The ideogram SAG-GUL, however, elsewhere = *sikkūru*, 'bar' (Del.) or possibly 'hinge' (Stucken). Perhaps the Ass. phrase means 'the bars (or hinges) of heaven and earth' (Stucken, *Astralmythen*, 138), and consequently the parallel Hebrew phrase 'the bars (or hinges) of earth.'

[2] So Barth, *Etym. Stud* 26; Kö. *Lehrg.* 2 128; but cp GEOGRAPHY, § 2. At any rate צפן is 'to hide' not 'to be hidden.' 'East' in Hebrew may mean NE. The interchange of צ and פ is, of course, no difficulty.

[3] 𝔊 nearly always renders יָם, *θάλασσα*, even where 'west' is meant.

(Before him) who had stretched the north region (of the heavens) upon space,
Who has suspended the earth upon nothing.[1]

The passage has been well explained (after Del.) by Davidson :[2] 'The northern region of the heavens, with its brilliant constellations, clustering round the pole, would naturally attract the eye, and seem to the beholder to be stretched out over the "empty place," —*i.e.*, the vast void between earth and heaven.' See DEAD, § 2 *(a)* for an explanation of the context. The N. region of the heavens is the 'station' of Bēl.

Also Job 37 9 (crit. emend.),

From the chambers of the south (comes) the storm,
And from the north-star cold
(When) by the breath of God ice is given,
And the wide waters are straitened.[3]

There is no 'south pole' in Babylonian astronomy corresponding to the north pole (cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 25); but there is a region of Ea, and this is called in Job 'the south,' as the region of Bēl is called 'the north.' The constellations in the region ('path') of Ea are called 'the chambers of the south.'

EV has in *v.* 9b, 'And cold out of the north.' 'North'= מזרים, which Ges. Di. explain (after Ḳimḥi) as 'the scattering'—a name for the north winds, which dispel clouds and bring cold. Not very natural. We evidently require a constellation. The Heb. *mĕzārīm* may perhaps be the Ass. *(kakkab) mišri*. Read משרי; the corruption was caused by a reminiscence of *mazzārōth*.[4] The *(kakkab) mišri*, which we provisionally translate, with Hommel, the 'north-star,' was associated with 'cold, hail (?), and snow' by the Babylonians (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 50). Vg. *ab Arcturo*; 𝔊 ἀπὸ ἀκρωτηρίων (read ἀρκτῴων). On Ezek. 1 4 Eccles. 1 6, see WINDS.

N. and S. are applied (6) to quarters of the earth. Ps. 89 12, 'The north and the south, thou hast created them.' Here 'north and south' represent all the four quarters of the earth.

The N. was encompassed with awe for the Hebrew. (1) From the N. came the invaders of Palestine, and 'the north' is a symbolic term for Assyria (Zeph. 2 13), or Babylonia (Jer. 1 14 4 6 6 1 10 20 24 Ezek. 26 7 Judith 16 4). (2) Religious considerations added to the feeling of awe. In the mountainous north the people localised the 'mountain of Elōhim,' of which tradition spoke (Ezek. 1 4 Is. 14 13; some would add Ps. 48 2 [3]); and since God dwelt there, a poet says that manifestations of God's glory came from the N. (Job 37 22, crit. emend. : see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF, and cp BAAL-ZEPHON, 1). According to Ewald (*Alterth.* 59), this was the reason why sacrificial victims were to be slain 'before Yahwb' on the north side of the altar (Lev. 1 11). Yet, according to the older Israelitish view, which lasted into post-exilic times, the sacred mountain of Yahwb was not in the N. but in the S. The 'mountain of God' was Horeb (Ex. 3 1 4 27, etc.); Yahwè's progress into Canaan was from Seir (Judg. 5 4 cp Dt. 33 2), or, as a late Psalmist says, from Teman (Hab. 3 3). See WINDS.

3. East and West. Of E. and W. less has to be said. East and west, in Mt. 8 11, represent all the four quarters of the earth, like 'north and south' in Ps. 89 12 [13]. 'As far as the east is from the west' is a symbolic expression for an immense distance (Ps. 103 12). When all mankind unite in festivity, 'thou makest the outgoings of morning and evening to ring out their joy' (Ps. 65 8 [9], Driver). The expression has been admired; but it is only the morning sun that 'goes forth.' The true reading, could we recover it, would probably be finer.[5] The Babylonians believed that the celestial vault had two gates, one by which the sun 'went forth' in the morning, and another by which he 'came in' in the evening. In the E. was the isle of the blessed, with Pār(?)-napišti, the hero of the Deluge-story; in the E., too, was the Hebrew paradise (Gen. 2 8). The W. had no such pleasing associations, for there was the entrance of the realm of the dead;[1] there, too, the great Lightgiver disappeared.

Still, a Psalmist in the full confidence of faith can declare (Ps. 139 9, crit. emend.),

If I lifted up the wings of the sun,[2]
And alighted at the utmost part of the west (יָם lit. sea),
Even there thy hand would seize me,[3]
Thy right hand would grasp me.

He does not say (as MT and AV may suggest) 'would lead me to my own peace and happiness.' At any rate, it is much that he is not cut away from Yahwè's hand. He whom God grasps cannot go to destruction. T. K. C.

¹ בלימה is commonly taken to he a compound (Kö. *Lehrg.* 2 418), but without any adequate grounds. The right reading must he הֲבָלִים; the plur., to express 'intense vanity' (cp Eccles. 1 2).

² Budde and Duhm, perhaps unwisely, follow Dillmann.

³ Che. *JBL* 17 105 *f.* ['98].

⁴ Ibn Ezra (and so Michaelis) identified *mĕzārīm* with MAZZAROTH and MAZZALOTH (*qq.v.*). Aq. has μαζουρ.

⁵ See Che. *Ps.*(2), *ad loc.*

[Right-column footnotes:]

¹ Cp Karppe, *Journ. asiat.* 9 139 ('97).

² MT has שַׁחַר, 'the dawn'; hut of a bird of the dawn we know nothing; and how does the dawn alight in the west? Read surely חֶרֶס (Job 9 7), and cp Mal. 3 20 [4 2].

³ Reading תִּקָּחֵנִי (Grä., Duhm).

⁴ The text is corrupt. See SLING.

EARTHENWARE. See POTTERY.

EARTHQUAKE (רַעַשׁ, ϲειϲμοϲ, ϲυνϲειϲμοϲ. Syria and Palestine abound in volcanic appearances (cp PALESTINE). Between the river Jordan and Damascus lies a volcanic tract, and the entire country about the Dead Sea presents unmistakable tokens of volcanic action and of connected earthquake shocks vaster and grander than any that are known, or can be imagined, to have occurred in the historic period. At the same time, the numerous allusions in the Bible to phenomena resembling those of earthquakes show that the writers were deeply impressed by the recurrence of severe seismic shocks. Not improbably some of these were recorded in the lost royal annals.

1. Real or supposed historical earthquakes. i. *Real or supposed historical earthquakes.*—(a) 1 S. 14 15 'And there was a terror in the camp, in the garrison, and among all the people, and the raiders also were terrified.'[4] This was on account of Jonathan's exploit. Suddenly 'the earth quaked, whence there arose a supernatural 'terror.' Doubtful. (b) Am. 1 1 prophecy of Amos, 'two years before the earthquake.' Doubtful. On this and on (c) see AMOS, § 4. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10 4) draws on his imagination. (c) Zech. 14 5 'Ye shall flee as ye fled before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah.' A post-exilic notice. (d) Am. 4 11 'I have wrought an overthrow among yon, as at the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah.' Historical. (e) Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5 2. In the seventh year of the reign of Herod, there was an earthquake in Judæa, 'such as had not happened at any other time, and brought great destruction upon the cattle in that country. About ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses.' The calamity encouraged the Arabs to acts of aggression (see HEROD). For later catastrophes see Renan, *L'Antechrist*, 336.

2. Unhistorical narratives. ii. *Unhistorical narratives.*—(a) Gen. 19 25 'and he overthrew those cities.' Possibly implying a primitive tradition of an earthquake. See, however, Dillmann and cp SODOM. (b) The giving of the Law (Ex. 19 18). (c) Story of Korah (Nu. 16 31). (d) Elijah at Horeb (1 K. 19 11). It is the earthquake that the pious imagination constantly associates with a theophany. See ELIJAH, § 2. (e) The crucifixion. 'The earth quaked; and the rocks were rent; and the tombs were opened,' when Jesus 'yielded up his spirit' (Mt. 27 51 *f.*). Not in the other gospels. According to Mk., the cry which Jesus uttered when he gave up the ghost so impressed the Roman centurion that he exclaimed, 'Truly this was a Son of God' (Mk. 15 39 RVmg.). Mt., however, explains this confession as the result of fear at the earthquake and the accompanying phenomena. Similar portents are said to have marked

the death of Julius Cæsar, revered as a demigod (Virg. *Georg.* 1 471 *ff.*) However, the evangelist may have thought not only of the divinity of Christ but also of the exceptional wickedness of those who put Christ to death. 'Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein?' (Am. 8 8). (*f*) Paul and Silas at Philippi (Acts 16 26). The essence of the story is that Paul and Silas were praying with such earnestness that all in the prison could hear, and that an extraordinary answer to prayer was granted. No stress is laid on the earthquake.

The references in prophecy and poetry are imaginative in character and symbolise the dependence of the earth on its Creator: Judg. 5 4 Am. 8 8 Hos. 4 3 Is. 29 6 Ezek. 38 19 *f.* Joel 2 10 Nah. 1 5 Hab. 3 6 Zech. 14 4 Ps. 18 7 [8] 29 6 97 4 114 4 Rev. 6 12 8 5 11 13 16 18.

Jerome (on Is. 15) writes of an earthquake which, in the time of his childhood (*circa* 315 A.D.), destroyed Rabbath Moab or Areopolis (see AR). Mediæval writers also speak of earthquakes in Palestine, stating that they were not only formidable, but also frequent. That of 1202 (or 1204) was among the worst. Ba'alhek, being so near the Lebanon and Antilibanus, has always suffered much from earthquakes; that of 1759 did great damage to the ruins. In 1834 an earthquake shook Jerusalem and injured the chapel of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The great earthquake of 1837 (Jan. 1) did little harm at Jerusalem, which was not near enough to the centre of disturbance. Safed and Tiberias, however, were nearly destroyed. Cp Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 581.

3. Later earthquakes in Palestine.

T. K. C.

EAST, CHILDREN OF THE (בְּנֵי קֶדֶם; οἱ υἱοὶ κεδεμ [BKAQ]) is a general term for the people, whether Bedawin or pastoral tribes, of the country E. (or NE., Gen. 29 1 ἀνατολῶν [ADEL]) of Palestine, who were regarded by the Israelites as near relations, descended from Abraham by Hagar, Keturah, and other concubines (Gen. 25 6 אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם; εἰς γῆν ἀνατολῶν [ADEL]). For textual criticism see REKEM.

In Ezek. 25 4 (κ[εδ]η[μ]Γvid.) 10 they appear to the E. of Ammon and Moab (cp Is. 11 14); in Jer. 49 28 they are mentioned with the Kedarites. In Judg. 8 10 (ἀλλοφύλων [B], υἱοὶ ἀνατολῶν [AL]) the phrase has a wider reference, including all the Bedouin (Moore), and in Job 1 3 (τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν [BRA]), 1 K. 4 30 [5 10] (πάντων ἀρχαίων ἀνθρώπων [BAL]) it seems to include the Edomites, for the Edomites of Teman were renowned for their wisdom. Cp MAHOL. T. K. C.

EAST GATE (שַׁעַר הַמִּזְרָח), Neh. 3 29. See JERUSALEM.

EASTER (τὸ πάσχα), Acts 12 4 AV. See PASSOVER, and cp FEASTS.

EASTWIND (רוּחַ־קָדִים), Ex. 10 13. See WINDS, EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS), and GEOGRAPHY, § 1.

EBAL (עֵיבָל; plausibly connected with Bēl by Wi. *GI* 1 120 n. 2; Gray, *Acad.* 20th June 1896; γαιβηλ [BADEL]; cp EBAL, MOUNT).

1. One of the sons of Shobal b. Seir the Horite; Gen. 36 23 1 Ch. 1 40 (γαοβηλ [AI, ουβαλ [L]).

2. A son of Joktan 1 Ch. 1 22 (where eleven MSS [Kenn.] and Pesh. read אובל; om. B, γεμιαν [A], ηβηλ [L], Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 4 ηβαλος; *HEBAL*). In Gen. 10 28 the name appears as OBAL (עוֹבָל, Sam. עיבל, om. ADE; ευαλ [MSS; see *HP*], γεβαλ [Compl., MSS], γαιβαλ [L]; *EBAL*). Halévy connects with the local name *'Abil* in Yemen (*Mél.* 86). Cp Glaser, *Skizze*, 2 426. The name may be a miswritten form of אבימאל, which follows (Che.).

EBAL, MOUNT (הַר עֵיבָל; ὄρος γαιβαλ [BAFL]; Jos. *Ant.* v. 1 19 ηβηλος [*v.* 1 γηβηλος]; *Ant.* iv. 8 44 βουλη; *MONS HEBAL*). Possibly Ebal should be Ebel; -bel may be a divine name, '. . . of Bel.' The dedication of a mountain to Bēl in primitive times would not be surprising. Cp Ebal (above), Harbel (Num. 34 11, see RIBLAH). There is of course no connection between Ebal (1, above) ben Seir and Mount Ebal.

Ebal is a mountain 3077 ft. above the sea-level, which, with Gerizim (on the south), incloses the fertile valley in which Shechem lies. Both the mountains and the city were doubtless sacred from remote antiquity. There is an indication of this, so far as regards Ebal, in the direction respecting the solemn curse to be deposited there, ready to fall on the disobedient (Dt. 11 29 cp 27 13-26), and respecting the placing of the great stones inscribed with the (Deuteronomic) Law and the erection of an altar to Yahwè on the same mountain (Dt. 27 4-8). The latter passage is specially important. As Kuenen (*Hex.* 128) and Driver (*Dt.* 295) have pointed out, there was an injunction respecting a national sacrifice on Mt. Ebal[1] in the older work (JE) upon which the late Denteronomic writer builds. The view that any disparagement to Ebal was intended by Dt. 11 29 is therefore in itself improbable, nor can it be said that the mountain is even now sterile to the degree which a popular prejudice demands.

Maundrell in 1697 observed that 'neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to their (its) pleasantness.' Corn grows on the southern slopes, and there are traces of a thorough system of irrigation in ancient times.[2] Mt. Ebal is 228 ft. higher than Mt. Gerizim, and commands a more extensive view, which is fully described by G. A. Smith (*HG* 119-123). Its position was thoroughly but not unnaturally misunderstood by Eus. and Jer. On this and other points, see GERIZIM. In the Pap. Anast. (*Travels of an Egyptian* in *Syria, Palestine, etc.*), Chabas and Goodwin render (i. 216) 'Where is the mountain of Ikama? who can master it?' (*RP*(1) 2 111). This should rather be, 'Where is the mountain of Sakam(à) or Shechem?'—*i.e.*, either Ebal or Gerizim (As. *u. Eur.* 394). In the fourteenth century B.C. the latter names do not seem to have been widely known.

T. K. C.

EBED (עֶבֶד, *i.e.*, servant [of God], § 50; αβεδ [AL]).

1. Father of Gaal (Judg. 9 26-41, ιωβηλ [B] *v.* 31 αβελ [A], 35 σαβετ [A]) according to MT; but see GAAL.

2. b. Jonathan of the B'ne ADIN in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1] *d*) Ezra 8 6 (ωβηθ [B], ωβη [A], [Αμιν] αδαβ [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 32 (OBETH, ουβην [B], ωβηθ [AI, [Αμιν] αδαβ [L]).

EBED-MELECH (עֶבֶד־מֶלֶךְ, 'servant of the king' [*i.e.* God], § 41; occurs also in Phoen.; αβδεμελεχ [BℵAQ]). An Ethiopian eunuch at the court of Zedekiah, who obtained leave to draw up Jeremiah from the cistern into which he had been cast by the princes (Jer. 38 7 *ff.*). He was rewarded by a prophetic assurance that he would be preserved at the capture of Jerusalem (39 15 *ff.*).

Jewish legend reckons Ebed-melech among the nine (or, some say, the thirteen) who entered Paradise without passing through death (see Gaster in *MGWJ*, 1881, p. 413).

EBEH (אֵבֶה), Job 9 26 AVmg., RVmg. REED (*q.v.* 5).

EBEN-EZER (אֶבֶן־הָעֶזֶר, 'the stone of help,' αβενεζερ [BAL]).

1. The site of the battle in which the Philistines slew the sons of Eli and took the ark (1 S. 4 1 5 1, αβεννεζερ [A]; in 5 1, -ννηρ [B]). The battle seems to have been followed by the destruction of Shiloh (cp Jer. 7 12 14), and the subjugation of central Canaan by the invaders. This Eben-ezer was near Aphek, which lay in the northern part of the plain of Sharon.

2. The stone which Samuel set up between the Benjamite Mizpah and Shen in commemoration of his victory over the Philistines (1 S. 7 12). This is quite a different part of the country from that in which (1) lay, and the two Eben-ezers cannot be made one without inventing a new *Aphek.* See APHEK, 3 (*c*). On the other hand there is no reason why more than one sacred stone should not have borne so appropriate a name as 'the stone of help';[3] the story of 1 S. 7 comes from a document of no historical value, and is probably an ætiological legend giving an innocent explanation of what was really a rude stone idol. W. R. S.

EBER (עֵבֶר, εβερ [BADEL]). 1. That Eber is not an actual personage, but an ethnological abstraction, is shown elsewhere (see HEBREW LANGUAGE, § 1). He is in fact the eponym of all the Hebrew peoples—

1 The Samaritan reading 'on Mt. Gerizim,' adopted by Kennicott, is obviously a sectarian alteration of the text.

2 See *Early Travels* in *Pal.*, ed. Wright, 433; Conder, *Tentwork*, 167; Rob. *BR* 3 96; Grove-Wilson, Smith's *DB*(2) 1 828.

3 Cp Abnil, 'stone of El,' *RS*(2), 210, n. 1.

'all the sons of Eber' (Gen. 10 21; ἐβορ [E]). Genealogically he is the father of Peleg and Joktan, and the grandson of Arpachshad (*i.e.*, the Hebrew peoples came from Chaldæa; see ARPHAXAD), Gen. 10 24 *f.* 1 Ch. 1 18 *f.* 24 *f.*; cp Gen. **11** 13-16. The name is properly a geographical term = עבר הנהר, Ēber han-nāhār —*i.e.*, 'the farther (?) bank of the river'—which appears in Ass. in the form *ebir nāri* (first indicated by Wi. *GI* 1 223, n. 1; cp Hommel, *AHT* **196**, 255, 326),[1] and, Hommel thinks, was originally applied by the Canaanites to the region on the W. bank of the Lower and the Middle Euphrates, including Uru (or Ur) and Borsippa. The designation Eberites or Hebrews would naturally still adhere to those tribes which came westwards into Canaan. According to this scholar, the name 'Eber' is also used once in the OT (viz., in Nu. 24 22-24; ἑβραίους [BAFL], ἐβερ [F^a mg.]) of Palestine and Syria with the exception of Ashur or S. Judah (see ASSHURIM). His arguments are, however, not very solid. It is not certain that *ebir nāri* in the inscription really denotes Palestine; Hommel shifts his ground in the course of his book (see *AHT* 196, 326); and after **all** it is not a Canaanitish inscription that he gives us. It is even more questionable whether Hommel can claim 1 K. 4 24 [5 4] as proving an early Israelitish use of *ʿĒber han-nāhār* as an expression for Palestine. This passage, together with 1 K. 4 21 [5 1], seems to belong to a late idealistic editor, who lived at a time when *ʿĒber han-nāhār* (*ʿAbar nahrā*), or, in old Persian, *Arbāya*, was the constant phrase for the region between the Euphrates and Gaza (see CŒLESYRIA, § 1).

Hommel's restoration of **Nu.** *l.c.* may be sought in his book (*AHT* 245 *f.*). He is not wrong in supposing that the text needs emendation; but in deference to an archaeological theory he has unfortunately neglected the most important recent suggestion—viz., that of D. H. Müller (see BALAAM, § 6)—which makes Nu. **24** 23 *f.* an oracle on the kingdom of Šam'al (NE. of the gulf of Antioch). Starting from this, it will be plain that Assyria and Eber must be referred to in the little poem as the enemies of the N. Syrian kingdom.[2]

The sense of Eber has to be obtained from the context. It may mean either the region beyond the Euphrates, or that on this side the river, near Aleppo (Ass. Halvan). In defence of the rival theory (that of Hommel) it is urged that the phrase *ʿIbr-naharān* (עבר נהרן) in a Minæan inscription means 'the region E. and N. of 'Ašur, practically therefore the trans-Jordanic country and Syria' (Glaser). Winckler, however (*AOF* 1 337 *f.*; *GI* 1 174, n. 2, and 192), thinks that the Minæan 'Eber han-nāhār was the land of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), which received a second name from the stream that formed its frontier, whilst Marquart (*Fund.* 75) is of opinion that ʿIbr-naharān can only be the Persian province, 'Abar nahrā (see above).

2. b. Elpaal, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), one **of** the founders of Ono and Lod and its dependencies, 1 Ch. 8 12 (ωβηδ [BA], αβερ [L]).

3. A priest, the head of Amok, temp. Joiakim (EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, 11), Neh. 12 20 (αβεδ [א^{c.a mg. inf.} L], om. Bא*A).

4. AV HEBER (RV EBER), in a genealogy of GAD, 1 Ch. 5 13 (ωβηδ [B], ιωβ. [A]).

5. AV HEBER (RV EBER), b. Shashak, a Benjamite, 1 Ch. 8 22 (ωβδη [B], ωβηδ [A], αβερ [L]). **T. K. C.**

EBEZ (אֶבֶץ), Josh. 19 20 RV, AV ABEZ.

EBIASAPH (אֶבְיָסָף), 1 Ch. 6 23 [8], etc. See ABIASAPH.

EBONY (Kt. הובנים; Kr. הָבְנִים; true vocalisation uncertain; Egypt. *heben* [Lieblein, *ÄZ*, **1886**, p. 13], ЄΒЄΝΟϹ (not in 𝔊, but in Symm. Ezek. 27 15), *HEBENUM*; a loan-word).

1. Its use. The word occurs in MT only once (Ezek. **27** 15); but there are traces of it in perhaps four other passages (see below, § 2). From 1 K. 10 22 we may almost certainly learn that Solomon imported ebony as well as ivory, and from 1 Ch. 29 2 that he was believed to have used it in the decoration of the temple. If our emendation of Is. 2 16 *b* is right (below, § 2 *e*), ebony was especially used at Jerusalem in the construction of thrones, for Isaiah appears to threaten destruction to 'thrones of ebony.' Possibly Solomon's famous throne (1 K. **10** 18) was made of ivory inlaid with ebony. The passage that needs no emendation (below, § 2 *a*) occurs in Ezekiel's grand description of Tyrian commerce. Ebony, as well as ivory, was brought to Tyre by Dedanite, or possibly Rhodian, merchants (see DODANIM). The uses to which ebony was put by the Egyptians are well known. It was employed both for sacred and for secular purposes; shrines, palettes, and many objects of furniture were made of it. From the time of Ti (tomb at Saḳḳāra) to that of Ptolemy Philadelphus it finds frequent mention in the Egyptian records (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, 124 ['94]). The Babylonians **and** Assyrians too knew this wood, if Jensen (*KB* 337) is right in supposing that it is meant by the term *ušu*, which is applied to a precious kind of wood, derived by the patesi, or priest-king, Gudea, from Meluḫḫa, or NW. Arabia.

There seems no reason to doubt, notwithstanding Sir Joseph Hooker's hesitation, that the 'ebony' of Ezek. is the heartwood of *Diospyros Ebenum*, a large tree of S. India and Ceylon, which has been exported from early times. It was no doubt one of the articles of Phœnician commerce through the Red Sea, like so many other products mentioned in OT.

We will now examine the biblical passages in which reference is perhaps made to ebony.

2. Biblical evidence. (*a*) Ezek. **27** 15 was understood in very different ways by the ancients. 𝔊's ὀδόντας ἐλεφαντίνους indeed supports ק' ה'; but τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις implies some word beginning with ל, and Pesh. reads the whole phrase קרנות שמן ולבונה, 'horns of oil and frankincense.' Still the ordinary text and the ordinary rendering are probably correct; Smend, Cornill, and Bertholet are, on this point, agreed.

(*b*) The present text of 1 K. **10** 22 cannot be correct. 𝔊^{BL} only gives (as its rendering of MT's שנהבים וקופים ותכיים) καὶ λίθων τορευτῶν καὶ πελεκητῶν (ἀπελ. [L])—*i.e.*, it read the first word אבנים. This is probably older than the reading substituted for it in 𝔊^A; but although the Chronicler may have read אַבְנֵי שֹׁהַם for שֶׁנְהַבִּים [see (*c*)], MT is probably nearer the true text. Only, following Ezek. **27** 15, we should restore שֵׁן וְהָבְנִים, 'ivory and ebony' (see Gesenius and Rodiger, *Thes.*). It is not very probable, however, that קופים ותכיים is correct, ingenious as the explanations given of these words elsewhere (APE) certainly are. תכיים has probably arisen out of a dittographed והבנים (it is remarkable that in Ezek. **27** 15 Tg. actually reads תוביים instead of MT's הובנים). קופים may in like manner have arisen out of an early scribe's correction of the text; he probably wrote קרנות. If so, we should read the whole phrase זהב וכסף וקרנות שן והבנים, 'gold and silver, and horns of ivory and ebony.'

(*c*) In 1 Ch. 29 2 אַבְנֵי שֹׁהַם, 'onyx-stones,' which does not come in very naturally in the list of David's building materials, should rather be שֵׁן וְהָבְנִים. Perhaps **a** Ch. 9 21 originally made the ships of Tarshish bring אבני שהם, not שנהבים. See Che. *Exp. T.* 10 240 (Feb. '99).

(*d*) In Cant. 3 10, where EV has, absurdly, 'the midst thereof being paved with love,' we should certainly read 'its centre inlaid with ebony' (הבנים for אהבה). *See* LITTER.

(*e*) In **Is.** 2 16*b* שכיות החמדה cannot possibly be right. The whole **verse** should probably be read thus (*SBOT*, Addenda),

וְעַל כָּל־אַרְמְנוֹת הַשֵּׁן, and on all palaces of ivory,

וְעַל כָּל־כִּסְאוֹת הָבְנִים, and on all thrones of ebony.

Cp Am. **3** 15, and, on thrones of ebony, see above (§ 1). **A** similar emendation seems to be needed in Ps. 48 7 [8], where אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ should almost certainly be מְזִמּוֹת רְשָׁעִים. Cp. OPHIR.

T. K. C.

EBRON (עֶבְרֹן), Josh. 19 28†, RV. See ABDON.

EBRONAH (עֶבְרֹנָה), Nu. 33 34 AV, RV ABRONAH.

ECANUS, RV ETHANUS (*Ethanus*), a scribe (4 Esd. 14 24). The name possibly represents ETHAN [4].

ECBATANA (ЄΚΒΑΤΑΝΑ [BאAVL]; Jos. **Ant. x.** 11 7 xi. **46**) is the Gk. form of the name (1 Esd. *6* 12 Judith

[1] Cp also Wi. *Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'īn*, pp. 51 *ff.* ['98].

[2] See Che. *Exp. T.* 8 520 (Aug. '97), and 10 309 (June '99).

1 1 *ff.* 2 Macc. 9 3 Tob. 3 7) which appears in Aramaic (Ezra 5 17) as ACHMETHA. Its modern equivalent is *Hamadān*. See further GEOGRAPHY, § 22, and PERSIA.

ECCLESIASTES

1. Name, etc. Ḳōhéleth, EV 'Ecclesiastes or the Preacher' (Heb. קֹהֶלֶת, *Ḳōhéleth*, ἐκκλησιαστής [BℵAC], Jerome, *Concionator*), is a word of rather uncertain meaning, being the *fem.* participle (in the simple form) of a verb usually employed in the causative and signifying 'to gather together an assembly.' It possibly means 'he who addresses an assembly,' as English, 'the Preacher.' It was taken in this sense by the Greek translator and by Jerome. The name is applied to Solomon (1 1 12). The *fem.* form of the word has been variously explained. By some it is supposed that Ḳōhéleth is *wisdom* (which is *fem.*) personified; but, Ḳōhéleth is construed as a *masc.* (7 27 should be read *'āmar haḳ-Ḳōhéleth*, as 12 8), and wisdom would hardly say 'I applied my heart to search out by wisdom' (1 13; cp 1 17 2 3). It is easier to suppose that the *fem.* is to be understood in a neuter sense, the subject which exercises the activity being generalised, *that which addresses*, with no reference to its actual gender (Ezra 2 55 57), the form having possibly an intensive sense, as in Arabic. The book is written in prose, though interspersed all through with poetical fragments, when the author's language becomes more condensed and elevated.

It is only in comparatively modern times that any real progress has been made in the interpretation of Ecclesiastes.

2. Interpretation. The ancients were too timid to allow the Preacher to speak his mind. Modern interpreters recognise a strong individuality in the book, and are more ready to accept its natural meaning, though a certain desire to tone down the thoughts of the Preacher is still discernible in some English works. One thing which has greatly contributed to the misunderstanding of the book and the character of the Preacher is the introduction of Solomon. To consider all those passages where the Preacher refers to himself as 'king in Jerusalem' and the like to be interpolations (with Bickell) may be unnecessary; but it is necessary to understand that, as in all later literature, Solomon is merely the ideal of wisdom and magnificence. It is in this character alone that he is introduced. Neither his idolatry nor his supposed licentiousness (the term *shiddah*, 2 8, RV *concubines*, is of uncertain meaning)[1] is alluded to; nor is his penitence. The conception of a Solomon in his old age, a sated and effete voluptuary, looking back in penitence upon a life of pleasure, and exclaiming *Vanity!* is wholly unlike the Preacher of the book. There is not a word of penitence in the book. The Preacher is anything but weary of life. He has the intensest desire for it and enjoyment of it (11 7), and the deepest horror of death and the decay of nature (12 2 *ff.*). Far from being outworn and exhausted, he complains throughout the book that the powers of man have no scope: he is cabined, cribbed, confined by a superior power on all sides of him. Neither his natural nor his moral being has free play. Indeed, in his consciousness of power the Preacher appears to demand a freedom for man nothing short of that promised in the words 'Ye shall be as God.'

Amid all the peculiarities of the book certain things are clear.

3. General character. 1. The book has a general idea running through it, and is no mere collection of fragments or of occasional thoughts. The connection of the reflections sometimes seems loose,—the author was not a literary artist,—but there is in his mind a general idea, which all his musings and examples illustrate.

1 [Many analogies suggest that שִׁדָּה וְשִׁדּוֹת is only a mis-written repetition of שָׁרִים וְשָׁרוֹת, 'men-singers and women-singers.']

2. From the name which the author assumes it is evident that he desires to play the part of an instructor. He has his fellow-men before him, and feels that he has a lesson to convey to them. True, there is a large personal clement in the book—it is the author's confessions, and he takes his readers largely into his confidence;—but he is not solitary in his perplexities, and he has social and religious considerations which he desires to address to his contemporaries.

3. Further, the author is everywhere in earnest. He is not a mere clever dialectician playing intellectually with great problems or human interests, setting up opinions only to overturn them, or broaching theories only to reduce them ad *absurdum*. If he sometimes appears to speak on both sides of a question it is due to this, that the conditions and stations of human life—such as poverty or riches, servitude or ownership, royalty or the place of subjects—have two sides, and in his practical philosophy, which consists in inculcating a spirit of equanimity, he sometimes seeks to show the good that there is even in things evil, and on the other hand the drawbacks incident to those things which men covet most. He has also, perhaps, different moods. He is so overcome by the thought of the miseries that oppress human life that he thinks it better to die than to live, or best of all never to have lived; but at other times his mood brightens, and he counsels men to throw themselves into whatever activity offers itself to their band and to pursue it with their might, and to seize whatever enjoyment is yielded by the labour or by its reward. The ground-tone of his mind is certainly sombre. He is oppressed by the intellectual and the practical limitations to which human life is subject. Man cannot understand either the world in which he lives or the work of God amid which he is set; neither can he by his efforts accomplish anything which is a permanent gain either to himself or to the world, nor break the fixed and inexorable order of all things, of which order he himself is part. His chain is very short, permitting only the narrowest range of work or of enjoyment, and all he knows is that this work and enjoyment is the portion which God has assigned to him. This is the fundamental idea of the book, repeated many times, and the author's position appears to remain the same throughout. Although his mood varies, his *verdict* or judgment is stable (12 8). There is no evidence of a struggle in his mind between faith and doubt, in which faith achieves a victory; much less are the apparent discrepancies of view in the book to be explained on the assumption that it contains the utterances of 'two voices,' one doubting and the other believing.

The book consists of what might be called the author's two philosophies, his theoretical philosophy and his practical.

4. Main principles. The theoretical principle is: All is vanity: what gain, *result*, is there to man in his labour or life? The practical principle is really all that is left possible by the theoretical one: Life has no gain; but God has given life to man, and he has to live it. Therefore, there is nothing better than that a man cat and drink and let himself enjoy good, for this is God's gift to him. Natnrally there is a third thing. This enjoyment of good is the only sphere in which a man has a certain freedom: it partly depends upon himself and his own demeanonr. Some principle to regulate his conduct and mind in life is therefore necessary. This regulating principle the Preacher calls wisdom. As a mental quality it is practical sagacity, insight into things and situations, enabling a man to act prudently; as a temper it is equanimity and moderation. These three ideas or conclusions had already been arrived at before the author sat down to write his book; they arc constantly present to his own mind, and much of the obscurity of the book arises.

from his insisting upon them not separately but simultaneously.

Without circumlocution the Preacher states his fundamental idea : 'All is vanity : what gain is there to man in all the labour in which he labours under the sun?' In other words, human life is without result. In this it is like the whole order of things, which goes on in an eternal round, accomplishing nothing. All things recur, and there is nothing new under the sun (1 1-11). Then, in chap. 1 *f.*, he gives an account of the experiments which led to this conclusion. He inquired into 'all that is done under the sun,'—by which he means not merely the whole variety of human activity, but also all the events that happen to man in his life,—and he found that all was without result. He found, too, that the knowledge gained during the enquiry was equally resultless : 'In much wisdom is much grief' (1 12-18). Then he tried pleasure—not as a sensualist, for his wisdom remained with him (2 3-9), but as an experimental philosopher,—and he found pleasure equally barren of result: 'I said of laughter, It is mad, and of mirth, What doeth it?' (2 2). Wisdom, indeed, carries a certain advantage with it ; but it is no permanent gain to a man, 'for as the fool dieth, so dieth the wise man.' Therefore, there being no profit or permanent gain in life, howsoever it be lived, the practical conclusion is, Let yourself enjoy good (2 24).

5. Theoretical philosophy.

Such is the author's meaning when he says that all is 'vanity.' It is not, as we are apt to suppose, that the world is unsatisfying and that the human soul craves something higher than the world can give. All is vanity because man is confined by a fixed determination of everything on all sides of him by God. All the events of human life are in the hand of God : man has no power over them more than he has over the wind (8 8). There is a time to be born, and a time to die ; a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to love and a time to hate. All is 'in the hand of God ; whether it be love or hatred man knoweth it not—all is before them' (3 1-9 9 1). It is absurd to suppose that this means that there is a proper or suitable time for everything ; it means that there is a time fixed by God for everything, a time, not when things should be done, but when they must be done. Even the injustice in the judgment seat and the oppressions against which men are helpless are ordinations of God. There may be a time for judging them—there is a time for everything ; —but their object in God's hand is to bring home to man a true idea of what he is—that he is nothing and that God is all. Their object is to prove men and teach them to fear God, and that they may learn that they are but beasts ; for one event happeneth to them and to the beasts : all go to one place, all arc of the dnst, and all turn to dust again (3 16-20)—'Who knoweth the spirit of man whether it goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast whether it goeth downward to the earth?' (3 21 RV). Obviously nothing is left to man but to take what joy out of life is possible, for that is his portion (2 24 3 12 22 5 18-20 8 15 9 7-10 11 9 *ff.*). Even over this man has no power : it also is in the determination of God (7 13 *f.*). Power to enjoy life is the gift of God (2 24 *f.* 3 13 5 19) ; and, though it may generally be assumed that he desires men to have this enjoyment (9 7), there arc instances where he denies them the gift (2 26 6 2-8). The Preacher is, of course, no sensualist. The 'good,' enjoyment of which he recommends, consists of the simple pleasures of life : eating and drinking, the consolations and supports of wedlock, the pleasure to be derived from activity in work or in business (9 7-10 11 1-6 9 10). How could the pleasures recommended be those of riot and excess when they are 'the gift of God,' the 'portion' he has given to man in the life which he spends as a shadow? It is just in these enjoyments that man comes nearest to God : he meets God in them, feels his favour, and knows that in them God is 'responding to the joy of his heart'[1] (5 20). This is the old view of the Hebrew mind, which looked on prosperity and the blessings of life as in a sense sacramental, as the seal of God's favour. The Preacher is a God-fearing man (5 6 *f.* 8 12), a man of righteous life (8 13), thoughtful, and dwelling by preference on the serious side of life (7 1-6). He believes in God, and in a moral rule of God, who 'judges' the righteous and the wicked. No doubt this rule is incomprehensible and full of what seem moral anomalies. It appears arbitrary (2 26) : under it all things happen alike to all, to the godly and to the ungodly (9 1-3) : the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong (9 11) : there be righteous men unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked, and the contrary (8 14). Nevertheless, the Preacher will not abandon the general idea of such a moral rule (8 12 *f.*), though he laments that the delay and uncertainty of Gods 'judgment' encourages men in their wickedness (8 11), and increases the evil and madness which are in their hearts (9 3) ; for, though God made man upright, man has sought out many inventions (7 29). Such anomalies in Providence, however, always drive the Preacher back to his practical counsel : 'Wherefore I commend mirth ; for a man hath no better thing under the sun than to eat and drink and to be merry' (8 15).

6. Practical philosophy.

Man is speculatively unable to comprehend the world (3 11 7 24 8 17), and practically helpless to obviate its evils ; he is bound within an iron system which is unalterable. From a modern point of view it might be asked, Does the Preacher acknowledge the possibility of a progress of the individual mind within the bounds of the system which fetters him, of a culture or discipline within the limitations imposed on him by God? He does so in a certain sense. The evil of life, man's ignorance of what is to befall him, teaches him to fear God (3 14); and in his survey of the work that is done under the sun he acquires 'wisdom,' or, to use a common phrase, 'culture.' But the 'vanity,' the resultlessness of life, lies here : in that a man can neither retain these gains nor transmit them, and, after all, life is without profit. (1) Man cannot retain his gains, for death surprises him : the wise man dieth even as the fool, and there is no remembrance of either of them for ever (2 16 ; cp 2 17-23) ; in the grave there is no work, no knowledge, no wisdom (9 10) : the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward (9 5). The Preacher strikes here the saddest note of his feeling. It is obvious that his complaint that life has no 'profit' because man cannot retain its gains is a complaint that man cannot retain himself—'What shall it profit a man if he gain the world and lose himself?' The Preacher's cry is for continuity of the individual life, that he may still carry with him the gains which his spirit has accumulated. He appears to be aware that immortality of the individual spirit is believed in by some ; but either the ground-tone of his own mind is too sombre for him to accept the idea, or the evidence for it seems insufficient (3 19-21 9 1-6). His book is unintelligible if this belief formed part of his creed. Hence he has been called a 'sceptic.' The word is relative. All the OT 'saints, if they lived now, might be called sceptics. The belief in immortality was not until very late times an assured doctrine of the OT (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 33). We observe it in the process of arising, as the necessary issue of two things—the living fellowship of man with God here, of which it is the continuance; and the anomalies of providence, of which it is the reconciliation. The Preacher is unable to reach it on either line.[2] (2) Further, life is without result

7. Death.

[1] Probably we should render a difficult phrase thus with Delitzsch.

[2] The use of the word 'spirit' in the OT is obscure. (1) It means the 'breath,' the visible sign, of life. (2) It is what we call the 'principle of life.' Life and the continuance of life

because the wise man cannot transmit the fruits of his labour or of his wisdom : the man that cometh after him may be a fool. The idea of an advance of the race through the accumulated gains contributed to it by individuals does not occur to the Preacher. The tide of personal life flows too strong in his heart to permit him to acquiesce in his own absorption into the race, even if the race had a great destiny before it. Of this, moreover, he sees no evidence. To his mind, in the mood in which we find him, mankind has neither a progress nor a goal. The analogy of nature oppresses him. Its monotonous daily round of sunrise and sunset, of veering winds and rushing streams, produces no result. The history of mankind is the same—one generation goeth and another generation cometh. The universe has no goal; God has no purpose, and mankind no destiny. This general scope of the Preacher's logic (howsoever his heart recoils from it) defines the sense in which he speaks of Gods 'judgment.' He hardly has the idea of a general judgment, such as that of the 'day of the Lord' of the prophets, when God brings in his perfect kingdom and bestows eternal blessedness on his people. The Preacher's 'individualism,' common to him with all the writers of the Wisdom, makes this unlikely. Neither could he have spoken of the universe as a continuous flux without a point of attainment if he had thought of it as moving towards this great goal. The 'judgment' is to him merely part of the moral government of God, which he maintains, howsoever imperfectly he is able to perceive it.

We have seen already that besides his theoretical and his practical philosophy the Preacher had a regulative principle of conduct, which he called wisdom.

8. Principle of conduct.

Much of the book is devoted to showing the advantage of this principle. It tenches a man how to bear himself before God. Even in religion a man ought to be calm and meditative, and to restrain over-impulsiveness (5 1-7 7 16 *f.*). So in regard to rulers : even if despotic and evil, a wise man will not act hastily, seeing that power is on the side of the ruler; nor will he rashly enter into plots or conspiracies. Discretion is the better part of valour. He who digs a pit may fall into it. Skill is better than force. If you have trees to fell, grind your axe rather than 'put to more strength' (8 1-9 10 1-11). And be not surprised if you are oppressed and plundered. Society, or at least government, is an organised oppression : those who oppress you are oppressed by those above them, and these again by their superiors, and so on to the top of the pyramid (58). Wisdom, however, perceives the 'vanity' of all this : for example, he that loveth money will not be satisfied with money, and he that increaseth his substance increaseth those who eat it (5 10-6 9). Wisdom, on the contrary, is as good as an inheritance, or better than that ; for it preserves the life of him who has it (7 12) ; it supplements the defects of righteousness, and avoids 'the falsehood of extremes' (7 15-22) ; it is stronger than ten rulers in a city (7 19) ; and preserves men both from sentimental dreaming over, the good old days and from over-anxious forecasting how their business ventures will turn out (11 1-6). There is much, however, that wisdom is not equal to even in human things (7 24), and no wisdom can find out the 'work of God' (8 17). Moreover, the wisdom of the poor man is neglected or forgotten (9 13-16), and a little folly is stronger than much wisdom, even as a dead fly will cause a pot of ointment to stink (10 1).

are the effect of a divine influence ; the cessation of life is the withdrawal of this influence. The 'spirit' in this sense is nothing but an effect. All questions where this 'spirit' goes when 'taken away' by God are irrelevant. It goes-nowhere : the 'taking away' of it is merely the cessation of the divine influence of which it is the effect. (3) ,It is the immaterial subject (not substance) in man. which lives. The boundary lines between (2) and (3) are confused.. The passage 3 21 seems to incline to (3), though without firmness (5 19), whilst 12 7 probably goes back to (2), being on a line with Ps. 104 29 *f.* Job 34 14. Cp, further, ESCHATOLOGY, § 19 *f.*, and SPIRIT.

Occasionally the author uses the term 'wisdom' in the sense of comprehension of the universe or work of God. For this man is altogether incompetent (cp Job **28**).

The above analysis shows the Preacher's main ideas. The Preacher himself is more difficult to explain. The difference between him and earlier writers of 'the Wisdom' lies in his ***tone.***

9. The man.

To catch this truly would be to find the key to his book. The existence of the book is evidence of dissatisfaction, of a sense of want. The Preacher is driven to acknowledge that man is 'like a heast with lower pleasures': he could not have added 'with lower pains.' His book all through is a cry of pain—just that he has no portion but lower pleasures. His conclusions are in a way positivist; but his whole book is a protest against his conclusions—not against the truth of them, but against the fact that they should be true. Job flung himself against the *moral* iniquities of Providence; to the Preacher the 'crookedness' of things is universal. Job raged ; the Preacher only moans and moralises. Job is an untamed eagle, dashing himself against the bars of his cage ; the Preacher looks out with a lustreless eye on the glorious heavens, where, if he were free, he might soar. He knows it cannot be, and he ventures also to murmur some advice to men : Enjoy good ; do not think (5 20). His admonitions to himself and others are quite sincere, not ironical ; they are the human soul's efforts to anæsthetise itself—dull narcotics numbing pain. The F'reacher's mood may be a complex thing : partly temperament, partly a mode of religion, and partly due to the wretched conditions of human life in his time. It was an evil time. Judges were corrupt, rulers despotic and debauched, the people oppressed ; and society was disintegrated.

10. A product of OT religion.

It is unnecessary to have reconrse to Greek philosophy to explain the Preacher's ideas and feelings (cp HELLENISM, § 6, and see below, § **13**). The practical 'wisdom' which he recommends may have a certain resemblance to the 'unperturbedness,' the 'mean,' and the 'nothing too much' of the philosophers; but both it and all other things in the Preacher are a natural development of the native Hebrew Wisdom. There is nothing in Ecclesiastes which is not already in Job and the older Wisdom. Indeed, one may say that the OT religion was bound to produce, at some time and in some cases, a phenomenon like the Preacher. The OT religion consists of two things : first, ideas about God; and, secondly, a living faith towards him and sense of fellowship with him. Without the latter the former brings little comfort *to* the human mind, even though certain fundamental beliefs—such as the personality of God and the moral being of man—be still retained. For, first, the fundamental principle of Hebrew religion that God is in all things that happen, whilst in times of prosperity and well-being it gave unspeakable joy to the pious mind, with a vivid sense of its fellowship in life with God, when the times were evil and articles of a creed had taken the place of an emotional piety, gave rise to a sense of impotency in the mind. Man felt environed on all sides by a fixed order which he could do nothing to ameliorate. God became a mere transcendeut force outside of human life, pressing upon it and limiting it on every side. The different feeling which the same conception of God produced in the pious mind and in the reflective mind, respectively, will appear if Ps. **139** be compared with Ecclesiastes. It would be false to say that 'God' to the Preacher was nothing more than what the 'world' or 'nature,' or that which is outside a man, is to many minds now. His faith in a personal God is never shaken ; atheism or materialism is not conceivable in an ancient Oriental mind. At the same time, his faith is no more suffused with the life-colours of an emotional confidence, and he could not have said with the Psalmist, 'Nevertheless I am continually with thee' (Ps. 73 23). nor with Job, 'I know

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that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall see God' (19 25). Secondly, it was from 'piety,' the sense of fellowship with God, not from reflection, that all the great religious hopes in regard to man's future arose. They mere projections, corollaries, of an emotional personal religion—such as the hope of immortality, the faith in a reign of righteousness, and the incoming of a kingdom of God upon the earth. When piety declined, and reflection took its place, these hopes of the future could not sustain themselves. They survived in the community, whose life was perennial ; but the 'individualism' of the Preacher felt them slipping from its grasp.

11. Date. The date of Ecclesiastes cannot be determined with certainty. It is later than Malachi, for the priest called in Malachi 'messenger of the Lord' (Mal. 2 7) is simply named 'the messenger' in 56. It is probably earlier than Ecclesiasticus *(circa zoo)*, for, though many of the coincidences usually cited have little relevancy, Ecclus. 186 seems certainly a reminiscence of Eccles. 3 14, and Ecclus. 4224 of Eccles. 7 14. The book may belong to the oppressive times of the later Persian rule, or it may be a product of the Greek period. Perhaps the language would rather suggest the later date (see next §). In the beginning of the book the experiments on life are represented as being made by Solomon; but this transparent disguise is speedily abandoned. Solomon is merely the ideal of one who has unbounded wisdom and unlimited resources with which to experiment on human life—a man whose verdict of 'vanity,' therefore, is infallible. In the Epilogue the Preacher is merely one of the wise (12 9). The state of society amid which the author lived has no resemblance to the state of society in the times of Solomon. There was corruption in the judgment seat (3 16), cruel oppression from which there was no redress (41*ff.*), and a hierarchy of official plunderers one above another (5 8), with a system of espionage which made the most private speech dangerous (10 20). The author had witnessed revolutionary changes in society and strange reversals of fortune—slaves riding on horses and princes walking on foot (10 4-7).

Such a time might be the late Persian period. It could not well be the early Greek period when the Jews enjoyed the beneficent rule of the early Ptolemies. It might, however, be the more advanced Greek period, when Palestine became the stake played for by Antioch and Alexandria, a time when the people suffered severe hardships, and when the upper classes, especially the religious leaders, were deeply demoralised and self-seeking. On the other hand, the book must be earlier than the uprising of the national spirit in the time of the Maccabees. Gratz indeed places the book in the time of Hcrod (8 B.C.) ; but the date is part of his theory of the book, which has no probability. The most probable date perhaps is the latter part of the third century B.C. (cp, however, Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, ch. v.).

12. Language. Both the language and the modes of religious thought in Ecclesiastes suggest that it is one of the latest books in the canon. The language has the peculiarities of such late books as Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, and Esther. Indeed, it belongs to a much more degraded stage of Hebrew than either of those books exhibits ; and in the forms of words, in the new senses in which older words are used, and in the many new words employed, it has many similarities to the Targums and Syriac, especially to the Mishna *(circa* zoo A. D.).

The characteristic forms of Hebrew syntax, such as the *vav conversive* have almost disappeared ; constructions of classical Hebrew have given place to those of Aramaic ; and in general the language has lost its old condensed character, and become analytic, with a multitude of new particles. Details may be seen in Driver's *Introd.*, and in the commentaries of Delitzsch, Nowack, or Wright.

13. Ideas. The ideas and the mode of religious thought in the book also bear witness to the lateness of its date. In the Preacher the religious spirit of Israel is seen to be completely exhausted. It can no more, as in Job and Ps. **49** and **73**, use the problems of life in order to rise to lofty intuitions of its relation to God. It sinks back defeated, able only to offer a few practical rules for ordinary life. The idea of Tyler, who is followed by Plumptre, that the book is a blend of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies, seems extraordinarily superficial, and is supported mainly by what appears misinterpretation of its language.

The passage 3 1 *ff.*, 'there is a time to he born' (etc.), does not inculcate the doctrine of living 'conformably to nature,' or teach that there is a fit time for doing everything : it teaches that there is a necessary time, for the time of everything has been determined by God. Even the most astute opportunist would have difficulty in securing that he should be horn and should die at the fitting time. Again, the passages 1 9 3 15 and many others certainlv teach that there is nothing 'new' under the sun. no progress in nature or history, that things recur; but they teach nothing about recurrent 'cycles.' Determinism is, of course, a prevailing idea in the hook. That, however, is just the fundamental idea of the Wisdom, or indeed of the Hehrew mind—that God is the causality in all things—with the inevitable develop; ment which time gave it. At first sight the phrase 'to do good in the sense of 'to see good,' to enjoy life (3 12), has a startling resemblance to the Gk. εὖ πράττειν ; hut, after all, the senses of the two phrases are somewhat different, and there is no reason to suppose the Hebrew expression to he an imitation ; though not occurring elsewhere, its opposite, 'to do badly' (*i.e.*, *be sad)*, is used in early literature (2 S. 12 18, and perhaps Eccles. 5 1 [4 17 (5 1)]), and possibly the phrase itself may be ancient. (H. Zirkel, *Unters. üb. den Prediger*, 1792, was the first to discover Græcisms in Ecclesiastes.)

There have been attempts to identify the 'old and foolish king' (413 *ff.*) and the city the siege of which was raised by 'the poor wise man' (9 13 *ff.*), and to verify the possible historical reference in the passage (104-7) about slaves on horseback and princes walking on foot, and in such passages as 8 10, with a view to fixing the date of the book more accurately; but nothing has resulted beyond cpnjectures more or less plausible.

14. Integrity. The ingenious theory of Bickell that the apparent want of connection in many parts of Ecclesiastes is the result of an accident which befell the book at some early time, and threw the sheets into confusion, has little probability :[1] the want of connection complained of disappears in many cases before a more careful study of the author's line of thought. In a book such as Ecclesiastes, however,—the line of thought and (particularly) the tone of which diverge so greatly from the other OT writings—it was to be expected that there would be some interpolations : *qualifications* which the reader or scribe felt constrained to add to the author's somewhat strong statements. The probability that 11 9*b* is an addition rests not so much on the idea expressed as on its unnaturalness in the context ; for the view of some that the passage means that God 'will bring into judgment' any one who neglects to enjoy the natural pleasures of life is too absurd. There is less objection to 317 (perhaps the last word of the verse should be read *sām*, 'hath appointed'), 8 10 12 *f.* also are in some way corrupt. *So*, certainly, **121**, 'Remember thy creator.' The words disturb the connection between 11 10 and the rest of 12 1. The reading suggested by Gratz, 'Remember thy fountain' (=thy wife. Prov. 5 15-19), strikes a lower note than is heard anywhere in the book, and is to be rejected.

The Epilogue falls into two parts, 12 9-12 and 12 13 *f.*; and it is questionable diether either part (especially the second) is original.[2] On the one hand, the book reaches its natural conclusion in 128, where the burden of it is restated: 'All is Vanity'; and, secondly, whilst in the rest of the book the author speaks in the first person, in *vv.* 9-12 he is spoken about. On the other hand, though the verses contain some peculiar expressions, their general style agrees with that of the rest of the book, and it is quite possible that the author, dropping

[1] The theory of dislocation was first proposed by J. G. van der Palm in his ***Ecclesiastes*** *philologice* **et** *critice illustratus*, Leyden, 1784. The theory and arrangement of Bickell is reproduced in Dillon, ***Sceptics*** *of the OT*, '95.

[2] On interpolations in Eccles., see also CANON, **§ 55, col. 671,** n. **4.**

his literary disguise of Solomon, might have added some account of himself in his actual character. The picture is certainly not just that which would have suggested itself to a mere reader of the book : it implies a fuller acquaintance with the author than could be got from his work. In *vv.* 13 *f.* the whole matter is said to be : 'Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole of man.' The last words may mean, This absorbs or should absorb man : all his powers should be directed toward this ; or they may mean, This exhausts man : his powers reach no further—*e.g.*, to understand the 'work of God' (Job 28). Verse 14, which says that God 'will bring every work into judgment,' attaches itself better to the first sense. The 'judgment' also seems a larger and more general one than that seen in God's ordinary moral rule of the world. Possibly, therefore, *vv.* 13 *f.* come from the same hand as 11 9*b*. If the verses be an addition, they are still comparatively early, for they are referred to in the disputes of the Jewish teachers over the canonicity of the book.

15. Canonicity. Ecclesiastes is not quoted in the NT, and even in the second century A.D. its right to a place in the collection of sacred books was a subject of controversy in the Jewish schools. The exact state of the dispute appears to be this : Practically the book had long been combined with the other 'sacred writings'; but voices which expressed doubt of the propriety of this combination continued to be heard. That this is the state of the case appears from the facts (1) that Ecclesiastes must be included in the twenty-four books of 4 Esdras, and in the twenty-two of Josephus, toward the end of the first century A.D. ; and (2) that in the time of Herod the Great and of Gamaliel it is quoted as 'scripture' (*Bab. Bathra*, 4*a*, *Shabb.* 30*b*), whilst the objections to it continued to be heard 100-120 A.D. (*Yad.* 35). The school of Hillel held that it 'defiled the hands' (was canonical); that of Shammai rejected it. The former opinion finally prevailed. See CANON, § 55.

16. Literature. In addition to general works such as Driver's *Introd.* and Kue.'s *Ond.*(2) iii. may he named the comms. of Ew. *Dichter des Alt. Bundes;* Hitzig, *Exeg. Hand.*, '47, (2), by Now. '83; Ginshurg, *Coheleth* '61; Gratz, *Koheleth*, 1871; Del. *Hoheslied u. Koheleth*, '1875 (translated); Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes or the Preacher* (Cambridge Bible), 1881; Renan, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 1882; Wright, *The Book of Coheleth*, 1883; Volck, *Kurzgef. Komm.* (Strack u. Zöckler), 1889; Sam. Cox, in *Ex. Bib.*, 1890. Helps of a more general kind : Nöld. *Die A T Lit* 1868; Bloch *Ursprung, etc., des Buches Koh.*, 1872; Tyler;) *Ecclesiastes:* 1874 [(2) '99]; Taylor, *Dirge of Koheleth*, 1874; Engelhard, 'Ueber den Epilog des Koh.' *St. Kr.*, 1875; Kleinert, 'Sind in B. Koh. ausserheb. Einflüsse anzuerkennen?' *St. Kr.*, 1883; Bickell, *Der Prediger*, 1884; Schiffer, *Das B. Koh. nach der Auffassung der Weisen des Talmud, etc.*, 1884; Bradley, *Lect. on Eccles.*, 1885; Pfleiderer, *Die Philos. des Heraklit*, 1886; A. Palm, *Die Qohelet Literatur*, 1886; Che. *Job and Solomon*, 1887; *Jew. Rel. Life*, Lect. vi. 1898; S. Euringer, *Der Masorahtext des Koh.*, 1890; Wildehoer (in KHC '98). On the Gr. text, Di. *SBAW*, 1892; E. Kiostermann, *De Lib. Coh. Vers. Alex.* 1892; Tyler, *Koh.* 1899. A. B. D.

[Grä. *MGWJ*, 1885, pp. 74 *ff.*, 127 *ff.*, a defence of the reign of Herod as the date of Ecclesiastes, with special reference to the Talmudic passages cited in C. H. H. Wright's *Ecclesiastes;* Kuenen, 'The tendency, integrity, and age of Ecclesiastes,' *Ond.*(2) §§ 104, 105 ('93; Germ. transl. *Einl.*, '93): note especially the discussion of proposed dates later than 200 B.C. ; Haupt, 'The Book of Ecclesiastes,' *Oriental Studies* (Or. Club of Philadelphia, '94), pp. 242-278, holds that the contents have heen deliberately disarranged, and that many glosses have intruded into the text ; he gives a translation of the final section as restored by himself.

Kö. *Einl.* ('93), 432 *ff.*, and Leimdörfer (*Pasheil. Schriftwerk Kohelet*, '92) ably plead for a date in the reign of Alexander Jannæus.

Siegfried (in *HK.* '93) also thinks that Eccles. is full of contradictions, indicating the work of at least five writers. A redactor attempted, with little success, to bring order out of chaos. He gave the superscription (1 1) and a concluding word (12 8); 12 9-19 is due to three epilogists. The date of the original book is placed soon after 200 B.C. The glossators may have gone on till nearly 100 B.C. ; allusions to the Essenes (*see, e.g.*, 9 2*b*) also point to this period. The kernel of the work may have been known to Ben-Sira (after 170 B.C.).

Che. *Jew. Rel. Life* ('98), 183-208, favours Grätz's hypothesis, and while admitting that the date of Ecclesiastes needs further examination, he finds no period which so fully illustrates the hook as that of Herod the Great. He admits great disarrangement and interpolations.

It may he added that the text of Eccles. is in a bad state. There are still gleanings to be had in some of the most difficult passages, which may considerably affect the criticism of the book (see *Critica Biblica*, and cp KOHELETH). Bickell's emendations have hardly heen appreciated enough. He has further done good service, not only by his suggestive rearrangement, but also by his attention to the poetical passages, *e.g.*, no one has made so clear to the eye the most probable meaning of 11 10*a* and 12 1*a* (cp Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 192).

Wi.'s essay on 'Date and Author of Koheleth' (*AOF*(2) 143-159) gives a general sanction to Siegfried's analysis, and ascribes the kernel to ALCIMUS [*q.v.*]. The 'old and foolish king' is Antiochus Epiphanes. The statement on p. 146 that the author must have been either one of the kings of the Herodian house or else one of the heretical high priests before the Hasmonæan dynasty is a valuable recognition of the period within which, as more and more critics think, the date of the original book must be placed.—T. K. C.]

ECCLESIASTICUS

Ecclesiasticus (abbrev. Ecclus.) is the usual Latin and English name of one of the deuterocanonical books of the OT (see APOCRYPHA, §§ 2 8). It is not probable that the author himself gave his book a title ; later it is referred to under various names.

1. Title. In the Talmud it is cited simply by the name of the author, as 'Ben-Sira' (בן סירא), or by the formula 'the sages say' (though this last may point not immediately to our book, but to material from which it drew). Jerome (*Præf. in Libr. Sal.*) declares that he had seen a Hebrew copy entitled 'Parabolæ' (משלים), and this designation, natural and appropriate, is employed also by Saadia.[1]

In the LXX the book is called 'Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach' (Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σ[ε]ιράχ [KAC] ; B incorrectly 2. 2. ; but in the subscription B agrees with KA. The title of the Prologue in C is πρόλογος Σιραχ).

This form (found also in the Syriac Versions and in some MSS of the Vet. Lat.) was the one generally used by the Greek writers, as is expressly stated by Rufinus (Vers. *Or. Hom. in Nu.* xviii. 3). The title Σοφία occurs also in other combinations: in the honorary name 'All-virtuous Wisdom' (ἡ πανάρετος Σοφία) given to the book in patristic writings (Jer. *Præf. in Lib. Sal.*), as also to Proverbs (Clem. Rom. 1 *Cor.* 57; Clem. Alex. i. 1085; Ens. *HE* iv. 22) and to Wisd. of Sol.[2] (Epiph. iii. 244); and in the more general designations 'Wisdom' (Orig. *In Matt.* 134) and 'Wisdom of Solomon' (Cypr. *Test.* iii. 20).

With regard to the term חכמה applied in the Talmud to the work of Ben-Sira it is uncertain whether it is used as a title ; but it appears to have been employed as a descriptive term. Possibly it was an old Jewish designation, which was adopted by the Greek Christians as a title ; in the case of the Book of Proverbs Hegesippus (in Eus. *HE* 4 22) refers the term to unwritten Jewish traditions.

On the Talmudic use cp Blau (in *REJ* 35 21), who cites Jer. *Sofa*, 24*c*: 'after the death of R. Eliezer the ס' החכמה was buried (נגנז).' It seem probable that the expression ס' ה' includes Ben-Sira.

Whilst the Greeks thus named the work from the nature of its material, the Latins preferred a title descriptive of its relation to the Church services. The term ἐκκλησιαστικός is used by the Greeks of the κανών of the Church (Clem. Alex. *Str.* 6 125), and generally of what was in accord with the Church. Adopted by the Latins, the term was employed by them in a like general way (*pacem ecclesiasticam*, Tert. *De Pudicit.* 22), and came to be used especially of books which, though not canonical, were regarded as edifying and proper to be read in the churches (Ruf. *Comm. in Symb.*, § 38, *Vers. Orig.*

[1] The Oxford editors of the Hebrew Fragments (see below, § 4) refer (Preface, ix, n. 4) to a statement of Saadia (S'adyah) (ספר הגלוי, ed. Harkavy, p. 151, *l.* 11 *f.*), that Ben-Sira wrote a *Book of Instruction* (ספר מוסר). This expression, however, seems to he rather a description than a title.

[2] Probably given first to Proverbs, and then to all the supposed Solomonic wisdom-books.

in Num. 183; Ath. *Ep. Fest.*, *sub fine*). So high was the esteem in which our book was held that it was termed 'Ecclesiasticus,' the 'liber ecclesiasticus' *par excellence* (Cypr. *Test.* 2 1 3 1; Aug. *De Doct. Chr.* 2 13).

The name of the author is given variously.

2. Author. The Hebrew text has. in 50 27, 'Shim'on b. Yeshua' b. Eliezer b. Sira' (so also Saadia, ס׳ הגלוי, 151), and in 51 30 the same formula, and also 'Shim'on h. **Y.**, called h. Sira'; 𝔊B 50 27 *ιησους υ. σειραχ* (*σιραχ* [A], *σειρακ* [ℵ]), *ελεαζαρ* [in other MSS *-ρος* or *-ρου*]; Slag subscription: 'Yeshua' h. Shimeon, who is called Bar Asira' [in some MSS 'Sirak'], and in the title 'Barsira'; Swal, title: 'Y. b. Shim'on Asira,' and also 'Bar Asira'; *Book of the Bee* (*Anecd. Oxon* Sem. Series i. 279): 'Shim'on h. Sira'; Talmud, 'Ben-Sira:'

In this medley of readings two things seem clear. The author's name proper was Yēshūaʿ (Jesus): so he is called by the Greek translator in his prologue; and his familiar surname was Ben-Sira, as all ancient authorities attest. The significance of the other names is less clear.

The Hebrew text and Saadia must be changed so as to read 'Yeshua' b. Shim'on' (cp Zunz, *GV* 106), and the whole name, as given by them, may then he accepted (so Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mittheil.* 5 200; Blau in *REJ* 35 20, and Kautzsch). In that case we may suppose that 𝔊 and S have abridged the genealogy, and that the form in the *Book of the Bee* is defective. This seems to he the most natural construction of the data. It is less probable that 'Shim'on' (Simon) and 'Eleazar' are scribal additions, the former made in order to connect the author with the famous high priest of that name (50 1),[1] the latter in order to connect him with the high priest (the brother and successor of Simon I.) to whom, according to the 'Letter of Aristeas,' Ptolemy Philadelphus sent his request for the translation of the Torah (Fritzsche). This sort of invention of a genealogy would be very bold, and would hardly he called for by Ben-Sira's position as a sage. Nor is it likely that 'Eleazar' is another name of Sira (Krauss, in *JQR*, Oct. 1898). It is simpler to suppose that Simon and Eleazar (the names are common) were men otherwise unknown—father and grandfather of the author.[2]

We may thus assume that the name of the author in the Greek Version, Yēshūaʿ Ben-Sira, rests on a good tradition. The origin and signification of the 'Ben-Sira' are not clear; the most probable view is that it is a family name, though we know nothing of how it arose.

Blan (in *REJ* 35 20) refers to the family names *Bĕnē Ḥezīr* (Chwolson, *Corp. Inscr. Heb.* 65) and *Bĕnē Hashmōnai*. Of 'Sira' nothing is known. the word (apparently Aram.) may mean 'coat of mail' or 'thorn"; it does not occur elsewhere in this form as a proper name. The 'Asira' of Pesh. seems to be a scribal error (cp the 'Barsira' of the title in Slag). Krauss, however (in *JQR*, Oct. 1898), holds 'Sira' to he an abbreviation of an original 'Asira' = Heb. אסיר 'bound,' which occurs in lists of priests (Ex. *6 24* 1 Ch. 3 17). This is possible (Krauss cites examples of similar abridgments); but the testimony of the primary Vss. is against it; and the Ar. Vs. (as Edersheim points out), which commonly follows Syr., has 'Jesū' h. Sirach. The Gk. form, with final χ (or κ), is best explained as intended to show that the foreign word is indeclinable (see Dalm. *Gram.* 161, n. 6); cp *ακελδαμαχ* = חקל דמא (ACELDAMA, 5 1).

The genealogies in 50 27 51 30 have only the authority of tradition—they are not from the hand of the author. He is described in 50 27 in the Greek and Latin Vss. as a 'Jerusalemite,' a statement in itself not improbable—it is in keeping with the detailed description of the high-priestly ritual in 50; but since it is not found in the H. and S. it cannot be regarded as certain. One Gk. MS calls him a 'priest'; but this is merely a scribal error.

Instead of *ιεροσολυμειτης* ℵ* has *ιερευς ο σολ.* This error seems to have given rise to further unwarranted statements (see below). Cp the argument of Krauss in *JQR*, Oct. 1898.

As to Ben-Sira's life we have only the general conclusions which may be drawn from the nature of his thought and from a few references which he makes to his experiences. He seems to have been a Palestinian sage, a philosophical observer of life, an ardent Israelite and devoted lover of the Torah, but probably neither a priest[3]

[1] So Bar-Hebræus.

[2] On the Eleazar b. Irai (Iri) from whom Saadia (ס׳ הגלוי ed. Hark. 178) quotes a saying which is attributed in the Talmud to Ben-Sira and is found in our Greek (3 21 *f.*), see Bacher, *Agad. d. pal. Amor.* 2 11 n. 5, C. and N., *Eccles.* 11, and Blan, in *REJ* 35 24. It seems likely that 'Irai' is a corruption of 'Sira' (see the full name in the Hebrew); the work cited by Saadia was possibly a different recension of Ben-Sira (Blau). **But** this Eleazar cannot he the Talmudic doctor Eleazar b. Pedat, who frequently cites Ben-Sira (Harkavy, Bacher).

[3] Schiir. (*Hist.* 5 25), referring to the erroneous statement of

(Zunz, Noldeke) nor a *sōfēr* (Fritzsche) (see SCRIBE), unless that term be understood in a very wide sense (see § 21). He had too wide a circle of interests to be easily identified with either of those classes, though he was in close relation with them both; and he may perhaps be best described as one who sympathised with that mode of thought which after his time developed into Sadduceeism. He early devoted himself to the pursuit of wisdom, travelled much, was often exposed to danger, and sometimes near to death (34 11 *f.* 51), and his book was probably composed in his riper years.

3. Original language. Until quite recently the work was known to modern scholars only in scanty citations and in translations (Gk., Lat., Syr., and versions derived from them). According to the Greek translator's preface, it was originally written in 'Hebiew,' a term which might mean either Hebrew proper or Aramaic. On this point the citations of Rabbinical writers (*Pirke Aboth*, *Pirke* of *R. Nathan*, etc.)—sometimes without acknowledgment, sometimes under the name of Ben-Sira, sometimes in Hebrew, sometimes in Aramaic or debased form—were not decisive, since it was not certain that they came from a Hebrew original; and even the quotations of Saadia (10th cent.), which are in classical Hebrew, were similarly open to suspicion. After this the traces of a Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus become indistinct, and knowledge of such a book did not reach the Christian world (see Cowley and Neubauer's *Ecclesiasticus*). Still, that its language was Hebrew, not Aramaic, had been inferred by critics from certain obvious errors in the Greek Version—for example, 24 27, 'light' for 'Nile' (יאר); 25 15, 'head' for 'poison' (ריש); 46 18, 'Tyrians' for 'enemies' (צרים). It was thought probable, also, that, since the Palestinian vernacular of the time was Aramaic, and Hebrew was a learned language, the author's vocabulary, whilst based on the Hebrew Sacred Writings (with which he was familiar), would contain late-Hebrew and Aramaic words and expressions.

4. Hebrew MSS. Under these circumstances it was natural that the discoverv of a Hebrew text of Dart of the book should awaken keen interest. One leaf (containing 39 15-40 7, with a hint of *v.* 8) was brought from the East to Cambridge by Mrs. Lewis,[1] and in a box of fragments acquired for the Bodleian Library (through Sayce) Cowley and Neubauer found nine leaves, apparently of the same MS (40 9-49 11); eleven[2] leaves (3 6*b*-7 29*a* 11 34 6 12 2-16 26 of a second MS [A], 30 11-31 11 32 1*bc*-33 3 35 9-20 36 1-21 37 27-31 38 1-27 49 12-51 30 of the first MS [B]) were discovered by Schechter in the fragments brought by him from the Cairo *gĕnīzah*; and in matter recently acquired by the British Museum other fragments (of MS B) were found (31 12-31 36 22-37 26); these all together give the greater part of chaps. 3-7 12-16 30-32 35-51,—about one-half of the book.[3]

The texts discovered down to the end of 1899[4] appear to belong to at least two different MSS, A and B.

Syncellus (*Chron.* ed. Dindorf, 1, 525) that Ben-Sira was high priest, remarks that it mnst have arisen from the fact that in the Chronicle of Eus. (*ad Ol.* 137 *f.*), which Syncellus used, Ben-Sira is mentioned (though only as the author of *Sapientia*) just after the high priest Simon II. Other untenable opinions are that he is the unworthy Jason (=Jesus, high priest 175-172 B.C.), or that he was a physician (inferred by Grotius from 38 1-15). See Wette, *Spez. Einl. in d. deuterokan. Büch.*, Edersheim.

[1] The recognition of this text is due to S. Schechter, Reader in Talmudic at the University of Cambridge, now also Professor of Hebrew in University College, London.

[2] On the two leaves discovered later, *see* below, n. 4*a*.

[3] The first Cambridge leaf and the Oxford leaves were published by Cowley and Neubauer, with the Gk., Lat. and Syr. texts ('97), the eleven Genizah fragments by Schechter and Taylor ('99), and the Brit. Mus. fragments by G. Margoliouth (in *JQR*, Oct. '99). See below, § 26 *a*.

[4] [*a*. Early in 1900 Schechter found two leaves (α.—4 23*b* 30 *f.* 5 4-7 9-13 *36* 19*a*; β.—25 8*b* *7 3* 17-24 *26* 1 2*a*) of, apparently, a third MS (C Schech.: published in *JQR* 12 456-465 [Ap. 1900]).

b. About the same time I. Levi discovered fragments of two MSS: (i.) apparently a third leaf of the MS just spoken of, Schechter's C (Lévi calls it D), containing 6 18-7 25 in arecension

The one A (chaps. 3-16), is written without metrical division of lines, it8 marginal notes, corrections of obvious scribal errors, are few (only four, besides the insertion of an omitted verse), and its abbreviation of the divine name is triangular (ייי); the other, B (chaps. 30-51), is written stichometrically (except **46** 17-20), part of it (to 45 8) has numerous glosses (among them four in Persian), and its abbreviation of the divine name is horizontal (ייי). In A there is predominant agreement with the Syriac; in B (except in chaps. 50 *f.*) the agreements with the Greek against the Syriac are more numerous; in chap. **51**, after *v.* 12 is inserted a hymn which is not found in the Vss.[1]

The MSS (assigned by Cowley and Neubauer, and by Schechter, provisionally, to the 11th cent.), with the exception of a few passages, are very carelessly written, abounding in errors, not all of which are corrected.

The scribes appear to have been not very well acquainted with Hebrew; they sometimes make several futile attempts at the correction of particular words or expressions. In the glossed portion the annotator seems to have been a man whose vernacular was Persian; at 35 20 he notes in Persian the omission of a verse; at **40** 22, where the margin gives a saying ascribed in the B. Talmud (*Sank.* 100*b*) to Ben-Sira, he remarks that this was probably not in the original copy [of Ben-Sira]; and at the point where the glosses cease (**458**) he explains that this MS reached thus far. This last remark appears to mean that the MS which he was copying ended here; and in that case it is probable that the remainder (through chap. **51**) belongs to another MS. With the supposition that the copyist or annotator lived where Arabic was spoken accords the fact that several Arahisms occur in the MS: חלק in the sense of 'create,' **31** 13 (doublet), 31 **33** (doublet), **38** 1 39 25, **40** 1; perhaps רעה as = 'honour,' 35 1; in **43** 8*d* מערץ = معرض 'presenting one's self,' is an explanation or correction of the word in the text, מרצף; Hi. of שׂרק as = 'shine,' 43 9 (marg.); perhaps in 42 11*e* a scribe understood ܩܒܩ as Arabic ('lattice'). The MS has evidently not only suffered from the ordinary carelessness of copyists, but also passed through the hands of an ignorant Arabic-speaking man who freely inserted terms of his Arabic vocabulary.

If we omit Arabisms and other scribal faults, the diction of the text is that of a man who, while his vernacular is that of an incipient late-Hebrew, similar to that of Ḳōhéleth (Eccles.), is familiar with the greater part of the Hebrew OT, and freely quotes or imitates its language.[2] According to Bacher (*JQR*, 1897) and Schechter (*op. cit.* **28**) the text exhibits post-Talmudical mosaic (*paitanic*) features, that is to say, a number of ready-made expressions and phrases borrowed from the OT. This, however, seems to be too strong a statement—the language of Ben-Sira rarely produces the impression of being artificial or lacking in spontaneity. Nor can it be said to contain midrashic elements (so Schechter, *op. cit.*, 29 *ff.*), if by 'midrash' is meant the style of the Talmud.

As examples of mosaic work Bacher cites **45** 11 (cp Is. **54** 12) 46 9 (cp Dt. 23 29) 39 27 (cp Job 9 5) 47 20 (cp Gen. 49 4) 44 21 (cp Ps. **728**) 48 2 (cp Lev. 26 26), etc.; Schechter, **428** (cp Ex. **14** 14) 14**23** (cp Judg. 5 28) **35 15** (cp Lam. **1** 2) **49** 16 (cp Is. **44** 13), etc. These are cases of adoption and adaptation; but they hardly deserve to he called mosaic work.

Schechter's instances of midrash are not convincing. The confession of intellectual or religious limitations in 3 18-24 is not necessarily an adaptation of Ps. **131** 1 (in which the reference is political)—it may be based on Job **43** 3; puns (G 17*b* ***a***, **22** 1) are common in OT: **15** 9 (cp Ps. 33 1) and **47** 22*c* (cp Ps. **145** 20) are 'commonplace' inferences; in 16 7 the allusion (Gen. 6 1-4) is not to the 'sons of the Elōhim' but to the 'Nephilim' (cp Ezek. **32** 27); the lesson derived in 38 5 from Ex. **15** 24 is very simple—there are many such interpretations in *Wisd. of Sol.*, and so of the legend possihly alluded to in the obscure statement in **44** 16; the borrowing, in **45** 15*c*, of the expressions of Ps. 89 30 is not remarkable; that Samuel was a Nazirite (46 13*c*) is a natural inference from 1 S. **1** 11—there is no need of the formal Rabbinical rule גזירה שוה—and the simile in **47** 2 (cp Ps. 89 20 Lev.48) is equally natural for a man interested in the temple-ritual; text and translation of **47** 10*c* are doubtful (the couplet is lacking in S.), and the comparison with the Talmudic legend (of David awaking at midnight, *Ber.* 3 6) is precarious; 49 1 may be based on Cant. **1** 3 (so Schechter), or, what is equally probable, it may come from the same literary tendency that produced the simile in Canticles. The passages above cited may he taken to show the beginning of the mode of thought that later produced the Talmudic midrash. In this sense only can we adopt Schechter's conclusion: 'if he thought like a Rabbi he wrote like a Paitan.'[1]

Over and above these characteristics of the Hebrew MSS the question has been raised whether the test is substantially the original Hebrew or only a translation, and both views are strenuously maintained by competent critics. Those who regard it as a translation refer it either (i.) to a Persian or (ii.) to a Syriac source.

5. Relation to Original.

i. The opinion that it is the rendering of a Persian version (which itself is held to have been derived from the Syriac and the Greek) is based partly on the presence of Persian glosses, partly on the supposition that certain doubtful or incorrect expressions result from the misunderstanding of Persian words; the hypothesis is that the Syriac version used was revised from the Greek, and this revised text was rendered from Persian into Hebrew by an unintelligent Persian Jew who knew neither Syriac nor Greek. This theory is incompatible with the known facts: the agreements (often literal) and the disagreements of the Hebrew with the primary Versions make it practically inconceivable that it could have arisen in the way described. The alleged explanations of obscure Hebrew expressions as misunderstandings of Persian terms must be regarded as accidental coincidences, or, possibly, as in some cases due to a Persian-speaking scribe. So far as the theory supposes a Syriac-Greek basis for the Persian version it falls in with the other view that the Hebrew is a translation of the Syriac, on which see below.

The argument for a Persian origin of the Hebrew is made by D. S. Margoliouth in his essay ***The origin of** the 'original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus* (1899). His points are not convincing. The Persian glosses merely show the hand of a Persian copyist or annotator, who was a critic, as appears from his remark on the addition at 40 22 (see above, § 4). The absurd or impossible Hebrew words cited by Margoliouth are scribal errors, and may be got rid of by emendation (*e.g.* ***40*** 26*c* 16 43 6 17*c* 22 **42** 14 **41** 12 **473 46** 11); cp Smend and Kautzsch. Prof. Margoliouth does not distinguish between author and copyist; the latter may have used Arabic words (**43** 9 8*d* 4). The most striking case of apparent rendering from Persian is in **43** 13, where **G** has 'snow' (Pers. برف) and H[2] 'lightning' (Pers. برق)—obviously, says Margoliouth, H misunderstood the Persian; hut the force of this argument is practically destroyed by Margoliouth's remark that 𝔊 is corrupt and should read 'storm,' which may represent an original Hebrew ברק. Other such cases cited are forced (**43** 2 6 17*c* 22). Margoliouth adds (*Exp. T.*, Nov. 1899) that the Cairene text cannot be genuine, since it was known to no mediæval author hut Saadia;[3] in reply König, Schechter, and Abrahams point out (*Exp. T.* Dec. 1899) that such ignorance of a book is no proof that it did not exist (*e.g.*, Rashi seems not to have known the Jer. Talmud), and that Ben-Sira was probably used by the Synagogal hymnologists (*paitanim*).

ii. The apparent dependence of the Hebrew on the Syriac presents a more serious problem. There are certain cases in which the reading of H seems inexplicable except as a misunderstanding of S. The cases are **few** in chaps. 1-16 (which are written as prose), more numerous in 30-51 (written stichometrically). On the other hand H sometimes agrees with G against S, sometimes differs from both, sometimes appears to account for one or both. Further, in a considerable number of cases certain Greek MSS (especially $\aleph^{c.a}$, and No. 248 of Holmes and Parsons) agree with H (and often with S and L) against the Vatican Greek

different from that in Camb. MS A: the text is abridged by the omission of *6* 20-27 **29-34** 36 *f.* **7 3** 5 6*c*-16 17-19 22. (ii.) a leaf of, apparently, a fourth MS ($C^{Lév.}$), containing 36 24-38 1: it is thus parallel to most of the second Brit. Mus. fragment (of MS B) and the upper part of the following Camh. leaf (of B). It gives in its text some of the glosses on the margin of the Camh. B and has one verse (**37** 3) punctuated and accentuated.

Both Lévi's fragments are published (with facsimile of the new MS [ii.]) in *REJ* **40** 1-30 [antedated Jan.-Mar. 1900].

c. Lastly, E. N. Adler discovered the two leaves of MS A missing between $A2^v$ and $A3^r$—viz., 7 29-12 1 (8 2 showing *Kr.* and *Kt.* and several ***vv.*** being supplied with vowels and accents): published (with facsimile) in *JQR* 12 466-480 (**Ap.** 1900).]

[1] For detailed descriptions of MS B see Cowley and Neubauer, Smend, Lévi (below, § 26 *a* i.); for description of MSS A and B, Schechter and Taylor (below, § 26 *a* ii.). [For the other MSS see preceding note.]

[2] Schechter, in his *Ben Sira*, 13 *ff.*, gives a long list of parallelisms, some of which, however, are common expressions familiar to every educated Jew. In the prologue Ben-Sira is said to have been **a** diligent student of the Scriptures.

[1] On the *paitans*, the late Jewish hymn-writers, *see* Zunz *GV*(2), 393, Gratz, *Gesch.* [*Hist. of the Jews*], vol. 3, chap. *4*.

[2] In the following discussion H = 'Hehrew,' S = 'Syriac' (S^{wal} = Walton's text, S^{lag} = Lagarde's, S^{H} = Hexaplar text), G = Gk.

[3] Even this he nnw questions (*JQR* **12** 502-531 [Ap. 1900], '*The Sepher ha-Gālūy*'). Cp Noldeke in *ZATW* 20 81-94.

text. Add to this that not a few citations in the Talmud and in Saadia agree with H (sometimes against 𝔊 and S), and it becomes probable that H represents a genuine Hebrew text of Ben-Sira, which, however, has been altered in some places so as to agree with the Syriac, and bristles, besides, with errors of copyists. The result is that many passages present perplexing problems, and the details of the history of the text have yet to be made out.

The following are examples of passages in which H seems to follow S :—

3 13 עווב='pardon,' after S שבק (unless 'ע be late Heb.); **31** 15, H=𝔊 nearly (for שנאת read עשית), and doublet of 15*a*= S—to this last is attached the line=𝔊 S *r6a* with marginal variant nearly=S 16*b*; of 5 16 there is **a** doublet very corrupt. Margoliouth *(Origin*, etc., 15*f.*) cites 42 11*e*, where H אשנב 'lattice') may he **a** misunderstanding of S שבק (in Arab.= 'lattice'), and 43 2, H מה as misunderstanding of S מנא (hut H may be merely a scribal error). LBvi (*REJ*, July 1899) regards the acrostic in chap. 51 as translated from S : *v.* 28 the unintelligible רבים is a misunderstanding of S סגי *(v.* 27), and is transposed so as to obscure the initial ש of *v.* 28, and *v.* 14=S which is composed of lines belonging to two different couplets, there are doublets in which one verse=G, the other S **(30** 17 20, etc.); and in 30 20 **H** נאמן='faithful' **(a** sense here inapposite) is **a** reproduction of S מהימנא 'eunuch' (which the connection requires). Bickell (in *WZKM*, 13 251-256 ['99]) takes the same view of the acrostic as Lévi, and further instances **12** 11, where H קנאה 'jealousy,' he holds, is a misunderstanding of S קנאת 'has made black' (from κυάνεος).

These examples (to which others might he added) appear to show, not that H is a translation of S, but that it has passed through the hands of a man or of men (of some of whom Arabic was the vernacular) familiar with S, and in places has been conformed thereto in text or margin.

Where the three (HGS) agree, no conclusion as to priority can be drawn. Where only two agree, the third may be preferable, as in 6 22 where S 'fools' snits the connection better. than HG 'many.' The numerous cases, however, in which H agrees, wholly or in part, with G against S indicate a Hebrew text independent of S: see, for example, 5 5 6 a **7 4** 12 10 18 **14** 10 17 **15** 2 *f.* 17 **166 32** 3 1j 39 16. It is possible in such cases to suppose **a** correction of H after G; but the hypothesis of emendations derived from both S and G is a complicated one. Moreover, in some passages H seems to be better than G and S : cp 46 10c **1426*f.* 15** 14 19 16 14.

On the inferences to be drawn from the still (March, 1900) unpublished fragments (see above col. 1166, n. 4), see SIRACH.

6. Versions. Of the ancient Versions the Greek and the Syriac are renderings of Hebrew texts, the Latin is **a** translation from the Greek.

Critical editions of the Greek and Syriac texts are still desiderata, though valuable remarks **are** made by Fritzsche, Edersheim, Lévi, Bacher, and others.

The Hebrew, soon after its composition. was translated into Greek by the author's grandson (see his prologue), who had gone to live in Egypt, and desired to make the work accessible to his Greek-speaking fellow-citizens. He was clearly a man of piety and good general culture, with a fair command of Hebrew and Greek—a consistent Jew, yet probably not unaffected by Greek influences. His translation is not seldom obscure from its literalness and compression ; in the prologue his style is freer and more ambitious. His name and history are unknown.

By Epiphanius (*l.c.*) he is called 'Jesus,' and in a second prologue or preface found in the *Synop. Script. Sanct.* of Pseudo-Athanasius (and in Cod. 248 and Comp. Polygl.), 'Jesus son of Sirach.' Neither Epiphanius nor the confessedly late second prologue (see Fritzsche's Comm.) can be considered authoritative on this point. The statement may be true, but is more probably **a** guess, or based on a misunderstanding of Ecclus. 50 27.

The Greek represents a faithful translation of the original; but its text is not in good condition, and in many cases it is hardly possible to do more than give a conjectural emendation. A similar remark applies to the Syriac, which likewise is based on the Hebrew, but may in some places have been influenced by the Greek.[1]

[1] The book has been translated into Heb. by J. L. Ben-Zeeb (Breslau, 1798, Vienna, 1828) [by Joshua b. Sam. Hesel from German (Warsaw, 1842)], and by S. J. Fraenkel (Leipsic, '30); chap. **24** by Bishop Lowth (reproduced in Fritzsch's Comm.) and by Wessely; chap. 51 by Bi., and some verses hy D. S. Margoliouth *(Place of Ecclus. in Sem. Lit.*, Oxf., '90).

For an account of the MSS of G see Fritzsche, Edersheim, Hatch, Schlatter, Nestle (in *PRE*(3), *s.v. Bibelübersetzungen*), and Kautzsch (below, § *26)*. All appear to go back to one archetypal text, for the displacement of chapters (see below) is found in **all** except No. 248, and this has probably been corrected. *(a)* The great uncials, %, ℵ, C, and partly A, though comparatively free from glosses, give an inferior text; (β) the better form is preserved in V (Cod. Venetus=No. 23 of Holmes and Parsons), in ℵ$^{c.a}$, in part of **A,** and in certain cursives, of which the most remarkable are Nos. **248** (followed in Compl., Poly. and Eng. AV) and **253** (which agrees strikingly with S^{H}), though these have many glosses. The history of these two subdivisions is obscure; the, first *(a)* has been called Palestinian, the second (β) Alexandrian ; but this is not certain.[1] With the second agree largely L and S. These Vss. then appear to represent a text earlier than that of the Greek uncials ; and our Hebrew fragments, which so often accord with S, may have a history like that of the Greek cursives—they may represent an early text which has been greatly corrupted by glosses, though, they have suffered more than the Greek from scribal miswriting. The Gk. glosses resemble those of 𝔊 in Proverbs; they are expansions of the thought, or Hellenizing interpretations, **or** additions from current collections of gnomic sayings.

The Peshiṭta Syriac is now considered by scholars, with scarcely an exception, to be a translation from the Hebrew; see especially Edersheim. It is **a** generally faithful and intelligent rendering, not without misconceptions, expansions, condensations, and glosses, but on the whole simple and intelligible. In some cases (as in 43 2 *f.*) it agrees curiously with the Greek; but it is a question whether in such cases S follows G or the two follow the same Hebrew.

The Vss. derived from 𝔊 are valuable primarily for the establishment of the Gk. text, sometimes also for the Heb. For particular discussions (Old Lat., Copt., Eth., Hexapl. Syr., Arm.), and for Pesh. Syr. see Edersheim, Nestle, and Kautzsch.

In the body of the work there is only one mark of date : the list of great men (44-50) closes with the name

7. Date: Simon. of the high priest Simon, son of Onias, who, because he stands last and is described at great length and with great enthusiasm, may be supposed to have lived somewhere near the author's time. There were two high priests of this name: Simon I., son of Onias I. *(circa* B.C. 310-290), and Simon II., son of Onias II. (*circa* 218-198) : lack of material makes it hard to determine from the name which of the two is here meant.

(a) Of the first, Josephus relates (*Ant.* xii. 2 5) that, on account of his piety and kindliness, he was surnamed 'the Just'; the second *(Ant.* xii. 4 10 *f.*) intervened in the quarrel of the sons of Tobias and the banished Hyrcanus, though it does not follow that he was friendly to the worse side of the party.[2]

(*b*) Another datum is found in the Mishna-tract *Aboth*, 1 2, in which it is said that Simon the Just was one of the last members (משירי)[3] of the Great Synagogue; the Talmud, further, surrounds this Simon with **a** halo of legend. Though the 'Great Synagogue is largely or wholly legendary (cp CANON, § 18), the high priest, Simon the Just, is doubtless a historical and important personage; but is he to be identified with Simon I. or with Simon II.? Josephus favours the former possibility; but the authority of Josephus on such a point is by no means unimpeachable. In the Talmudic tradition Simon seems to represent a turning-point in the national fortunes : after him, it is said, the signs of divine favour in the temple service began to fail; hut this condition of things may be referred, not without probability either to Simon I. (Edersheim) or to Simon 11. (Derenbourg). in the list of bearers of the tradition in *Aboth* Simon is followed by Antigonos of Soko, and he by the two named Jose, who belonged in the second cent. B.C. ; this would point clearly to Simon 11. as 'the Just,' if the chronology of the tract could be relied on; this, however, is not the case—the Jewish chronology of the period is of the vaguest sort.[4]

(c) Further, in Ecclus. Simon is lauded for having repaired the temple and fortified it and the city; Uerenbourg, referring to the letter of Antiochus the Great (Jos. *Ant.* **xii. 13** 3) concerning the finishing of the temple, thinks that this identifies Ben-Sira's Simon with Simon II. ; Edersheim answers that the city needed fortifying in the time of Simon I., but not under Simon II.; and Bois insists that, though the temple may have been finished under Simon II., it may none the less have been repaired under Simon I. Compare Halévy (*Rev. Sém.* July, '99) and Kautzsch.

(*d*) Haltvy (*l.c.*) argues for Simon I. on the ground that a considerable time between author and translator is required in

[1] In fifty-six quotations by Clem.Alex. from Ben-Sira Edersheim found five which corresponded markedly with the text of No. 248.

[2] The story of him in 2 Macc. 3 is obviously a legend, but may perhaps bear witness to the esteem in which he was held in later times.

[3] Cp A. Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, 4 286.

[4] Simon is not called 'the Just' in the present text of Ecclus., perhaps (Bois) because the epithet had not yet been applied to him. Grätz, however, discovers the term in 50 24, following the Syriac ('with Simon' instead of 'with us'), only reading חסידה for חסדה *(Gesch. der Juden*, 2 235 n.).

.order to account for the errors in the Greek text and for the fact that the translator had lost the tradition of the meaning of the Hebrew. This ground is not decisive. Whether in the translator's time the exegetical tradition had been lost cannot he determined till we have a correct Hebrew text; and the scribal errors of 𝔊 are due to copyists after the translator's time. Further, on Halévy's own ground, an interval of fifty or sixty years would account for much.

(e) Finally, the connection of Ben-Sira's discourse may seem to point to the earlier high priest, for Simon (50) really follows on Nehemiah (49 13), the intervening verses interrupting the chronological order,[1] and we should then naturally think of Simon I.; hut here, again, the Jewish conception of chronology makes the conclusion uncertain : the author may easily have passed on a century later.

Of these data the most that can be said is that they slightly favour the second Simon as the hero of Ben-Sira's chap. **50.**

A more definite sign of date is found in the preface of the Greek translator, who says that he came to Egypt 'in the thirty-eighth year ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως.' This, it is true, may mean either the thirty-eighth year of the life of the writer or the thirty-eighth regnal year of Euergetes; but there seems to be no reason why the translator should here give his own age, whilst the mention of the king's year (the common OT chronological datum) is natural.[2]

8. Euergetes.

If this interpretation be adopted, the date of the translation is approximately given. Of the two Ptolemies called Euergetes, the first reigned only twenty-five years (247-222) and is thus excluded; the second, surnamed Physcon, reigned fifty-four years in all, partly as co-regent (170-145) and partly as sole king (145-116). It appears that in his thirty-eighth year, 132 B.C., the translator reached Egypt, and the translation was in that case made a few years later. The author's date may thence be fixed; for in the prologue the translator calls the author his **πάππος**, a term which is here most naturally taken in its ordinary sense of 'grandfather.'[3] The composition of the book would thus fall in the first quarter of the second century—a date which agrees with that of the high priest Simon II.

This date is further favoured by indications (1) in the book itself : by the picture of national oppression given in 233 33 1-13 36 16-22 (EV 36 1-17) (up to the end of the third century the Jews enjoyed comparative quiet, and for the Maccabean period we should expect a more poignant tone of suffering); by the traces of Greek influence on the thought—as in the personifications of wisdom in chaps. 1 24—and by the acquaintance with Greek customs, as the having music at feasts, 35 3-6; (2) in the translation, by signs of acquaintance with the LXX version of the Torah, as in 17 17 (after the Greek of Dt. 32 8 *f.*), 44 16[4] (𝔊 Gen. 5 24);[5] and (3) in the translator's preface by the reference to three divisions or canons of the Hebrew Scriptures.[6]

9. Internal evidence.

[1] The section 49 14-16 seems to be an addition by a scribe or by an editor (possibly by the translator) for the purpose of introducing names (Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Adam) omitted by the author. Chap. 44 16 (Enoch), wanting in the Syr., may be a late addition. In the Hebrew a scribe has repeated *17a* in *16a*; in the rest 𝔊 = H, except that for דעת (perhaps taken as ='thought') it has μετανοίας (perhaps an error for ἐννοίας); 16*b* seems to be in part copied from 49 14, in part a repetition from 44 14. The expression 'an example of knowledge (or thought) to all generations' is strange; we should in any case omit 'knowledge' (with 𝔊253 SH).

[2] The Greek construction (absence of article before ἐπί) has been objected to as hard; but Hag. 1 1 2 1, Zech. 1 7 7 1, 1 Macc. 13 42 14 27 prove that it is possible (see note by Ezra Abbot in Amer. ed. of Smith's *DB*). For examples of this use of ἐπὶ in inscriptions see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 255 *ff.* ['95].

[3] It sometimes means 'ancestor'; but in such cases the connection usually indicates the wider sense (Seligmann).

[4] Ecclus. 44 16 is, however, probably an interpolation (see above, § 7, last n.).

[5] *See* also 20 29 (Dt. 16 19) 44 17-21 (Gen. 6 9 17 4 22 18) 45 8 *f.* (Ex. 38 35 *f.*?) 49 7 (Jer. 1 10) 46 19 (1 S. 12 3 cp Gen. 14 23).

[6] This, of course, does not imply that the canons were completed in his time. The omission of the names of Ezra, Daniel, and Mordecai in the list of great men is to be noted. Daniel, if he had been known to the author, would certainly have been mentioned just before or after Ezekiel (49 8 *f.*); 49 12 *f.*, near which we should expect the other two to appear, are not found in our Hebrew fragments, but the versions show no sign of a lost passage. If the three had been inadvertently omitted, they would probably have been added, as are Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, and

(4) Another note of date might be drawn from the relation of Ecclus. to the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; but to exhibit it clearly would require a detailed examination of those two books. The three appear, by their thought (Proverbs in its latest recension), to be the product of a well-advanced stage of Græco-Jewish culture.[1]

The book was never admitted into the Jewish and Christian canons (CANON, §§ 39, *47*). Among other reasons it is enough to mention that, unlike some other late books (Cant., Prov., Dan., Eccles.), it was not issued undcr the authority of a great national name : the schools accepted from Solomon what they would not accept from Joshua ben-Sira. The work, though not canonised, was highly esteemed, and is frequently cited in Talmud and Midrash, sometimes by name, sometimes anonymously.[2] There are also many coincidences of thought between Ecclus. and the Talmud, which, however, do not necessarily show that the latter borrowed directly from the former. Further, not all the citations in the Talmud are now to be found in our text and versions of Ecclus.; these latter are perhaps incomplete, or perhaps Ben-Sira became a name to which anonymous proverbs were attached. Later he is cited by Nathan (9th cent.) and Saadia (10th cent.). There is a second collection, entitled 'The Alphabet of Ben-Sira,'[3] apparently compiled late in the Talmudic period, in which, along with genuine material (cited in the Talmud), there are sayings that seem not to belong to Ben-Sira. The translation of some of his proverbs into Aramaic and the spurious additions to his work show the estimation in which he was held by his co-religionists.[4] He was not less esteemed by the early Christians. It is not clear that he is cited in the NT;[5] but he is frequently appealed to in post-biblical Christian writers, under a variety of names, or anonymously, and with different introductory formulas. Though his book was never formally recognised as canonical (it is found in no canonical list), it is quoted as 'scripture,' 'divine scripture,' 'prophetical,' and was appealed to in support of church doctrine.

10. Fortunes of the book.

The first example of its use is found in the Ep. of Barnahas, 19; cp Ecclus. 4 31. After this it is quoted by Clem.Alex., Orig., Cypr., August., Jer., Greg.Naz., Greg.Nyss., Chrys., Cyr.Alex., Joan.Damasc., Theophyl., Leo the Great, Greg. I., Alcuin, though not by Justin, Iren., or Eus. Athan. (*Ep. Fest.* 39) distinguishes it from the books called 'apocryphal,' and August. (***Civ. Dei*** 17 20) declares that only the unlearned ascribed it to Solomon. Jer. seems to have been the first to draw the line sharply between it and the canonical hooks. Aelfric, Archbishop of Canterbury (see Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, 209), speaks of the book as read in the churches. By Luther and other Protestant writers of the sixteenth cent. it was treated with great respect.[6]

The book naturally divides itself, according *to* the subject-matter, into sections. Chap. 1 is a general

Adam, in 49 14-16. The natural inference is that our books of Daniel, Esther, and Ezra did not exist in Ben-Sira's time. Nöldeke (*ZATW*, 20 88 *f.*) would add to these Chron.

[1] For further discussions of the date of Ecclus. see Fritzsche's Comm. (in *KGH*), Derenbourg (*Géogr.*), Seligmann (*Weish. d. Jes. Sir.*), Edersheim (*Comm. on Ecclus.* in Wace's *Apocr.*), Bois, *Orig. de la phil. judéo-alex.*; Kautzsch (*Apokr.*), Halévy (*Rev. Sém.*, '99); and, for the relation between Ecclus. and Proverbs, O. Holtzmann in *GVI* (Oncken's series), 2 292; Che. *Job* and *Sol.* 184.

[2] For a list of quotations from Ecclus. in Talm. and Rabb. literature see *Ecclus.*, ed. Cowley and Neuh., where also are given references to Bacher, Gaster, Schechter, and others. Cp, further, Dukes, *Rabbin. Blumenlese*, Geiger, *Aboth* (in his *Nachgelass. Schrift.* iv.). In his *Secrets* Charles cites passages in that work which appear to he taken from or based on Ecclus.; cp Ecclus. 1 2 with *Secrets*, 47 5; 2 4 with 51 3; 7 33 with 42 11 51 1; 14 19 with 65 11, etc.

[3] *See* Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr.*; Dukes, *ut sup.*; Cowley and Neub., *Ecclus.*; Steinschneider, *Alphabet. Sirac. utrumque.* The work consists of two alphabetical lists of proverhs, one Aram., the other Hebrew, with commentary. Another late collection is given by J. Drusius, *Proverbia Ben Sira*, Franeker, 1507.

[4] The Talmud seems not quite sure of the work, placing it sometimes among the external and forbidden books, sometimes among the כתובים (citing it with the formula שנאמר).

[5] Among the more promising passages are Ja. 1 2-4 (cp Ecclus. 2 1-5), Lk. 12 19 *ff.* (cp Ecclus. 29 12 *f.*) and Ja. 1 19 (cp Ecclus. 5 11).

[6] On the attitude of modern churches towards the OT Apocr. see Bissell, *Apocr.* (Gen. Introd.), and Zöckler, *Einl.* in vol. ix. of Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgef. Komm.*

introduction; 33 (36 1-17) is a prayer for Israel; 42 15-50 26 is a separate discourse (praise of great men); 50 27-29 is a colophon (probably by an editor); and 51 is an appended prayer and exhortation.

11. Structure. In the body of the work new starting-points are indicated at 16 24 [22] 24 1 and 39 12, and there are further paragraphal divisions (marked by the address 'my son') at 2 1 3 17 4 1 6 18 23 32, etc., besides the subdivisions obvious in the subject matter (see the headings in the Greek Version). Beyond this paragraphal and sectional arrangement it seems impossible to discover any plan in the book.[1] It consists, like Proverbs, of a mass of observations on life, put together in the interests not of logical order but of edification.

12. Dislocation. A curious arrangement of material is found in most Greek MSS (in all hitherto examined on this point except No. 248 of Holmes and Parsons): the section 33 *16*-*36* 11 is placed after 30 24.[2]

The right order is given in the Pesh., the Latin, the Armenian, and the G MS No. 248 (which is followed by Complut., as this last is followed in EV). The cause of the derangement was probably the displacement of rolls of the G MS from which most existing MSS are derived,[3] or possibly of the Heb. MS from which the Gk. translation was made. Similar instances of displacement are mentioned hy Fritzsche (*Comm.* 170) and Edersheim (*Comm.* 154).[4] The Pesh. was made from an independent Heh. MS, which had the right order. The Latin may have been made from a G MS earlier than that from which our present *G* texts are derived; it may have been corrected after the Heh.; it may come from a corrected G text like that of No. 248.

13. Sources. As to the author's sources nothing very precise can be said. Whilst his own experience and observation probably furnished a great part of his material, it is possible that he drew also from books or from unpublished discourses of sages. There are not a few resemblances between him and Proverbs; but the most of these are best explained as independent treatment of common material. The same thing is true of the points of contact between Ecclesiasticus and Ecclesiastes.[5] If our author quotes those two books, he apparently treats them as wisdom-books having no more authority than he himself claims. There was, no doubt, much that might be considered common property, which different moralists would use each in his own way: the maxim, for example, that the beginning (or root, or completion, or crown) of wisdom is the fear of God must have been an axiom in the teaching of the Palestinian sages. A comparison betwcen Ecclus. 24 and Prov. 8 shows how differently the two books treat the same general conception.

14. Unity. The traditional account, which represents the book as composed by one man, seems on the whole to be supported by the character of the contents. There are, indeed, differences of tone, as in various paragraphs on women (*25* and 26), and on the happiness and misery of life (39 16-35 and 40 1-11), and in general there is a contrast betwcen the geniality of some passages and the cynicism of others, and between the conceptions of wisdom, on the one hand as a universal divine influence, and on the other as common-sense shrewdness. The diversities, however, do not go beyond the bounds of a single experience, and in the book as a whole there is an evident unity of tone—the attitude toward God, life, wisdom, the Torah, is the same throughout.[6] The authenticity of chap. 51 has been questioned; but the case has not been made out.

There seems to be nothing out of keeping with the rest of the hook, and, as to the insertion of a prayer, we may compare the one (very different in tone from this) in Wisd. Sol. (9). There is, indeed, a striking resemblance between Ecclus. 51 13-30 and Wisd. Sol. 7 1-14; but if there be imitation here, it is not clear that it is on the part of the passage in Ecclesiasticus.

The psalm (an imitation of Ps. 136) which is fonnd in the Hebrew after *v.* 12, and does not appear in the Vss., may he doubtful. Schechter suggests that it was omitted in the Greek because the mention of the Zadokite priestly line was considered to be inappropriate under the Maccabees. This consideration, however, would not apply at all to the Syriac Vs., and the omission of a single couplet would have sufficed in the Greek.

15. Integrity. How far the author's work has been added to by scribes and editors is a more difficult question. It is clear that the Hebrew and the versions have suffered in the process of transmission (see above, § 4). In various passages one or another of the texts shows additions or omissions; each case must be treated by itself. In general, as between a Greek conception in one text and a Jewish in another, the preference is to be given to the latter; though it is obvious that this rule must be applied carefully, so as not to prejudge the question of a Greek infloence on the author. When the final text obtainable by MS. evidence has been reached, there will still remain the question whether this gives the author's thought accurately, or has itself been coloured by editors. By some the Greek translator is supposed to have made additions to his text in the interests of Jewish Alexandrian philosophy; others see evidence of Christian interpolation. The evidence for those conclusions is not distinct.

Alexandrian passages need not he additions of the translator, and of the cases cited by Edersheim (*Comm.* 23), 1 3 *f.* and 24 31 are not non-Jewish, whilst to call 28 2 ('forgive and thou shalt be forgiven') a Christian addition on internal grounds is to prejudge the question. The evidence is stronger in the case of 43 27 (הוא הכל, τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός) and 44 16 (Enoch is called אות דעת ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας [ἐννοίας]), both omitted by Pesh. The firs; expression is Hellenising and map be an addition by the author, or by a Hebrew scribe: or it map have been made first in 𝔊, and thence transferred to H; the second, something like a parallel to which is found in Philo (*De præm. et pæn.*, Mangey, 2 410 *f.* where 'Enoch' is explained to be true manhood, based on 'hope in God), may he Jewish (see Siegfried, Drummond, Bois), or may be a Hellenising expression of the author, or an allegorising remark by a scribe. (The expressions 'was found perfect' and 'knowledge' appear to be scribal additions.) After the omission of all probable additions, however there remains enough to fix the author's relation to Greek though; (see below, § 24).

16. Literary form. The book is arranged in short discourses or paragraphs, each of which consists in general of distichs or tetrastichs; the lines are mostly ternary (with three ictus) or quaternary, though in this respect there is considerable variety. The parallelism is less antithetic and looser, and the discourse more flowing than in Proverbs. Bickell (*Zt. f. kath. Theol.* 1882) regards 51 1-20 (in the Heb.) as forming an alphabetic psalm.[1] The attempt to discover metre in the work (Bickell, Margoliouth) must be pronounced unsuccessful.[2]

An irregular strophic arrangement results from the author's method of dividing his material by subjects (cp Prov. 1-9 22-29).[3]

17. Contents. Ecclesiasticus belongs to the category of Wisdom-literature (Hokma), which, in contrast with the prophetic, priestly, and legal points of view (for all of which the nation Israel is the 'centre), gives a universal moral-religious criticism of life. The history of the genesis and development of the Hokma demands a separate treatment. (See WISDOM LITERATURE.) The nationalistic tone of a few passages in

1 For proposed plans see Eichhorn (*Einl.*), Ew. (*Gesch.* 4 300), Fritzsche (*Einl.* in his Comm.), Deane (*Expos.* 1883), Edersheim (*Introd.* in his Comm.), and cp remarks of Herbst in his *Einl.*

2 Or, according to the verse-numbering in Swete's *Sept.*, the two sections 30 25-33 13*a* and 33 13*b*-36 16*a* have changed places.

3 This, Fritzsche's suggestion, is now generally accepted. See Deane, *Expos.* 1883, and Swete, *Sept.* vol. ii. p. vii.

4 Tisch. retains the Greek order; Swete gives the Latin.

5 The comparison between Ecclus. and Proverbs is made most fully by Seligmann (*Weisheit d. Jes. Sir.*), and that between Ecclus. and Eccles. by Wright (*Koheleth*). See also Montefiore, in *JQR* 2 430 *ff.*, and Toy, 'Proverbs' (in *Internat. Crit. Com.*). The difference between Ben-Sira and *Pirkē Ābōth* in form and style indicates an earlier date for the former.

6 On the enigmatical Eleazar ben-Irai, a possible double of Ben-Sira, see above, § 2 (n. 2).

1 Bickell worked with his translation into Hebrew from the Greek; Taylor (in Schechter and Taylor's *Ben Sira*) goes over the lately discovered Hebrew text, and discusses the initial letters of the couplets, in support of Bickell. The acrostic form is in itself not improbable (Prov. ends with an alphabetic poem), but it is not yet clearly made out.

2 On metre in OT Heb. see the works of Ley, Bickell, Briggs, Gunkel, D. H. Müller, and the art. of Grimme in *ZDMG*, *504*.

3 For an attempt to make out a regular division into groups of 50 or 100 couplets see Schlatter (below, § *26 a*, i.).

Ecclesiasticus does not affect the general character of the book. The inaterial is so varied and so loosely arranged that a table of contents would take more space than can here be given. It deals with all the ordinary social and religious duties (cp Che. *Job and Sol.* 190-193). The style is for the most part bright and vigorous, and not without a gleam of humour. The author shows wide acquaintance with men and things, and his advice is usually full of good sense. Without claiming for himself special inspiration, he speaks as an independent teacher of religion and morals, citing no external authority for what he says, but, like the sages in Proverbs, assuming its truth and obligation, and making his appeal to reason and conscience.

In accordance with the tone of the later Judaism, Ecclesiasticus regards God as the lord of the whole world of things and men, the absolute, righteous judge, the author of all conditions and changes of life (chaps. 16-18 33 *f.*). It has not the full conception of divine fatherhood ; but it gives a description of divine forbearance toward men (18 10-13) which is identical in spirit with that of Ps. 103.

18. *A*. Religious teaching. God.

Concerning itself with the visible facts of life, Ecclesiasticus (like Prov.) takes little account of subordinate supernatural beings. Angels are not mentioned in the Hebrew (not in 43 26), and in the Greek only in citations from 'the OT. In 38 14*a* the intercession that in Job *33 26* is ascribed to a heavenly being is ascribed to a physician. In 48 21 (a statement taken from 2 K. 19 35), in which the Gk (followed by Lat.) has ἄγγελος, the Heb. has מַגֵּפָה, 'plague,' and the Syr. ܡܚܘܬܐ ܝܩܝܪܬܐ, 'a heavy blow.' In another passage (17 17), quoted freely from Dt. 32 8 *f.* as in 𝔊,[1] the term 'ruler' (ἡγούμενον) seems to be substituted for 𝔊 'angel' (κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων)—here a divine (angelic?) head of every nation except Israel, whose guardian is Yahwè. 'Spirits,' good or evil, are nowhere mentioned.[2] Whkther there is mention of Satan is doubtful. In 21 27, where 𝔊 has 'The ungodly, when he curses τὸν σατανᾶν, curses himself,' the context (see *v.* 28) and Syr. favour the sense, 'adversary,' or a reading, 'neighbour,' for σατανᾶν (and for 'ungodly' we should probably read 'fool'). Further, the author, if (as Cheyne thinks) he means Satan, seems to identify him with the man's own evil impulse, a conception foreign to the whole pre-Christian time[3] as well as to the NT. In general, Ecclus. may be said to anticipate Sadduceeism in holding aloof from angels and demons, whose agency in actual life it does not recognise.

19. Angels.

The central moral-religious idea of the book is wisdom, in the conception of which Ben-Sira is substantially at one with Proverbs. He treats sometimes the human attribute, sometimes the divine. As a quality of man it is theoretical knowledge of the right and ability to embody it in life. Nothing is said of the origin of this capacity (it is treated as an ultimate fact); but it is identified with the 'fear of God' (1 14, etc.)—that is, the wise life is directed according to the divine commandments, or, as it may perhaps be put, human wisdom comes from the communion between the mind of man and the mind of God. The unity of the divine and the human attributes (implicitly contained in the book) appears to involve the conception that the divine wisdom fills and controls all things, including man's mind, and thus manifests itself in human thought.

20. 'Wisdom.'

[1] M T has בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, for which 𝔊BAL reads בני אלהים, clearly the right rending.

[2] The πνεύματα of 39 28 (Syr. [illegible], Heb. almost obliterated) are 'winds' (so Fritzsche) : *vv.* 29 *f.* give, not the definition of the term 'spirits,' but a parallel list of natural agencies.

[3] Cheyne (*Job and Sol.* 180, cp 297) and Edersheim (*Comm.*) refer to a Talmudic passage (*Baba Bathra, 16a*) which identifies Satan with the יצר רע ; cp also Weber, *System **der** altsyn. Theol.* 228 *f.* The יצר רע appears to be personified (πονηρὸν ἐνθύμημα) in 𝔊 37 3 ; hut H and S are here very different, and **the** text seems to be corrupt beyond recovery.

As a quality of God, wisdom is almost always personified. It is called eternal (1 1), universal (24 6), unsearchable (1 6), the formative creative power in the world (24 3), yet created (1 4 24 9) and established in the midst of Yahwè's people in Jerusalem (24 10 *f.*), where alone there was obedience to Yahwè's law.[1] This nationalistic conception of wisdom (involved, but not explicitly stated, in Proverbs) is noteworthy, but not unexpected : the pions Jews of that time could hardly fail to find the highest expression of the divine wisdom in the guidance of Israel through the Law. Ben-Sira's treatment of divine wisdom is personification (as in Prov. and Wisd. Sol.), not hppostatisation. In one passage (24 3, 'I . . . covered the earth as a mist') there appears to be an approach to this position[2] : wisdom is identified with the creative word, as Wisd. Sol. further identifies it with the Stoic Logos. Lilic Wisd., Sol., and Philo, however, Ben-Sira larked a historical figure with which to identify his philosophical conception.

Greater prominence is given to the Law of Moses in our book than in Proverbs. It is glorified in the persons of Moses and Aaron (**45** 1-22) and Simon (50 1-21). The author was by no means indifferent to the ritual of sacrifice and song. He dwells with enthusiasm on the details of the high priest's costly dress, on the offering[3] and the singers ; he counsels men to come with full hands to the altar (32 [35] 1-11), though he adds a warning against attempting to bribe God with unrighteous gifts (12). His philosophical view of life does not prevent his taking joyous part in the outward service of God, which he possibly regarded as being a symbol as well as a prescribed duty. He shows similar friendliness toward the scribes (38 24-34 39 1-11), who, in contrast with handicraftsmen, devote themselves to the study of the law, the prophets, and parœmiac sayings (a reference to parts of onr book of Proverbs?), listen to the discourses of famous men (teachers in the legal schools). travel in foreign lands to find out good and evil among men, open their months in prayer, and ask forgiveness for their sins. This, the earliest extant description of the life of a *sôfêr*, gives a picture of wide activity, and shows that the law-students of that time did not confine themselves to Palestine. With such scribes, not hagglers over words and letters, but cultivated and liberal students of the earlier literature, our author would naturally find himself in hearty sympathy. As to the term 'law,' it appears that, when used of the Israelitish code, it may stand for all the Jewish sacred books ; bnt it is sometimes employed for law in general. as in 35 [32] *24* 36 [33] 1-3.

21. The Law.

The preceding citations show Ben-Sira's w-arm national feeling. This is expressed most distinctly in chap. 33 [36], in which he bemoans the afflicted state of Israel, and prays that, in fulfilment of his promise, God would gather all the tribes of Jacob and make the people possess its land as in times of old (cp 44 21 **47** 11 48 10). He looks for no special deliverer (not even in **44-50),** and hopes only, in general accordance with the earlier prophets, for national quiet and prosperity.[4] He is so much absorbed in this desire that he does not think of the conversion of foreign nations to the worship of Yahwè. We have no right to take him as the representative of the whole nation in this regard ; but we may fairly suppose that he expresses a current opinion.[5]

22. Aspirations.

[1] Wisdom seems not to be exactly identified with the Mosaic Law. The Greek text of 24 23 is difficult (ταῦτα πάντα in app. with βίβλος) and we should perhaps read, with Pesh., 'in the book.' On 'the other hand, cp Bar. **3** 36 4 1, and see notes of Edersheim (on Ecclus. **24** 23) and Bois (*Orig.* 200 *f.*).

[2] Ecclus. 24 3-6 is an imitation of Prov. 8 22 *ff.*, from which **L** here introduces additional matter. The 'mist' may be taken from Gen. 2 6, or it may be an independent figure.

[3] The sin-offering is not mentioned.

[4] In 51 10 H and S show that the reading of 𝔊, 'the father of my lord' (cp Ps. 110 1), is erroneous.

[5] In the generally peaceful and prosperous life of the third century B.C the Jews seem for the time to have given **up** the expectation'bf a special interposition of God in their behalf.

ECCLESIASTICUS

Ben-Sira's scheme of life, like that of Proverbs, or Ecclesiastes, of the Law, and of the prophets, is confined to the present world. In 17 22 *f.* he repeats the sentiment of Is. **38** 18 *f.* He speaks neither of the resurrection of the body[1] nor of the immortality of the soul (14 16 21 10 **414,** etc.). He belonged to the conservative priestly party (though probably not himself a priest) which adopted the social but not the religious ideas of Gentile neighbours. He retained the old Hebrew conception of Shĕōl (see SHEOL), whilst the progressive portion of the nation (represented later by the book of Daniel) adopted or developed the idea of resurrection.

Ben-Sira's ethical scheme is that of the greater part of the OT (if we omit, that is, such passages as Jer. 31 33 Ez. **3626**, Ps. **51**).

23. *B.* Ethical and social ideas. Sin is the transgression of the divine law; righteousness is conformity thereto. The moral life is considered in its external aspect as a mass of acts. Nothing is said of the inward life, of disposition of mind, of motives, ideals, aspirations, struggles. Those were, doubtless, not absent from the author's thought; but he does not regard them as practically important. What is important is the outcome: men are known by their fruits. Sin is accepted as a fact, which began historically with the first woman (the same view is given in 1 Tim. **2** 14 in contrast with that of Rom. ***5***); but there is no attempt to explain its psychological origin. Conscience, freedom, and responsibility are assumed (15 11-17 and *pass.*). On the other hand (as throughout OT and NT), the absolute control of man by God is everywhere taken for granted, and in one place (**33**13) distinctly affirmed. The motive for righteous living is the well-being it secures: the good man prospers, the bad man suffers, in this life. There is no reference to inward peace, consciousness of rectitude, and communion of soul with God. Ben-Sira's point of view (sometimes called hedonistic or utilitarian) is that of Proverbs and the OT generally. It is determined partly by the old Semitic external conception of life, partly by the absence of belief in ethical immortality (cp Wisd. Sol. 2-5). The old nationalism of the prophets it rejects in favour of a pronounced individualism: it does not recognise the well-being of humanity as an aim of life. The moral code of the book is that of the OT: it inculcates honesty, truthfulness, purity, sympathy, kindness[2]—all the virtues of the civilised society of that time. The limitations are either those of the time (national narrowness, **24**[3]; treatment of slaves as chattels, **33 24-31**) or those of all time (selfish prudence, 12 1-5). Pride is denounced (**107** 12 *f.*) as in Proverbs, and humility (**3**18) and forgiveness (28 2) are enjoined. Almsgiving (as in Tob. 4 9-11 Dan. 4 27 [24] Mt. 6 1) is identified with righteousness—a conception that naturally arose when the care of the persecuted poor became the most pressing moral-religious duty;[4]—but this does not exclude in Ben-Sira the higher idea of righteousness. His treatment of social relations and dnties is fuller than that of Proverbs. He lived in the midst of a highly developed civilisation, and is interested in all sides of life. He gives directions for the governing of the household, the training of wife, children, and servants, dealing with debtors and creditors, deportment in society (daily interconrse, feasts), bearing towards rulers and rich men—he recognises many distinctions and classes of men—he is familiar with the temptations of city-life, and praises agriculture. He gives special warnings against sexual licentiousness, against becoming security for other men's debts, against involving one's self in other people's affairs; in general he counsels an attitude of caution toward men, on the ground of personal comfort (32 22 *f.*). On the same ground, he advises the observance of the social proprieties, such as a decent show of mourning for the dead, failure in which brings one into ill repute (**38**16 *f.*). He is friendly to physicians—seems, indeed, to defend them against doubts and objections—and approves of music and the temperate use of wine. See especially chaps. 7 **13 18** 31 *f.* 38, and Seligmann, Deane, and Cheyne. He is generally acute. sometimes a little cynical, never pessimistic.

24. Relation to Greek thought. A real, though not very well defined, Greek influence is to be recognised in the book. The author does not accept the Greek philosophy (his thought is in the main of the practical unphilosophic Jewish type); but he is affected by general Greek culture. In this respect he stands between Proverbs and Wisd. Sol., but much nearer to the former than to the latter. Palestine was at this time (c. 180 B.C.) not without a Greek atmosphere, and Ben-Sira had travelled in Greek-speaking countries (cp Che.). The traces of Greek influence are found in certain general conceptions in his book. He does not, it is true, go so far as Wisd. Sol. and Philo; he does not allegorise, as they do, nor make so near an approach to hypostatisation. His conception of human liberty and divine predetermination and his reference to Enoch (**44**16), if it be genuine, are probably Jewish. We cannot adduce particular words and phrases in proof of Greek influence, for these may bc scribal additions. The expression in **4327,** for example (הוא הכל, τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν αὐτός), found in the Heb. and the Gk., though not in the Syriac, might be regarded as of doubtful genuineness, and in general the possibility of editorial modification must be admitted. After we allow for such a possibility, however, there remain broad touches which cannot well be regarded as spurious, and which have a Greek tone. The most marked is theidentification of virtue with knowledge (a point for the full treatment of which see WISDOM LITERATURE). This conception, though not without roots in the older thought, has here been developed nnder the stimulus of Greek philosophy, with, however, a marked Jewish colonring. There are, according to Ben-Sira, only two classes in society, wise men and fools. These arc often identified with the righteous and the wicked; but the intellectual basis of men's natures and judgments is constantly insisted on. The divine law is recognised as the rule of action; but it is not different from the wise man's thought. Hence the importance attached to instruction, the one thing necessary for men being discipline in the art of right thinking; and all God's dealings with men may be viewed as divine training in the perception of moral truth. Similarly, the stress laid on moderation in action (3 21-24 31 *f.*) reminds **us** of the μηδὲν ἄγαν of Ḳōhéleth and of the Greeks. In another direction we have the conception of wisdom in chap. **24** (nearly identical with that of Prov. 8), which contains the Greek ideas of the cosmos and the logos (cp ἐκόσμησεν, 16 27 42 21; in 42 21 Heb. has תכן).

25. Critical edition. A complete critical edition is yet in the distance. Only about a half of the Hebrew text being known, we are largely dependent on the Vss., the texts of which are not in good condition.

26. Literature. A selection of works on Ecclesiasticus is all that can he given.

(a) For the text of the Hebrew fragments: (i.) The Oxford fragments and first Cambridge leaf: Cowley and Neubauer, ***The** original **Hebrew** of **a** portion of Ecclesiasticus*, etc. ['97] (also collotype facsimile ed. ['97]), and R. Smend, *Das hebr. Fragment d. Weisheit d. JS* ['97]; Schlatter, *Das neugefundene Neb. Stück des Sirach* ['97]; cp Israel Lévi, *L'Ecclésiastique, texte original hébreu* ['98]; and see the critical remarks on the text in *REJ*, Jam-Mar.. '97; the *Expositor*, May '97; *WZKM* 11 ['97]; cp the literature cited in *AJSL*, **1542** n. 2 ['98]; Kan. *Apokr.* 1 257-9. (ii.) The **1897** eleven Cambridge leaves: S. Schechter and C. Taylor, ***The** Wisdom of Ben-Sira, Portions of **the** Book of Ecclesiasticus from Heb. MSS in **the** Cairo Genizah* ['99]; two new leaves, *JQR* 12 456-465 [Ap. 1900]. (iii.) The two British Museum leaves: **G.** Margoliouth, *JQR* 12 1-33 [Oct. '99] (also separately [Williams and Norgatel). (iv.) The two Paris leaves: **I.** Lévi, *REJ* 40 1-30 [1900]. (v.) The two Adler leaves: E. N. Adler, *JQR* 12 466-480 [Ap. 1900].

1 The raising of the dead by Elijah (48 5) has nothing to do with the doctrine of resurrection, and 19 19, which speaks of immortality, occurs in a paragraph ***(v.*** 18 *f.*) which is found only in No. **248** of 𝔊, and appears to he an interpolation.

2 On its ethical-religious vocabulary see Merguet and Hatch (as below, § 26). . The golden rule does not occur.

3 50 25 *f.* (though in H𝔊S) **is** probably an interpolation.

4 So the position assigned to almsgiving bv Mohammed was suggested by the conditions of the Arabian society of his time.

(*b*) Among commentaries, those of Fritzsche (*Kurzgef. Ex. Hdbuch.*) and Edersheim (in Wace's *Apocrypha*) are especially to be commended; Bretschneider (1806) is full of material and suggestion.

(*c*) For text-criticism, see Horowitz in *MGWJ* 14; Dyserinck, *De Spreuken van J. den Zoon v. Sir.* ['70]; Hatch, *Essays in Bibl. Grk.* ['89]; Bickell in *ZKT*, '82; D. S. Margoliouth, *Place of Ecclesiasticus*, etc. ['90] (criticisms of Margoliouth's position by Dr. in *Oxford Mag.*, Che. in *Acad.*, Schür. in *TLZ*, and reply by Margoliouth in *Expos.*, all in 1890); H. Bois, *Essai sur l'orig. d. l. phil.-jud. alex.* ['90]; I. Lévi, *L'Ecclesiastique* ['98] and art. in *REJ*, July '99; Margoliouth, *The origin of the 'original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus* ['99]; reply by Kö. *Exp. T.* 10 *f.* (Aug.-Nov. '99) and separately *Die Sirach-frage*; Bickell in *WZKM* 13*2 f.*; Nöldeke in *ZATW* 20 81-94 (1900).

(*d*) General works: Hody, *De Bibl. text. orig.* [1705]; A. T. Hartmann, *Die enge Verbind. d. A T mit d. Neuen* ['31]; Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vortr. d. Juden* ['32], new ed. ['92]; Del. *Gesch. d. hebr. Poesie* ['36]; Derenbourg, *Hist. et Géog. de la Pal.* ['67].

(*e*) Special works: Ew. in *Jahrb.* 3 ['51]; Horowitz, *Jes. Sirach* ['65]; Gratz in *MGWJ*, '72; Merguet, *Glaubens u. Sittenlehre des B. Jes. Sir.* ['74]; Seligmann, *Weisheit d. Jes. Sohn d. Sir. in s. Verhält. zu d. Salomon. Sprüchen*, etc. ['83]; Deane in *Expositor*, '83; Che. *Job and Sol.* ['87] (sections on Sirach).

(*f*) On Greek, especially Alexandrian, elements in Ben-Sira: Gfrörer, *Philo* ['31]; Dähne, *Darstel. d. jüd.-alex. Religions-phil.* ['34]; J. F. Bruch, *Weisheitslehre d. Heb.* ['51]; Fränkel, *Einfluss d. paläst. Exeg. auf d. alex. Hermeneutik* ['54], A. Geiger, *Urschrift* ['57]; Nicolas, *Doctr. relig. d. Juifs*(2) ['66]; Siegfried, *Philo v. Alex. als Ausleger d. A T* ['75]; Drummond, *Philo-jud.* ['88]; Bois, *Orig.*, etc. ['90].

(*g*) On other versions: H. Herkenne, *De vet. latinæ Ecclesiastici capit.* i.-xliii. *Una cum notis e x ejusdem libri translatt. Æth. Arm., Copt., Lat., alt. Syro-Hexaplari depromptis.* Dr. Norbert Peters, 'Die Sahidisch-Koptische Uebersetzung des Buches Ecclesiasticus,' *Biblische Studien* ['98].

C. H. T.

ECLIPSE. It is possible that the words of Amos (8 9), 'To cause the sun to go down at noon, and to darken the earth while it is yet day,'[1] refer to a total eclipse of the sun on 15th June, 763 B.C. (see AMOS, § 4, ASSYRIA, § 19).

1. Historical eclipses, Am. 8 9 Jer. 15 9?

If so, the prophet, in reproducing from memory the discourses which he had delivered in N. Israel, introduced a reference to a subsequent event, which seemed like the beginning of the 'end' spoken of in 8 2. Amos, who is so fond of references to contemporary circumstances, may very well have referred to this particular eclipse, which is also specially recorded by the Assyrians. Possibly, too, one of the details in Jer. 15 9 may be suggested by the famous solar 'eclipse of Thales' in 585 B.C. (Herod. 1 54 Pliny 2 4 253). *Vv.* 6*b*-9 may have been written (by whom we cannot venture to say[2]) in the year after the fall of Jerusalem.

No other prophetic passages can safely be taken to relate to any particular eclipses. The phenomenon of an eclipse Gas a periodically recurring excitement to the unscientific mind, and Am. 5 18 20 Mic. 3 8 Zeph. 1 15 Ezek. 30 18 32 7 *f.* Is. 13 10 24 23 Joel 2 10 37 3 15 Zech. 14 6 cannot with any probability be connected with historical eclipses. The language is conventional. It presupposes the phenomena of eclipses, but is merely symbolic, and such as naturally suggested itself in descriptions of judgments. Is. 38 8 (in a late report of a supposed prophecy of Isaiah) has been much misunderstood by Bosanquet. To his theory that the solar eclipse of 689 B.C. is referred to there are strong chronological as well as text-critical and exegetical objections (see Che. *Intr. Isa.* 227, and DIAL).

2. Figurative language.

Almost all modern scholars have found a reference to the phenomena of eclipses in Job 3 5 8 31 13. Thus Davidson paraphrases 'the blackness of the day' (Job 3 5 AV; 'all that maketh black the day,' RV) 'eclipses, supernatural obscurations, and the like,' and remarks on *v.* 8 and 26 13 that 'there is an allusion to the popular mythology, according to which the darkening or eclipse of the sun and moon was caused by the serpent throwing its folds around them, and swallowing them up' (*Job*, 19 *f.*; similarly 185). Unfortunately the two most significant words In *vv.* 5 8 appear to be corrupt,[1] and the illustrative material derived from Babylonian mythology is inconsistent with the view that the Hebrews (like the Indians) believed in a cloud-dragon which seeks to swallow up the sun and moon. What we have before us, as Gunkel was the first to show fully, is one of the current applications of the myth of Tiāmat. The text of Job 3 is a matter for critical discussion. See Dillmann and Budde (on the conservative side), and see further DRAGON, § 5, BEHEMOTH, § 2 *f.*

Most of the NT references (Mt. 24 29 Acts 2 20 Rev. 6 12 8 12) are sufficiently explained as the conventional phraseology of prophetic writers. Nor would most persons hesitate to explain the 'darkness over the whole earth'[2] (or 'land,' Mk. 15 33 Mt. 27 45) as an addition to plain historical facts involuntarily made by men brought up on the prophetic Scriptures, and liable, too, to the innocent superstitions of the people. When Yahwè was sore displeased with his people, the prophets constantly described universal nature as awestruck, and poets like David had a similar sense of the sympathy of nature when great men died (2 S. 1 21). It is Lk., a non-Israelite, who involuntarily rationalises the poetic tradition of a sudden darkness over the earth at the Crucifixion. In Lk. 23 45 *f.* we read (in RV) according to the best form of the Greek text, 'A darkness came over the whole land [or earth] until the ninth hour, the sun's light failing' (τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος). No doubt the evangelist believed that a solar eclipse was the cause of this naively supposed phenomenon, though, according to his own narrative, Jesus died at the Passover season when, there being a full moon, a solar eclipse was impossible. Origen indeed ('Comm. in Matth.,' *Opera*, ed. Delarue, 3 92 *f.*) rejected the reading now adopted by the Revisers on this very ground, regarding it as a falsification of the text. Lauth (*TSBA*, 4245) frankly admits that no ordinary eclipse can be meant, and thinks that the 'darkness' was probably caused by the extinction of the 'star' of the Magi. T. K. C.

3. NT references.

ED (עֵד, 'witness'), the name of an altar of the eastern tribes in EV of Josh. 22 34 (not in MT or 𝔊). The text being imperfect, and the choice of *a* name partly open, Dillmann would supply GALEED (*q.v.*, 2).

It is at any rate impossible to identify the 'Witness Altar' with Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh,—(1) because this bold bluff is on the western side of the Jordan, and (2) because it is not certain whether any part of the story of the altar belongs to either of the great narrators J and E. See GALEED, 2.

EDAR, TOWER OF. See EDER, TOWER OF.

EDDIAS (ιεδδιας [A]), 1 Esd. 9 26 AV = Ezra 10 25 AV, JEZIAH.

EDDINUS (εδδ[ε]ινους [BA]), 1 Esd. 1 15 RV, AV JEDUTHUN.

EDEN (עֵדֶן). A Levite, temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29 12, ιωδαν [BA], -ωαδ. [L]; 31 15, οδομ [BA], ιαδαν [L]). The right form is, probably JEHOADDAN (*q.v.*). T. K. C.

EDEN (עֵדֶן). For Gen. 2 8, etc. (Garden of Eden) see PARADISE. For Amos 1 5 ('House of Eden' EV) see BETH-EDEN (so RVmg.). For Ezek. 27 23 see CANNEH.

EDER (עֵדֶר, 'flock'; αρα [B], εδραι [A], εβερ [L]), a city in the S. of Judah, close to Edom (Josh. 15 21); probably no more than a village with a 'tower of the flock' (see below); cp Nu. 13 19 2 K. 18 8 2 Ch. 26 10.

EDER (AV **Edar**), **THE TOWER OF** (מִגְדַּל־עֵדֶר, *i.e.*, 'tower of the flock'), a place (perhaps a village) to the S. of Ephrath[3] (see BETHLEHEM, § 3), 'beyond' which Jacob pitched his tent after the death and burial of Rachel (Gen. 35 21). It was so called from a watch-

[1] Reading כְּעוֹר יוֹם (cp Jer. 15 9). See Che. *Exp. T.* 10 336 (April 1899).

[2] Giesebrecht, too, doubts Jeremiah's authorship of *vv.* 6*b*-9*a*.

[1] כמרירי is improbable, because there is no genuine root כמר 'to be black'; יוֹם, because the parallelism requires יָם, 'sea,' 'ocean' (cp Ps. 74 13 *f.* Is. 27 1. See Che. *Expos.*, '97 *a*, p. 404 *f.*).

[2] The rendering 'earth' is to be preferred; the crucifixion had a significance for more than the little country of Judæa.

[3] See, however, EPHRATH.

tower built for the protection of the flocks against robbers (see EDER i., and cp CATTLE, § 6), and according to Jerome (OS 101 19) was about 1 R. m. from Bethlehem. The same phrase is rendered in Mic. 4 8 'tower of the flock,' no actually existing tower being referred to. The description is symbolical. Either Jerusalem 'is in siege, standing alone in the land, like one of those solitary towers with folds round them' (GASm.; cp Is. 1 8), or, on the analogy of Is. 32 14, we have before us a picture of the desolation of the already captured Jerusalem, which is no longer a city but a hill on whose slopes flocks may lie down. The latter view is preferable, even if, with G. A. Smith, we assign Mic. 4 8 to Micah as its author (see Che. *Micah*[(1)] [Camb. Bib.], 1882, p. 38; cp p. 33 *f.*). Micah has previously said, not 'Zion shall become like a tower of the flock, like a besieged city' (cp Is. *l.c.*), but 'Zion shall be ploughed as a field.'

In 𝔊 there is a similar variety of rendering. In Gen. 35 16 (the notice is transferred thither from *v.* 21; *see* Di.) we have (ἐπέκεινα) τοῦ πύργου γάδερ [BDL], . . . γαβερ [E]; in Mic. 4 8 πύργος ποιμνίου [BAQ].

EDER (עֵדֶר, εΔερ [AL]).

1. Apparently a post-exilic Benjamite sept, mentioned along with Arad and many others; 1 Ch. 8 15† (BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. *β*): AV ADER (עֶדֶר; ωδηδ [B], ωδερ [A], αδαρ [L]).

2. A Levite: 1 Ch. 23 23 (αιδαθ [B]) 24 30 (ηλα [B]). The name may be derived from EDER i.

EDES, RV EDOS (ΗΔΟC [B]), 1 Esd. 9 35 = Ezra 10 43, RV IDDO (ii.).

EDNA (εΔΝΑ [BAℵ]—*i.e.*, עֶדְנָה; *ANNA*), the wife of Raguel and mother of Sara Tobias's bride (Tob. 7 2, etc.).

EDOM

Name and origin (§§ 1-4).	History (§§ 6-10).
Country (§ 5).	Civilisation, etc. (§§ 11-13).

Edom (אֱדוֹם; εΔωΜ [BAL], ΙΔΟΥΜΑΙΑ [BℵAQΓ],[1] whence AV IDUMEA in Is. 34 5 *f.* Ez. 35 15 36 5), and EV IDUMÆA in Mk. 3 8 [Ti. WH, ΙΔΟΥΜΑΙΑ]),

1. Name. from an older form *adām*, may possibly be rightly treated by Baethgen[2] as a variation of *ādām* 'mankind' (originally *adam*); similar terms have, in fact, often been nsed as national names. As applied to the nation, Edom always has a collective sense, the only exception being the somewhat late passage (Ps. 137 7) in which the Edomites are called 'sons of Edom.' The resemblance between the national name Edom and the name of the god contained in עבראדם (traditionally said OBED-EDOM [*q.v.*], but of uncertain pronunciation) is probably an accident. On early traces of a name equivalent to Edom, see below, § 3.

2. Affinities of story of Esau. The Edomites, according to the OT, were descendants of Esau, who is represented as identical with Edom, the eponym of the nation, just as Jacob is represented as identical with Israel. The story of the rival brothers Esau and Jacob symbolises the history of the peoples of Edom and Israel respectively, in their varying relations to each other (cp ESAU, § 2). In form it is purely legendary, and Esau, with whom we are here specially concerned, has been identified by Tiele (*Vergelijk. Gesch.* 447) and many others with the Phœnician mythic hero Usdos (Οὔσῶος; Philo Bybl., ap. Eus. *Præp. Ev.* i. 10 7). The statements of Philo must, no doubt, be received with caution. His work, as far as we know it, is by no means purely Phcenician in origin, though he claims for it the authority of the ancient writer Sanchūniathōn. It is a medley of Phcenician and Hellenic myths, combined with theoretical interpretations and arbitrary fancies of his own. Nevertheless, it appears certain that Usdos was borrowed by Philo not from the OT but from Phcenician tradition, and several parallelisms in the story of Esau and in that of Usōos seem to the present writer to point to a common origin of the two legends.[1] In this case the original form of עשו or Usōos will probably have been עֹשָׂו, 'Ōsāu (cp ESAU, § 1, HOSAH). Another suggestion has been made by W. M. Muller. He connects Esau with the desert-goddess Asiti, a Semitic name mentioned in two Egyptian inscriptions (*As. u. Eur.* 316 *f.*). It is, at all events, probable that Esau was originally a god whom the Edomites regarded as their ancestor; Israelite patriarchs, Abraham and Jacob, also seem to have been gods at a very early period (cp ABRAHAM, § 2, JACOB).

3. Early traces of Edom or Seir. According to an Egyptian papyrus, some of the Šasu (a term nearly equivalent to 'Bedouins') belonging to (the land of) Aduma (*i.e.*, Edom)[2] received permission, in the twelfth century B.C., to pasture their cattle in a district on the Egyptian frontier (see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 135)—precisely what happened in the case of the Israelites according to the tradition contained in the OT. About 1200 B.C. the Šasu of Sa'aïra were defeated (*id.* 136). Here Sa'aïra is, of course, Seir[3] (Heb. *Sē'īr*); but whether the Edomites or some older inhabitants of those mountains are meant is uncertain. In any case, it is not permissible to infer (with WMM *op. cit.* 137) that the Edomites took possession of the district in question only a short time before the period of the Israelite kings: the list of Edomite kings (see § 4), with the names of places contained in it, bears witness to the contrary.

It is true that, according to Gen. 14 6 36 20 Dt. 2 12 22, the mountains of Seir were occupied, before the time of

[1] In several places and in more than one MS Ἰουδαια and Ἰδουμαια are confused in 𝔊.

[2] *Beitr.* 10; cp *ZDMG* 42 470 ['88].

[1] In both stories we have a strife between two brothers. *Usbos*, like Esau, is a hunter; his brother is σαμημροῦμος ὁ καὶ ὑψουράνιος, where the former name is obviously שְׁמֵי מָרוֹם. The myth of the stone of Jacob (Gen. 28 12 17) may perhaps here be compared. The stone lies at the foot of the heavenly ladder, and may thus represent the 'gate' or entrance of heaven.

[2] [*Name of Edom.*—The equation Edom = (the land of) Udumu or Udumi (for Assyrian references see *KAT*[(2)] 150 = *COT* 1 136) is undisputed. But it is unwise, wherever a name resembling Edom occurs in the Assyrian or the Egyptian inscriptions, to insist on identifying the two names. In the Amarna tablets (15th cent. B.C.) we find a city in the 'land of Gar' called Udumu (Wi. 237 [L 64] 24). It would be bold, however, to speak of this city as the 'city of Edom' (so Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 153; cp Wi. below), and to proceed to a further combination of both names with Adumu, the capital of *mat Aribi*, conquered by Sennacherib (see DUMAH, 1). Yāķūt, the Arabic geographer, knew of several places called Diima, and it is probable that a similar name had several references in antiquity. Even in the famous passage, *Pap. Anast.* vi. 4 14, where a high official (temp. Merneptah II.) asks permission for the entrance into Egypt of tribes of Šasu (Bedouin) from the land of Aduma (Brugsch, *GÄ* 202; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 135), there is still a doubt as to the reference of Aduma (Wi. *GI* 1 189). More reason is there to question the identification proposed by Chabas, Brugsch, and Maspero of the land of Adim or Atuma (so read by these scholars in the story of Senuhyt; *RP*[(2)] 2 11 *ff.*) with the land of Edom. As E. Meyer (*GÄ* 182) and other good judges (including Mnspero himself) now assure us, the right reading of the name is not Adim but Kdm (see KEDEMAH), and Prof. Sayce has, therefore, in *Pat. Pal.* 206, silently retracted what he said in his earlier attack on criticism (*Crit. Mon.* 203). Winckler (*l.c.*) thinks it not impossible that the Edomites may have derived their name from the region of the city of Udumu (he calls it here Adumn), where they may by degrees have formed settlements. This he illustrates by the often-quoted passage in the Harris Papyrus, where Rameses III. claims to have 'destroyed the Saira among the tribes of the Šasu' (Brugsch, 203; WMM 135 *f.*; cp 240). Here the name Saira is evidently later than the name (Mount) Seir. Winckler does not, however, adhere to his own suggestion, and thinks the two names Adumu and Udumu are more probably unconnected. It only needs to be added here that in 1879 Mr. Baker Greene brought the passage in the Anastasi Papyrus into connection with the settlement of Hebrew tribes, such as the Josephites and, as he thinks, the Kenites, in Egypt (*Hebrew Migration*, 37, 117, 199, 310); and that W. M. Muller considers that the Saira of the Harris Papyrus are a race distinct from the Edomites. According to this scholar, the Saira are the same as the Horites—the aboriginal inhabitants of the land of Seir. This involves bringing down the conquest of Seir by the Edomites much later than is consistent with Dt. 3 Nu. 20.—T. K. C.]

[3] According to Zimmern (*ZA* 6 251), Seir seems to occur in the Amarna tablets in the expression *māt šēri*.

the Edomites, by 'the sons of Seir the Horite' or 'the Horites.' W. M. Miiller (*l.c.*), however, rightly observes that the word *Ḥōrī—i.e.*, Troglodyte (cp Job 30 6)—is not properly the name of a nation, and serves only to express the idea entertained by later generations concerning their predecessors. In like manner, 'the sons of Seir' can scarcely be regarded as a national name, since Seir denotes nothing more than the mountain range in question. We must, however, suppose that among the Edomites, as among the Israelites, there survived remnants of older peoples; and the lists in Gen. *36* seem clearly to indicate that, after the analogy of what happened in Israel, the 'Horites' frequently mingled with the Edomites—just as, on the other hand, we find manifold traces of a mingling of Edomites and Horites with the neighbouring Israelite tribes (see Nold. *Unters.* 178 *f.* and We. ***De gent.*** 29, **38** *f.*). It should he noticed, in particular, that remnants of the small nation known as Kenaz were to he found both among the Edomites and among the Israelites (see KENAZ). Similarly, a portion of the Amalekites was merged in the Edomite people (see AMALEK, **§ 4).**

4. Kings' Clans. Tribes,

It is shown elsewhere (see Esau, § 2) that the Israelites had a consciousness of their lateness as a people in comparison with the Edomites. The tradition, which was sound, illustrates the statements in Gen. *36* **37-39**. Even if the first four of the kings there enumerated are mythical (see Nöld. *Unters.* 87 n.), the last four are certainly historical. There is, however, a doubt whether they are arranged in strict chronological sequence, and whether all of them ruled over the whole nation (see BELA ii., 1). The other lists in the same chapter also are of great historical value, though the details are often obscure.[1] That inconsistencies occasionally appear is quite in accordance with what we should expect in lists drawn **up** at various times or under the influence of conflicting notions; for it would he a great mistake to suppose that the tribes and families were separated, by absolutely rigid limits, one from another. So far as we can judge, however, there is no reason to believe that the traditions embodied in the lists above mentioned are later than the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah. Of the localities enumerated in Gen. *36*, either in the form of tribal names or as possessions of the various chieftains (see especially *VU.* 40-43), all those which can be identified are situated in the ancient territory of Edoni, not in the region occupied by the Edomites after the fall of Judah. The antiquity of the title (אלּוּף, *'allūph*, EV 'DUKE' [*q.v.*]) given to the Edomite princes in this chapter appears to the present writer to be proved by Ex. 15 15.

5. Country (Mount Seir).

In the OT the territory of Edom (properly speaking) is Mount SEIR (*q.v.*, 1). It is, of course, to besupposed, however, that the Edomite country spread out both to the east and to the west of the mountains, and probably varied in dimensions at different periods. The sites of a very few Edomite towns can be determined with precision; the sites of others (for example, that of Teman—*i.e.*, 'south,' 'southern place'—which is often mentioned, and appears also as a grandson of Edom) can be determined at least approximately. In general, however, the country of Edoin is still very imperfectly known.

The name Seir, applied to the mountain-range, signifies 'hairy,' a meaning to which the narratives in Gen. allude on several occasions (Gen. 25 25 27 11 23). If we may judge by analogy, 'hairy' must here be equivalent to 'wooded,' or at least 'covered with brush-wood': in Arabia there are two distinct localities where we find a mountain called by the equivalent name al-Aš'ar, 'the hairy,' whilst a neighbouring mountain is known as al-Akra' or al-Ajrad 'the hare' (cp the mountain called *Ša'rān* in Assyria).

[1] [Cp WRS *J. Phil.* 9 89 *ff.*; Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 168 *ff.* ('86).]

At the present day the region of Seir is, for the most part, barren; hut it contains some fruitful valleys, and in the country immediately to the E. of it are to be found districts covered with luxuriant vegetation, as both ancient and modern authorities attest (see Buhl, *Edomiter*, 15 *f.* ['93]). It is, therefore, hardly necessary to take the prophetic utterance on Edom in Gen. **27** 39 (see ESAU, § 2) as anything other than a blessing—which is the most obvious interpretation. Nor is the benediction inconsistent with the fact (which agrees with the conditions of life to-day in some mountainous districts of Arabia) that the Edomites were largely dependent upon the chase for their sustenance.

6. Edom and Israel: earlier times.

According to Gen. 32 4 *368*, Esau took up his abode on Mount Seir. Hence it is that in one passage Jacob, when on his journey from Gilead to Shechem, passes southward over the Jabbok, although in reality he had nothing to do in that region and would gladly have avoided Esau; the story, however, requires that the two brothers should meet. See JABBOK, § *2.*

What were the relations between the Israelites and the Edomites at the time of the Exodus is a matter about which the narratives of the Pentateuch leave **us** in doubt. According to one story, the Israelites marched straight through the Edomite territory (cp Nu. 33 37 *f.* 42 *f.*); according to a more detailed account, they avoided it altogether by performing a circuit to the south (cp WANDERINGS, **§ 13).** It must be remembered, however, (1) that it is quite uncertain whether at that time the Edomites were already in possession of the country which they afterwards occupied, and (2) that the immigration of the Israelite tribes was probably not a single united movemebt, but a series of separate undertakings which followed different lines of march (see ISRAEL, **§ 7).**

One of the ancient kings of Edom is said to have defeated the Midianites on the Moabite table-land (Gen. *30* 35; see MIDIAN, and cp BELA ii., 1). Whether the brief mention of Saul's victory over the Edomites in, 1 S. 14 47 is historical we cannot determine: the fact that his chief herdman was DOEG the Edomite (1 S. 21 7 [8] *22* [BA, *6 συpos*]; cp Ps. **522)** does not, of course, imply any dominion of Israel over Eclom. David, however, subdued the Edomites after a severe contest.

A short account of this war may be obtained by combining 2 S. 8 13 *f.* (where the text is in part very corrupt; cp 𝔊) with 1 Ch. 18 11-13 and Ps. 60 2 (𝔊 omits 'Edom'), to which we should add 1 K. 11 15 *f.*; but much still remains obscure. **A** great battle was fought in the Valley of Salt, by which is probably meant the northern extremity of the vast barren lowland usually called the Arābah (cp Buhl, *Edomiter*, 20; but for another view see SALT, VALLEY OF). Joab, David's general, is said to have extirpated all the male Edomites in the course of six months. This is unquestionably a gross exaggeration, for had such been the case the nation could never have reappeared in history. There can be little doubt, however, that David's conquest gave rise to the deadly hatred afterwards manifested between Edom and Israel or at least between Edom and Judah. See DAVID, § 8 *c*.

A prince of the royal house contrived to escape to Egypt (on מצרים, cp HADAD i., 2), and his son GENUBATH (*q.v.*) regained the sovereignty of Edom after David's death (1 K. 11 14-22, to which last verse 𝔊^{BL} rightly appends the second half of *v.* 25, with the reading Edom [ארום or ארם] instead of 'Aram' [ארם]). The statement that Solomon included Edomite women among his wives (1 K. 11 1) does not seem irreconcilable with the foregoing account; but the extensive traffic which he carried on with Ophir from the port of Elath (at the NE. extremity of the Red Sea) certainly implies that he was master of the intervening territory. We may suppose that the kingdom of Genubath included only a part of the Edomite country, or else that the new king recognised the king of Judah as his superior. **In** any case, the Edomite state cannot, at this time, have been really powerful: a few generations later we find the same seaport in the hands of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and it is expressly stated that the Edomites were then

without a king (1 K. 22 47 [48] *f.*). It would, therefore, seem that the narrative of the campaign undertaken by Jehoram and Jehoshaphat against Mesha king of Moab can scarcely be correct in representing a king of Edom as taking part in the expedition (2 K. 3). This story, as a whole, doubtless rests on genuine tradition; but it contains much that is fabulous (cp JEHORAM, § 3 *f.*). The utmost that can be conceded is that the 'king of Edoni.' was a prince subject to Judah. Moreover, the statement in 1 K. 22 47 [48] must be taken in connection with another, according to which the Edomites rebelled in the time of Jehoshaphat's son Joram and set up a king of their own. The attempt to subdue them afresh proved a failure. (The details of the narrative in 2 K. 8 20-22 = 2 Ch. 21 8-10 again present difficulties of interpretation.) The Blessing upon Esau (Gen. 27 39 *f.*), at least in its present form, probably dates from this period of independence—Esau will serve Jacob [cp Gen. 25 23]—but the following words, presumably added somewhat later, state that if he makes an effort he will shake off the yoke. The narratives of Genesis assign the pre-eminence to Jacob, nor do they fail to recognise the enmity between the two brothers; but, at the same time, the character of Esau is treated with respect, and much stress is laid upon the final reconciliation. All this seems to represent the feeling of those who desired to see peace permanently established between the two peoples; or, possibly, the sentiments here expressed may proceed rather from subjects of the Ephraimite kingdom, to whom the dominion of Judah over Edom appeared a matter of no great importance. On the other hand, the Judahite prophets Joel and Amos—of whom the first is now usually regarded as post-exilic, whilst the second undoubtedly belongs to the period which we are at present considering—threaten the Edomites with a severe chastisement from God on account of their crimes against Israel (Joel 3 [4] 19 Am. 1 11 *f.*). The view that the latter passage is not really by Amos (see AMOS, § 9) does not commend itself to the present writer; but, with regard to Am. 9 11-15, which predicts, among other things, that Judah is to dispossess 'the remnant of Edoin' (𝔊^BAQ τῶν ἀνθρώπων), it is plain that there is grave cause for doubt. This was the period of the war in which the hostile Moabites burned the bones of a certain king of Edom 'to lime' (Am. 2 1). There is reason to believe that a great trade in slaves was then carried on by the Edomites: we rend of whole troops of exiles being delivered over to Edoni by the inhabitants of Gaza and Tyre (see We. on Am. 1 6 9).

7. Time of divided monarchy.

Amaziah king of Judah again subdued Edom and captured the town of Sela—*i.e.*, 'Rock' (see AMAZIAH, 1, JOKTHEEL, 2). Buhl's denial of the equivalence of Sela and Petra is hardly justified (see PETRA). Whether this conquest was maintained—and, if so, by what means—through all the disturbances which soon afterwards arose in Judah we cannot say. In the reign of Ahaz, Rezin king of Damascus restored Elath to the Edomites (2 K. 16 6, where we should read 'Edom' [ארם] and 'Edomites' [ארומים] with 𝔊): hence we may conclude that till then the men of Judah had been in possession not only of the town in question but also of the country to the N. of it, or at least of some route whereby it could be safely reached, a route which perhaps lay partly outside of the Edomite territory. The statement in 2 Ch. 28 17 seems to be a modified form of the tradition relating to those events. To the same (or possibly to a much earlier) period we may assign the ancient fragment which is found in Ps. 60 8-11 [10-13] (= Ps. 108 8-11 [10-13]), embedded among quite late pieces: here occur the scornful words, 'Over Edom will I cast my shoe' (see SHOES, § 4 [*b*]), and 'Who will lead me to Edom?'[1] Moreover, several of the discourses uttered by the prophets against Edom appear to date from about this time, after the nation had recovered its independence—*e.g.*, the piece which (as Ew. pointed out) is partially reproduced by the post-exilic prophet OBADIAH (*q.v.*, ii.), as well as by his predecessor Jeremiah (ch. 49 7-22). The details of the prophecy, however, are no longer intelligible. Similar utterances are found in Is. 11 14 Jer. 9 25 25 21 49 7-22 (cp Jer. 27 3). On the other hand, the author of Deuteronomy emphatically teaches that Israel has no right to the territory of Edom, and likewise recommends a friendly treatment of the kindred nation (Dt. 2 5-8 23 7 [8] *f.*).

8. Later days of monarchy.

In the Assyrian inscriptions Kauš-malak king of Edom appears, together with his contemporary, Ahaz **king** of Judah, as a tributary of Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727 B.C.); see *KB* ii. 21. Similarly, Malik-ram king of Edom (*ib.* 291) paid tribute to Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), and Kauš-gabr king of Edoin, as well as Manasseh king of Judah, paid tribute to Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) and to Ašur-bāni-pal (668-626 B.C.): *ib.* 149 and 239; cp Del. *Par.* 295, Schr. *KAT*(2) 149 *f.*

At the approach of Nebuchadrezzar, the nations bordering on Judah—the Edomites among them—sent envoys to Jerusalem to consult together (Jer. 27 3). After the destruction of their royal city, many Jews sought refuge in Edom (Jer. 40 11); but the Edomites, as was natural, hailed with delight the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah (Obad. 11-14 Lam. 4 21 Ps. 137 7). They seized the opportunity to occupy part of the territory of Judah (Ezek. 36 3), though perhaps another partial cause for the migration may be suggested (see NABATÆANS). At a later period we find them in possession of S. Judæa, to which the special name of Idumæa was given; this term occurs as early as 312 B.C. (Diod. Sic. xix. 98, a passage based upon the contemporaneous testimony of Hieronymus of Kardia). Hebron, the ancient capital of the tribe of Judah, within an ordinary day's march of Jerusalem, became an Edomite city (1 Macc. 5 65 Jos. *BJ* iv. 9 7).[1] We can scarcely doubt that from the time of the Babylonian Exile the Edomites held this territory, which, though for the most part not very fertile, was preferable to their original home.

9. Exilic and post-exilic times.

The exilic and the post-exilic prophets and poets of the Israelites, as we might have expected, denounce the Edomites in no measured terms (see Ezek. 25 12-14 35 14 36 3 Obad. Lam. 4 21 Is. 34 63 1-6 Ps. 137 7 Mal. 1 2-5). Similar were the sentiments of Jesus Ben-Sira (who wrote about the year 190 B.C.); in 50 26 the Cairo Hebrew fragment (see ECCLESIASTICUS, § 4) has יושבי שעיר;[2] we must suppose the author to have made use of an antiquated phrase no longer applicable to the Edomites of his own time. The author of the book of Daniel (167 or 166 B.C.)[3] appears, on the contrary, to have been less unfriendly to Edom, as well as to Moab and Ammon, following in this the example of his predecessor, the Deuteronomist (see Dan. 11 41). There is, it may be remarked, no ground for the assumption that the Edomites had, during the intervening period, retired from S. Judæa and had afterwards taken possession of it a second time (see Buhl, *Edomiter*, 77). The list of places in Neh. 11 25-36 is, at any rate, not contemporary with Nehemiah, and if authentic in any sense must be borrowed from a pre-exilic source.[4]

1 In the critical analysis of Ps. 60 the present writer agrees, *in the main*, with Ew., who assigns *vv.* 1-5 10 (except 'wilt not thou, O God, which,' RV mg.) 11 *f.* (EV's numeration) to a psalmist shortly before Nehemiah, and *vv.* 6-9, and the opening of *v.* 10, to David (warridg against the Aramæans). The Davidic origin of those words is, however, highly questionable. (Cp PSALMS.)

1 [On the Edomites in Judah in the early post-exilic period see Mey. *Entst.* 114 *ff.*]

2 It has now heen proved therefore that Fritzsche and others were fully justified in reading 'Seir' (σηείρ).

3 [See Nöld. *AT Lit.* 223 ('68); but cp DANIEL ii., § 18.]

4 [Several critics—*e.g.*, Torrey, Francis Brown, and E. Meyer—have lately come to the conclusion that the catalogue in question is a fiction of the Chronicler.]

Judas the Maccabee fought against the Edomites on the territory which had formerly belonged to the tribe of Judah (1 Macc. 5365). They are mentioned as enemies in Ps. **837** [6], which was composed about this time. Cp Judith 78 18 of the same period.

At length Judah gained the victory over Edom. John Hyrcanns first wrested ADORA (*q.v.*) and MARESHAH (*q.v.*) out of the hands of the Edomites (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 91, *BJ* i. 26). About the end of the second century B.C. he compelled the whole Edomite nation, it is said, to adopt the practice of circumcision, and the Jewish Law (*Ant.* xiii. 91 xv. 79). Henceforth they were included among the Jews (*ib.*, Strabo, 760). Idumæa is several times mentioned as a district belonging to Judæa (*e.g.*, Jos. *BJ* iii. **35**).

10. End of Edom.

The conquest, however, did not prove a blessing to the Jews; for, in consequence of those events, it came about that the ill-starred family of Antipas, the dynasty of the Herods, whom we should no doubt regard, in accordance with the common opinion, as of Edomite origin (see Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 103, *BJ* i. 62; cp Mishna, *Sota*, vii. 8), made themselves masters of Judæa and of all Palestine, and thus were enabled to plunge the Jews into great misfortune. The Edomites also had reason to regret their union with their former rivals. Considering themselves Jews in the fullest sense, the fierce and turbulent inhabitants of Idumæa (Jos. *BJ* iv. **41** 51) eagerly joined in the rebellion against the Romans, and played a prominent part both in the intestine struggles and in the heroic but altogether hopeless resistance to the enemy (*ib.* iv. **4f: 81** 95 *f.* v. 92 vi. **26** 82). Thus Edom was laid waste with fire and sword, and the nation as such ceased to be. Even the fact that the Edomites had at length become Jews was soon completely forgotten by the exponents of Jewish tradition. The frequent denunciations of Edom in the OT caused the name to be remembered only as an object of hatred, and hence the Jews came at an early date to employ it as a term indicating Rome, the most abhorred of all their enemies. And yet many of the Jews, it would seem, must have had Edomite blood in their veins; for we may reasonably assume not only that the Edomitcs, after they had adopted Judaism, intermarried largely with their co-religionists, but also that those Edomites who survived the final catastrophe, whether in the condition of slaves or otherwise, were regarded as Jews both by themselves and by the outer world (cp CHUZA).

With'respect to the habits and intellectual culture of the Edomites we possess scarcely any information. In spite of their ferocity, to which the OT writings as well as the accounts of the closing struggle bear testimony, the Edomites, and especially Teman, appear, strangely enough, to have enjoyed a reputation for great wisdom (Obad. 8 = Jer. **497**). It is not without reason that in the Book of Job the sage who occupies the foremost place among Job's friends is called Eliphaz of Teman, after two of the most important clans of Edom, Eliphaz being the first-born of Esau and Teman the first-born of Eliphaz. Perhaps Job himself also is, to be regarded as an Edomite, since his country, the land of Uz (*q.v.*; see also JOB [BOOK], § 4), is mentioned in connection with Edom (Lam. **421** [𝔊 omits Uz], cp Gen. 3628). At all events, we may conclude that at a tolerably early period some portion at least of this people acquired a certain civilisation, as was the case with the later occupants of the same district, the NABATÆANS (*q.v.*). In all probability this was largely due to the fact that the trade route from Yemen to Palestine and Syria passed through the country in question.

11. Civilisation.

Of the ancient religion of the Edomites nothing definite is known. Whatever legends they may have possessed concerning their ancestors, Abraham, Sarah, and Esau, have wholly perished. Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 79) mentions *Koze* as an Edomite deity; the name has been identified with that of the Arabian god *Ḳozaḥ* sacrificed to in the neighbourhood of Mecca, after whom the rainbow was called by the Arabs 'the bow of *Ḳozaḥ*' (cp WRS, *Kin.* 296). Nothing more has been ascertained respecting him. Still less do we know about the god who figures in several Edomite proper names under the Assyrian form *Kauš*, in *Kauš-malak* and *Kauš-gabr*, and the Greek form *Kos*, in *Kostobaros* (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 79) and some other names, which, however, are not actually stated to be Edomite; the same god appears in the Nabatæan inscriptions at *al-Ḥegr* as קס in קסנתן, Κοσνάτανος (*i.e.*, 'Kos has given') whilst in the Sinaitic inscriptions the name is spelt קוס, in קוסעדר (*i.e.*, 'Kos has helped'). Malik, 'king,' in the proper name Malikram (see ahove, § 8), is a general title of Semitic deities. The heathen feast celebrated at Mamre near Hebron, at length suppressed by Constantine (see the interesting account in Sozom. *HE* 24), was perhaps mainly of Edomite origin. It is even possible that on this soil, hallowed by patriarchal legend, there may have survived some rites which had been practised long before in ancient Israel, rites which might well seem heathenish both to the later Jews and to the Christians.

12. Religion.

From the statement that the practice of circumcision was imposed upon the Edomites by John Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 91) it might be concluded that there was no such custom among them previously. This, however, is extremely improbable. The OT assumes that all descendants of Abraham were circumcised, and since, in later times at least, this practice was universal, among the Arabs, we can hardly believe that the whole Edomite nation had abandoned it in the course of ages. Probably Josephus was here misled by a statement that the Edomites had adopted the religious customs of the Jews, and himself added, with his usual inaccuracy, the special reference to circumcision, which was considered the most important characteristic of Judaism. Or perhaps we are to understand that the Jewish rite of circumcision shortly after birth was substituted for the rite in use among the kindred peoples, namely circumcision shortly before puberty (cp CIRCUMCISION, § 4 *f.*), the former alone being recognised as real circumcision by the Jews.

How thoroughly the Edomites were at length transformed into Jews is shown, for example, by the fact that among the very few names which are mentioned as having been borne by Edomites in those times, that of Jacob (the brother and rival of Esau!) occurs twice (Jos. *BJ* iv. 96 v. 61 vi. *26* 83). We find, moreover, the characteristically Jewish names, Simon (*ib.* v. 61 vi. 26), John (*ib.* v. 65), and Phinehas (*ib.* iv. **42**).

The language of the ancient Edomites probably resembled that of Israel at least as closely as did the language of the Moabites. It is possible that the discovery of some inscription may throw further light on the subject; at present our information is derived solely from a few proper names of persons and places. In the later period of their history the Edomites, like the Jews, doubtless spoke the Aramaic language, which was in common use throughout all Syria. T. N.

13. Language.

EDOS (ΗΔΟϹ [B]), 1 Esd. 935 RV, **AV** EDES.

EDREI (אֶדְרֶעִי, deriv. uncertain; cp Arab. *midhrā'*, land between desert and cultivated soil; also Aram. דרע to sow, as if analogous to יזרעאל; cp Bedawi name below; ΕΔΡΑΕΙΝ [B], -Μ [A], ΑΔΡΑΙ or ΕΔ. [L]).

(1) A chief city of Bashan, one of the residences of Og 'who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei' (Josh. **124** 131231; cp also Dt. 14, 'in Ashtaroth at Edrei.' where probably 'and' has fallen out). Along with Salcah, which lay far to the E., it is given as the frontier of Og's kingdom (Dt. 310). According to the deuteronomist, Israel reached it on the way to Bashan, and found Og and all his people planted there to meet them (Dt. 31 Nu. 2133-35 Josh. 1312); Og was defeated and slain. The town fell to the half-tribe of Manasseh (Josh. 1331 P),

but is not mentioned again. It appears to be the 'Otara'a of the Egyptian inscriptions (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 159).

Edrei was the Ἄδρα of Ptolemy, the Ἀδραα or *Adra* of Eusebius and Jerome, and the Adraha of the Peutinger Tables. The position to which it is assigned by all these (Ptolemy puts it due E. of Gadara, Eus. **24** or 25 R. m. from Bosra, and the *Tab. Pent.* 16 m. from Capitolias, the modern Beit-er-Rās) closely agrees with that of the modern *'Edra'āt* (*'Adri'āt*, *Der'āt*, *Der'ā*, *Derā'ā*; in the Bedawi dialect *Azra'āt*), about *22* m. NW. from Boṣra, 6 m. SE. from el-Mnzeirib, and 15 NE. of Beit-er-Rās. The site is strong, on the S. of the deep gorge that forms the S. boundary of the plain of Ḥaurān, 6 m. E. from the present Hajj road. This agrees with the data given above, that it was a frontier town, and on the way into Bashan. The gorge winds, and, with a tributary ravine, isolates the present city on all sides but the S. The citadel is completely cut off, on a hill which projects into the gorge and may have held the whole ancient town. The ruins, probably from Roman times, cover a circuit of two miles.

The most prominent are those of a large reservoir, fed by the great aqueduct (Ḳanāt Fir'aun, Pharaoh's aqueduct) which runs from a small lake near Yābis in Ḥaurān *viâ* Edrei to Gadara, a distance as the crow flies of 40 m.; but the aqueduct winds. There is a building, **44** yards by **31**, with a double colonnade, evidently the Christian cathedral of Boṣra, but now a mosque. Some Greek inscriptions are given by Le Bas and Waddington: the present writer found another of the year **165** A.D. (*HG* **606**, n. 2).

The most notable remains, however, are the caves beneath the citadel. They form a subterranean city, a labyrinth of streets with shops and houses, and a market place (Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*, 47 *f.*: cp Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*).

Wetzstein says, 'The present city, which, judging from its walls, must have been one of great extent, lies for the most part directly over the old subterranean city and I 'believe that now, in case of a devastating war, the inhaditants would retire to the latter for safety.'

The OT makes no mention of so great a marvel, which probably dates, in its present elaborate form, from Greek times; but such refuges must have been always a feature of a laud so swept by Arab raids.

It is puzzling that Edrei appears neither in the **E.** campaign of Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5); nor is it in Pliny's list of the original DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*). However, it was early colonised by Greeks, and (on the evidence of a coin) De Saulcy dates its independence from as far back as **83** B.C. (*Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, 374 *f.*). After Pompey it belonged to the Roman province of Syria, and after Trajan to that of Arabia. Its inhabitants worshipped Astarte and the Nabatæan god Dusara. Eus. and Jer., who describe it as a notable town of Arabia (OS **1184** 213 37), place it in Βαταναία. Its bishop sat at the Councils of Seleucia, Constantinople (**381**) and Chalcedon (451). The Crusaders who besieged it (Will. Tyr. 16 10) called it *Adratum*. Other authorities are: Porter, ***Five Years in Damascus***, whose theory ((1), 221 *f.*; (2), 271 *f.*), that Og's city is the modern Ezra or Zorawa on the W. limit of the Lejā, is unfounded, Schumacher, *Across Jordan* (136 *ff.*); Wright, *Palmyra and Zenobia*, 284 *ff.*; Merrill, ***East of Jordan***, 349 *ff.*; A. G. Wright, *PEFQ*, '95, p. 72 *ff*; cp. *ZDMG* 29 431 435.

2. An unidentified site, one of the fenced cities of Naphtali (Josh. 19 37: ασσαρει [B], εδραει [A], αδ. [L]). Conder suggests Ya'tir (*PEF Mem.* **1203 205**).

G. A. S.

EDUCATION

Systematic education among the Jews may be traced to the influence of Hellenism. The foundation of Alexandria was an event as important for education as for the development and enrichment of Jewish thought. Consequently there are, properly, two periods in the history of Jewish education in biblical times, the first lasting to the end of the Persian rule, the second beginning with the Greek and continuing into the Roman. Within the first period there are two notable breaks, the one caused by the growth of commerce and luxury among the pre-exilic Israelites, the other by the rise of Judaism as a book-religion; within the second there is but one break, marked by the reported introduction of compulsory education by Simon ben-Shefach (שטח). We have so little definite knowledge, however, about the early part of the first period that we may conveniently group the facts which we can collect undcr three heads, viz.: (I.) down to the time of Ezra; (II.) from Ezra to Simon ben-Sheṭach; and (III.) from Simon ben-Shefach to the end of the Jewish State.

1. Periods.

On oral instruction see below, §§ 3, 12, 20.

[1] For Hebrew terms see § 3.

I. *Before Ezra.*—In primitive times education was purely a domestic and family concern (see FAMILY, § 13). The home was the only school and the parents the only teachers. The parental authority and claim to reverence forms part of the earliest legislation (Ex. 20 12, cp also 21 15 17 in the 'Book of the Covenant') and is reiterated in the later literature (Prov. 19 26 20 20 and often). In the purely agricultural stage it must have been a primary object with fathers to train up their children to share the labours of husbandry, or to carry on the skill in useful arts which had become hereditary in certain families. We may be sure, however, that even such instruction was given in a religious spirit. Among the Israelites, as among other early peoples, traditional methods of work were traced to a divine origin[1] (cp AGRICULTURE, § 14). For this idea we may compare the parable of the ploughman, Is. **28** 23 *ff.* (which, whatever be its date, is antique in feeling'), and the evidently primitive stories in Genesis about the rise of civilisation (see CAINITES, § 3 *ff.*).

2. Earliest practice.

The religious sense, however, was no doubt specially cultivated in the minds of the children. The boys would in due time be initiated (חנך) in religious rites (cp Ex. **13** 8 Dt. 49, etc.; see CATECHISE, and cp DEDICATE), and all children would be instructed by the mother in the primary moral, as distinguished from the ritual and institutional, elements in the old religion (*e.g.*, reverence for elders, and the like). At a later time the mother is expressly mentioned as the giver of moral instruction (see below, § 5); this is clcnrly a survival of a more ancient custom. The *'ōmēn* (אֹמֵן; RV 'nursing father') or παιδαγωγός (tutor) was also no donbt an instructor of the children under his charge[2] (see NURSE).

The introduction of commerce with its attendant luxury brought about great social changes by the time of the earliest prophets whose discourses are preserved to us. According to Isaiah grave social evils had arisen (WRS *Proph.*(1), **204**; *OTJC*(2), **349** *f.*); but we may venture to assume that the high culture of which this prophet is himself an example was not unconnected with the inrushing of new ideas and habits caused by an increased knowledge of other peoples (see WRITING). A knowledge of books, it is true, is not now, and never has been, essential to culture in the East. 'The ideal of instruction is *oral teaching*, and the worthiest shrine of truths that must not die is the memory and heart of a faithful disciple,' and the term Torah, which ultimately came to be applied to the Written Law, was originally applied to an oral decision (*OTJC*(2) 299 *ff.*). Cp ISRAEL, § 61; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 1; LAW LITERATURE, PRIESTS.

3. Higher culture.

Not much can be said here on the specialised training

[1] That the ancient sentiment lingered late may he seen from the fact that several treatises of the Mishna deal with agriculture (cp Vogelstein, ***Die Landwirthschaft in Palästina zur*** *Zeit d. Mischna*, i. '94).

[2] Cp the later identification παιδαγωγός (פרגוג) = אמון = wisdom = Torah (Buxtf., 1698), which illustrates Gal. **3** 24 (see Taylor, *Pirḳe Ābōth*(2), 173).

of certain persons, such as craftsmen, prophets, and priests (see HANDICRAFTS, PROPHETS, PRIESTS). It is enough to remark that prophets and priests were in a very true sense 'stays' (Is. 3 1) of the social structure, not only on account of the awe they inspired but also because of the teaching which they gave to their disciples and hearers.

It is well known that in Mishnic Hehrew the characteristic word for both 'to learn' and 'to teach' is שנה, *šānāh*, 'to repeat'; whilst משנה, *mišnah* (prop. 'repetition') is 'instruction' (see further below, § 20). It is noticeable that in Bib. Hehrew שנה does not occur in this special sense. The biblical words are למד, *lāmadh*, 'to learn' (Pi. 'to teach'); שִׁנֵּן, *šinnēn*, 'to inculcate'; הורה, *hōrāh* (√ירה), 'to instruct' (מוֹרֶה, *mōreh*, "teacher"); הבין, *hēbhīn* (מבין, *mēbhīn*, 'teacher'); השכיל, *hiškīl*, also meaning 'to teach.' In this connexion the following quotation from the final tablet of the Babylonian epic of Creation (Reverse l. 22 *f.*) is interesting :—

Let them stand forth (?)—let the elder enlighten ;
Let the wise, the learned, meditate together !
Let the father ***rehearse*** (*šānû, šunnû* = שנה), make the son apprehend!
Open be the ears of Shepherd and Flockmaster (*i.e.*, the king).[1]

The publication of the Rook of Deuteronomy (621 B.C.) had far-reaching consequences for popular education.

4. Systematic moral

The public recognition by king and people of a written code of law 'which was intended to cover the whole life of a citizen, both on its religious and secular side' (C. G. Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* 188) involved a conception of life which was akin to, and prepared the way for, the later Judaism. Under its influence, some time in the seventh century, an attempt was perhaps made to enforce upon each Israelite 'the necessity of instilling right religion and morality into his children and household' (Che. *Jew. Rel.* **Life,** 130, citing Gen. 18 17-19 which probably belongs to this period). The exhortations in D to instruct children in the sacred history and law (49 6720 11 19) point in the same direction, though the date of these passages may be later than 621 B.C., and the ideal which they set forth was not fully carried out till after the time of Ezra. There were also in the pre-exilic period some anticipations of the 'wisdom' ideas, first expressed by Isaiah (31-2), which later played so important a part in the development of the educational system (see further Che. *op. cit.* 130 *f.*).

II. *From Ezra to Simon ben-Shetach* (75 B.C.).—The period which extends from the fall of Jerusalem to the arrival of Ezra was a period of extraordinary activity, both moral and intellectual, in the choicest part of the Jewish people.

5. Second period: Ezra ... B.C.

'The task which now devolved on the nation was the inventorying of the spiritual property of Israel' (Cornill, *Proph.* *Isr.* 125). Hence quite naturally there arose a *literary* class, the SCRIBES (*q.v.*), who were not only students but also teachers of law and sacred literature, and may perhaps he connected with the growth of an institution closely identified at a Iater time with the educational movement—viz., the SYNAGOGUE[2] (*q.v.*). Henceforth the Jews became emphatically 'the people of the book.' The sacred writings became the spelling hook, the community a school, religion an affair of teaching and learning. Piety and education were inseparable ; whoever could not read was no true Jew (Wellhausen). Surely we may say that we are now assisting at the birth of a truly popular education, rooted and grounded in morality and religion. Even if the account of Ezra's introduction of the Law in Neh. **8** is not, as it stands, historical (see **EZRA** i., § 8), it may serve as a record of the beginnings on Palestinian soil of the *synagogue*, of which Ezra is the traditional founder. (Note the description of the reading and exposition of the Torah by Ezra and the Levite teachers, especially the phrase מבינים,[1] 'caused [the people] to understand.')

As to what constituted the new popular education, we may safely say that it led up to an accurate knowledge of the sacred history and the Law.

It may be regarded as highly probable also that. however prominent was the part taken by the father[2] in the early religious instruction of the child, the mother, as in the earlier period (see above, § 2), and always, exercised an important influence.

'My son' (*i.e.*, my disciple), says a wise man, 'keep the commandment of thy father, and forsake iiot the instruction (תורת) of thy mother' (Prov. 6 20 ; other passages speaking of the *torah* of the mother are 1 8 6 23; cp 31 1-9, which seems to he a poetical embodiment of such). A N T writer refers (2 Tim. 1 5) to the religious influence exercised on Timothy by his mother and grandmother.

Throughout, it is oral instruction that is presupposed (see esp. Dt. 67). No doubt reading, and in a less degree writing, became increasingly important and more widely diffused as time went on (see below, § 19).

The importance of the synagogue, from the educational point of view, lies in its character as a teaching institution.

6. The Synagogue.

Schurer remarks (*GJV* 2 357 *f.* ET 4 53 *f.*), that 'the *main object* of the sabbath day assemblages in the synagogue was not publicworship in its strictersense—*i.e.*, not devotion—but religious instruction, and this for an Israelite was, above all, instruction in the Law.' With this agrees the evidence both of Philo and of the NT. The former calls synagogues 'houses of instruction' in which 'the native philosophy' was studied and every kind of virtue taught (*Vit. Mcs.* 3 27); whilst in the latter a characteristic word applied to the activities centred in the synagogue is διδάσκειν (Mt. 4 23 and often).

The scribes (סופרים, *sōphĕrīm*—*i.e.*, *homines literati*) were, from the Maccabean timesonward, 'the real teachers of the people,' and what complete sway they bore over the people's life may be seen from the WT.

7. The Scribes.

We must remember, indeed, that the scribes of the Herodian age were in some respects very unlike the earlier scribes ; but the point in which the scribes of all ages agreed was their character as teachers.

'l'eachers' and 'scholars' are proverhially opposed in 1 Ch. 25 8 *b* (cp DISCIPLE, § 1). 'Teachers of the people' (מַשְׂכִּילֵי עָם) —*i.e.*, probably, scribes—are mentioned in Daniel (11 33 35 12 3), and a 'company of scribes' (συναγωγὴ γραμματέων) in 1 Macc. 7 12. For the references to the scribes in Ecclus. see next section.

Were the 'scribes,' then, the only teachers? The wise men of Proverbs, who cultivated the art of teaching with so much enthusiasm and in Prov. 5 13 are actually called 'teachers'

8. The 'Wise.'

(מֹרִים, מְלַמְּדִים), were hardly 'scribes.' They were earnestly religious men, who, feeling that 'wisdom' was a practical thing, devoted their energy to instilling it into the minds of the young.

The disciples are to them as their own children (Prov. 1 8 2 1 3 1 4 1, and often; cp Ps. 34 11 [12]); and the teaching which they impart is called 'the words of the wise' (דברי חכמים, Prov. 1 6 22 17 [cp 24 23], Eccles. 9 17 12 11 ; cp the Mishnic דברי סופרים, applied to the dicta of scribes of a former age.

These sages, no less than the scribes, seem to he regarded as a special guild (Prov. 1 6 13 14 22 17 24 23 Eccles. 12 11), though 'we are left almost entirely in the dark as to the formation and constitution of these societies, the extent and the methods of their investigation' (Kautzsch, *Outline of Hist. of Lit. of O T* 151 ; cp also BDB *Lex.*, *s.v.* חכם). On the other hand, the guild of the 'wise' was already organised in pre-exilic times (see Che. *Job and Solomon,* 123, and elsewhere);

[1] Ball, *Light from the East,* 17. The opening expression is uncertain (Del. *Weltschöpf.* 160).

[2] Cp Montefiore, *op. cit.* 230.

[1] Neh. 7 7. The same phrase is rendered 'teachers' in Ezra 8 16 RV.

[2] According to the later enactments, as soon as a child could speak (*i.e.*, in his third year) he was to he instructed in the Torah hy his father (*Sukka,* 42 *a*). In the Talmudic period the child did not attend the elementary school before his sixth year (*Kĕthūbōth,* 50 *a* ; see further below, § 18).

in the later period their attitude to the Law, though by no means unsympathetic (*see* Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 138 *f.*), was hardly that which would characterise the disciples of Ezra.[1] On the whole it is best, perhaps, to snppose that the *sōphĕrīm* and the 'wise' formed two distinct but allied classes in the Persian and the early Greek periods, but that by the time of Ben-Sira the distinction had largely disappeared (*so* We. *IJG*(1) 154, n. 1; sage and scribe are identified in Ecclus. 38 24 *f.*; cp 6 33 *f.* 9 14 *f.* 14 20 *f.*).

Though distinct, however, the earlier *sōphĕrīm* cannot have been uninfluenced by the 'wise'; they may even sometimes have adopted their literary style (see Che. *OPs.* 348), and in any case were saved from the barren literalism which begins to characterise the scribes of the post-Maccabean age. For the victory of the Law which crowned the Maccabean struggle foreshadowed the close of the OT literature. Contrast, from a literary point of view, the Pharisaic Psalms of Solomon (written 63 B.C. ?) with the canonical Psalms.

Whatever be the true view as to the mutual relation between 'scribes' and 'wise.' the latter played a great part in educational matters during the period under review. Some of the results of their pædagogic exuerience are enshrined in the Book–of Proverbs. These can only be summed up briefly here.

9. Pedagogic wisdom: Prov.

The idea of life as a *discipline* (*musār*, מוסר, thirty times in Prov.) is fundamental in the book; 'God educates men and men educate each other' (Holtzmann, quoted in Driver, *Introd.*(6) 404). The foundation of all instruction is emphasised in the precept 'The fear of Yahwè is the beginning—or the chief parr (RVmg.)—of knowledge (1 7)'; the instructors of the child are his parents, reverence towards whom is again enforced (1 8 4 1-4 6 20 13 1 30 17).

The development of the child's character is to be studied (20 11), and the educational means employed are to be adjusted accordingly.

Among these means the use of the 'rod' is constantly recommended (13 24, 'he that spareth the rod hateth his son'; cp 23 13 *f.* 29 15 17); but the correction is not to be too strict (19 18 RV), and it is recognised that to an intelligent child a rebuke is of more avail than 'a hundred stripes' (17 10). The sovereign remedy, however, for expelling the innate 'foolishness' of children is the 'rod' (22 15). A 'fool' who does not prove amenable to this treatment seems to have been considered hopeless by the Jewish teachers [27 22, 'even if thou pound a fool in the midst of his fellows thou wilt not remove his foolishness from him' (crit. emend.); see Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 136]. Cp FOOL.

The importance of a good education is repeatedly emphasised. A well-educated child is a joy to his parents (10 1 23 24; cp 17 25). In wealthier families (cp Ecclus. 51 28) the child, if he aspired to 'wisdom,' would pass from the parents to professional teachers (5 13)—viz., the sages—who would inculcate the higher teaching current in the circles of the 'wise' (for an account of this see Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 135 *f.*).

The other great manual of pædagogic principles is the work of Ben-Sira (200-180 B.C.), who in spite of his [...]te and cosmopolitan training seems to have been comparatively uninfluenced by the surrounding Hellenism (for which see below, § 11). As is the case in Proverbs (on which his book is modelled) 'the wisdom of Joshua ben-Sira' or 'Ecclesiasticus' is an ethical manual. The same points are insisted upon as in the earlier book, sometimes with added emphasis.

10. Ecclus.

Thus, *e.g.*, the 'fear of the Lord' is not only 'the beginning of wisdom' (1 14), hut also wisdom's fulness (1 16) and crown (1 18). Again, the old reverence for parents is enforced with unmistakable vigour (3 2-9 7 27 *f.* etc.). 'Wisdom' is to be sought after diligently (6 36; 'If thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear out the steps of his doors. Cp 8 8 *f.* 9 15, etc., and *Aboth* 1 4).

Though perhaps there are more direct references to organised religion (*e.g.*, 7 29: 'Fear the Lord with all thy soul; *and reverence his priests*,' cp 24 23) than in Proverbs, the religious and ethical tone of Ecclesiasticus is distinctly lower. Of this the unbending severity recommended towards sons and daughters is an instance (7 23 *f.* 30 1-13). Among other points that call for mention here are the interesting reference to oral instruction (42 4*b*: 'instruction by the word of the tongue'), and the disparagement of manual labonr, as being inconsistent with the pursuit of knowledge, which 'cometh by opportunity of leisure' (38 24; with 38 25, homever, 'how shall he become wise that holdeth the plough'? contrast 7 15). Among the subjects of his discourse is the etiquette of dining (31 16-21). The important references to the scribes have already been pointed out (§ 8).

The Greek period, which commenced with Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian empire (332 B.C.) marks the rise of wholly new educational influences. The Palestinian Jews were, however, affected by this far less than their brethren abroad, especially those who became citizens of the new Greek city of Alexandria. Still the reflex influence of the Greek-Egyptian capital (not to speak of the Greek towns that began to grow up on Palestinian soil) must, for nearly a century and a half after 332, have been considerable even in Judæa. Slowly but surely Hellenic ideas penetrated to the centre of Judaism till the crisis that precipitated the Maccabean revolt was reached. In the reaction that followed, Hellenism was so far overcome that it ceased to be dangerous to to the root-ideas of Judaism (see ISRAEL, §§ 68 *ff.*).

11. Greek influence.

There is good reason to suppose that during this critical time Greek educational methods found their way to Jerusalem. This may be inferred from the fact that just before the Maccabean rising there was there a *gymnasium ephebeum* (1 Macc. 1 14 *f.* 2 Macc. 4 9 12). Doubtless, too, the education afforded to his children by the notorious Joseph, son of Tobias (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 6), was of the Greek type. At a later time Herod also probably attended a school of similar character (see below, § 14). A good instance of the ultimate extent and limitations of Greek influence can be seen in the author of Ecclesiasticus, who wrote when Hellenising influence was at its highest in Judæa. In essentials he is untouched by it. Still his emphasizing of leisure as the condition of wisdom (38 24) is distinctly Greek, no less than his comprehensive view of a wise man's culture (39 1-5).

To the questions as to practical details that suggest themselves only hesitating answers can be given. The scribes, doubtless, gave instruction in the synagogues; the Talmud speaks of the bells which were rung at the beginning of the lessons (Low, *Die Lebensalter*, 287, 421 ['75], quotes *Shabb.* 58 6). From Prov. 1 20 *f.* we might infer that the city-gates or the adjacent city-squares or 'broad places' on which the streets converged, were the places where the wise men awaited their disciples. Perhaps, however, it was in private houses that instruction, both by scribe and by sage, was most often given (cp Ecclus. 6 26 quoted above, § 10, and the other references there given). Regarding the methods employed there is greater uncertainty. Oral instruction (Ecclus. 42 46) and, probably, frequent repetition, would be in vogue. The use of acrostic (Ps. 119, etc.) and other mnemonic devices, such as *Athbash*[1] (cp Jer. 25 26 51 1) and the 'numerical' proverbs (Prov. 30 11-31, cp *Aboth* 5) also may be assigned to this period.[2] That reading was a widespread accomplishment at the beginning of the Maccabean age (167 B.C.) appears from 1 Macc. 1 57.

12. Practical details.

III. *Simon ben-Sheṭach* (75 B.C.) to *End of Jewish State* (70 A.D.).—The ideal of education is well expressed by Josephus. Contrasting the Israelitish system of culture with that of the Spartans, on the one

13. Third period 75 B.C.-70 A.D.

[1] On the priestly character of the earliest *sōpherīm* see We. *Sketch of Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* ('91), 131.

[1] The reader substitutes for each Hebrew letter in a word a letter from the other half of the alphabet, the letters interchanged being equidistant from the extremes. Thus in English A and Z, B and Y would interchange.

[2] So Kennedy, as cited, § 24.

hand, who educated by custom, not by theoretic instruction (ἔθεσιν ἐπαίδευον, οὐ λόγοις), and, on the other, with that of the Athenians and the rest of the Greeks, who contented themselves with theoretic instruction, and neglected practice, he says : 'But our law-giver very carefully combined the two. For he neither left the practice of morals silent, nor the teaching of law unperformed' (c. *Ap.* 216 *f.* quoted by Schiirer). The *knowledge* and *practice* of the Law thus set forth was to be the common possession of the whole nation, and the life-work of every Israelite. It began in early youth in the *family circle,* was carried (as we shall see) a stage further in the *school,* and continued in the *synagogue,* to which was also attached (for higher studies) the *scribes' college* (Beth ham-midrash ; see § 21).[1]

We have already seen that the necessity of (orally) instructing the children in the written Law was insisted upon comparatively early (see the exhortations in D enumerated above, § 4). This, as has been pointed out, would be, as a rule, the duty of the parents. From the great importance attached to the *early* education of children, however, even in Proverbs (*e.g.* 226) — and this would naturally be enhanced with the elaboration of scribal tradition — it was inevitable that some system of *popular elementary education* should be organised. When, then, was this effected? According to the Jerusalem Talmud (*Kĕthūbōth*, 8 11, p. 326) it was the work of the famous scribe Simon ben-Shetach, the brother of Queen Alexandra (reigned 78-69 B.C.).

14. The elementary school.[2]

Simon's ordinance runs thus : 'That the children shall attend the elementary school' (שיהיו התינוקות הולכין לבית הספר). It has been pointed out (*e.g.*, by Kennedy, as cited § 24) that the meaning of the regulation is not free from ambiguity. It may also be interpreted to mean that attendance on schools *already existing* was henceforth to be compulsory.'

In view of the fact that Simon's enactment is the second of three (apparently closely connected) marriage regulations added by him to the statute-book (see the passage in full in Derenbourg, *Hist.* 108), it is natural to suppose that it refers to attendance at existing schools rather than to the institution of such schools for the first time. The context certainly suggests that a hitherto neglected or half-performed duty was to be henceforth rigidly enforced. If, as is possible, for the higher (professional) teaching of the scribes, colleges (בתי המדרש ; see below, § 21) had already come into existence, it is hard to suppose that preparatory schools for these had not been organised already, especially when it is remembered that schools of the Greek type had been established in Jerusalem for a long time (see above, § 11). It is quite in accordance, also, with the forward movement of the Pharisaic party in the reign of Alexandra that measures should have been taken for extending the scope of these schools, and thus more widely diffusing Pharisaic principles among the people (cp ISRAEL, § 80 *ff.*). May it not, too, have been designed by means of them to check and counteract the more extreme forms of the surrounding Greek education? There seems, therefore, no good reason for rejecting the tradition respecting Simon's efforts on behalf of popular education, though Schurer dismisses the famous scribe's claims with unusual curtness. 'This Simon ben Shetach,' we are told, 'is quite a meeting-point for all kinds of myths' (*GJV* 2 353 = ET 449). The same scholar following the tradition of the Babylonian Talmud (*Bābā Bathrā* 21 *a*) ascribes the complete organisation of the elementary school to Joshua ben-Gamla (Gamaliel), who was high priest about 63-65 A.D.

The passage runs as follows: 'Truly may it be remembered to this man's credit ! Joshua ben-Gamla is his name. If he had not lived, the Law would have been forgotten in Israel. For at first, he who had a father was taught the Law by him, be who had none did not learn the Law. . . . Afterwards it was ordained, that teachers of boys should be appointed in Jerusalem. . . . But (even this did not suffice, for) he who had a father was sent to school by him, he who had none did not go there. Then it was ordained that teachers should be appointed in every province, and that boys of the age of sixteen or seventeen should be sent to them. But he whose teacher was angry with him ran away, till Joshua ben-Gamla came, and enacted that teachers should be appointed in every province and in every town (בכל מדינה ומדינה ובכל עיר ועיר), and children of six or seven years old brought to them.'

As the measures of Joshna obviously presuppose that there had been boys' schools for some time (Schiirer, *ibid.*) the two traditions are not really inconsistent. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Simon's earlier efforts, especially as regards the *provincial schools,* had been attended with only partial success, owing to the political and religious troubles of the time. Certainly if Josephus's statement regarding Herod's attendance at school (*Ant.* xv. 10 5) be correct — though doubtless the school in question conformed to the Greek rather than to the Jewish type — we may fairly infer that sometime before 40 B.C. schools had been instituted, at any rate in the larger towns. That they existed in the time of Jesus, 'though not as a general and established institution,' is admitted by Schiirer. It is decidedly curious that the word 'school' should not occur before the NT, and in the NT only once — viz., of the lecture room of a Greek rhetorician at Ephesus (σχολή, Acts 19 9).[1] The explanation, probably, is that the school (in both its elementary and its higher forms) was so intimately associated with the synagogue that in ordinary speech the two were not distinguished. The term 'synagogue' included its schools.[2]

Thus it is said (*Jalkūt Jes.*, § 257) that the synagogues in Jerusalem had each a *Bēth Sēpher* and a *Bēth Talmūd* (*i.e.*, the lower and the upper divisions of the school).

The statement that Jerusalem was destroyed because schools and school children ceased to be there (*Shabbāth*, 119), is obviously only a rhetorical way of emphasising the importance attached to the school in the Talmudic period; as also the similar one : 'Jerusalem was destroyed because the instructors were not respected' (*ibid.*). According to the *Jalkūt Jes.* (*l.c.*) Jerusalem, about the same period, possessed 480 schools !

There is no doubt that during the period under review either the synagogue proper (which was to be found in every Jewish town and village of any importance) or a room within its precincts was used for school purposes (the references are *Bĕrākhōth*, 17*a*, with Rashi, *Ta'ănīth*, 23*b*, *Ḳiddūshīn*, 30*a*).

The teacher's house also was sometimes requisitioned (hence the name בֵּית סַפְרָא 'teacher's house' — *i.e.*, school: Hamburger). Special buildings also were built as children's schools, but how early is quite uncertain. According to the Targum (Jerus. i. Gen. 33 17) the patriarch Jacob erected a college (בי מדרשא) in Succoth !

The classical passage for determining the gradations of the teaching profession is found in the Mishnic treatise *Sōṭā* 9 15 (ed. Surenh. 3 308; the passage can be seen also in Buxtorf, *Lex.*, ed. Fischer, 378 *a*).

15. Teachers.

It runs as follows : 'R. Eliezer the Great says: Since the destruction of the Temple the sages (חכמיא) have begun to be like the scribes (ספריא), and the scribes like the master (of the school, חזנא), and the master like the uneducated.' It has been usual to identify the *ḥazzān* (master) of the school with the *ḥazzān* (minister) of the synagogue (חַזַּן הַכְּנֶסֶת = ὑπηρέτης 'minister,' Lk. 4 20). Thus Buxtorf (*l.c.*) renders the second clause of the above 'et scribae sicut minister synagogae.' It has been pointed out, however, by the latest writer on the subject

1 Unfortunately the earliest Hebrew literature dealing with these subjects (the Mishna), though it contains earlier material, was not as a whole compiled and written down till the second century A.D. The quotations from the Mishnic treatise *Pirḳe Ābōth* (cited as *Aboth*) are numbered in this article according to Strack's edition of the Hebrew text.

2 Heb. בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר, *bēth hassēpher* = 'House of the Book.' For other names see § 17 end.

1 The 'schoolmaster' (παιδευτής, Rom. 2 20) is however mentioned, as well as the 'tutor' (παιδαγωγός), and the 'teacher (διδάσκαλος).

2 'Curiously enough in the Latin documents of the Middle Ages the synagogue was also termed *Scola* (school)'; J. Jacobs, *Jewish Year Book*, '96, p. 191. So also J. Simon (*L'éducation chez les Juifs*) who speaking of the synagogue as it existed in France in the early Middle Ages, says : 'La synagogue était une école autant qu'un lieu de culte. La prière n'avait d'efficacité que si elle était accompagnée de l'étude.'

(Kennedy) that 'חַזָּן is a word of genera! application, meaning "overseer" "inspector," or the like; and its exact significance has to he hecided by the context.'[1] The context of the above passage, as also of the other Mishna passage usually cited in this connection (*Shabbāth* 1 3), in the absence of the qualifying word הכנסת ('synagogue'), requires us to render 'overseer' or 'master (of the school). That the two offices were not identical further appears from the fact that, whereas the *ḥazzān* of the synagogue occupied a low position in the social scale (he was a kind of sexton, and his duties included such menial offices as the whipping of criminals [*Makkōth* 3 12]), the *ḥazzān* of the school, being a teacher, would share the social prestige attaching to the teaching profession.

The three grades of teachers, then, are sage and scribe (who taught in the scribes' college), and the elementary school teacher officially designated *ḥazzān* (the general term is מלמד תינוקות or מלמד alone). From the manner in which the three classes are connected in the above-cited passage Kennedy infers that the *ḥazzān*, no less than the scribe and the sage, belonged to the powerful guild of the scribes, called in the NT 'doctors of the law,' νομοδιδάσκαλοι.

This would help to explain the fact that 'doctors of the law' or teachers were, according to Lk. (5 17), to he found in 'every village (κώμη) of Galilee and Judæa.' Whilst every village would, with its synagogue, possess an elementary school, it is impossible to suppose that there were colleges for higher teaching in equally large numbers.

16. Their status.

The extraordinary honour in which the teaching profession was held in this period is shown by the respectful form of address employed by the people.

The usual formula was 'Rabbi' (רַבִּי, *rabbi*, never a title in NT) 'my great one' = 'my master' (see further under RABBI). *Rab* gradually acquired the meaning 'teacher.' It is thus used in a saying attributed to Jĕshūa ben-Pĕrachiah (2nd cent. B.C.): 'make unto thyself a *Rab*' (*Aboth* 16). In the Mishna *Rad* and *Talmūd* are *master* and *scholar* (see *e.g.*, the passage cited below).

In the interview with Nicodemus, Jesus himself recognises the high distinction of the teacher's office (Jn. 3 10): 'Art thou the teacher (ὁ διδάσκαλος = חכם, the highest grade) in Israel?'

In later times this was carried to an even greater extent. Thus R. Eliezer (2nd cent. A.D.) says: 'Let the honour of thy disciple (*Talmīd*) be dear unto thee as the honour of thine associate and the honour of thine associate as the fear of thy master (*Rab*); and the fear of thy master as the fear of Heaven' (*Aboth* 4 12). The honour to he paid to a teacher even exceeded that due to parents (*Hōrāyōth* 13 *a*). [See further on this subject the notes in C. Taylor, *Aboth*(2) 71, or Spiers, *School System of the Talmud*, 16 *f.* ('98).]

17. Qualifications, etc.

The later rules regarding the *personal qualifications* and *competency* of the teacher are elaborate (see Spiers, *op. cit.* 13 *f.*).

For our purpose little can he quoted. According to a saying ascribed to Hillel, piety and learning go together; and an even temper is essential to a teacher (*Aboth* 25). So according to 1 Tim. 3 2 2 Tim. 2 24 Tit. 1 7 an ἐπίσκοπος should be διδακτικός and not ὀργίλος (Taylor *op. cit.* 31). The former of Hillel's maxims may be illustrated also from *Ābōth* de *Rabbi Nāthān* ii.: 'Woe to him who is occupied with the Torah and has no fear of God.' According to a dictum ascribed to R. Eliezer an unmarried man was not permitted to teach in the schools (מי שאין לו אשה לא ילמד סופרים Mishna, *Ḳiddūshīn* 4 13). A woman also was ineligible (*ibid.*).

According to the rule of the profession all the work of the scribes, both educational and judicial, was to be *gratuitous.*[2] 'Make not them (the words of Torah) a crown to glory in; nor an axe to live by' (*Aboth* 4 5*b*), well expresses the principle. In practice its observance was difficult—perhaps possible only in the case of *judicial* work (cp Mishna, *Bĕkhōrōth* 4 6). It is impossible to suppose that the elementary school teachers in the provinces can have laboured without fee or reward.

Paul (1 Cor. 9 3-18 etc.) certainly claimed the right of maintenance from those to whom he preached, though he preferred to live by practising his trade. Similarly the teachers of the Law —especially, perhaps, some of the rich doctors in Jerusalem—may have sometimes taught gratuitously. This, however can hardly have been the rule, though the rabbis, like Paul,' had usually learned and practised a trade. The combination of study with a handicraft is strongly enforced (*Aboth* 2 *a*: 'Excellent is Torah study together with worldly business, for the practice of them both puts iniquity out of remembrance.' Contrast Ecclus. 38 25 *f.*: 'How shall he become wise that holdeth the plough,' etc.). See HANDICRAFTS.

In the Aramaic of the period סָפְרָא (= Heb. סוֹפֵר 'scribe') probably already means 'teacher,' since בית ספרא (*i.e.*, 'house of the teacher') is one of the early names of the elementary school. Cp also 1 Ch. 25 8 Targ. Another—apparently a general and later—name for school is אסכולי = σχολή. The supposed mention of 'schools' in *Sōṭā* 9 9 (Surenh. 3 291) rests upon a mistake. The passage states that since the time of Jose (?140-130 B.C.) the אסכולות ceased; but here can hardly mean 'schools.' See Schurer, *GJV*(2) 2, § 25 n. 135 [= ET 4 357 n. 135],(3) § 25, iv. n. 16.

18. Organization.

(*a*) *Entrance-age and previous training.* — As to entrance-age the available evidence is unfortunately of too late a date to be of much value for our purpose.

The passage usually cited here forms an appendix to *Aboth* (5 21), and belongs to the post-Talmudic period (Schurer). It runs as follows: — 'At five years old, Scripture (מקרא); at ten, Mishna; at thirteen, the commandments; at fifteen Talmud; at eighteen, the bridal, etc.' The universal Talmuhic rule is expressed in the advice of Rah (Abbā Arēkā, begin. 3rd cent. A.D.) to the elementary schoolmaster: 'Do not receive a boy into school before his sixth year' (*Kĕthūbōth* 50 *a*).

A certain amount of instruction had, however, been given in the earlier period by the father, from whom the child would learn to repeat the first verse of the *Shĕmā'* (Dt. 6 4), and other short sentences of Scripture (*Bābā Bathrā* 21 *a*, *Sukkā* 42 *a*). Though the Law was not in the strict sense binding upon children they were accustomed to its requirements from an early age.

Thus, according to the Mishna, the elders were to enjoin upon children sabbath observance (*Shabbāth* 16 6); one or two years before the legal age fasting preparatory to the requirements of the Day of Atonement was to he hegun (*Yōmā* 8 4). Children were hound to the usual prayer (an earlier form of the *Shĕmōnĕh 'Esrēh*), and to grace at table (בִּרְכַּת הַמָּזוֹן, *Bĕrākhōth* 3 3).

The utilisation of certain rites, within the domestic circle, for educating the child's religious consciousness is already a feature of the pentateuchal precepts (Ex. 12 26 *f.* 13 8, passover; cp. Dt. 6 20, Josh. 4 6).[1] This was also extended to public worship. Boys had to be present at the tenderest age in the Temple at the chief festivals (*Chug.* 1 1)[2]; a boy 'who no longer needs his mother' must observe the feast of tabernacles (*Sukkā* 2 8). At the first signs of puberty (*Niddā* 6 11) the young Israelite was bound to the strict observance of the Law, and henceforth was (what in the later period was called) a *Bar-miṣvah* (בר מצוה, *i.e.*, subject to [son of] legal requirements [the commands]).

19. Subjects of Study.

As knowledge of the Law was the chief thing, and as great importance was attached to the public reading of it in the synagogue—a privilege which was open to any competent Israelite (cp Lk. 4 16 *f.*)—it follows that reading was one of the principal subjects of instruction in the elementary school (cp Acts 15 21). Writing also was taught.

With this agrees the testimony of Josephus, who says: 'He (Moses) commanded to instruct children in the elements of knowledge (γράμματα = the elements of knowledge, reading and writing),[3] to teach them to walk according to the laws, and to know the deeds of their forefathers' (c. *Ap.* 1 12; for other passages see Schurer, *op. cit.* 2 357 [ET 4 47 *f.*]).

It must be remembered, however, that writing, being a much more difficult art than reading, would be less widely diffused.

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1 In the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. *ḥazānu* is the regular official designation of the governor of a city. Similarly in the Amarna letters it is an official title of honour (= 'governor').

2 'So, the modern teachers at the great Cairo "university" [el-Azhar]. (Che. *Job and Sol.* 124.)

1 The questioning by the child, only in an expanded form, is still a feature of the Passover rite. Cp The Revised *Hagada*, ed. A. A. Green, 27.

2 It may be inferred from Lk. 2 42 that those who dwelt at a distance from Jerusalem would not take part in the pilgrimages till their twelfth year.

3 In Jn. 7 15 γράμματα means (*sacred*) *book learning* (especially as pursued by the scribes; cp γραμματεύς) rather than the elements of learning. Cp Acts 26 24.

The 'swift writer' of the Psalmist (סופר מהיר, Ps. 45 1 [2]) no doubt belonged to a learned class. In the period of the Mishna also the 'writers' evidently formed a special guild, something like that of the 'scriveners' of the Middle Ages (cp *Shabbāth* 12 where 'the writer' [הַלִּבְלָר = *libellarius*] 'with his reed' [בְּקוּלְמוֹסוֹ = κάλαμος] is mentioned. Such a statement, therefore, as that during the Bar-Kokhba revolt the cry of the school youth in Bethar was: 'If the enemy comes against us we will go up against them with these writing styli in order to poke out their eyes' (*Giṭṭīn* 60 *u*), must he read critically.

Probably the elements of arithmetic also were taught in the elementary school.

See Ginsburg in Kitto, *Bibl. Cyc.*, art. 'Education,' and note that a knowledge of the *arithmetical* method of exegesis called *gematria*[1] [גמטריא = γεωμετρία] is presupposed on the part of his readers by the writer of Rev. 13 17 *f.* See NUMBERS.

As the name *House of the Book* implies, the one text-book of the schools was the sacred writings; and this to a Jew meant—and means—above all else the Pentateuch, which has always enjoyed a primacy of honour in the Jewish canon. That the rest of the OT also was read and studied is shown (to take an instance) by the large use made of the prophetic literature and of the Psalms, for popular purposes, in the pages of the NT.

Not improbably instruction in the Law at this period (as later) commenced with Leviticus, acquaintance with which would be important to every Jew when the Temple sacrifices were actually offered. When these had ceased the reason given for beginning with Leviticus was a fanciful one ('Sacrifices are pure, and children are pure [from sins]; let the pure be occupied with that which is pure' *Midrāsh Rabbā*).

Great care was evidently taken that the texts used—at any rate of the Pentateuch—should be as accurate as possible (cp Mt. 5 18, *Pĕsāchīm*, 112 *n*; and note that the LXX conforms to the received Hebrew text in the Pentateuch more strictly than elsewhere). This care would extend, too, to the reading aloud of the Sacred Books, accuracy of pronunciation, etc., being insisted on; the books themselves were, of course, read (as in the public services) in the original 'sacred tongue' (Hebrew). though the language of everyday life in Palestine was already Aramaic, which was employed (in the synagogues) in interpreting the sections of Scripture there read (see TEXT).

Though it is evident from the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 11 2) that the systematic study of foreign languages formed no part of a Palestinian Jew's regular education, the fact that, during this period, the population of Palestine outside Judæa was without exception of a mixed character, consisting of Jews, Syrians, and Greeks intermingled, whilst Jerusalem itself was constantly being visited by foreign-speaking Jews and proselytes (cp Acts 2 5 *ff.*), who even had their own synagogues in the Holy City (Acts 6 9), makes it practically certain that Greek at least cannot have been altogether unfamiliar to the (Aramaic-speaking) Judæans (cp HELLENISM, § 3).

For the abounding indications of indirect Greek influence on Jewish life of the NT and earlier period see Schürer 2 26 *f.* (ET 3 29 *f.*). On the question discussed above, his conclusion is, 'it is probable that a slight acquaintance with Greek was pretty widely diffused, and that the more educated classes used it without difficulty.' It should he noted that the inscription on the cross was written in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek (Jn. 19 19 *f.*). According to tradition (*Sanh.* 17 *a*) a knowledge of Greek was essential in order to qualify for membership of the Sanhedrin. Possibly Hebrew with an admixture of Greek words (cp the language of the Mishna) was still *spoken* in learned circles. To illustrate the later estimation of Greek two quotations must suffice: 'What need,' says Rabbi (*i.e.*, Judah the Holy, Compiler of the Mishna, 2nd cent. A.D.), 'has one in Palestine to learn Syriac (*i.e.*, Aramaic the language of the country)? One should learn either Hebrew or Greek' (*Sōṭā* 49 *a*). 'The Torah may be translated only into Greek, because only by Greek can it he adequately rendered' (*Jerus. Megillah* 1 8).

Both the extent and the limits of Greek influence on Palestinian Jewish life can be very well illustrated by the Jewish view of games, gymnastics, etc. (see HELLENISM, § 5). It is well known that the erection of a gymnasium in Jerusalem by the Hellenisers in the Maccabean period called forth the indignant protest of the strict party (see above, § 11). This continued to be the attitude of lcgal Judaism, even Josephus denouncing the theatre and amphitheatre as un-Jewish (*Ant.* xv. 81). In time, however, even the most pious modified this rigid puritanism, and tales are actually told of the gymnastic skill of famous Rabbis (*e.g.*, Simon ben-Gamaliel, *Sukkā*, 58 *a*). The bath, originally a Greek institution, became entirely naturalized, and was given a Hebrew name (מֶרְחָץ). We even find a Talmudic precept enjoining every father to teach his son swimming (*Ḳiddūshīn*, 29 *a*).

20. Methods of Study, etc.

The characteristic method both of teaching and of learning was *constant repetition*. Hence שנה, prop. to *repeat*, comes to mean both to *tench* and to *learn* (see above, § 3).

The following dictum is ascribed to R. 'Aḳiba (2nd cent. A.D.): 'The teacher should strive to make the lesson agreeable to the pupils by clear reasons, as well as by *frequent repetitions*, until they thoroughly understand the matter, and are able to recite it with great fluency' (*'Ērūbīn* 54 *b*). The pupil was to repeat the lesson aloud: 'Open thy mouth that the subject of thy study may abide with thee and live' (*'Ērūbīn*, 54 *a*).

Oral instruction is often referred to in NT—*e.g.*, in Rom. 2 18; cp Lk. 1 4 (cp CATECHISE). In Jerome's time (4th cent. A.D.) Jewish children in Palestine had to learn by heart the alphabet in the regular and the reverse order. He reproaches the Pharisees with always repeating, never reflecting.

Jerome notes the remarkable powers of memory thus developed: 'In childhood they acquire the complete vocabulary of their language, and learn to recite all the generations from Adam to Zeruhbabel with as much accuracy and facility, as if they were simply giving their names' (see S. Krauss in *JQR* 6 231 *f.*, where the reff. are given). The 'endless genealogies' of 1 Tim. 1 4 may be a further illustration (but see GENEALOGIES i., § 4, second note). Repetition with fellow scholars is recommended (*Ta'ănīth* 7 *a*). In teaching, mechanical devices fir assisting the memory were used (*memoria technica*: cp Mishna, *Shĕḳālīm* v., and elsewhere, and Buxt. *Lex.* [ed. Fischer, 677 *b*], *s.v.* נוטריקון).

The idiosyncrasy of the pupil was to be considered (Prov. 22 6, *'Ăbōdā Zārā* 19 *a*). Instruction was to be methodical and given with a high sense of responsibility (*Pĕsāchīm* 3 *a*, and *Ābōth* 3 11).

Regarding *school discipline* the later rules are elaborate.

Perhaps the following may he mentioned. Partiality on the part of the teacher was to he avoided (*Ta'ănīth* 24 *a*). Punctuality is insisted upon (*Kĕthūbōth* 111 *b*). Punishments were mild, the Rabbinical rules in this respect showing a marked advance on the ideas of Ben-Sira. Thus reliance in the case of older scholars who proved refractory was placed in the chastening effect of the public opinion of class-fellows (*Bābā Bathrā* 21 *a*). In the case of young children, when punishment was necessary it was to he administered with a strap (*ibid.*).

The pedagogic ideal of the period was realised in R. Eliezer—a preceptor of R. 'Akiha—who is compared to 'a plastered cistern that loseth not a drop' (*Ābōth* 2 8).

That the usual position of the scholar was on the ground, facing the teacher, appears from Acts 22 3 (παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ).

Cp Lk. 2 46 10 39 and the saying ascribed to R. Jose: 'Let thy house be a meeting-place for the wise; and *powder thyself in the dust of their feet*' (*Ābōth* 1 4). Benches (ספסלי = *subsellia*) were a later innovation (*Bĕrākhōth*, 28 *a*). In some cases it would be convenient for teacher or taught to stand (Acts 13 16 Mt. 13 2); but this was not the rule. These remarks largely apply to the scribal college.

21. Scribes' Colleges.

Besides the elementary school there were also colleges for higher training, where those who were to devote themselves to the study of the Law (both written and oral) attended (בית המדרש, *Bēth ham-midrāsh*, 'house of study'; another name is בי רבנן, *Megillā* 28 *a*). These, too, were usually attached (at any rate when the system had been developed) to the synagogues. No doubt they grew out of assemblies in private houses (cp *Ābōth* 1 4 cited above), which probably still continued to be used in some cases for this purpose. In Jerusalem the temple (*i.e.*, the colonnades or some other space of the

[1] The reader substitutes for a word another the sum of the numerical values of whose letters is the same. Thus 666 = Cæsar Nero (קסר נרון).

outer court) was often so utilised (Lk. 246 Mt. 2123 etc.). Thus the famous scribes and 'doctors of the law' taught, their instruction being chiefly catechetical —a method which has left its impress upon the style of the Mishna. Questions, asked and answered by teacher and disciple alike, counter-questions, parables, debates, allegories, riddles, stories—such were the methods employed. They throw an interesting light on NT forms of teaching.

Thus (for instance) the Rabbinic parables, like those of the NT, are commonly introduced by some such formula as 'To what is the mitter like?' (לְכָה ד״). The fuller consideration of these and other points (*e.g.*, the extent of the studies pursued in the Beth Hammidrash) belongs to the article SCRIBES (*q.v.*).

What has been said above applies exclusively to boys. For the education of girls no public provision was made.

22. Education of Girls. From birth to marriage they remained under the mother's care. With their brothers they would learn those simple lessons in morality and religion which a mother knows so well liow to instil. Special care would, of course, be given to their training in the domestic arts; but the higher studies (both sacred and secular) were considered to be outside a woman's sphere. Reading, however, and perhaps writing, were taught to girls, and they were made familiar with the written, but not the oral, Law. Strangely enough, too, they were apparently encouraged to acquire a foreign language, especially Greek (*J. Pĕ'āh 2 b*). That great importance was attached to girls' education from an early period appears from Ecclus. 7 24 *f.*, 26 10 *f.*, 42 9 *f.*

Above all, the ideal of Jewish womanhood was that of the virtuous (or capable) wife, actively engaged in the management of her household, and in the moral and religious training of her children (Prov. 31 10-29).

It must not be supposed that the system of education sketched above was the only one to be found in Palestine during the period.

23. Conclusion. As has already been pointed out, there were doubtless Jewish as well as Greek-speaking centres within the Holy Land where schools of the Greek type flourished. Among the Jewish communities abroad, too, which doubtless possessed schools with their synagogues, Greek influence would be especially felt. Still, in all Jewish centres the dominant note was the same. Education was almost exclusively religious. Its foundation was the text of Scripture, and its highest aim to train up its disciples in the fear of God which is based upon a detailed knowledge of the Law. The noble precept 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old he will not depart from it' (Prov. 226) is re-echoed, in more prosaic language, in the Talmud: 'If we do not keep our children to religion while they are young, we shall certainly not be able to do so in later years' (*Yōmā* 82*a*). The means by which this could be accomplished—as the Jewish teachers were the first to perceive—was a system of definite religious training in the schools.

In thus endowing its children with a possession which lived in intellect, conscience, and heart, Judaism entrenched itself within an impregnable stronghold. For it is undoubtedly the love of sacred study, instilled in school and synagogue, that has saved the Jewish race from extinction. The beautiful saying, attributed to R. Judah the Holy: 'The world exists only by the breath of school-children,' has its justification—at any rate as regards the Jewish world—in the later history of the Jewish people.

24. Bibliography. On the subject generally the following works may be referred to: Oehler, 'Padagogik d. AT,' in Schmid's *Encyclopädie d. gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesen*, vol. 5; Hamburger, *REJ*, '96 (reprint), vol. 1, art. 'Erziehnng'; 2, 'Lehrer,' 'Lehrhaus,' 'Schule,' 'Schiiler,' 'Unterricht,' etc. (a mine of information, hut mainly for the later period); Schiirer, *GJV*(3), 2 305 *ff.*, 'Die Schriftgelehrsamkeit' (ET, Div. ii. vol. 1 § 25), 2 419 *ff.* 'Schule und Synagoge' (ET, Div. ii. vol. 2, § 27, where the literature is given); Ginsburg in Kitto's *Bibl. Cyclop.*(3), art. 'Education' (conservative, but useful and interesting); to which may now he added A. R. S. Kennedy's art. 'Education,' cited above, in Hastings' *DB*. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, chap. 2, 'Infancy and Early Education,' contains valuable illustrative matter. The subject is also discussed in Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life, etc.* (chaps. 7 *f.*), *Life and Times of Jesus, etc.* 1 225 *f.*, and *History of the Jewish Nation* (ed. White), 277 *f.* ['96], (Jewish philosophy, art, and science are also fully discussed in this volume); Laurie, *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, 69-105 ['95]; L. Löw, *Die Lebensalter in d. jüd. Literatur*, 130 *f.* ['75]; and S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 343 *f.* The relevant sections in Benzinger and Nowack (*HA*), also, should not be overlooked.

Of monographs and special treatises the following are the most important:—J. Lewit, *Darstellung d. theoretischen u. praktischen Pädagogik in jüd. Altertum*, '96; E. van Gelder *Die Volkschule d. jüd. Altertums*, '92; J. Simon, *L'Éducation et l'instruction des Enfants chez les Anciens Juifs*(3), '81; Seidel, *Ueber die Pädagogik d. Proverbien*, '75 (with which compare Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*); M. Duschak, *Schulgesetzgebung und Methodik d. alten Israeliten*, '72.

For the Talmudic period (in English) Spiers, *The School System of the Talmud*(2), '98, may be mentioned. There are many books on Jewish education of this later period (see Strack, *Einl. in den Thalmud*(2), 128 titles). Other references have heen given in the body of the present article. G. H. B.

EGG (בֵּיצָה), Deut. 226; see FOWLS, § 4, SCORPION.

EGLAH (עֶגְלָה, 'young cow,' § 68; ΑΓΛΑ [AL]; in 2 S. ΑΙΓΑΛ [B], -ΓΑϹ [A]; in 1 Ch. ΑΛΑ [B], ΕΓ. [L]; ΓΑΛΑ [Jos.]). Mother of David's son ITHREAM (*q.v.*), 2 S. 35 1 Ch. 33. It is doubtful whether 'wife of David' in 2 S. 35 is correct or not. 'David' might be a scribe's error for some other name; Abigail (*v.* 3) is called 'wife of Nabal' (her first husband). So Wellhausen, Driver, Budde. According to a late exegetical tradition, however (see Jer. *Quæst. Hebr.* on 2 S. 35 623, and Lag. *Proph. Chald.* p. xviii.), Eglah was Michal, daughter of Saul, David's first wife. This view is also that of Thcnius and Klostermann, and is plausible. To stop short here, however, would be impossible. No early writer would have written Eglah meaning Michal. The most probable explanation is suggested by 2 Ch. 1118. עגלה is a corruption of אביחיל, 'Abihail,' the name given to the mother of JERIMOTH (*q.v.*), or rather Ithream. ben David, in 2 Ch. *l.c.* We now understand 𝔊B's reading αιγαλ (αιχαλ?) in 2 S. 35, and can do justice to the late Jewish tradition respecting Eglah. For almost certainly מיכל ('Michal') also is a corruption of אביחיל, 'Abihail.' See ITHREAM, MICHAL. T. K. C.

EGLAIM (אֶגְלַיִם, probably 'place of a reservoir'?—or a softened form of עֶגְלַיִם? on form of name see NAMES, § 107—ΑΓΑΛΛΕΙΜ [B], -ΛΛ[Ε]ΙΜ [ℵAQ], *GALLIM*), a town of Moab (Is. 158), mentioned together with BEER-ELIM in such a way as to suggest that it lay on the S. frontier. Beer-elim, however, should rather be read 'in Elealeh' (close to the N. frontier). Eglaim must therefore have been on the *S.* border, and Eusebius and Jerome identify it with αγαλλειμ (Agallim), a village 8 R. m. S. from Areopolis (OS, 22861 9810). T. K. C.

EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH (עֶגְלַת שְׁלִשִׁיָּה), mentioned in the RV of the prophecy against Moab. Is. 155 (ΔΑΜΑΛΙϹ . . . ΤΡΙΕΤΗϹ [BℵAQΓ]) Jer. 4834 (ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΝ ϹΑΛΑϹΕΙΑ [B], om. ℵ*, *h.* ΕΙϹ ϹΑΛΙϹΑ [ℵc.a], -ΛΙΑ [AQ], ϹΑΛΙϹΙΑ [A], ϹΑΛΑϹΙΑ [Q]). The rendering adopted by Graf and others 'the third Eglath' implies that there were three places of this name near together. Whether such a title as 'the third Eglath' is probable in a poem the reader may judge. Duhm and Marti take the words to be an insertion from Jer. *l.c.*; Cheyne, however (see LUHITH), snpposes עגלת שלשיה to be a corruption of מעלה עגלים, 'the ascent of EGLAIM [*q.v.*],' cancelling as a dittogram 'the ascent of LUHITH [*q.v.*].' According to the rendering of AV and of RVmg. ('an heifer of three years') the crying of Moab is compared to a thwarted heifer, one which in its third year is on the point of being broken in; others regard 'heifer' as a meta-

phorical description of Zoar (cp Hos. 10 11); but one expects עֶגְלָה מְשֻׁלֶּשֶׁת, cp Gen. 15 9.[1]

EGLON (עֶגְלוֹן, § 77; cp EGLAH, EGLAIM, εγλωμ [BAL]), the king of Moab, who oppressed Israel for eighteen years. He was finally killed by the Benjamite EHUD [*q.v.*, i. (1)], who at the head of his tribesmen destroyed all the Moabites W. of Jordan (Judg. **3** 12-30). That Moab was aided by Ammon and Amalek is probably an exaggeration due to D; cp Bu. *Ri.Sa.* 99. From the fact that Eglon seized Jericho (*v.* 13) it is often assumed (cp *e.g.*, Jos.) that this was the scene of his assassination. This, however, does not agree with the finale, and since Gilgal lies between Jericho and the fords of Moab, we must assume from *vv.* 18 *f.* 26 that his residence was E. of Gilgal, most probably in Moab. See JUDGES, §§ 6, 16 (beg.); SEIRATH.

EGLON (עֶגְלוֹן; 𝔊^BAL commonly οδολλαμ; 𝔊^L in Josh. 10 36 12 12 15 39, εγλωn), a town in the Shĕphēlah of Judah, mentioned with Lachish and Bozkath (Josh. 15 39 ιδεαδαλεα [BA]). Debir, its king, joined the league against Joshua which was headed by ADONIZEDEK [*q.v.*], and perished with the other kings (Josh. 10 1-37 [*v.* 5 οδολλαχ (A); *v.* 36 BA om.]; cp 12 12 αιλαμ [B], εγλων [F], -μ [A]). That Adullam takes its place in 𝔊 of Josh. **10** is plainly a mistake, which has led Eusebius and Jerome astray (*OS* 253 45 118 21). The name of Eglon survives in that of *Kh. 'Ajlān*,[1] 16 m. NE. of Gaza, and 2 m. N. of Tell el-Hesy (LACHISH). On this site, however, 'there is very little extent of artificial soil, very little pottery, and what there is shows Roman age.' On the other hand, there is a *tell*, 3½ m. S. of Tell el-Hesy, the site of which Petrie considers only second in importance to that of Tell el-Ḥesy, and, though he has not explored it, he pronounces it to be the ancient Eglon. So far as can be seen on the surface, *Tell Nejīleh* (so it is called) is of the same age as Tell el-Hesy, though it may have been ruined earlier (*PEFQ*, '90, p. 162). Unluckily, however, it is wholly covered with an Arab cemetery (Flinders Petrie *PEFQ*, '90, p. 226). Tell 'Ajlān may represent the ruins of a later town, built after the overthrow of the ancient city; this is a suggestion which may or may not be confirmed by excavation. **T. K. C.**

[1] The mod. 'Ajlān occurs frequently to the E. of Jordan (cp EGLAIM).

EGYPT.[2]

CONTENTS.

MAPS

1. Name. The name used by us, after the example of the classic nations,[3] for the country on the banks of the Nile, seems to have been really the designation of the capital Memphis—*Ha(t)-ka-ptaḥ*, cuneiform Ḥikubta (*Am. Tab.* nos. 53, 37), translated Ἡφαιστία = Egypt—and more primitively that of its chief temple (see NOPH).[2] On the Semitic name[3] see MIZRAIM, § 1. Poetical names in the OT are Rahab and 'land of Ham' (see RAHAB, HAM, i.).

The Egyptians themselves called their country *Kēmet*,[4] Coptic κημε or χημε[5] (Northern Coptic κημι)—*i.e.*, 'the black country—from its black soil of Nile mud, in contrast with the surrounding deserts, the *dešret* or 'red country.' This etymology is given correctly by Plutarch (*De Iside 33*, χημία = μελάγγειος; see also Ἑρμοχύμιος, Steph. Byz., by the side of μελάμβωλος). Poetic names were, *e.g.*, (*P*)-*to-mere*, '(the) land of inundation' (Steph. Byz. Πτιμυρις, equal to Δέλτα), in later time *Beḳet* (perhaps 'land of the *baḳet* shrub'). The most common designation was, however, simply 'the two countries,' *touï*,[6] referring to the division of Egypt into S. and N. country (see below, § 43).

2. Land. Egypt is situated in the NE. corner of Africa; hut the ancients reckoned it more frequently to Asia than to 'Libya'—*i.e.*, Africa. It lies between N. lat. 31° 35' (the Mediterranean) and 24° 4' 23" (the first cataract at Aṣuān). Longitudinally its limits may he given as from Solum, 28° 50' E., to Rhinocolura, the modern el-'Arish (see EGYPT, RIVER OF), 33° 50' E.; but the limits of cultivable ground

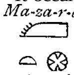
[1] See Dietrich in Merx. *Archiv*, 1 342 *ff.*

[2] Repertories for Egypt in general are Jolowicz, *Biblioth. Aeg.* 1858-61, and Prince Ihrahim Hilmy, *The Lit. of Egypt and the Sudan*, 1886-88. The current literature is given in the *Orientalische Bibliographie*. For scientific investigations, the following journals must be consulted: *Zt. f. Aeg. Sprache u. Altertumskunde* (Leipsic), *Recueil de trav. rel. à la philol. et arch. Egypt. et Assyr.* (here cited as *Rec. trav.*), and *Rev. Egypt.* (Paris), and *Sphinx* (Upsala). In England, scattered contributions, especially in *TSBA* and *PSBA* and *Archæologia*, etc. On the monuments of Egypt, the memoirs of the Mission Française au Caire, of the Egypt Exploration Fund (through which also the admirable 'Archæological Survey of Egypt' has been set on foot), and Prof. Flinders Petrie's Egypt Research Accounts, as also the *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions*, begun recently by the Egyptian Government (edited by De Morgan), are in progress of publication. Of older works, Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aeg. u. Aeth.* (1849-58, a large and beautiful publication), Rosellini, *Monumenti dell' Egitto*, etc. (1842-44, faithful), Champollion, *Monuments*, etc. (1835-45, with *Notices Manuscrits* as supplement), also the publications of the Museums at London (*Select Papyri*, etc. ed. by Birch), Leiden (hy Leemans, 1839, foll.), Berlin, Turin (Papyri by Pleyte and Rossi), Bulak (Mariette), are most useful for illustrations and inscriptions; the *Descr. de l'Egypte* of Napoleon's expedition is in part quite antiquated, and, generally, hardly anything earlier than Champollion continues to he of use. Philological studies very quickly become antiquated owing to the rapid progress of the young science. So far, none of the popular hooks on Egypt in relation to the Bible can he recommended (this is true of Brugsch, *Steininschrift und Bibelwort*, 1891). Ebers, *Aeg. u. die Bücher Mosis*, 1868 (antiquated), was never completed. An Egyptological counterpart to *KAT* is promised. Here only a selection from the immense mass of literature can be made, preference often being given to the less highly specialised works, and those written in English or translated into it.

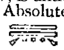
[3] Αἴγυπτος (Lat. *Ægyptus*) occurs first in Homer, where it denotes, as a feminine noun, the country, as a masculine, the river Nile.

[2] First proposed hy Brugsch, *Geog. Inschriften*, 1 73 83. For the manifold senseless etymologies from Greek Semitic, etc., see the classical dictionaries, *s.v.* Cp also Reihisch, *SWAW* 30 397 36 47, 'On the names of Egypt.'

[3] It occurs in hieroglyphics only in names of foreigners, such as *Ma-za-r-â*—*i.e.*, *Meṣrai* (*Rec. de Trav.* 14 62).

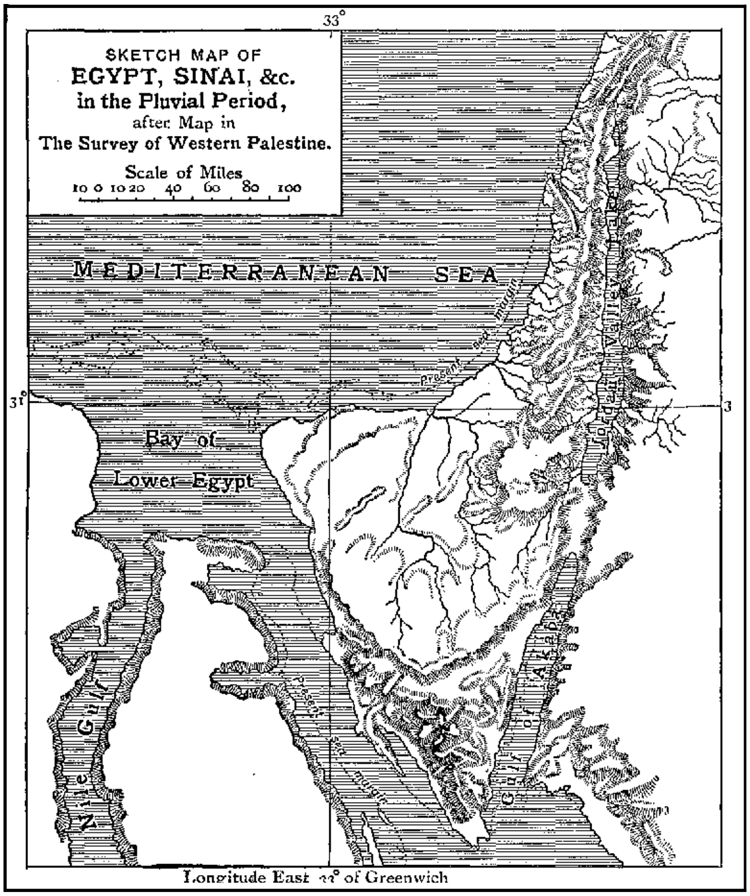
[4]  Brugsch's *Dict. Géog.* (1877-80) contains the names of Egypt, its divisions, cities, etc. (to be used with caution; his *Geographische Inschriften*, 1867, is antiquated).

[5] Absolutely unconnected with Noah's son HAM (*q.v.* 1).

[6] 

would rather **fix** the frontier at about 32° 32' (the site of ancient Pelusium). It is not correct to include in Egypt the large deserts of stone and sand lying on both sides, or even the N. parts of the Sinaitic peninsula—regions of more than 1,000,000 **sq.** m., which are wandered over by only a few foreign nomads. Egypt is, strictly, only the country using Nile water, N. of Syenė (Aṣuān), as it was correctly defined even by Herodotus (2 18). If we reckon only cultivable ground (Nile Valley and Delta), Egypt has an area of not much more than 13,000 square miles.[1]

The extent of land really under cultivation changes continually. Under the bad government of the Mamlūks in 1797, it



was estimated at 5469 *sq.* m.; recently over 11 000 were assumed **as** cultivable, **of** which 9460 were really in cultivation. The census of 1887 gave **20,842 sq.** kil. (**12,943 sq.** m.) as arable, of which Upper Egypt (some parts of Nubia even being included) has the smaller half. In antiquity, the amount was certainly not more, probably less.

The surrounding deserts make access to Egypt difficult, and explain its somewhat isolated history. The shape of the country may be likened to that of a fan with a long handle. The handle, Upper Egypt, from Memphis to Syenė, is a narrow valley, averaging 12 m. in width (near Thebes, only 2½-4 m.).

3. Geology. The view of ancient writers that Egypt north of Memphis, the so-called Delta (from its form, like an inverted Gr. Δ), was originally a gulf of the sea and was filled in by the deposits of the Nile, is correct (see the accompanying sketch-map: fig. 1); but it is an exaggeration to place this process within historic time.[1] As far as our historical knowledge goes, the country has always been the same; the yearly deposits have raised the bed of the Nile slightly. (On exaggerations of the fact that the river had formerly a greater volume of water than now, see below, § 7, note.)

The fact that the level, *e.g.*, of ancient Alexandria is now below that of the sea is to be ascribed to a sinking of the sandy north coast. The Burlus and Menzaleh Lakes are indeed, in part, recent formations, caused by the influx of the sea, although the Edku and Maryūṭ (Mareotis) lakes are old, and ancient inscriptions speak continually of the 'swamp-lands,' *n-ad'ōw*, Ναθώ (Herod.) Νεόυτ (Ptol.) in the N. Strabo knows the Balāḥ lakes.

The substratum of the Northern Nile valley **and** the characteristic stone of the tableland of the Libyan (Western)[2] desert is limestone in different formations; the material of the great pyramids is tertiary nummulitic limestone. The valley is shut in by limestone crags, about 300 ft. in height, which sometimes come very near to the river. Above Edfu, the sandstone formation that prevails through Nubia. begins, forming also the first natural frontier of Egypt, the mountain-bar at Silsileh. This quartzy stone furnished the excellent material used for most of the ancient temples. The first cataract at Aṣwān is the result of the river being crossed by a bar of red granite, syenite, and other rock, from which the famous obelisks were taken. The Eastern (Arabian) desert is of varying formation, full of mountains which rise in part to a height of over 6000 ft. (The highest point is Jebel Ghārib.) See geological map (no. **3)** facing col. 1207 *f.*

These mountains furnished the rich material for the finer sculptures of the ancient Egyptians—diorite (near Hammāmāt), dark red porphyry (Jebel Dokhān, 6900 ft.), black granite, alabaster (near Asyūṭ), and basalt. Emeralds (Jebel Zabāra) and gold (Wādy 'Allāḳi) also were found there, but few useful metals (there were some iron and insignificant copper mines in Nubia). In antiquity, therefore, metals were imported. Other

[1] The total area of Belgium is 11,373 square miles, **of** the Netherlands **12,648**, and of Switzerland **15.976.** See the ***Statesman's Year Book.***

[1] [Cp 'Report on Boring Operations in the Nile Delta,' *Proc. Roy. Soc.* '97, p. **32.** The Royal Society carried out borings in the Delta to try to get down to the bed rock. At Zaḳāzīḳ they reached **345** feet or **319** feet below sea-level without striking solid rock. At **115** feet there was a noteworthy change. Below that depth was **a** mass of coarse sand and shingle, with one band of yellow clay at 151 feet; above 115 feet it was blown sand and alluvial mud. Totally different conditions must have prevailed when these shingle beds were laid down. They are the product of ordinary fluviatile action. The geological age of these shingle beds is not yet determined. The pebbles of which they are composed all belong to the rocks found *in situ* in the Nile Valley. The coast at the mouths of the Nile appears to be sinking, the coasts in the Gulf of Suez to he rising.]

[2] Cp Zittel, *Geol.* **der** *libyschen Wüste*, **'83.**

minerals, such as salt, alum, natron (this from the Naṭrūn valley S. of Alexandria), come more from the Libyan desert.

4. Oases. The Oases (*αὐάσεις*, Egyptian *waḥ*, modern Arabic *wāḥ*, meaning unknown) of the Libyan desert are depressions in this barren table-land where the water can conic to the surface and create vegetation. See maps after cols. 1240 and 1208.

Their present names (from N. to S.) are : (1) Sīwah (Oasis of Amon ; perhaps also called *sekhet amu*, 'date-field' ; but this is quite doubtful), very far to the west ; (2) Baḥriye, the small oasis ; (3) Farāfra (*To-eḥe*, 'cowland') ; (4) Dākhĕla (*Zeszes*) ; (5) The Great Oasis, now called 'the exterior oasis,' el-Khār(i)geh (anciently Heb, Hibis, or the Southern Oniis).

In ancient times these islands in the drsert belonged politically to Egypt (from Dyn. 18 ?) ; but their inhabitants were Libyans and became Egyptianised only later. The population of the remote oasis of Anion, however, although it adopted the Egyptian cult of Amon, remained purely Libyan. and has retained to the present day the Libyan (Berber) language.

The population of these five oases is, at present, about 58,000. The Fa(i)yūm also (see below, § 50) is really an oasis. On the Wādy Ṭūmīlāt, see GOSHEN i. ; on the Fa(i)yūm, below, § 50.

5. Climate. The climate is extremely hot, but has great changes, especially during the night. The ancient Egyptians prayed that after death, as in life, they might have the 'cool north wind,' considering this the greatest comfort. This wind blows in summer for six months. On the other hand, at intervals during the fifty days preceding the summer solstice, there blows a terrible hot wind, now cnllcd *Ḥamsīn* (*i.e.*, 'fifty'), full of sand from the Western desert. At most other times, proximity to the deserts renders the air very dry and salubrious. The yearly inundation has dangers which explain why so frequently, from the time of Moses onwards, the plague has found a home in Egypt (Am. 4 10). Eye diseases caused by the abundant dust were, and are, very common.

6. Nile. The Nile, the only river of Egypt, seems to have its present name (Gk. Νεῖλος) from the Semitic *naḥal* (נחל), 'stream,' this designation (**neḥel*)[1] being probably due to the Phoenicians. The Egyptians called it Ḥa'pi (ωφι, of uncertain etymology),[2] in poetry *uēru* ('the great one') ; but in the vernacular language it was simply 'the river' *yetor* (Inter—after 2000 B.C.—pronounced *ye-or*, *yo'or*), or else 'the great river' *ye(t)er-'o*, *ya'r-'o*, Coptic ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ. Of the last two expressions the former became in Hebrew יְאֹר, whilst the second, according to the N. Egyptian pronunciation (ⲓⲁⲣⲟ), is found in the Assyrian *Yaru'ū*, 'Nile.' On the Heb. name Shihor, and on the phrase 'the river of Egypt,' see SHIHOR, and EGYPT, RIVER OF.

This river is the second longest in the world[3] (its source now being assumed at 3° S. lat. ; for the whole course of the river see map *2*, on opposite page), although not so majestic and voluminous (1300 ft. wide at Thebes, 2600 at Asyūṭ) as some shorter rivers. It forms the principal characteristic of Egypt, 'the gift of the Nile' (Herod.). The Egyptians believed that it sprang from four sources at the twelfth gate of the nether-world, at a place described in ch. 146 of the Book of the Dead, and that it came to light at the two whirlpools of the first cataract, the so-called *Kerti* (κρῶφι and μῶφι, Herod.). Even in the latest times, when they knew the course of the river beyond Kharṭūm,[4] their theology still held that primitive view.

The Nile divides N. of Memphis. Of the seven branches, however, which once formed the Delta (see large map after col. 1240), only two[5] are really left, the rest being more or less dried up. A branch (now called Bahr-Yūsuf),[1] losing itself in the Libyan desert, foriiis the oasis of the Fa(i)yūm in Middle Egypt.

7. Water-supply. The annual inundation is produced by the spring rains in the Abyssinian highlands and the melting of the mountain snow, which cause an immense increase of the Eastern or Blue Nile (now el-Bahr el-Azrak, from its turbid water), whilst the principal stream, the White Nile (el-Baḥr el Abyaḍ, from its clearness), has a more steady volume of water. In Egypt the increase is felt in June; July brings rapid swelling of the reddening turbid stream ; the slow subsidence of the waters begins in October. During winter, the stagnant water remaining on the fields dries up, and the Nile mud, originally the dust washed from the Abyssinian mountains, settles upon the soil, acting as a valuable fertilizer. Thus in course of innumerable years the sand or stone of the valley has been covered with from 30 to over 40 feet of black soil. This shows, usually, an astonishing fertility : Egypt looks like one great garden (Gen. 13 10) ; but a 'small Nile'—*i.e.*, an insufficient inundation—has always brought years of dearth.[2] Even a 'great Nile,'[3] however, cannot cover the whole valley and reach all fields. Dykes have to be built, and canals dug, in order that the water may be distributed. A good government has to give great care to such public constructions, the neglect of which will make the desert reconquer vast regions. Higher fields always had to be watered by (primitive) machinery, such as the contrivance called at present shādūf. (On Dt. 11 10 see below, col. 1225, n. 10.)

After all, Egypt had much more regular harvests than Palestine and Syria, where the only irrigation, by rain, very often failed. The abundant inundation of Egypt was proverbial among the Hebrews: cp Am. 8 8, and, as some think, Is. 59 19 *b* (*SBOT*). We repeatedly find Egypt's Asiatic neighbours depending upon its abundance of grain. The Egyptians knew quite well that their country owed its existence entirely to the good god Nile, whom they represented as a fat androgynous blue or green figure.[4] Being nearly (but not completely) rainless, Egypt depends upon the Nile not only for the irrigation of its fields, but also for its drinking-water (which is very palatable, and was kept cool, then as now, in porous vessels). The OT prophets know no worse way of threatening Egypt with complete ruin than using the symbolical expression, 'The Nile will be dried up.' The river was also the chief highway of the country.

8. Flora. The flora[5] was poor in species. Ancient Egypt had not such a cosmopolitan vegetation as the modern. Forests were quite unknown. Besides fruit-trees—viz., the date-, dōm- (now only above Asyūṭ) and argiin-palm, fig, sycomore, nabaḳ (*Zizyphus Spina Christi*, the so-called Lotus-tree), and pomegran-

1 The asterisk indicates a conjectural form.

2 Later theology combined it with the Apis (Hapi) bull. He was allowed to drink only from wells, not from the Nile.

3 Perthes, ***Taschen-Atlas***, statistical tables.

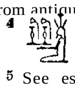
4 Rut hardly the source from the 'mountain of the moon,' known in Roman times.

5 Viz., the first and the third, counting from the west—continued, however, in their lower portions, in the channels of the second and the fourth respectively. The latter, the Bolbinitic and the Bucolic mouths, are said to have been artificial canals (?). The Bucolic of Herodotus (2 17) is called Phatnitic—or rather Pathmetic (thus Ptol. and Pomp. Mela)—*i.e.*, the Northern (*pa-to mhiti*)—by other writers.

1 Not from the biblical Joseph.

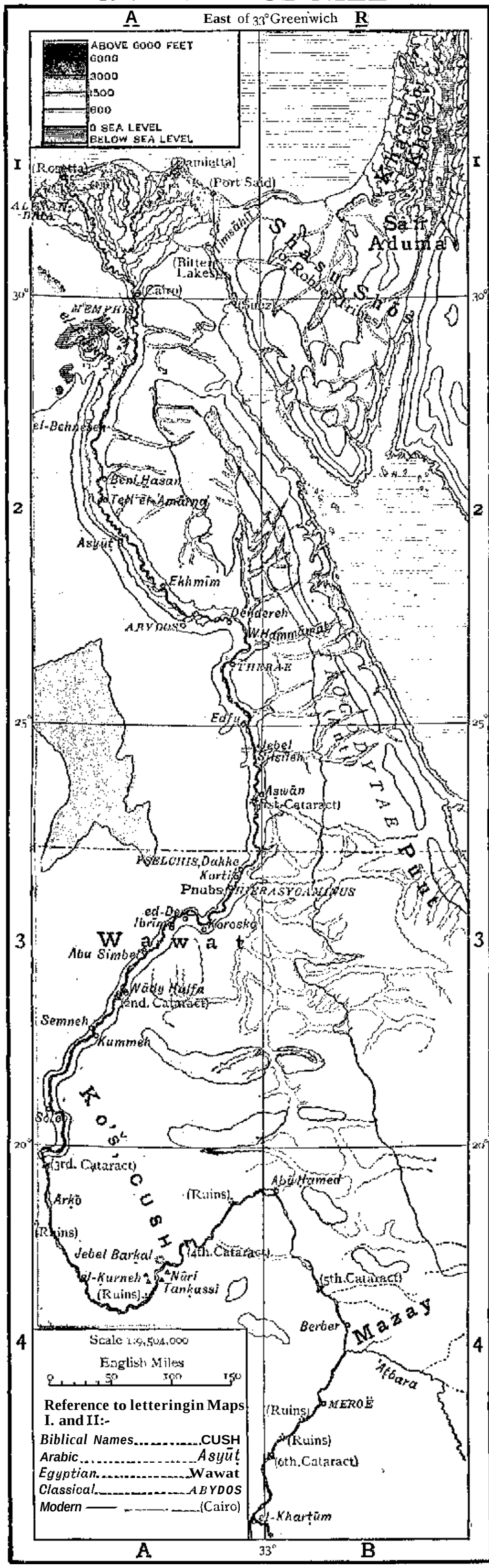
2 Such calamities. sometimes in several successive years, are mentioned repeatedly. A legend from the Ptolemaic period (inscription at the first cataract, found by Wilbour, translated by Brugsch, ***Die Biblischen 7 Jahre der Hungersnot***, 1891, and by Pleyte) reports seven years of famine before 3000 B.C. The strange water-marks on the rocks of Nubia, 25 ft. above the modern level, are difficult to explain. They cannot well be used as a proof that former inundations were so much higher, for that would involve our assuming that all ruins now existing were, in antiquity, under water.

3 Of the so-called Nilometers—wells with measures marked for use in official estimates of the rise—that of Philæ remains from antiquity.

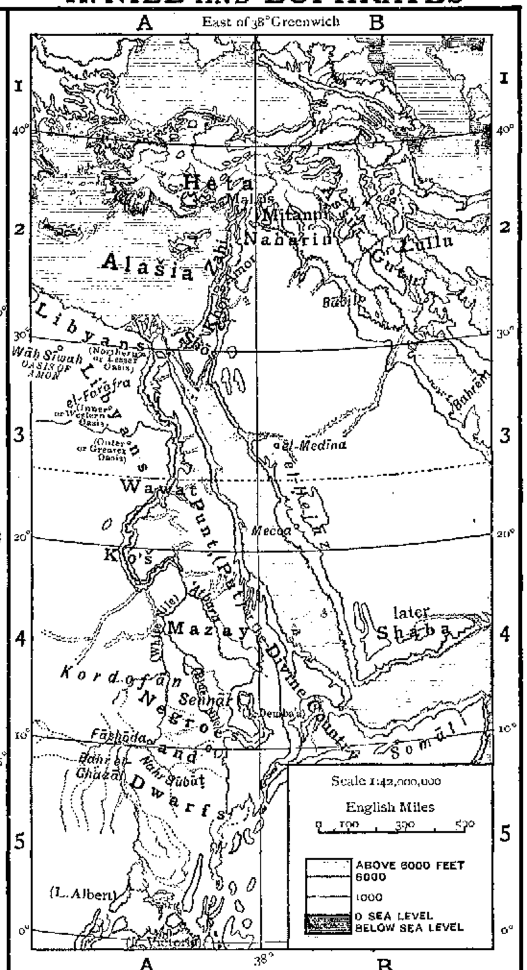
4  —(wearing water flowers on the head, and offering fresh water and water flowers).

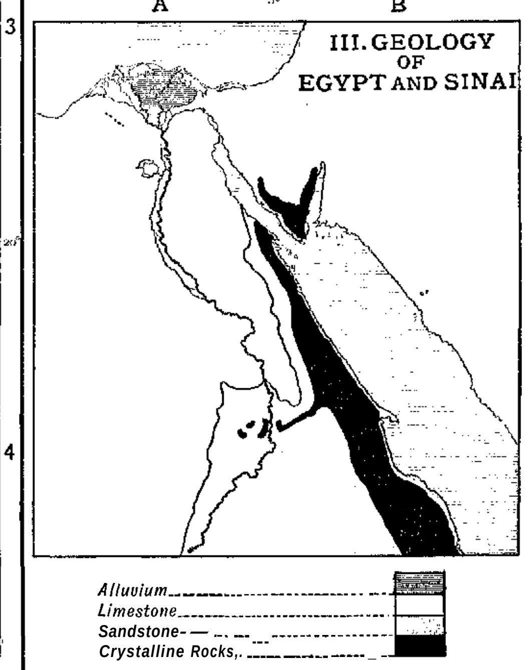
5 See especially Loret, *La Flore Pharaonique*(2) ['92] ; Woenig, ***Die Pflanzen im alt. Aeg.*** ['86] ; and various essays by Schweinfurth.

I. VALLEY OF NILE



II. NILE AND EUPHRATES





Walker & Cockerell s

MAPS OF (i.) 'COURSE OF NILE,' AND (ii.) 'NILE AND EUPHRATES'

INDEX TO NAMES

Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added. The alphabetical arrangement ignores prefixes: el ('the'), J. (Jebel, 'mt.'), L. (lake), tell ('mound'), wady ('valley').

atel—only a few tamarisks (*ose*[*l*], cp אֶשֶׁל), willows, and, especially, various kinds of acacias (*šonzet* ϣONTE; cp שִׁטָּה, Egyptian loan-word; see SHITTAH) grew. Timber had mostly to he imported from Nubia and Syria. As principal fuel, dung was used, as now. The vine was always cultivated; but the national beverage was a kind of bcer. The chief cereals were barley (*yōt*), most importaut of all, wheat (*suo*), and the African millet or sorghum, now called dura (*bo'det*). Cp Ex. 9 31 *f.* 'flax, barley, wheat, spelt' (this perhaps for dūra?). The principal food-stuffs of the modern inhabitants, leguminous plants—viz., lentils (Egyptian *'aršan*), and beans (Egyptian *pūl*), perhaps also peas (Coptic ⲁⲣⲱ), lupines, and chick-peas—have Semitic names, and were declared unclean by the priests even in Roman times; but among the peasants they had already become popular as early as the 14th century B.C. Of vegetables, onions, leeks, and garlic were as much in demand then as now; there were also radishes, melons, gourds, cucumbers, bāmia (*Hibiscus esculentus*; resembles American okra), melūhīya (*Corchorus olitorius*; 'a mucilaginous vegetable [somewhat] resembling spinage'), etc. (Cp the lamentation of the Israelites over the lost delicacies of Egypt, Nu. 11 5.) Of oily plants, sesame and olives were not very popular, olive oil being mostly imported from Asia. Unguents were taken from several balsam-shrubs, especially the *baḳet*; for cooking and burning, castor oil (see GOURD) was most commonly in use, as now among the Chinese. The cultivation of flax was very extensive; whether cotton also was grown is quite doubtful.

Wild vegetation grew only in the many marshes—the common reed (see REED, FLAG). the papyrus (see **PAPYRUS**), and the beautiful blue or white lotus-flower (*so*[*š*]*šen*, from which Hebrew שׁוּשַׁן; see LILY). The papyrus and the lotus-flower are now found only in the Sūdān.[2] All these wild plants were utilised—even the lotus, the seed of which was eaten. The papyrus,[3] in particular, was of the greatest importauce for ancient Egypt, furnishing the material, not only for writing on, but also for making ropes, mats, sandals, baskets, and small ships (cp Ex. 2 3; Is. 18 2; Job 9 26). The desert vegetation consists mostly of a few thorny shrubs.

Of domestic animals, the ass, an African animal, was used more as a beast of burden than for riding. Horses

9. Zoology.[4]

sesmet,[5] later *ḥtor*), introduced by the (Hyksos after 1800 B.C., for chariots of war and of pleasure. were never very common, pasture being scarce; but their race was good. Cp Dt. 17 16 1 K. 10 28 *f.* (but see MIZRAIM, § 2; HORSE, § 3). The biblical passages which speak of the camel in Egypt (Gen. 12 16 Ex. 9 3) seem to need criticism, for this unclean animal was, to all appearance, foreign to ancient Egypt and became a domestic animal only after the Christian era (see CAMEL, § 2). Cattle, of a hump-backed race, were more common than now; likewise goats; but sheep (*es'ou*, Sem. word, שֶׂה, Arab. *šā'*) were rare. Swine (*rire*), the most unclean of animals, 'offensive to the Sun-god,' seem to have been kept, in biblical times, only in the *nomos* of Eileithyia (now el-Kāb), perhaps because of Nubian elements in the population. In the earliest period they seem to have been more generally bred. The dog was held in esteem. Strong greyhounds for hunting were imported from the southern countries. The cat became a domestic animal first in Egypt (but rather late), perhaps by the side of the weasel and ichneumon.[1]

Noblemen undertook hunting expeditions into the desert where most wild animals of Africa were found. The various antelopes of the steppe (especially the gazelle), the oryx,[2] the ibex,[3] etc., were caught and then domesticated, or, at least fattened at home. It is not certain whether the hare was eaten:

Of wild animals the jackal, the fox, the hyæna, and the ichneumon reached Egypt; in the earliest times also (but only occasionally) the lion, the lynx, and the leopard. The tusks of the elephant and of the rhinoceros (both called *Yēbu*[4]) were only imported from Nubia—*Yēb*(*u*), 'Elephantinb' (*i.e.*, 'ivory place'), on the first cataract, being the emporium for this important trade. The Nile was infested by malicious hippopotamuses[5] and crocodiles, both now extinct. That the name Bĕhēmoth (Job 40 15) is by no means a Hebraised Egyptian word, as bas frequently been asserted, may be noted in passing (*so*, independently, BEHEMOTH, § 1).

The marshes were covered with innumerable birds in winter—especially wild geese, cranes, fishing birds (such as the pelican,[6] the ibis,[7] and others), and smaller birds of passage from Europe. The pursuit of these was both **a** favourite sport and a useful occupation; they were fattened at home, but (with the exception of the pigeon) not domesticated. The domestic fowl became known, it would seem, only in Greek times—Diod. (1 74) and Pliny (10 54) describe hatching-ovens **as** in common use in their day. Of rapacious birds, the bald-headed vulture[8] was most common. Bats in immense numbers filled the mountain clefts.

Many kinds of fish (as **also** the soft tortoise, trionyx) were obtained from the Nile, and were incredibly cheap cp חִנָּם, 'for nothing' (Nu. 11 5; cp Is. 19 8);—but they are not praised by modern travellers. Some—*e.g.*, the oxyrhynchus[9] (*i.e.*, 'sharp-snouted'), and the *na'r*[10] (a silurus)—were unclean. The Inter theology, at least in Æthiopia, tried (though without success) to declare all fish unclean.[11] Air-dried fish were much eaten.

Multitudes of frogs, lice, flies, scorpions, and locusts remind **us** of the 'ten plagues. Of poisonous serpents, the uræus (*'ar'at*)[12] enjoyed special veneration (see SERPENT, § 3).

Owing to the fertility of the country, it has always been very thickly peopled: the present population

10. People.

amounts to six millions—*i.e.*, it exceeds even that of Belgium in density (cp § 2). The ancient writers who speak of 30,000 towns (!), and seven (or even seven and a half: Jos. *BJ* ii. 16 4) millions of people, somewhat exaggerate.

The race of the ancient Egyptians, who called themselves *rōmeṯ*,—*i.e.*, 'men'—is admirably determined in the Table of Nations (Gen. 10 6), where they are classified with the Hamites—*i.e.*, the light-colourcd Africans. They were consequently relations (1) of the Libyans (see LUBIM, LEHABIM), extending from the Senegal to the Oasis of Sīwah, at present interrupted by many Arab immigrants; (2) of the Cushites (in linguistic, not in biblical, sense), who now extend from the desert of Upper Egypt to the equator, comprising (*a*) the Bisharin and Hadendoa, (*b*) the Afar (Danakil), and Saho on the coast of Abyssinia, (c) the Agau tribes of Abyssinia (Bogos or Bilin, Khamir, Quara), in the S. called Siddama (Kafa, Kullo, etc.), and (*d*) the Somali and Galla.

Anthropologically, the Egyptians seem to have been more closely akin to the Cushites—who all show a slight admixture of Negro blood, received at a very remote date—than to the purely white Libyans. They were

1 That this tree, at least, was an importation from Syria in historic times is shown by the name (*h*)*erman*—*i.e.*, רִמּוֹן. The persea (*šaubet*; Coptic, *šoue*[*be*], *Mimusops Schimperi*, after Schweinfurth) and other trees may bave had a similar history.

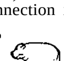
2 Whether the *Eragrostis abyssinica*, a species of grain, called *ṯef* in Abyssinia, the poisonous *'oshar* (*Calotropis procera*), and other plants of modern times were known is uncertain, but probable, as they are African plants.

3 *'Pa$-yoor,'* 'the (plant) of the river.' Cp Bondi, in *ZÄ* *3064* ['92].

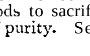
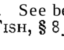
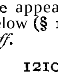
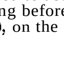
4 Not much investigated. Hartmann's studies, *ZÄ* 1864, were not continued.

5 The word is related to סוּס (Assyrian *sīsū*, Aram. *sūsya*, etc.); but the relationship is not quite clear.

1 חָתוּל, later Hebrew for 'weasel' (*TSBA*, 9 161, and see CAT), Egyptian Ḫatul, ϣⲁⲑⲟⲩⲗ, 'ichneumon' (cp *PSBA*, 7 194 ['84]).

2 
3 

4 Compared by some scholars, following erroneous transcriptions, such as '*abu*,' with Heb. שֶׁנְהַבִּים 'ivory.' Etymological connection is not probable.

5  6  7  8  9 10 

11 Worshippers were always advised to abstain from fish some time before appearing before the gods to sacrifice. See below (§ 19), on the laws of purity. See FISH, § 8 *ff.*

12

tall and lean, with strong bones, small hands, thin. ankles, reddish-brown skin (coloured, on their own paintings, in the case of men, dark red, and in the case of women, yellow). with long but slightly curled black hair, scanty beard, very slightly prognathous chin, full lips, almond-shaped black eyes, and long (?) skulls.

Linguistically, Egyptian is not the bridge between Libyan and Cushitic, as one might expect it to be : it forms, rather, an independent branch. The Libyan-Cushitic and the Egyptian branches both show affinity with Semitic, apart from the strong Semitic influence upon both, an influence which dates partly from pre-historic periods, partly from about 1000 B.C., and partly from Islamic times.[1] Which branch separated itself first from the Proto-Semites (in Arabia?) remains to be shown. (In Egypt, however, no Asiatic immigration can be found in historical times : see § 43.) Some Egyptian traditions point correctly SE., not to Nubia (erroneous traditions of Greek time), but to the coasts of the Red Sea—*i.e.*, Punt (see below, § 48)—and indicate affinity with the Hamitic Trog(l)odytes. On the other neighbours in the South—viz., the Nigritic Nubians—see ETHIOPIA, § 2 *ff.*

11. Language. The language[2] was, therefore, by no means a primitive stammering, or a monosyllabic language like the Chinese, as was asserted by earlier scholars who derived false conceptions from the writing. Egyptian has preserved something of the vocalic flexibility of the Libyan and Semitic against the agglutinative tendencies of the Southern Hamitic languages. It shows the system of triliterality more clearly than any other Hamitic branch. The assertion that it contains elements from Negro languages is unfounded : the Hamito-Semitic roots only underwent great changes. The sounds (*e.g.*, *'Ain*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*, *ṣ*) confirm the view of the relation of Egyptian here adopted. The vernacular dialect used from 1400 to 1000 B.C. in letters, etc., is called by modern scholars Neo-Egyptian.[3] The inscriptions tried more or less to preserve the archaic style of the earliest periods —not always successfully, after 500 B.C. wretchedly. For the rest, even the earliest language is less concise and much less obscure than, *e.g.*, Hebrew. On the many loan-words from Semitic,[4] see below, § 39 (end).

Coptic—*i.e.*, the language of Christian Egypt (Arabic *Ḳibṭ*, *Ḳobṭ*)—is the same language as that which used to be written in hieroglyphics, but much changed (many forms, *e.g.*, being shortened), as might be expected, after a development of 3000 years.[5]

1 Nothing trustworthy has been written on these relations, nothing at all on the position within the Hamitic family. It is to be wished that the only competent scholar, Prof. Reinisch of Vienna, would address himself to this question soon. Ethnographers (*e.g.*, Hartmann, Die *Nigritier*) generally exaggerate the fact that all white Africans pass gradually over into the Negroes, with whom they are more or less mixed.

2 The latest and best grammar, although very brief, is that of Erman, 1894 (in the series, ***Porta** Linguarum Orientalium*, German and English). Brugsch's *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch*, 1867-80, is the leading dictionary, but must be used with the greatest possible caution. Those of Birch (in Bunsen, vol. 5), Pierret, and S. Levi, cannot be recommended. A *Thesaurus verborum Ægyptiacorum* by Erman and other scholars is in preparation. The stage reached by Egyptian philology is best characterised by the statement (after Erman) that 'the age of deciphering is at an end, we [begin to] read.' It is, however, a great exaggeration to state, as some have done, that we read Egyptian as a Latinist reads his Cicero. See, *e.g.*, below (col. 1232, note 1), on the difficulties of transliteration. A better analogy would be the way in which good Phœnician inscriptions are read ; but the greater excellence and abundance of his material gives the advantage, to a considerable extent, to the Egyptologist.

3 See Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* ('80), who has also published a treatise on the earlier vernacular style, *Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar* ('89).

4 A small collection by Bondi, *Dem hebräisch-phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter*, etc., 1886. An exhaustive dictionary by the present writer is in preparation.

5 The standard grammar is Stern, *Koptische Gram.* (1880). (Steindorf's small grammar in the Porta series ['94] may also be used : no older book). The best dictionary is still that of Peyron, *Lex. Linguæ Copticæ*, 1835 (reprinted 1896); but a new one is a crying need (those of Tattam and Parthey are untrustworthy).

Coptic has four principal dialects (Sahidic—*i.e.*, *Ṣa'īdī* or Upper Egyptian—Middle Egyptian, represented best by the papyri of Akhmīm, Fa(i)yumic—formerly wrongly called Bashmuric—and Boheiric or Lower Egyptian), diverging sometimes strongly ; already about 1300 B.C. a payrus states that a man from the N. frontier cannot well understand an Egyptian from Elephantinè. (On Coptic dialects, see further TEXT, § 37).

12*a*. Phonetics. As the vowels in ancient Egyptian were in general not indicated, their determination, though it is sometimes possible through late Egyptian (Coptic), and, in the case of some proper names (see below, col. 1232, n. 1), through Greek and other authors, cannot usually be effected with precision.

Certain grammatical terminations (*u* and *i*), however, were sometimes indicated by the signs for the consonants w and *y*, and after the ideographic sign for the dual assumed a vocalic value *i* or *i*).

Foreign words, however, demanded exceptionally complete representation of the rowels.

In the Middle Empire, accordingly, sprang up the practice of using the symbols for w, א, and י and the signs for certain syllables ending in these consonants, to indicate the vowels in the transliteration of foreign words, often in direct imitation of the cuneiform vowels. This has been called the syllabic system.[1]

The 24 consonants distinguished in the script were originally the following :

ȝ (א, not always consonantal, never = *'ain*), *ỉ* (better *ỷ*, to express both י and [later] א ; the Middle Empire created a special *y*), , w, 6, *p*, *f*, *m*, *n*, *r* (distinguished from *l* only in Demotic), *h*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*, *ẖ* (from very early times not distinguished from *ḫ*), *ś* (from early times not distinguished from ש *s*, S, *ḳ*, *k*, *g*, *t*, *ṯ* (an unknown sibilant), *d* (not, as sometimes maintained, originally = ט),[2] *ḏ* (better *z* or *ṣ*), similar to Semitic צ (cp the Ethiopians later *tš*).

The principles of transliteration of Semitic names in the New Empire have not been completely explained yet (see *As.* u. *Eur.* chap. 5) ; but the following are the commonest equivalences that are not obvious.

א is represented by the *i* ; ג by *g* (*k*) or *ḳ* ; ד by *d* ; ז by *ṯ*, *ṣ* ; by *t* (or *d*) ; ס by *ṯ* (rarely *s*) ; פ by *p* or (never [in early texts] initially) *f* ; צ by *ḏ* (*z* or *ṣ*) ; שׂ by *s* (S) ; and שׁ by *š* or (before two consonants, etc.) s.

12*b*. Writing. The hieroglyphics which constitute the national system of writing (called 'the scripture of sacred words,' and said to have been invented by the god Dhouti θωϋτ—a name less correctly written Thot) have arisen from a pictographic system very much like that of the Mexicans, just as did the Babylonian (to which it is very strikingly analogous) and the Chinese writing. Our 'rebus' is based upon the same principles.

A man (*rōmeṯ*), a 'head' (*dep*), or a 'tree' (*urn*) can easily be painted entirely. 'Wood' (*ẖet*) can be represented by a twig , 'water' (*mou*) by three water lines , and—here we pass over more and more to symbolism—'night' by 'star-on-heaven' , 'to go' by legs , 'to bring' (*inet*) by a vessel + going , 'to give' (*dy*) by a sacrificial cake (?) in a hand , 'to fight' ('*ḥ*') by weapons in use , 'to write' (*sš*) by the writing material . Thus a great many ideas may be symbolised.

This would lead, however, to too many combinations, besides leaving it uncertain how to read signs which admit synonymous translations, and providing no means for the expression of any inflection. Some further contrivances, therefore, were necessary. Hence, just as an English pictograph might perhaps express 'I' by an 'eye' , homophonous words are expressed by one sign, *ẖeny* 'to row' , *e.g.*, standing also for *ẖenu* '(to be) turbulent.' Thus this symbol becomes a syllabic sign, *ẖn*. Similarly *hap*, 'claw,' is used also for *kop* 'to hide,' *kope* 'to fumigate,' etc.—*i.e.*, as a syllabic sign = *kp*, etc.

Finally, some of these syllabic signs, consisting of only one firm consonant,[3] came to be used for single consonants. In this way, *e.g.*, *fay* (three consonants, but two of them semi-vowels; in Heb. letters something like פאי), 'slug' (originally

1 Cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 58-91.

2 Finally, all sonant consonants were confounded.

3 The only exception is *s*, from *ses* (?), 'bar of a door.' The popular explanation by an acrophonic principle is incorrect.

EGYPT

'bearer'), became the simple *f*; ◿, *ḳay*, 'high ground' (representing a declivity), became the letter *ḳ*, ק; and so on. By such letters (from 24 to 26; Plutarch, 25), all inflections, and many words, were written. (On the treatment of the vowels see above, § 12*a*.)

As an additional safeguard a syllabic sign, such as *ḥn* mentioned above, is commonly followed (sometimes preceded) by an alphabetic sign (in this case ann) for the sake of clearness (thus *ḥn* + *n*). This is the so-called phonetic complement.

The last element of the system consists of what are called determinatives, the method of employing which will appear from the following examples:—Thus, *e.g.*, means 'to write.' Followed by the determinative 'man,' thus , it means writ*er*—*i.e.*, 'scribe.' If we place after it a 'book,' , thus , it means writ*ing*—*i.e.*, 'book' (both words from a stem *sš*, *seḥa*, מחה, but differently vocalised). Again , an elephant + a piece of skin (where the second sign, the determinative, could also be omitted), means 'elephant' (*yĕb..*); but in the sign of a city indicates that Yĕbu, the *city* (Elephantinè), is meant. Similarly marks the end of every man's name, that of a woman's name; words for small plants receive at the end, trees , and so on. This is a great help to the reader, and compensates somewhat for the absence of vowels.

Thus a very perfect system was formed whereby, by the employment of several thousand signs (of which,



FIG. 2.—To illustrate the development of Egyptian writing. Partly after Erman and Krebs.

however, only a few hundred were in common use), anything whatever might be expressed—a complicated system, it is true, but not so complicated and ambiguous as, *e.g.*, the later Babylonian cuneiform writing. The accomplishments of reading and writing were not rare.[1]

The hieroglyphs, or sculptured writing-signs, were admirably suited for monumental and ornamental purposes; but when used for writing books upon papyrus, they had to be abridged and adapted to the pen, exactly as our written letters differ from the printed forms. (i.) Thus the picture of a lion (*rw*),[2] became in cursive writing , the man , , and so on. This is called Hieratic writing—so called as being, like the hieroglyphic, a sacred script, though not, like it, designed for monumental use. (ii.) In course of time was developed, by the progress of abridgment, a regular shorthand, called by the Greeks Demotic or popular, because in their time it was the style of writing used in daily life.[1] It is also called epistolographic, or letter-style (Egyptian *sḥay-en-šaʿy*). In this script the lion becomes or . The illustration (fig. 2) gives three letter signs and two word signs: in hieroglyphs, in five forms of hieratic, and in demotic.

All cursive writing runs from right to left (like Heh. etc.), hieroglyphics in both directions (though never bustrophedon); hut originally both ran mostly from top to bottom, like the oldest Babylonian and like Chinese. The opinion[2] that the Semitic (Phœnician) letters were derived from the hieratic script has become very popular, but is in every way improbable. The latest hieroglyphic inscription is one at Esneh, giving the name of the Roman emperor Decius (250 A.D.); the latest demotic text is one at Philæ, dated 453 A.D. If the earliest translations of the Christian Scriptures into Coptic—*i.e.*, Egyptian in its latest form—were made, as is usually assumed, about 200 A.D.,[3] there should be a continuous tradition. As a living language, Coptic died out about 1500 A.D.; at present only a very few, even of the Coptic priests, possess any understanding of the Coptic liturgic service. Coptic is written with Greek letters and six demotic signs (ϥ *f*, ϧ *ḫ*, ϩ *h*, ϫ *dj*, ϭ *gj* [a palatal sound of doubtful value, later pronounced like *tš* or], ϯ *ti*).[4]

The knowledge of the earlier systems of writing was completely lost,[5] after the whole country was subjected to Christianity. The key to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic and demotic was at last recovered by F. Champollion[6] in 1822, by the help of the Rosetta stone with its trilingual inscription (a decree of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes in Egyptian [in hieroglyphic and demotic characters] and in Greek; found in 1799, now in the Brit. Mus.). Thus the decipherment was indirectly a consequence of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798.

The chief writing material of ancient Egypt was papyrus, a kind of paper made from papyrus stalks, which were sliced, beaten, and pasted together. Its colour was brown or yellowish brown. The chief defect was its brittleness; nevertheless, the writing was often washed off and the papyrus used again. Both sides could be written on. Red ink marked divisions and corrections, as in mediæval MSS. Books were in roll form. (Among the Hebrews the same writing material was in common use: cp Jer. 36 23.) Documents of great importance were written on leather, drafts mostly on potsherds (*ostraca*).

13. Primitive religion.

The religion[7] of Ancient Egypt, always retaining so many remnants of barbarous primitive times, stands in striking contrast to the high civilisation of that country. Originally it was not very different from the low animism or

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[1] Such papyri of non-magic character as are found in the tombs are mostly old copy-books used by the deceased in their schoolboy days. The mention of women bringing the meals for their sons to the school proves that the poor also aspired to the advantages of education.

[2] This word may be taken as an illustration of the old connection between Hamitic and Semitic (cp § 11); it is prehistoric in Egyptian and may have sounded *lawe*(?). Cp Hamitic *lubāḳ* (Saho and Afar), *libāḥ* (Somali), with Semitic *labu* 'lion' (which migrated back to Egypt as λαβοι), Heb. לָבִיא.

[1] The *Demotische Gram.* of H. Brugsch ('55) is quite antiquated. The scholar who has paid most attention to demotic lately is E. Revillout (*Chrestomathie Demotique*, etc.; to be used with caution).

[2] Expressed first by De Rouge, *Mém. sur l'Origine Égyptienne de l'Alphabet Phénicien*, ['74]. Still more untenable is Halévy's attempt to derive the Semitic from the hieroglyphic letters. See WRITING.

[3] See, however, TEXT, §§ 36, 38, where a later date (circa 300) is argued for.

[4] Dialects preserve the ancient *ḫ* as ϩ.

[5] The few traditions about the hieroglyphics found in Greek writers (especially Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*) are now recognised as being all more or less correct; hut for the decipherment they were in various respects insufficient.

[6] The attempts of Th. Young (1819), which came near finding the key, but nevertheless missed it, have been well estimated by Le Page Renouf, *PSBA* 19188 ['96].

[7] Le Page Renouf, *Lect. on the Origin and Growth of Religion* ['82]; Wiedemann, *Die Rel. der alten Ägypter* ('90,

fetishism of the negro races. Every locality had its own spirit haunting it.

Such a demon appeared here **as** a jackal, there as a lion, bird, frog or snake, or in a tree or **a** rock. We can understand why, in the fakes of the Fa(i)yūm and in the whirlpool of the first cataract at Elephantins, a crocodile was the local deity (Sobk and Ḥnumu), why the god Anup(u), leading the dead to Hades, originally (it would seem) in the Memphitic (?)necropolis, was the black jackal of the desert; and *so* on. We cannot easily understand, however why, at Busiris, a wooden fetish of strange form,[1] the *Dad*, signified the highest local god, and why at a later dateahe-goatrepresented there the 'soul(?) of the Dedi' (Bi-n-dēd[i], Μένδης—'Dedi' meaning 'inhabitant of the Dad'), or why the earliest symbol of Osiris was a wine(?)-skin on **a** pole[2] (which caused the Greeks to identify this dead god with their joyful Bacchus), and so on.

Originally, sun, moon, and stars were consiclered to be divine; but, with the exception of the sun-god Rē',[3] the local gods had more temples and enjoyed more worship and sacrifices. At Memphis, the chief god was *Ptaḥ*,[4] styled by his own priests the 'master-artisan,' and, therefore, the creator, mho with his hammer opened the chaotic egg-shaped world; but even the western suburb of the city belonged to a different god, Sokari, a hawk sitting in a sledge shaped like a ship.[5] Thus the gods were almost innumerable in the earliest times. Their forms (human, animal, or mixed), colours (Neith is green, Amon blue, and so on), symbols, etc., are of perplexing variety.

Fortunately, the superior splendour of the deities in the large cities, with their great temples, led to the worship of the tutelary gods of the villages and small towns being more and more abandoned.

14. Changes.

Am(m)on,[6] *e.g.*, the god of the later capital Thebes (called NO-AMON [*q.v.*], 'Amon's city,' in the OT), thus became the official god, and so the highest in the whole kingdom, ***circa*** 1600 B.C. (sacred animal the ram). The Egyptians themselves, indeed, seem to have been puzzled by their endless pantheon. They tried to reduce it by identifying minor divinities with great and popular ones, treating them as one being under different appearances—*e.g.*, the lion-headed Soḫmet (wrongly called Seḫet or Paḫt)[7] of Leontopolis and the cat of Bubastus were identified, the one being explained **as** the warlike, the other as the benevolent, form. Very old is the system of uniting several local gods into a family, usually as father, mother, and child (in Thebes, *e.g.*, the solar *Amon* and *Mut*, and the lunar *Ḥonsu*). Subsequently, out of such triads, circles—especially of nine divinities (enneads)—were formed, and whole genealogies elaborated.

Even in prehistoric times, the progress of thought showed itself in the tendency to make forces of nature, especially solar divinities, out of the old meaningless fetishes; but these attempts did not lead to a reasonable, complete system.

To enumerate some of the earliest results: Osiris[8] of Abvdos becomes, **as** the setting sun, the god of the lower world, king and judge of the dead. In this function he is assisted by the Moon-god Thout (*Dḥouti*), an ibis or an ibis-headed god[9]—originally god of Hermopolis—who becomes a god of wisdom and writing. Anubis[1] assists, leading the dead to Osiris, like Hermes Psychopompos. Osiris himself (son of the goddess *Nut*) had been sent down to the dark region—*i.e.*, murdered—by his wicked hrother Sēt, Σηθ (Typhon in Greek), the local god of N. Omhos,[2] who is figured as **a** poorly-sculptured ass (?).[3] This malicious god, who eventually (though only very late) became a kind of Satan, was explained as god of thunder and clouds (therefore identified with the cloud (?)-serpent '*Apop*), in the latest period also as the sea or the desert—*i.e.*, all nature hostile to man. He is punished hy Ḥor(us)[4] (of Edfu), the young son of Isis (HCЄ),[5] the wife of Osiris (worshipped especially at Philæ often identified with Sothis, the Dog-star), who reunites the bod; of Osiris (the sun), hewn in pieces (the stars) by Sot. The form of the myth which makes Isis go to Phœnicia in search of Osiris' body, carried to Byblos by the Nile and the Ocean, **is** evidently quite late, identifying her with Beltis-Astarte. She educates Hor, hiding herself from Sēt and his seventy-two followers (later explained as the seventy-two hottest days) in the Delta-marshes. Her sister Nephthys[6] (*Nebt-ḥôt*) is the wife of Sēt and the mother of Anubis (hy Osiris).

It was this circle of divinities that gained most popularity and became known even outside of Egypt. Possibly it is simply by accident (?) that we possess only fragments of the myths that grew up, representing those connected with the Osirian circle; the rest of the gods might not look quite so lifeless if we knew the mythology referring to them.

We can *see* under what difficulties Egyptian theology laboured. Not only had it to admit that in the morning the sun was called *Ḥepre*[7] (a beetle rolling its egg across the heavens), later *Ḥor* (a deity of whom there are seven forms), at noon *Re'*,[8]—both *Ḥor* and *Re'* being hawks and evidently representing the sun flying across the heavens,—and in the evening *Atum* (at Heliopolis, where he was represented in human form sailing in a ship across the heavenly ocean);—but it had also to acknowledge that other solar divinities were appearances of the same being.

Some were cosmical gods—

Nun (Νοῦν) or *Nuu* is the abyss from whom all gods and things cam—chaos. The earth **is** the god *Seb* (or *Gêb*?); the heaven or celestial ocean bows herself **over** him as **a** goddess,[9] *Nut*;[10] their child is the sun (=Osiris). The space between them is the god *Su* (*Šow*, Σως), a lion. His companion, *Tefnut*, represents, perhaps, the celestial moisture.

Other gods assume other special functions—

On Thout (Dhouti, moon) and Ptaḥ as protectors of scribes and scholars and of artisans and builders, see above (§§12*b*, 13). Imhotep of Memphis was the god of physicians. Ithyphallic Min[11] became a harvest deity, like the serpent Remute(t), and as god of Coptos, the master of the Trog(l)odytes in the Nnbian desert, just as Neit of Saïs[12] ruled over the Libyans. The cow *Hat-hor* (*i.e.*, abode of the Sun-god)[13] became mistress of **love** and'joy, but showed her solar nature in ruling all Eastern countries. Warlike gods were *Onḥur* of This, *Monṯu* of Hermonthis, and above all, the malicious Sēt, whose worship **was** abandoned more and more after 1000 B.C. (*see* above [first small type passage in this section]). This distribution of functions, however, is so contradictory that nowhere does an intelligent system result.

The sacred animals belonged to two categories—

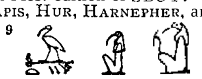
Some, such **as** the black bull called Apis[14] (*Ḥapi*) **at** Memphis, that called Mnēvis at Heliopolis, and the crocodile Sobk (Σουχος), were considered miraculous incarnations of the local god (pure fetishism); but at other places every cat was sacred (as at Bubastus),[15] or every letos-fish (as at Letopolis), and so forth (totemism?). So, while the crocodile was worshipped at some places (*e.g.*, Ombos), it was sometimes persecuted from a sense of religious duty, even in a neighhonring city (**as**, *e.g.*, at Edfu).

ET '96; useful), brief; also Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* [1884-88] (the fullest but labouring under the great defect of following by preference 'the systems of the *latest* Egyptian theology); Lieblein, *Egyptian Rel.* ['84]; Maspero, *La myth. Égyptienne* ['89; critical]; Petrie *Religion* and ***Conscience in Anr. Egypt*** ['98]; Lange in 'Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Rel.-gesch.*(2), vol. i. For pictures the best work ofreference is Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia* ['81] (cp also Champollion, *Pantheon Eg.*, '25).

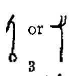
1 2 3 4 or 5


6  On vocalisation, see below, § 40 n. 7 

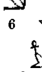
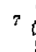
8  The 'Tomb of Osiris,' discovered near Abydos in 1898, is an ancient royal tomb. According to some scholars, Osiris is mentioned as אָסִּיר (read * אֹסִיר) in Is. 10 4, and Apis as *חַף in Jer. 46 15. On these readings see notes in I-Ieb. edition of *SBOT*. Cp also AHIRA, PHINEHAS, ASSIR, APIS, HUR, HARNEPHER, and NAMES, § 68.

9 

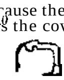
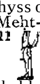
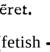
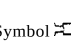
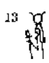
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2 He **must** have played a most important part in prehistoric times. The sceptre which all divinities hold in their hands  seems to hear his head. His sacred colour was red, hnd red-haired men were despised as 'typhonic.'

3  4 

5  6  7  8 

9 The heaven is, besides, frequently represented as a cow, because the ahyss on which the earth in its chaotic state floated was the cow Meḥt-wēret.

10  11  (fetish ). 12 Symbol  13 

14 On a probable **OT** ref. to Apis *see* above, col. 1215, n. 3.

15 Hence the large cat cemetery near the modern Zaḳāzīḳ (now commercially exploited for manure).

The great mass of the people never advanced beyond the traditional worship of the local idol (the 'town god')

15. Pantheism.

or sacred animal. Among the priests, the most advanced thinkers came, it is true, to the result that all gods are only different forms of the same divine energy, — a conclusion which, however, did not lead them to monotheism, as might have been expected, but to a kind of pantheism. Such advanced thought remained, of course, the property of a few educated persons, though it was not treated as a mystery. Other rationalists followed somewhat euhemeristic lines, treating all gods as deified pharaohs of the earliest period. On early traces of the deluge- and the paradise-traditions, see DELUGE, PARADISE ; of borrowing from Asia there is here no question.

In the sphere of cosmogony no reasoned system was ever developed : besides *Ptaḥ*, the potter *Ḥnūm(u)* of Elephantink,' as well as other gods, claimed to have been creator. Nowhere can any uniform dogma be found (cp CREATION, § 8).

It is interesting that, after 1600, the Egyptians had a strong tendency to increase their already end-

16. Foreign cults.

less pantheon by adding foreign divinities, especially gods of a warlike character.[2]

We find the god Suteḫ[3] of the Hittites (not of the Hyksos ; see § 52) so popular as almost to displace Sēt. The Semitic god Rašpu ('lightning,' רֶשֶׁף), the goddesses 'Anāt, 'Astart (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת), Kedesh ('the holy one,' קדש), Beltis of Byblus-Gebal, 'Asīt, Adam, etc. were recognised. Ba'al and Astarte had their temples at Thehes and Memphis. Whether the strangely figured *Bes*[4] was a foreign (Babylonian ? Arabian?) divinity is doubtful. This protector against wild animals and serpents, and patron of dancing, music, and the cosmetic art, had at least a much earlier cult.[5]

If we find various accounts of the creation of the world and of man, various explanations of the daily

17. Life after death.

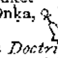
course of the sun, etc., we need not wonder that the belief in life after death[6] was never reduced to a dogma. According to the opinion of later times, the dead went down to the dark lower world (Amentet, 'Αμένθης—*i.e.*, the west), passed obstacles of every kind, opened many closed gates, and satisfied various guardians of monstrous form by the use of magic formulas previously placed in the coffins for this purpose. Finally the dead man reached the great judgment hall (*weshet*) of Osiris, into which he was introduced by Anubis. His moral life was tested in a cross-examination by the forty-two monstrous judges (the answers denying the forty-two cardinal sins[7] were ready prepared in his magic book), and hy the weighing of his heart in the balance of Më'it, the goddess of justice.[8] Those who were declared to be wicked were sent to a hell full of flames, and were tortured by evil spirits (some seem to have supposed that they assumed the form of unclean animals). The good were admitted to 'the fields of *Aaru*- (or *Yunru?*) plants,' where they sowed and reaped on fields irrigated by the Nile of Hades. Small figures of slaves, or rather substitutes for the dead, made of porcelain or other material, were placed in the coffin to assist the deceased in this peasant life. Originally it may have been only persons belonging to the highest classes who claimed to ascend to heaven upon the ladder of the Sun-god, and to become companions of the sun during his daily voyage over the heavenly ocean ; but, later, this was anticipated for every one who should be 'found pure.'

1 

2 See Ed. Meyer, *ZDMG* 31717 ['77]; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 309 *ff.*

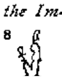
3 On his representations see Griffith, *PSBA* 1687 ['94].

4 

5 But Hat-hor has nothing to do with 'Aštar ; nor has the (Nubian?) deity 'Anūket  at Elephantinè anything to do with 'Onka,  as Semitists have sometimes asserted.

6 Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul* ('95), a popular manual by E. A. W. Budge, etc.

7 Murder, adultery, slander, theft, fraud, robbery of the dead, sacrilege, etc.

8 

Every deceased person was even expected to become Osiris himself, and is addressed as 'Osiris So-and-So.' The dead were allowed to visit the earth occasionally— not at night but in the day-time—assuming the form of different animals.[1] At night they returned to their tombs, or to the lower world, —places which are rarely distinguished in a clear way.

Various conflicting doctrines are intermingled—*e.g.*, the belief that the souls of the departed are the stars or dwell in the stars (which are by others explained as the dispersed members of the slain Sun-god Osiris : see above, § 14), that all shadows[2] must live in darkness and misery in the nether-world, persecuted by evil spirits, so that it is best for the dead person to become, by witchcraft, one of these evil monsters himself, and that the soul, in the form of a half-human bird[3] (*bai*), lives in or near the grave, hungry, and dependent entirely upon the offerings of food and drink deposited at the tomb. Sometimes the oases of the Western desert are identified with the fields of the dead. The Egyptian priests never put themselves to any trouble to harmonise these and other contradictory traditions ; they contented themselves rather with providing that magic formula: and prayers adapted to each of them were made and collected. On these collections, see below, § 20.

The care bestowed upon the worship of the dead is very remarkable. The huge pyramids of the most

18. Worship of the dead.

ancient kings, the detached tombs of their officials (now called by Egyptologists maṣṭăbas—an Arabic word), the interior of which–was covered with sculptures, and the long rock-galleries, especially at Thebes, testify that the Egyptians devoted greater zeal than any other nation on earth to the abodes and the memory of their dead, and to the sustenance of their souls by sacrifices. This care is shown also in the practice of embalming ;[4] cp EMBALMING.

Originally only the nobles were able to pay for mummification, with its costly spices (and natron) and its skilful wrapping in layers of linen, by which means some mummies have survived 4000 years without great change. Later however, cheaper methods, such as dipping the body into hbt asphalt, made the custom almost universal. The 'forty days of embalming' (Gen. 50 3) after removal of the intestines (which were then placed in the four jars, erroneously called canopes, representing often four tutelary demons) and the brain, and the 'seventy days of lamenting,' are usual. The face was frequently gilt ; the wrapped body was put in one or two cases of wood or carton. nage, of human form, more or less painted and ornamented ; wealthy people enclosed these, again, in large stone sarcophagi.

All this seems to point to a primitive belief that the soul would live only as long as the body existed, though this is indeed nowhere expressly stated. Later, the reason was given that the soul liked to be near the body, and would sometimes even return into it or into a statue of the dead. The distinction between the soul (*bai*), the shadow (*ḥaibet*), and the double (*Rn*) which always accompanies a man in life and seems to receive the soul after death, was by no means clear even to Egyptian dogmatists, and is quite obscure for us.

The tombs had annexed to them a chapel for offering to the statue of the *ka*,[5] which stood in an adjoining small, dark room, the latter connected with the chapel by a small window or hole in order to let the smell of incense, etc., penetrate to the soul in the statue.

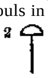
Besides real offerings, pictures of food were given; these had the advantage of durability, and were, by the help of magic, as efficacious as real bread and meat. Often a basin of water before the tomb furnished drink for the soul, and trees were planted round it, 'that the soul might sit under their shady branches.' The sarcophagus was deposited in a pit, which was filled up with stones and sand (except in the case of rock tombs, already safe enough). The poor were, of course, less luxuriously housed. They were massed in simple pits leased hy undertakers. All tombs were situated in the desert, the arable land being much too scarce and costly.

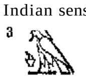
Whilst it can hardly be proved that the religious ideas of the Egyptians ever influenced the belief of the Hebrews

19. Ritual.

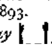
(the so-called 'goldeu calves' [see CALF, § 2] were certainly no imitation of the Apis cult, all kinds of animals being sacred at one place or another in Egypt), it cannot well be denied that the

1 This was misunderstood by the Greeks. A migration of souls in the Indian sense was unknown to the Egyptians.

2 

3 

4 See *The Mummy*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, 1893.

5 Or *kay* .

EGYPT

ritual laws and laws of purity of the Hebrews often seem to follow the analogy of the later Egyptian customs. The priests had to observe scrupulous cleanliness, to shave all hair (hence their bald heads, imitated in the Roman tonsure), to wear only linen, and to abstain from all unclean food, this being very much the same as among the Hebrews.[1] See above (§ 9) on the uncleanness (especially) of the swine.

Some parts of every animal (the head?) were forbidden. Eggs were not to be eaten. Contact with dead bodies defiled, notwithstanding the cult of the dead. Embalmers, therefore, were unclean. Circumcision, for which as for all ritual purposes, only stone knives were to be used (cp Josh. 5 2), was general for both sexes from time immemorial (see CIRCUMCISION). The method of killing and offering animals, the burning of incense (upon bronze censers of ladle form[2]), the ablutions, and many other ritualistic details, were similar to those practised among the Israelites. Human sacrifices occurred in the earlier times (see ISAAC); later, cakes in human form seem to have been substituted.

The priests, called 'the pure,'[3] *u'êb(u)*, formed a well-organised hierarchy in four (later five) classes (φυλαί), with many degrees, from the common priest to the high-priest ruling over the principal temple of the nomos or over the temples of several nomes.[4] The priestly career seems to have been open, theoretically, to every boy of Egyptian descent who studied the canon of sacred books (forty-two, according to Greek tradition) in the temple-school ; whether this was the case in practice we do not know. The highest dignities at least were more or less in the hands of certain families of the aristocracy.[5] Women were not admitted to the regular priesthood. Priestesses appear later only under the title of 'singers' of the divinity. They formed the choirs.

The religious literature was not so rich as the masses of manuscripts from the tombs might lead one to suppose.

20. Religious literature. The catalogue of the library of the large temple at Edfu enumerates only thirty-six books, mostly ritualistic. The earliest texts would be the old books from which come the inscriptions (of about 3000 lines) in five pyramids belonging to dynasties 5 and 6 (see below, § 46) which were opened in 1881. More than any other religious texts, they bear a magical character. After 2000 B.C. another large collection came into use, the 'Book of going out in daytime,' now commonly called the 'Book of the dead.'[6] This is not a theological compendium, 'the Bible of the Ancient Egyptians,' as it has been very unsuitably designated. It contains mostly magic formulæ, often of a very nonsensical character, for the protection and guidance of the dead in the lower world, and the confusion of doctrines of which we spoke above. Thousands of copies—some over a hundred feet long and with very elaborate pictures, and others brief extracts, giving one or two of the chapters—are among the chief attractions of our museums of antiquities.[7]

The *Book of respiration* (*Šay n sonsen*), the book *May my name flourish*, and the *Book of passing through eternity*,[1] are shorter imitations. The large *Book of that which is in the netherworld* (*ami-duat*, Lanzone ['79][2])—a very fanciful and mysterious book, more of pictures than of texts, which ornaments many sarcophagi—still awaits a critical edition (abridg. version, Jéquier).

The scientific side of theology is represented by a fragment of a commentary (Berlin); other commentaries, consisting of symbolical expositions, form part of the *Book of the Dead* (ch. 17). Sacred geography was a favourite study (Pap. of Tanis and of Lake Moeris).[3] Rituals—such as that for burial (ed. Schiaparelli, '82), that for embalming (Maspero), and that for the cult of Amon and Mut (Berlin)—are found, and many hymns in praise of gods or temples. They are of little originality.[4] On contemplative and speculative religion not one line has been preserved, and certainly there was not much of it. The priests were too content with the old traditions.

The didactic literature bears a practical character and is entirely secular. 'The Exhortations of Any' (Pap.

21. Didactic literature. Bulak 4, transl. by Chabas in *l'Égyptologie;* also by Amélineau in *La Morale Égypt.*) are a really beautiful collection of moral rules. Small demotic ethical papyri have been published by Pierret and Revillout.[5]

The *Praise of Scholastic Studies* (Pap. Sallier 2, Anast. 7)[6] is full of sarcastic humour, but too prosy for modern taste ; the 'Papyrus Prisse' (Chabas, Virey, partly Griffith ; see *World's Best Lit.* 5327) is of stilted obscurity. All these works belong to the classical period of the Middle Empire.

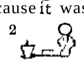
Several later imitations of the *Praise of Scholastic Studies* were frequently used as copying exercises for schoolboys, in order to instil love of study. For the rest. the many schoolbooks contain exercises of .rhetorical aim. 'The 'Story of the Eloquent Peasant' (Griffith *ib.*), and 'The Man tired of Life' (Erman ['96]) belong to this category.

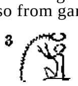
We see from inscriptions and other representations that the Egyptians had a tolerable knowledge of

22. Science. astronomy—the high priest of Heliopolis was called the 'chief astronomer.' We owe to them our modern (Julian) calendar ; but they themselves used in common life a year of twelve months (of thirty days each) and five *epagomenæ*, or additional days (without any intercalation). The astronomical year, called Sothic because marked by the 'rising' of Sothis (Sirius), was known, but not in popular use.[7]

Ptolemy III. found a reform of the calendar to be an urgent need. His attempt to effect it, however, in 238 B.C., proved a failure. Much superstition in regard to these matters is discernible ; cp the *Calendar of lucky and unlucky days* (transl. Chabas, '70). The hours were determined by observing the position of the celestial bodies with the instrument figured below.[8] No scientific astronomical work has come down to us; but we have a mathematical handbook (London, ed. Eisenlohr) which shows that the Egyptians were not so far advanced in mathematics as, *e.g.*, the Babylonians.[9] High admiration of Egyptian medicine mas shown throughout the ancient world, and 'even mediæval medicine is full of Egyptian elements.[10] The medical papyri (Berlin ed. Brugsch ; un-

1 These laws were less scrupulously observed in earlier times. See above (§ 9 n.) on the restrictions with regard to fish. Those offering sacrifices had to abstain also from game, evidently because it was not properly bled.

2 

3 

4 The Ptolemaic documents and Clem. Alex., *Strom.* VI., would give us the following classification : high priest, prophet, stolist (superintending the clothing of the idols and the offerings), two classes of 'sacred scribes' (the higher one being that of the πτεροφόροι or feather-wearers), the horoscopist (the name has been wrongly explained as meaning 'astronomer' ; the correct meaning seems to be 'a priest officiating only occasionally'), the singer. This classification is neither exhaustive nor applicable to earlier times.

5 The fact of the king officiating as priest at sacrifices confirms the view that there was no priestly caste.

6 De Rouge incorrectly called it 'le rituel funéraire.'

7 The text was published after very late and bad copies by Lepsius and De Rouge (both reprinted by Davis, '94). Of facsimiles in colonrs the Papyrus of Ani in the Brit. Mus. ('93, etc.) is best known (also Deveria, Pap. Sutimes, a copy in Leemans, *Monuments;* Pap. Nebked, etc.). The great edition of Naville ('86) has shown the immense textual corruption of all manuscripts, which leaves much work to future scholars. Best translation by Le Page Renouf, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead,* '96 (those by Birch '67, and Pierret, 82, are antiquated; Budge, '98, is less critical?.

1 These three books have been edited by Brugsch, Lieblein, and Von Bergmann respectively.

2 Also in Bonomi, *Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah* ('64), and (from the walls of the royal tombs) *Mission Franç.* II. and III.

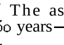
3 Petrie and Mariette ; the second discussed by Brugsch and Pleyte.

4 That on Amon, translated by Grébaut, is considered the best. It is, however, anything but an original composition. It is reprinted in *RP* 2 121. (This English work gives translations of almost the whole literature of Egypt; hut in the first series these are often of very questionable character. The second series shows improvement in this respect. Excellent translations by Griffith of a large part of the Egyptian literature have just appeared in *The World's Best Literature* [1897], p. 5225 *ff.* [the hymn in question, p. 5309].

5 In *Rec. de Trav.* 1, and *Rev. Égypt.* 1.

6 Transl. by Maspero in his *Études sur le genre épistolaire.*

7 The astronomical and the common year coincided every 1460 years—a so-called Sothic period (see CHRONOLOGY, § 19).

8 

9 Arithmetical fragments also in Griffith's *Kahun papyri.*

10 Shown first by Le Page Renouf, *ZÄ* 11 123 ['73]. How this came (through the Arabs?) is discussed by G. Ebers, *ZÄ* 33 1 ['95].

published MSS or Berlin and London: treatises on female diseases and veterinary art in Griffith's *Kahun papyri;* ahove all, the greatpapyrus Ehers at Leipsic, written about 1600 B.C.) show, however, little practical knowledge, and a surprising ignorance of anatomy, as against an abundance of superstition and silly sorcery.[1]

23. Magic.

There are a good many books of magic (with many religious and some medical elements)—partly lawful magic (cp, *e.g.*, Chabas, *Le pap. Magique Harris*, '57), partly forbidden witchcraft (Leyden). The latter was threatened with capital punishment (cp pap. Lee). Thus we see that the country of Jannes and Jamhres (2 Tim. 3 8) was the true home of all kinds of magic (Is. 193). It would be quite wrong, however, to ascribe the miracles performed by the pharaoh's magicians (Ex. 7, etc.) to anything else than jugglery (see SERPENT, § 3*a*), for there was far less knowledge of natural science in Egypt than, *e.g.*, in Greece.

24. History, etc.

Even historiography was not highly developed. There were chronicles of single reigns—a panegyric specimen has been preserved in the great papyrus Harris I., referring to Ramses III. (about the largest papyrus in existence; ed. Birch); on the lists of kings see below, § 41; but no larger works of scientificcharacter were in the hands of Manĕtho when he undertook to compose a history of Egypt for the Greeks (see below, § 41). The poverty of his material forced him to use even popular novels as sources. Nor was grammar ever studied in a scientific way, or textual criticism applied to the sacred writings. All literary works were, accordingly, more exposed to corruption than they were in any other country of antiquity.

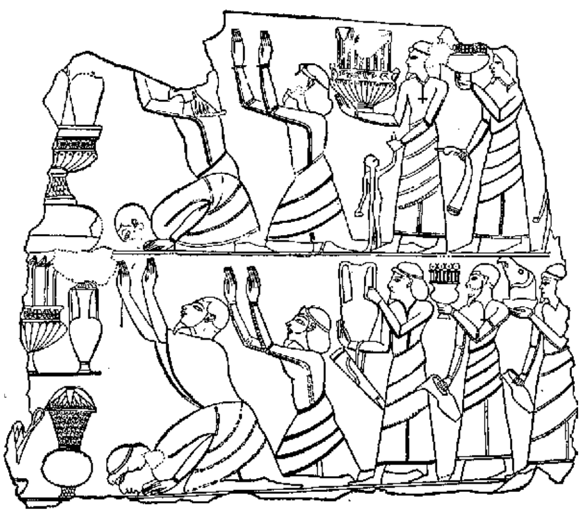


FIG. 3.—Asiatics bringing tribute; a painting (fragment) in the British Museum.

If we find all ancient nations filled with boundless admiration for Egyptian science,[2] we can account for this only hy the mysterious difficulty of all Egyptian writing, into the secrets of which a foreigner could rarely penetrate. In fact, the Babylonians as well as the Greeks were far superior to the Egyptians in everything that required serious thinking.

25. Tales and poetry.

What Egypt produced, however, in the way of literature designed to amuse and entertain is worthy of our highest admiration. The number of fanciful tales, very similar to those of the *Arabian Nights*, and of historical novels (with much imagination and little true history) is considerable,[3] and some—*e.g.*, that of 'The Doomed Prince' (a papyrus in London)—are of charming form. Moreover, in their popular poetry, especially in their love songs, the Egyptians come much nearer to our taste than do most oriental peoples.[4] Many hymns in praise of kings and their deeds have survived. The only attempt at an epic, however, is the song, inscribed upon so many temple walls, commemorating the battle of Kadesh won by Ramses II.; for modern taste it lacks vigour and is too long. The other eulogies do not come up to it.

A satirical poem on bad minstrels,[1] and a collection of stories on animals, embodying Æsopic fables (which seems to show that these fables originated, possibly, in Egypt) are to he found only in demotic copies. All poetry followed the parallelism of members (like Hebrew poetry) and certain rude rhythms (counting only words with full accent, and disregarding the number of syllables); it sometimes observed alliteration, but never rhyme. Much more may be expected from recent finds.

26. Music.

Of the music connected with this poetry we cannot say much. All oriental instruments were known—the simple monochord,[2] the large harp,[3] the flute, the tambourine, etc. Clapping of bands and shaking of the sistrum (σειστρον, a metal rattle)[4] accompanied the simple tunes. The professional musicians were mostly blind men. See Music.

27. Government.

The government was the most absolute monarchy known to antiquity. The despotic power of the king was greatest in dynasties 4 to 5 and 18 to 20 (also 26)—the periods of complete centralisation. On the decentralising tendencies of the counts or nomarchs (hereditary under weaker dynasties), and on the changing royal residences etc., see below, § 41 *ff.* The most influential officer of the kingdom, the administrator of the whole empire, or grand-vizier, was the *erpa'ti*. The *ṭa'ti* had the general administration of justice.

Among the titles of courtiers that of 'Fan-bearer at the left of the king' carried with it the greatest honour. After dynasty 18 the 'cup-bearers (*wabe'*, *uba*) of the king' although often only foreign slaves, becanie as influential as the Mamlūks of the Middle Ages, because they were charged with the most confidential commissions. The titles of the court and of the officials of the royal palace harem, stable, kitcheh, brewery, etc., are just as abundant as the offices for the administration of the country and its counties (*e.g.*, royal scribes, inspectors of the granaries, clerks of the soldiers, scribe of the nomos, etc.). Most of these scribes were at the same time priests. The king generally gave audiences from a balconv of the palace.

28. Law.

Of the laws we do not know much. We have sufficient material in the shape of legal documents only in demotic papyri from dynasty 26 downwards.[5] These documents are based upon the code of laws given or collected by the great legislator Bocchoris (about 730 B.C.; see below, § 65).

Former institutions are less known.[6] We find (only after 2000 B.C.) the remarkable institution of the jury,[7] a committee of officers and priests—Le., educated men—appointed by the government for every day to sit in judgment. They were paid by the litigants.

On criminal law[8] we possess acts relating to spoliations of

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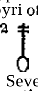
1 They seem to show that Herodotus's assertion about specialists for every part of the body is exaggerated.

2 Some find evidence of this also in the apparent pride with which it is stated that Joseph had married a priest's daughter from On. See also 1 K. 430 [5 10] Acts 7 22.

3 They need not he enumerated here, as they can be consulted easily in the collections of Maspero, *Contes pop. de l'Égypte anc.* ['82] and Petrie, *Egyptian Tales* ['95].

4 Collected by Maspero, *Journ. As.* ['83], and bv WMM. *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter* ['99].

1 Ed. Revillout and Brugsch. The satirical vein of the Egyptian- is often discernible in art (see caricatures in the papyri of Turin, partly given in Lepsius, *Auswahl*) and literature.

2  3  4 

5 Several works of E. Revillout on these—*Chrestomathie Démotique* ('80), *Nouvelle Chrest. Démotique*, etc. The decipherment is in part much disputed; cp § 12. For some earlier material, see Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*.

6 What Diod. writes about Egyptian laws is not all certain. On those of the Greek period, see Wessely, *SWAW*, Bd. 124, Abh. 9.

7 Earlier inscriptions speak of thirty judges for the country.

8 Spiegelberg, *Stud. u. Mat. zum Rechtswesen* ('92).

tombs, to conspiracy against the king, and to forbidden sorcery. Criminals were examined by means of torture and blows. The rod was used as much as the kurbāj is at present. Bastinado (up to 100 strokes) upon hands and feet, cutting off the nose and the ears, deportation to frontier places (Rhinocolūra, *e.g.*,—see EGYPT, RIVER OF, § 1—had its name from the exiles with 'mutilated noses'), to the oases, or to the gold mines in the glowing Nubian desert, and impalement ('hanged,' EV of Gen. 40 22 is incorrect), were the punishments. In the case of persons of higher rank suicide was allowed to take the place of capital punishment.

In civil law, we are struck with the fact that woman was on a perfect equality with man and occupied a higher position than she did in almost any other country of the ancient world. For example, a married woman could hold property of her own, and might lend from it to her husband upon good security, such as his house.

In marriage, the greatest divergence from later Hebrew custom was in sister-marriage, which in Egypt was as common as marrying the cousin is among the Semites. The majority had their sisters as wives: there seem to have been no forbidden degrees of relationship. Polygamy was permitted, but occurred rarely. Marriage was usually concluded on the basis of a financial agreement, such high indemnities being fixed for the wife in case of divorce or polygamy that expelling her without the most serious reasons should have become impossible. A wife with such legal security was called 'mistress of the house,' and well distinguished from the concubine (called 'sister'). Nobles maintained secluded harems in the Asiatic manner; but the 'wife' always enjoyed as much liberty inside and outside of the house as our women, as is shown by the story of Potiphar's wife.[1] Veiling the face was unknown. Adultery was followed by capital punishment for both offenders (contrast Gen. 39 20, J).

29. Marriage.

It will be seen, especially from our review of the literature, that the prevalent views with regard to the national character of the Egyptians are erroneous. They were quite religious (*i.e.*, superstitious) according to the views of such superstitious nations as the Greeks and the Romans. Far from being contemplative, however, they were rather superficial—not only in religion, but also in science, literature, etc.—and more inclined to the gay side of things. We nowhere find deep thinking, everywhere full enjoyment of life. Their art is full of humour; even the walls of their 'eternal abodes' or tombs are partly covered with drinking and playing scenes and with jokes for inscriptions. Their morality was rather lax. Drunkenness seems to have been not rare. To judge by the many complaints, the great host of officers in the service of the king or the temples were even more corrupt than the bureaucracy of other oriental states. Speaking generally, neither bravery nor honesty seems to have been a national virtue.[1]

30. Character.

Even in the cult of the dead strange contradictions are visible. Paupers, of whom there were many, broke into most of the tombs of the wealthy soon after burial, and no military protection could prevent even the royal tombs from being ransacked. Even the educated, who expected to be examined by Osiris if they ever disturbed the rest of any dead person would often appropriate for their own mummies the property: tomb, or eqnipment of a deceased person who was unprotected. Foundations of real estate for the support of the dead—*i.e.*, for furnishing the sacrifices—never lasted long.

The best part of the population, undoubtedly, was to be found, not in the haughty 'scribes' and priests (ideas for the most part coinciding), but in the peasants. These were just as simple in their habits, just as laborious, just as poor, and just as patient under their continual oppression, as the modern *fellāḥīn*. Most of them were serfs—of the king, or of temples, or of landowners. Their worst oppression was the hard taskwork described in Ex. 1. Serfs were branded with the owner's name. The cities held a large proletariate—the free 'working men.'[2]



FIG. 4.—Ramses II. storming the Hittite fortress of Dapur (*Da-pu-ru*); from a wall picture on his temple at Thebes. See interpretation in Erman, *Egypt*, 533. After Lepsius.

It was formerly assumed that there were castes. This is, however, a mistake. The sons of the many priests would naturally acquire more easily than others the learning which distinguished their fathers. The eldest son, too, of a soldier inherited, with the field of his father, which was a fief from the government, also the duty of serving as μάχιμος—*i.e.*, soldier, or policeman. The tombstones, however, frequently represent families of whom one member was a soldier, another a priest, another an artisan, and so on. If, in the time of Herodotus,[3] the shepherds were despised and did not intermarry with the rest of the people, the explanation lies in their unclean foreign descent (*'Amē*, 'Asiatic,' was synonymous with 'shepherd'; cp Gen. 43 32). Swineherds had a still lower position. The same may hold good of the sailors, merchants, and interpreters of foreign origin; at that time, too, the soldiers were mostly descendants of foreigners (Libyans).

31. Classes.

Formerly, when foreign elements in the country were few, the distinctions just referred to were less marked; only the soldiers always had a strong foreign element. The Egyptians were not warlike,

32. Army.

1 Accordingly, no evidence has been found, thus far, that eunuchs were kept. Lepsius, *Denkm.* 2 126, etc., represents fat old men, not eunuchs. This fact has not yet been considered in its relation to the designation of Potiphar as סריס in Gen. 39 1.

1 Cp the characteristic explanation in Steph. Byz. αἰγυπτιάζειν = τὰ πανοῦργα καὶ δόλια καὶ ὕπουλα πράττειν.

2 Interesting accounts of great strikes of the working men employed by the government have come down to our time. Cp Spiegelberg, *Arbeiter u. Arbeiterbewegung* ('95).

3 He gives seven classes; Plato and Diodorus, five.

EGYPT

and, even in the earliest times, they employed by preference mercenaries.

The first to be employed were negroes and brown Africans (the name of the *Mazoy* archers from the Red Sea became synonymous with 'police:); after 1500 B.C. Syrians and Europeans; after 1200 B.C., in increasing numbers, Libyans (Mašawaša, etc.), who became the privileged mercenaries, and rebelled continually against the competition of Carians and Greeks after 650 B.C. (cp the mixed armies of Egypt, Jer. 46 9 Ezek. 27 10, etc.). The charioteers [1] however, were mostly Egyptians.[2] Besides small fiefs of grdund, the native soldiers seem to have received at least their maintenance during active service. The mercenaries had agricultural holdings also as part of their pay. Horses and equipment were lent by the government. The officers passed through a training school (*zaḳabu*, Semitic?) as youths.

The national weapons were bow, throwing-stick (only before 1600), war-axe, club,[4] scythe-formed sword,[5] short spear (rarely javelin), and straight sword.[6] Apart from the shield,[7] not much armour (coats-of-mail—of leather, or thick linen, sometimes with metal scales) was used, except in the case of the charioteers. In sieges, the testudo and the battering-ram of the ancients appcar, but none of the complicated war-machines used by the Assyrians. The soldiers marched to the sound of long hand-drums and at trumpet-signals. They were divided into regiments, each with its own standard, usually a god or divine symbol upon [glyph].

Lack of personal courage made the sea-trade of the Egyptians also very insignificant.

33. Commerce. The import of olive oil (from Palestine), wine (from Phcenicia), bcer (Asia Minor), wood, metal, wool, etc., and the export of grain (usually monopolised by the government), linen, papyrus, small works of art in glass, porcelain, metal, and ivory, were mostly in the hands of the Phcenicians. Naval expeditions on the Red Sea for incense were rare, owing (partly) to the great scarcity of wood in Egypt and on the desert coast of the Red Sea, where the ships had to be constructed.

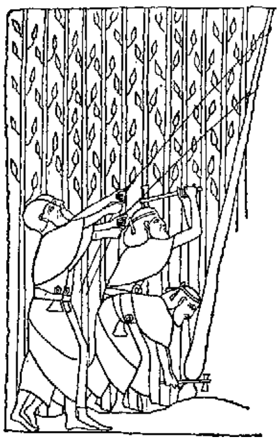


FIG. 5.—Syrian princes on Lebanon felling trees for Sethos I. After Rosellini.

Not till Persian times did the important commercial position of Egypt—as forming the connecting link between the Red and the Mediterranean Seas, and between Europe, Asia, and Africa—begin to be realised.

The majority of the people always had agricultural occupations. Originally, the holdings of the priests (and soldiers) were exempt from the heavy taxation of one-fifth (Gen. 47 20 *ff.*; see JOSEPH ii., § 9); later this immunity was withdrawn because it withdrew too much from the income of the government.

34. Agriculture. In agriculture, the most primitive implements were always used, such as wooden hoes,[8] and ploughs[9] drawn by oxen or by men. Such simple appliances presupposed the softening of the ground by the yearly inundation. The irrigation of the higher fields was likewise effected with simple machinery.[1] Harvesting (in March—with some growths two harvests are possible), treading out the grain by cattle (rarely threshing with the threshing-wain, מוֹרָג), winnowing, etc., were carried out very much in the same way as in Palestine (cp also AGRICULTURE, § 2-10). On the granaries[2] see PITHOM.

The industries were highly developed. The renowned Egyptian linen (the best kinds being called בּוּץ, βύσσος—a Semitic word it would seem—and

35. Industries. *dd*, Egyptian *šes*; see LINEN) was manufactured especially by the poor bondsmen of the temples, shut up at certain times in an *atḫu* or 'workhouse' for weaving. The temples drew a large portion of their income from this linen manufacture. Cp Is. 19 9 (and v. 10, where read שֹׁתֶיהָ with 𝔊, see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*), Pr. 7 16 Ezek. 27 7. In pottery only the more common ware was made. Glass seems to have been not a Phœnician but an Egyptian invention (cp PHŒNICIA, GLASS, § 1). The so-called Egyptian porcelain or glazed pottery (faknce), mostly green or blue, in imitation of the two most precious stones (malachite and lapis lazuli), furnished the material for small figures, amulets (especially in the form of scarabs—beetles that were supposed to bring good luck), and other ornaments, which found their way, through the Phccnicians, westwards even to Spain. The products of the goldsmiths, who also employed enamel very skilfully, are admirable; the ivory-carvings were renowned. In general, the smaller articles (utensils, ornaments, etc.) display the best taste; all minute ornamentation was the delight of the Egyptians.

The art[3] of Egypt exercised a most powerful influence upon all surrounding countries, especially upon Phcenicia,

36. Art. where an imitation of the Egyptian style became the national art. Solomon's temple was in Egyptian style. The Egyptian ornaments, derived from the plants and flowers of the country, especially the lotus and papyrus, penetrated the whole ancient world. The paintings[4] (preserved mostly as wall decoration) have a very childish appearance, from their lack of perspective and of shading;[5] but they possess the merit of great faithfulness—*e.g.*, in all representations of animals, foreign nations, etc. (compare Fig. 3). The decorative sculptures (rarely in relief, mostly incised or in a sunk relief, always painted) exhibit the same odd principles of perspective, in accordance with which, *e.g.*, the face was always represented in profile, but the eye as though seen from the front, the shoulders from the front, the legs in profile, and so on. This was not awkwardness, but a principle traditionally handed down from the childhood of art;



FIG. 6.—Statue of Ramses II. at Turin. After Riehm-Lepsius.

1 [glyph]

2 Riding on horseback was unknown—as among most nations of ancient Western Asia.

3 [glyph]

4 This combines club and axe.

5 [glyph]

6 [glyph]

7 [glyph]

8 [glyph] See AGRICULTURE, § 3, fig. 1.

9 [glyph]

1 Cp § 7. Water-wheels cannot be proved to have been known. The explanation of Dt. 11 10 as referring to such wheels turned with the foot is questionable; most probably 'watering with the foot' means carrying water.

2 [glyph]

3 Consult Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Anc. Egypt* (ET), 2 vols. 1883; Maspcro, *Egyptian Archæology* (ET), '93; Fl. Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, '95.

4 The colours are in part made of ground glass (blue and green), and are all very durable.

5 Petrie, *Amarna*, pls. 1, 12, is no exception, but an imitation in painting of sunk relief.

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and we can still observe how some sculptors struggled against this strait-jacket. In spite of this disadvantage, some artists of the earliest times (dyns. 4-6) drew scenes full of vivacity and of delicate execution, much superior to the similar Assyrio-Babylonian and archaic Greek sculptures (which all had, by the way, similar perspective). Later, art became more and more conventionalised. The superiority of the earliest period appears also in the statues. The realism of some of the earliest portraits was never again attained. As early as 1600 B.C. the portraits began to lose in vigour and to betray a suspicious similarity one to another. The New Empire, in marked contrast with the Middle Empire (dyn. 12), looked more to quantity than to quality. After dynasty 26, art sank to a very low level. (On the realism of the 'Reformation period,' and the archaic renaissance in dynasty 26, see below, § 67.) Of course, the statues (almost invariably painted) have only a few conventional positions. The technical perfection, however, was always great (see Fig. 6), and it was for a long time a mystery how diorite and basalt could have been cut and polished with copper, bronze, and flint instruments. It seems that for the hardest work diamond or corundum cutters were used (see **DIAMOND**, § 1). (On the excellent material available for sculptors, see above, § 3.) It may be mentioned here that in daily life flint instruments were, for reasons of economy, used long after 2000 B.C. The stone and the bronze ages, therefore, coincided, and touched upon the iron age (iron prevailing after 1000 B.C., copper preceding the bronze).[1]

The architecture is well known for its massiveness. This was relieved by the abundance of ornaments upon walls and pillars, and by the polychromy.

37. Architecture.

That the ornamentation was originally derived from the forms of certain plants is seen especially in the ornamental columns[2] with capitals.[3] They represent the lotus-flower both in full bloom and in bud, bundles of papyrus, and palm-trees (often strongly conventionalised), and betray that their origin is to be sought in ancient wooden constructions.[1] The sloping walls show that originally Nile mud was another material in general use for all kinds of buildings. The arch was known from the earliest times (dyn. 6?), but was rarely used for stone structures. The elliptic arch was preferred in the case of buildings of brick. The founclations of temples, threatened by infiltration of ground water, were laid on thick layers of sand.

Some characteristic features of temple architecture may be mentioned.

A pair of obelisks[2] stood at the entrance (the surface often gilt, the pyramidal top frequently of metal: their religious—probably solar—;caning was forgotten; but they remind us of the *maṣṣēbas* of the Semites; cp Is. 19 19 Jer. 43 13[3]); galleries of sphinxes[4]—the symbol of wisdom—and of similar sacred beings led to the gate which was crowned by the symbol of the winged disk;[5] broad 'pylons'[6] resembling fortress-walls protected the entrance on either side.

The largest existing temple, that of Karnak, was originally only a modest building of dynasty 12. Every great king added a new court or a ball, and the entrance pylons finally came to stand in the interior of the complex. Many temples had a similar growth. The divinity, however, dwelt not in these courts or halls, but in a small dark chapel in the centre, where it usually sat in a sacred boat. Sacred lakes near the temples were frequent.

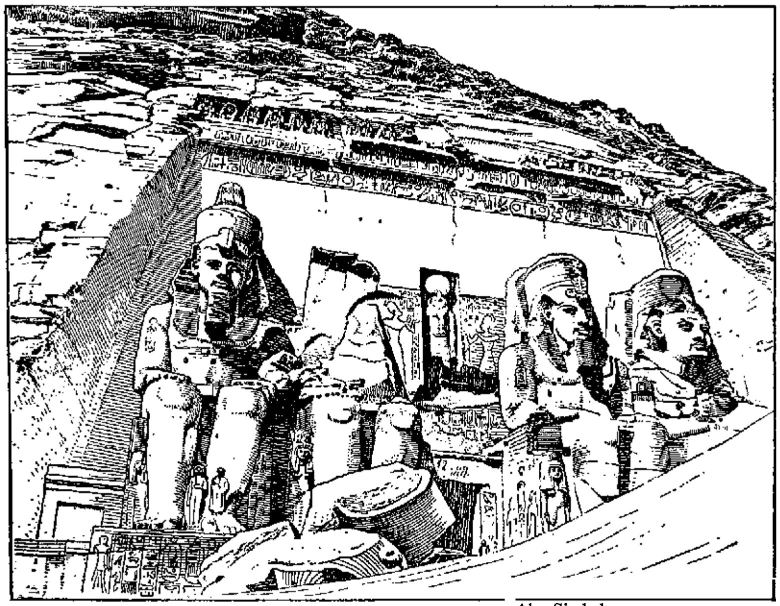


FIG. 7.—Ramses II.'s Great Rock Temple Abu-Simbel.

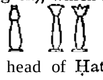
The principal temple ruins are at Karnak, Luxor, Ḳurna, Medinet Hăbū (all included in ancient Thebes) Abydos, Edfu Esneh, Ombos, Philæ; in Nubia at Dābōd, Ḳalābsheh, Bēt el-Wali, Ḍendiir, Gerf Ḥusēn, Dakkeh, Sebūa, 'Amāda, Abū-Simbel, Soleb. Jebel-Barḳal (Napata) and Meroë are imitations by Ethiopian kings.

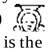
Secular architecture was much lighter, the only materials used being wood, and Nile mud mixed with stubble (Ex. 5 11) made into sun-dried bricks. The many royal palaces have on this account all disappeared, although some of their sumptuous ornamentations (mosaics and glazed tiles) have remained. Wealthy subjects had the same kind of house (with an open court in the centre) that we still find in the modern East; the poor dwelt in mere clay huts, such as those occupied by the modern *fellāḥīn*.

The tombs had an architecture of their own. Where possible, they were long galleries hewn in the rock (especially at Thebes). The pyramid[7] was the characteristic form of royal tombs from dyn. 3 to dyn. 12, and was frequently imitated by private persons on a smaller scale, and in brick instead of stone.

The question has very often been asked how the Egyptians erected edifices of such stupendous size, and monolithic monuments[8] that would tax the skill even of our age of improved mechanical appliances. It would be very wrong to ascribe these achievements to the use of complicated machinery. Everything was done in the simplest possible way, by an unlimited command of

1 Bronze was called *ḥesmen*, a word connected with חַשְׁמַל (Brugsch), which may be an Egyptian loan-word (cp METALS).

2 

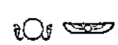
3 After the manner of the caryatides of Greek art, figures of Osiris are frequently used; but these always lean against a pillar. The head of Ḥatḥor (with cow's ears)  (perhaps originally an ox-skull) as a capital for columns is the only other ancient instance of the human form being employed in architecture.

1 This can be said also of the famous fluted columns of Beni-ḥasan, which remind one strongly of the Doric column.

2  *teḥen.*

3 So Wi.; see BETH-SHEMESH, 4; and cp MAṢṢEBAH.

4  Female, sphinxes (representing queens) are rare.

5 

6 

7 

8 For example, an obelisk at Thebes 108 feet high, or the colossus of Memnon (height 64 feet, weight 1175 tons). Fragments of a statue found at Tanis indicate a figure originally 80-90 feet high. Each of these objects was sculptured from one stone.

human forces; and we have to admire far more the energy than the engineering skill. Pictures show how immense monolithic monuments were moved over wooden rollers, smaller stones on a sledge (see Fig. 8).

The influence of Egyptian civilisation upon Syria appears strongly in its metrology. For example, the Egyptian corn-measure Ephah (𝔊 οἰφι, Egyptian *ōpe*[*t*]—*i.e.*, 'measure') and the liquid measure Hin (Egyptian *hain*(*u*), 'pot') were adopted by the Hebrews. The weight system (1 *deben*—*Le.*, 90-96 grammes or ⅛ lb.—had 10 *ḳidet* of 140 grains) was decimal, in opposition to the Babylonian sexagesimal system. The cubits, however,—the large or royal cubit of 0.525 metres (about 20½ inches), and the small cubit of 0.450 metres (about 17¾ inches), which existed side by side (subdivisions being the span, palm, finger, etc.)—are said to be borrowed from Babylonia (?). The subject is very complicated, and some measures—such as the largest measure of area, the σχοῖνος (said to contain 12,000 cubits?)—present great difficulties.

38. Measures.

On the other hand, it is certain that in Egypt a form of money very similar to our present coin was used—rings or thick wire in spiral form (*deben*)[1] originally of copper, later also of gold, finally of silver. This metal, 'white gold,'[2] not being found in Africa, had originally higher value than gold, but after 1600 B.C. it became more frequent, and soon was the common standard of money.

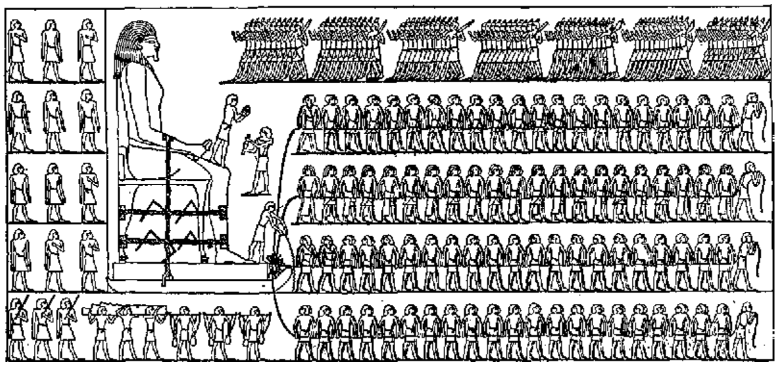


FIG. 8.—Dragging a statue of Dhnt-hotep. After Lepsius.

The statue, resting on a sledge, is being dragged by four rows of men supposed to he in parallel lines on the ground. Above them are 'the whole population of the city 'come out to do homage. The man standing on the knee of the statue gives the signal to the men below; the man on its foot pours water on the ground in front of the sledge. Above the latter is Her-heb with a vessel of incense (?). Below the statue are men with water-buckets and wood, also three overseers; behind the statue the retinue of the governor.

39. Dress, etc.

The manners and customs of Ancient Egypt,[3] which the Greeks found to be in as direct opposition as possible to their own, were less different from those of the settled Semites. The Egyptians prided themselves on their great cleanliness (cp Gen. 41 14). They shaved their faces and clipped their hair (the priests shaved it off), wearing artificial beards[4] (at least at religious ceremonies) and wigs. Indeed, the chief decoration of the upper classes consisted of wigs of enormous size. Garments were made not, as with the Semites, of wool, but mostly of cleanly white linen.

The shape of garments constantly varied, according to fashion: hut we can observe that in the earliest times men were satisfied with simple raiment, a short skirt being sufficient even for noble. men. Later, these wore several suits, one over another skilfully plaited. The fanciful and archaic dress of the king 'with his manifold double and triple symbolical crowns,[1] would require a chapter for itself. Dignitaries were distinguished by their staffs,[2] also by the flagellum,[3] the signet-ring,[4] and the necklace.[5]

For men and women alike the commonest adornment was the wearing of ornaments of precious metal, or at least flowers,[6] round the neck. Such collars of gold were the principal decoration given by the king as a reward to faithful officers or brave soldiers. Princes and some priests had their hair tied in a tress[7] on one side of the head. Painting of the eyelids, which in Syria was reserved for women (2 K. 9 30), was practised by both sexes. A black stripe, formed by the so-called stibium (see PAINT), outlined the eyes above, a green stripe below.[8] Unguents for the hair and body played a great part. Sandals (especially of papyrus) were common; shoes were rare. At night, the African head-rest[9] was used (originally in order not to disarrange the artificial head-dress), and the face covered.

The Egyptians were just as ceremonious as other Orientals. The common mode of salutation was by dropping the arms;[10] prostration ('kissing the ground') marked highest respect; in prayer the hands were lifted up.[11]

Of their amusements the following may be mentioned:—fowling (with the snare, or with the boomerang or throwing-stick), fishing, and various games, such as that called *mora* by the modern Italians and a kind of checkers, of 'which they were so fond that they sought to secure it by magic for the souls of the dead. Dancing was left chiefly to women, for the delight of spectators.

Although religion declared all foreigners unclean, the Egyptians were not hostile to foreign associations and influences. In dynasties 18-20, indeed, imitation of Asiatic manners became such a fashion that the educated had to a large extent Semitic names and spoke a mixture of Egyptian and Canaanitish. A strong reaction, however, seems to have set in especially after *800* B.C.

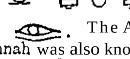
40. Names.

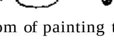
The names used by the Ancient Egyptians[12] were less poetic than those of the civilised Semites. Simple names, such as 'little' (*šery*)—sometimes even 'dwarf' (*nm*, *d*[*n*]*rg*)—'fair face,' 'big headed' (*ṣiṣoy*), 'cross-eyed' (*komen*), prevail, especially in the earlier period. 'I wished,' 'I saw,' 'he cried,' etc. refer to circumstances of birth, etc. 'Maternal uncle' (*sen-mau*[*et*], 'mother's brother') is not uncommon (see KINSHIP). Some names are intended for good omens or to express parental pride:—*hou nofer*, 'the good day'; *nefer-* (or *waṣ-*)*hau*, 'good (or prosperous) circum-

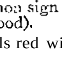
2 This is what the hieroglyphic expression means. It would seem that 'electron,' gold with an admixture of **silver,** called *wesem* (the initial is doubtful, the connection with ἄσημος improbable) also had higher value than gold.

3 On this and most of the preceding subjects see Erman, *Egyptian Life* (ET 1894). The admirable pioneer work of Wilkinson, ***Manners*** *and Customs* ('36), is, in its text at least, completely antiquated; as also is the second edition, by Birch ('78). Very concise, and (in part) very readable, is Brugsch, ***Die Ægyptologie*** ('81); but he is too much averse from Erman's critical division of periods. It would be out of place here to attempt to trace the various developments of Egyptian manners during 3000 years; the biblical period (1600 to 500 B.C.) is what chiefly concerns us.

4 

1 , etc.

2 

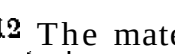
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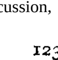
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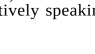
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7  (originally the common sign of boyhood).

8 . The Asiatic custom of painting the nails red with ḥennah was also known.

9 

10 

11 

12 The material is collected in Lieblein, *Dict. de noms* ('71 and '92). 'The fullest discussion, comparatively speaking, will be found in Erman, ***Egypt.***

stances'; *usertesen*, 'their wealth' (*i.e.*, of the parents); 'mother's ornament' (*bes-n-mauet*), 'the land in joy' (*ta-m-rešout*), 'gold in Heliopolis,' 'gold on the way,' 'coming in peace' (or 'luck,' *y-m-ḥotep*). Names of animals of all sorts are used: not only 'lion,' 'monkey,' 'dog,' 'frog' (*ḳrur*), 'tadpole' (*ḥefenu*), etc., but also names of unclean animals: 'mouse' (*pin*) and 'pig' (*riret*) are favourite girls' names. Comical names, such as we should have expected a superstitious nation to dread as ill-omened, are met with. Thus, *e.g.* (Liebl. 1784), an unfortunate infant retained for life the designation 'offal-swallower' (*'m-bwd'*). The Egyptians evidently attached less importance to the name than was usual with other nations. The many senseless syllables—mere babblings, such as Ay, Ata, Teye—which can be explained only as pet names (like the English Bob, Tom, and Dick)—confirm this.

Names with a religions signification were, of course, quite frequent. They praise a god (Ptah is beautiful, powerful, etc.)—*e.g.*, *Set-naḫt(e)* 'S. (is?) strong.' *Amen-em-ḥē't*, 'Amon in the first place,' extols a local god over the others. 'Beloved by' or 'loving' a god (*mer* [vulgar, *mey-*, *mi-*] *Amun*,[1] *me(r)-en(e)-Ptaḥ*), 'Amon is satisfied' (*Amen-ḥotep*), etc., are common; even 'dog of Horus' occurs. *Sobk-em-sauf*, 'the god S. (stands) behind him,' and the like, boast of divine protection. The 'sons' and 'daughters' of all possible gods are very common; but of 'brothers' of a god only two or three doubtful examples are known. *Ameny*, *Setoy*, 'of Amon, of Set,' *ns(i)-Bi-n-dēde*, 'belonging to Mendes,' and the thankful *p-ed-Amun*, whom 'Anion gave,' belong to the same category. 'Anion in (his) ship, in (his) festival (cp *Ḥar-em-ḥebe*, of Horus), and in (his) rising,' may be intended as comparisons. In 'Isis in the marshes' and 'Horns in the lake' we have examples of mythological allusions—*Ra'-mes-su* (Ῥαμεσσης), 'the sun begot him,' *Dḥut(i)-mose*, 'the god Thout born' (*i.e.*, incarnate), say a good deal. Very remarkable is the late usage of employing the name of the divinity itself—*e.g.*, *Isis*, *Ḥor* (not Osiris, which would be too ill-omened). *Ḥar-pe-ḫrad* (H. the child), *Ḥar-si-ēse* (H. the son of Isis), *Ḫons(u)*—deities of the Osirian circle and the goddess of love *Hat-ḥor*, (paraphrased in 'mistress of Byblos'; cp § 14) being, in particular, very common.[2]

The more complicated names were introduced, for the most part, by the kings (*e.g.*, *Nefer-ke-rē'*, 'fine is the double of the Sun,' etc.), who, from dynasty 5 onwards, always had two names; these and the various regular titles and surnames were imitated or exaggerated by loyal subjects. Loyalty is frequently expressed by names such as 'King X. is satisfied, well, powerful,' which were regarded as specially suitable for holders of office. Sometimes these names are as long as Babylonian names. Of foreign names, Semitic formations were quite popular from dynasty 18 onwards (see § 39), Libyan names even before dynasty 22; later we meet with Ethiopic and other names.

In treating the history[3] of Egypt, we find the greatest difficulty[4] in the chronology. The Egyptians had no eras, but reckoned by the years of their kings.

41. Sources of History. For practical use long lists of kings had to be kept. The only list preserved (at Turin) is very fragmentary, and the extracts from Manĕtho (Μανεθών; Μανεθώς in Euseb.), a priest of Sebennytos,[1] about 270 B.C., the only Egyptian historian in the Greek language, have come down in a greatly corrupted state.[2] Besides, even in their original state, both sources (especially Manttho) seem to have been far from the attainment of absolute correctness. For convenience sake, we retain Manĕtho's reckoning of thirty-one dynasties (down to the Ptolemies), although his dynasties are not always correctly divided, and his

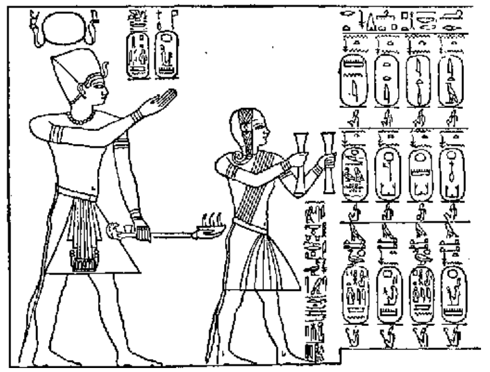


FIG. 9.—Part of Sety I.'s tablet of kings at Ahydos. The king, preceded by his son Ramses II. wearing the princely lock of hair over his ear, advances, censer in hand, to present offerings to Ptaḥ-sokar-Osiris on behalf of 76 famous ancestors.
First line: Mny, Tty, etc.
Second line: Merenre'-Meḥt-m-saf, Neṯerkare', etc.
Third line: Sety I. repeated.

chronological data cannot be safely used without a searching criticism. The attempts to use astrological dates—*e.g.*, the fixed or Sothis year (see CHRONOLOGY, § 19)—have been, so far, not very successful.[3]

Champoilion placed the beginning of dynasty 1 in 5867 B.C., Boeckh in 5702, Mariette in 5004; Petrie has placed it in 4777; Lepsius brought it down to 3892; and some have tried to bring it down much lower than 3000 B.C.

An accurate chronology for Egypt is possible, accordingly, only after 700 B.C. (CHRONOLOGY, § 20). Approximate dates can be given—thanks to the synchronism afforded by the 'Amārna tablets—hack to about 1600 (*ib.*, § 22). Thus far, there is no hope that the gaps in the Hyksos period and the preceding

1 Standing alone, or at the end of a compound name, the god's name was probably pronounced Amōn, later Amun (Copt. ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ); elsewhere (cp Heb. construct state), Amen.

2 In the earliest examples, however, the possessive-ending *-y* may be supplied. This could he suppressed in writing, as was the case in the earliest Hebrew orthography.

3 Maspero's huge *History of the Ancient Orient* (three volumes, 1895 to 1899) is perhaps best np to date, and specially valuable for its ample references; but its system of transliteration of names will be found confusing. Petrie's *History of Egypt*, still [1900] incomplete, is a very useful collection of material and the best available work in English. An English Meyer, however,—*i.e.*, a readable history—by the side of the English Wiedemann (Petrie), is still a desideratum.

4 Another great difficulty is the transcription of names. The reader must hear in mind that Egyptian was written (like primitive Hehrew, only still more 'defectively') without vowels. It is full of abbreviations; letters (especially liquid consonants) are often suppressed; and some confusion of י and א, r and l, etc., is allowed. The Coptic forms are our greatest help towards recovering the pronunciation; hut they frequently differ from the ancient language as much as might he expected after a develop. ment of 3000 years. Hence the greatest confusion reigns in Egyptological literature, some names being current in as many as a dozen forms. Every change of philological theory brings about a change of transliteration, and those who see the trouble which this causes are returning, as much as possible, to the Greek transliterations, where there are such, of Herodotus, Manĕtho etc. Where, as often, there are none, this way of escaping 'the difficulties of wild guessing at the pronunciation fails. [How a different theory, which has the same object, works out, may he seen from Petrie's *History* already referred to.] The present writer has tried to he as conservative of customary forms as possible.

1 Hardly 'high priest of Heliopolis,' as later sources state. His dynasties are arbitrary groups of kings disagreeing with those,, *e.g.*, of the Turin papyrus.

2 Extracted by Julius Africanus, Eus., and Sync. (also partly in Jos.). Handy editions in C. Muller (*Historici Græci Minores*, ii.) and Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, i. The Turin fragments are best edited by Wilkinson ['51]. Selections of kings' names in the 'tablets' of Abydus (2) (Seti I.; see above, fig. 9), Sakkārah (private, temp. Ramses II.) and Karnak (Thutmosis III.). Cp De Rougé, *Recherches sur les 6 premiers dynasties* ['66]. Also Brugsch and Bouriant, *Le livre des Rois* ['87] (Lepsius, *Königsbuch* ['58], antiquated).

3 Lepsius. *Chronologie der Ägypter* ('49), etc., all antiquated. Recent attempts by Mahler, *ZÄ*, '89 *ff.*, are followed by some, *e.g.*, by Petrie, hut disputed by others; cp §§ 50, 56.

dynasties **(13** and **14)** will ever be filled up so as to allow similar certainty for the earliest times, although, *e.g.*, dynasty 12 is fairly well known now [but see col. 1237, n. 3]. Modern writers have therefore, for the most part, given up trying to form complete chronological systems. The material at command is insufficient. At present the efforts of scholars are directed to finding minimum approximate dates.

Apart from the division into thirty-one dynasties (down to Alexander, according to Manetho), Egyptian history is commonly divided into three great periods: i. the Ancient Empire (Memphitic), dynasties 1-6; dynasties **7-10** may already be reckoned to ii. the Middle Empire: dynasties **11-13** (Theban period); the New Empire, from dynasty **17-18** to the end (Theban, Bubastide, Saïtic, etc. periods).

42. Periods.

The earliest history (before King Menes; see below) is filled by Egyptian tradition thus: first with the successive reigns on earth of the various gods (on the chronology the Egyptians, of course, disagreed very greatly), and then for 13,400 years with those of the Šemsu-Ḥor, 'followers of (the Sun-god) Horus'—an expression absolutely equivalent to 'ancestors' (Manetho renders it awkwardly by νέκυες or ἥρωες). Egyptologists are agreed that most probably this long period of kings too obscure to be enumerated, was the time during which Egypt was still divided, and that the first historic king was the ruler who united the two kingdoms; but see below on MENES, § 44.

The Egyptian traditions are unanimous that originally there were two kingdoms. The first was that of 'the Southern Land,' *to-rēs(i)*, פַּתְרוֹס, with the twin cities *Neḫbet* (Eileithyia, now El-Kāb) and *Neḫen* (Hieraconpolis, opposite Eileithyia) for capital, and a king styled *s(u?)tni*, who wore the white crown.' It had as emblem a kind of rush.[2] The second kingdom, whose rulers[3] wore the red crown,[4] and resided in Buto (anciently *Pe*), was *to-emhyt(i)*, 'the Northern Land,' which had as its emblem the lotus(?)[5] plant.[6] Even the Roman emperors were still styled 'king of the Upper and the Lower country,'[7] and were represented as such with the two crowns combined.[8] It is unlikely, however, that any monument yet discovered goes back to the period of the separate kingdoms.

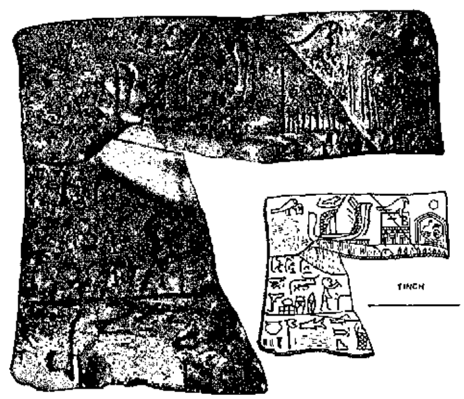
43. Prehistoric.

Still older is the division of Egypt into forty-two νομοί or counties (thirty-six to forty-seven in Roman times after many changes), twenty-one of Upper and twenty-one of Lower Egypt. Each nomos had its own god (and totem?) and its own capital, and kept its distinct frontiers, its coat of arms, etc. down to very recent times. We may see in these counties, accordingly, traces of prehistoric kingdoms or tribes.

The beginnings of Egyptian civilisation reach back to this remote period. On the other hand, some barbarous survivals from it may be found in the later religion (see above, § 13), as also, among other things, in the decoration of the king, who always wore a leather appendage fastened to his short skirt[9] (the whole reminding one of a lion's skin with tail). The recent attempts, especially those of Hommel, to prove the proto-Babylonian ('Sumerian') origin of the whole primeval culture of Egypt, imply, at least, great exaggerations. Some Semitic (not Sumerian) elements of culture seem to be noticeable in prehistoric times, and one or another trace of indirect Babylonian influence (through the Semites) might be admitted; but all these influences are very insignificant in comparison with the elements of native origin. Thus the general conception of pictographic writing might perhaps be borrowed from the Euphrates valley; but not a single sign taken from the Babylonian system can be found. Egyptian writing bears a thoroughly African stamp, no less than Egyptian art, manners, etc.

Recent investigations have revealed many traces of the earliest population—that of about the time of the first historical dynasty.[1] The Egyptians were more pastoral then than later; their food, their burial customs, and so forth were still barbarous.[2] Already, however, they possessed the art of writing (greatly differing in detail, indeed, from the later system), and, at least at the courts of the kings, most arts were practised (though not as highly developed as in dyn. 3). It is still an open question whether the tomb (not the burning-place) of the first historical king Meny (Mēnēs of the Greeks) has recently been discovered at Naḳādeh,[3] near the old city of *Nubt* (or *Nebut*, the same name as Ombos), the abode of the god Sēt (cp § 15; fig. 9 shows a tablet found at the same place bearing in archaic writing the word *mn*).[4] Tombs of

44. First Dynasties.

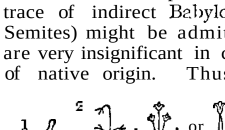
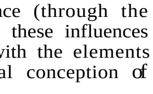
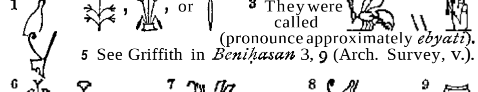


a *b*

FIG. 10.—So-called Tablet of Menēs.

An ivory plate found by De Morgan at Naḳādeh: *a* from a photograph; *b*, outlined from a photograph (*b* After L. Borchardt, *Sitzungsberichte der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 33 1054 *f.* ['97]). It figures and describes the funereal outfit of the deceased king.

eight kings (of about dyn. 1) have been excavated near Abydos (at Umm el-Ga'ab) and the names of several other kings found there.[5] We see now why Manĕtho said that dynasty 1 proceeded from This (Egyptian *Tini*, modern Girgeh?), near Abydos. That would explain the superiority of Upper Egypt over the northern country, perhaps also the spread of the Osiris-worship of Abydos over all Egypt. As regards the unification of Egypt see § 42, although it may be that the later

1  2 , , or 3 They were called  (pronounce approximately *ebyati*).
5 See Griffith in *Beniḥasan* 3, 9 (Arch. Survey, v.).


1 See (with reserve) De Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* ('96 and '97). He correctly refers Petrie's excavations in 'Naḳāda and Ballās' ('96) here.

2 For example, even the hyæna was fattened and eaten. The cannibalism that some have alleged, however, seems to be only the second burial (*i.e.*, reburial after cleaning the bones of flesh), a practice that is still to be found, *e.g.*, in New Guinea, and is to be connected with the first attempts at embalming. Cutting the dead in pieces in imitation of the fate of Osiris (cp § 14) was also customary during the first dynasties. That several early kings were burned with their whole tomb, although the later Egyptians dreaded nothing more than incineration, is a theory that has not been confirmed. Most of the cities of Egypt go back to this primeval period; within it, Heliopolis (On) was, evidently, the most important city; at least, its religious authority reached far.

3 De Morgan, *Recherches*, ii. ('97), and *SBAW*, '97, p. 1054.

4 The word *mn* seems (so Wiedemann) to designate the tomb, not the king.

5 Amélineau, *Fouilles d'Abydos* ('96 *ff.*); more exhaustively, '99. Quibell's finds at Hieraconpolis, 1900, Petrie, *Royal Tombs*. An accurate arrangement and chronological determination of the earliest names of kings is not yet possible; neither can their names be transliterated with certainty.

Egyptian scholars, in beginning history with Menēs, acted arbitrarily or on unknown grounds, omitting those of Menēs' predecessors whom they were unable to classify. It is not impossible that some of the ancient kings of This precede him. On the tradition that Menēs built Memphis. and on the great sphinx near that city, cp MEMPHIS.

Of dynasty 2 (six to nine kings) we knew before only that the temple and worship of the kings Sendy (Sethenes in Manĕtho) and Per-eb-sen are mentioned perhaps a century later.

From dynasty 3 (nine kings) we have on monuments (hardly contemporary) the" cult of *Neb-ka* or *Nebkau-re'*. King *Zoser* built the remarkable stepped (*i.e.*, unfinished) pyramid at Saḳḳārah. (The pyramid as a form of royal tomb does not seem to have been known in dynasties 1 and 2.) His name has been found engraved upon the mountains of the Sinaitic peninsula. We may conclude that the copper-mines of the Sinaitic desert, from which the Egyptians drew almost all the copper so necessary for tools in the copper age, were already in the hands even of more ancient pharaohs. Later, various stories were carried back to the kings of the first three dynasties ; sacred books were reported to have been written by them, or found by, or under, them ; but all these traditions seem to be apocryphal.

The lists of kings drawn up in the fourteenth century B.C., upon which we have to rely for many names, are mere selections (not trustworthy even for the succession of the names). The whole period of dynasties 1 to 3, therefore, probably included at least 600 years (779, Manetho), possibly double that time. Thus Menēs might be placed near **4000** B.C.

45. 4th Dyn. Dynasty 4 lies in the full light of history (soon after 3000 B.C.?). King Snefru(i), who founded it, seems to have been a great ruler. Later stories report that he had to fight with Asiatic tribes attacking Egypt near Memphis, where already earlier pharaohs had to build a large fortification, 'the king's wall,' against raids through Goshen. Some places founded there by Snefru(i) confirm the essentially historical character of these reports. At Wādy Maghārah in the Sinaitic peninsula, he opened a new mine for copper and greenstone (malachite, which the Egyptians held in strange esteem). His tomb is the irregular pyramid of Meidiim.

The next kings, the Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus of Herodotus (Ḫufu(i), Ḫa'f-rē', and Men-ka(u)-rē' of the monuments), are the builders of the three largest pyramids at Gizeh, stupendous works which were never surpassed (see MEMPHIS). Evidently the strength of Egypt was overtaxed by these gigantic constructions, for the pyramids of all subsequent kings (*Ra'-ded-f*, *Šepses-ka-f*,[1] etc.) show a considerable falling-off.

46. 5th Dyn. Dynasty 5 is called Elephantink by Manetho. This would indicate that the warlike Nubians, already employed as mercenaries in that early time, acquired sufficient influence to establish their leaders as kings.[2] This dynasty (nine to eleven kings, reigning about 150 years) marks the zenith of Egyptian art (see above, § 36). The last king, *Unas* (*Wenys ; Onnos*, Manĕtho), built the earliest of the five pyramids at Saḳḳārah which have preserved in the inscriptions on the walls of their burial chambers so valuable a collection of religious and magical texts (see above, § 20), texts dating in part from prehistoric times, and already in dynasty 5 not all perfectly intelligible.[3]

Unas has left, in the so-called Maṣṭabat-el-Far'aun (Pharaoh's bench), near Saḳḳārah, the basis of one of those strange colossal

[1] The romantic queen Nitōcris of Herodotus is legendary. She is a disfigured princess of dynasty 26.

[2] The hypothesis that Egypt was ever conquered by Nubians or Trog(l)odytes as a nation cannot be upheld. The soldiery of Egypt, however, was derived mostly from the southernmost counties, where the people, from the mountain range of Silsileh, were of somewhat mixed character (exactly as now), and therefore more warlike.

[3] Maspero, *Les Inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*, 1894 (reprinted from *Recueil*, 3 to 14), gives these texts along with meritorious attempts at full translations. The grammar of the pyramid-texts remains to be written. Their archaic style has preserved many inflections lost in later Egyptian.

monuments of half-pyramidal character[1] which were erected by many of the kings of that time. Their purpose is obscure; we only know that they were, like the obelisks, for the cult of the Sun-god.

47. 6th Dyn. Dynasty 6 (five kings, about **140** years, beginning with *Tety* or *Atoty*) had powerful rulers, especially Pepy (read Apopy?) I., a great builder, the founder of Memphis proper. He waged war, not only with the 'sand-dwelling' nomads of the Sinaitic desert, but also in Palestine, which he seems to have been the first (?) to claim as tributary territory.[2] The kingdom, however, was more and more decentralised, and at the end of dynasty 6 went to pieces. It must be mentioned that under *Pepy* (*Apopy*) *II. Nefer-ka-rē'* (reigning, according to the best traditions, ninety-four years, perhaps the longest reign in the world's history) we find records of a great commercial expedition, a nomarch of Elephantink being sent by the king to the Sūdān near Kharṭūm to obtain one of the dwarfs from the woods of Central Africa 'for the sacred dances.'[3]

Most kings of dynasties 3-6 (Manetho calls dynasty 2 as well as dynasty 1 Thinitic, dynasties 3, 4, and 6 Memphitic) had their residences near Memphis, though not at the same place; many kings built 'their city' afresh, a work rendered easy by the light material employed.

The practice was for each king to build his pyramid west of his own city, in the desert; it is this alone, in fact, that enables us to guess the site of the city. Gradually Memphis proper became the permanent capital.

48. Dyns. 7-11. Dynasties 7 to 11 form an obscure period (only about twenty-five kings known, many more lost), full of the struggles of the Nomarchs, the princes of the small counties.

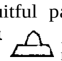
Dynasties 7 and 8 are called Memphitic, 9 and 10 came from Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt (see HANES). These Heracleopolitans had unceasing wars with rival kings in Thebes, whom they seem never to have completely subdued. Manĕtho mentions only one great king among the Heracleopolitan kings, *Achthoes* (Egyptian, *Hty* ; pronounce Eḫtoy), whom he describes as cruel—*i.e.*, a powerful warrior.

Finally, the Theban rulers from whom the eleventh dynasty descended gained the superiority.

Almost all these kings, whose number is doubtful (Petrie nine, others five or six) had the name *Antef* or that of *Mentuḥotep*. Of the last king of this dynasty, *S'anḫ-ka-rē'*, we know that he sent an expedition through the desert east of Koptos to build a ship on the Red Sea and to sail to Punt for incense. Such expeditions to Punt (the Abyssinian and Somali coast of our days) occur under several kings of the next (twelfth) dynasty : the earliest mentioned is one under Assa (Yssy) of dynasty 5.

49. 12th Dyn. The new line, of seven kings, was founded by ***Amen-em-ḥe't I.***, who subdued the rebel nomarchs after hard fighting. One of the classic books, 'the instructions of Amenemhe't' (*i.e.*, instructions how to rule),[4] professes to have been written by him when, tired of reigning, he abdicated after escaping a conspiracy against his life. His son ***Usertesen*** (Wesertesen) I. erected the temple of which the obelisk of Heliopolis is the only trace. He was buried in the pyramid of Lisht. ***Usertesen*** II., who succeeded Amenemhe't II., built the pyramid of Illahūn. His workers inhabited the city on the spot now called Kahun, where Petrie found valuable antiquities.[5]

50. Fa(i)yūm. Usertesen II. seems to have begun to favour the part of Egypt now called Fa(i)yūm—*i.e.*, 'the lake,' in antiquity *to-šei*, 'the lake-country'—the Arsinoite nome of the Ptolemies. This is a depression in the Libyan desert into which the branch of the Nile now called Bahr-Yiisuf flows, forming a lake, now called Birket-Kariin, and irrigating one of the most fruitful parts of Egypt (properly an oasis ; see above,

[1]  A similar monument from dynasty 5 has been found near Riga.

[2] See the so-called inscription of Una, *RP*(2) 2 1-10. For the reference to Palestine, see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 33. Petrie found in Deshāsheh pictures from a similar war, which seem to belong to the same time (*OLZ* 1 248).

[3] Tomb at Aṣwān ; inscription first published by Schiaparelli.

[4] Best translation, Griffith, *ZÄ*, '97, p. 35 ; *World's Best Lit.* 5323.

[5] The collection of the 'Petrie or Kahun papyri' (ed. Griffith, '97), to which we have so often to refer.

§ 4).. The Nile had been flowing into this depression even in prehistoric times ;[1] but some improvements must have been made in irrigation by the kings of dynasty 12, especially by *Amenemḥe't III.*, who succeeded Usertesen III. At least he is the king Moeris to whom Herodotus erroneously ascribed even the digging (!) of 'Lake Moeris' (thirty-five miles long even now, much more in antiquity); his 'two pyramids' (*i.e.*, large bases), with colossal statues of 'king Moeris,' were discovered by Petrie near Biahmu.[2] The pyramid of Ainenemhe't III. stands at Ḥawāra, where only insignificant remains betray the site of the labyrinth built by the same king. The classical writers describe it as a gigantic structure equal to the pyramids of Gizeh. *Amenemḥe't IV.* and a queen *Sebk-nofru* (or *-nefrow*) close this dynasty (194 years, beginning about 2100 B.C.?),[3] which the Egyptians, not without justice, considered as the greatest of all. The land was flourishing, art well developed, and literature in its golden age,—at least according to Egyptian taste. Most of the works used as classics in the schools were written while this dynasty reigned (see above, § 21). Many temples and public constructions were erected. Conquests were made in Nubia (not in Syria ;[4] only the old copper mines near Sinai were used). All kings were active in subduing Wawat (N. of Nubia) and Kōsh (Cnsh of the Bible, in the S.) for the sake of the gold mines of that country ; Usertesen III. finally fixed his frontier south of the second cataract and fortified it by two large fortresses (now called Semneh and Kummeh) on the two banks of the Nile.

For the student of the OT the most interesting monument of this period is the famous wall-painting of Beni Ḥasan (part of it given in colours in Riehm, *HWB*(2)) which was formerly explained as representing the immigration of Abraham or Jacob (cp JOSEPH ii., § 8). The inscriptions that accompany the painting inform us, however, that a caravan of '37 Asiatics from the desert-country' came, not as immigrants, hut as traders[5] with metallic eye-paint (*mesdemet;* cp § 39), evidently from the copper mines near Sinai. The chief, Ab-ša(y) (*i.e.*, ABISHAI?), presents two ibexes to his customer, the nornarch. In Middle Egypt such direct commercial relations seem to have been less frequent than in the north. The illustration of the costumes of the age of Hebrew immigration is most valuable (observe the weapons, the war-axe, the boomerang—an elaborate one, as the sign of the chief—the travelling shoes, the lyre, etc.).

51. 13th and 14th Dyns. Dynasties 13 and 14 again show the consequences of decentralisation—anarchy, wars of nomarchs competing for the crown, some kings ruling only a few months, altogether at least 140 princes, many evidently contemporaneous. The names of many kings, which imitate the names of dynasty 12, or at least point to the Faiyūm and its god Sobk (such names as *Sebk-sauf*, *Sebk-ḥotep*), show that they claimed descent from dynasty 12. Dynasty 14 is said to have come from Xois, in the W. Delta, and perhaps shows us Libyan elements penetrating into Egypt.

52. Hyksos. At the height of this confusion (about 1800 B.C.?) came the foreign invasion of the so-called Hyksos (or Hykussos ?), who overran Egypt easily. Much has been conjectured as to the origin of these mysterious strangers ; but nothing certain can be stated. It seems that they were not Semites (the etymology Hyk[u]-sos, 'shepherd-kings,' is probably not from Manĕtho himself), but Mitannians, Hittites, or similar intruders from Eastern Asia Minor, who conquered Syria and then Egypt.'[1] The Hyksos kings *Ḥeyān*, etc. (seven mutilated names in Manĕtho) ruled over all Egypt and northwards as far as N. Mesopotamia. Later, they permitted Upper Egypt to have its own viceroys of Egyptian blood. These viceroys of Thebes (dynasty 17, three to five kings) finally threw off the yoke of the Hyksos *Apopy II.* The kings *Sḳenen-rē'* (III.?) and *Ka-mes* (or *-mose*) died (the former, it would seem, in battle) during the long war; finally *Amosis I.* ('Ah- or Y'aḥ-mose) took the last stronghold of the foreigners, their large fortress Ἀυαρις (*Ḥa*[*t*]*wa ret*), on the eastern frontier S. of Pelusium, somewhat after 1600 B.C. (Mahler-Petrie, 1583).

The duration of the Hyksos period is very uncertain ; it seems necessary to abandon Manĕtho's corrupted traditions (500 to 800 years in three dynasties) and to estimate it at about 200 years (?).[2] The foreigners are said to have worshipped their own (?) war-god ;[3] in all other respects they were soon Egyptianised. The immigration of Israel has been assumed by patristic writers and many modern scholars (partly on very feeble grounds) to have occurred during their rule (under an Ἄπωφις).

53. 18th Dyn. Amosis I. (see above), the founder of dynasty 18, begins the New Empire, a period in which Egypt shows her power as a conquering nation. The warlike spirit had been aroused by the long war of independence ; an army had been created ; and the country was thoroughly centralised (the hereditary monarchs having given place to royal officers). All energy turned outwards, especially towards Asia. Amosis pursued the Hyksos, and conquered Palestine and Phoenicia. Amenophis I. (Amenhotep, *circa* 1570 B.C. ; Mahler-Petrie, 1562) occupied Nubia again, at least to the third cataract. This king and his mother *Nofret-ari* (or *-ere*) became, later, divine protectors of a part of the necropolis of Thebes, and are, therefore, frequently painted black as divinities of the netherworld. Thutmosis I. (Dḥut[i]-mose ; the transliteration Thothmes found in many books is not correct), *circa* 1560 B.C., completed the conquest of Nubia and penetrated into Syria as far as to the Euphrates. We may, however, doubt whether he gained lasting results in the North. Even during his lifetime, the princess *Ḥa't-šepsut* (or *šepsewet*, but not *Hatasu*, as was formerly read) or *Ma'karē'* came into power, and, after his death, she reigned, recognising her co-regents Thutmosis II. and III.[4] at best as puppets.

Alter her death *Thutmosis III.*, in fierce hatred, tried to blot out her memory. Many monuments show her as a male king (with beard, etc.), a fact which has been explained perhaps too seriously. Formerly Egyptologists concluded that she had an unusually strong and active mind ; she may have been only an instrument in the hands of a court-party. She built the magnificent temple of Amon at ed-Dēr el-Baḥrī, commemorating in it, as one of the greatest events, the sending of several chips to the 'divine country,' the frankincense coast of Punt (cp §48).

1 Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 447.

2 Petrie (*Illahūn*) thinks, with Major Brown, that the special merit of these kings consisted, not in digging basins, but in dyking off ground from the lake. The inscriptions furnish no evidence one way or the other. At present, the surface of the lake is considerably below the level of the sea. Some urge that this is due to the hollowing out of the bed, and that, in antiquity, it may have been high enough to allow use of the lake as a reservoir for the irrigation of the country with the help of sluices, as described by classical writers (Strabo, etc.). This view, however, is now more and more abandoned.

3 Recently discovered papyri seem to furnish (by a dated rising of Sirius) an exact astronomical date for Usertesen III. According to this the beginning of his reign fell between 1876 and 1873 B.C. This would assign to the 12th dynasty the period 1996-93 to 1786-83.

4 It is very questionable whether the story of the Egyptian nobleman Se-nuhyt (spelt also Sanehat etc.) who, under Usertesen I., fled to Palestine, and as adventurer became a prince there, contains any considerable historical element. It is translated in *RP*(2) 2 11.

5 See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 36.

1 The only inscription referring to their nationality (Sṭabl-'Antăr, *Rec. trav.* 6) states that they brought with them many *'ame—i.e.*, Syrians or Palestinians—but were themselves 'foreigners'—*i.e.*, of a different race. All alleged sculptures with Hyksos portraits really belong to earlier periods: no Hyksos type has yet been found. The Kassite invasion of Babylonia hardly reached so far west. See on these questions, WMM, *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* '98, p. 107 *ff.*

2 If we adopt the recently proposed date for the 12th dynasty (§ 50 n.) we can assign the Hyksos only about 100 years, or even less, beginning about 1680 B.C.

3 We have, however, no evidence that they tried to force this cult as a monotheism upon the Egyptians. The later tradition, that their god had the Hittite name *Suteḥ*, seems erroneous: he was nothing but the Egyptian form of Set worshipped in Auaris.

4 The succession and relationship of these three regents have recently been much disputed. According to some, they were all children of Thutmosis I., and Ḥa't-šepsut, the legal heiress to the crown, was married to Thutmosis III. More probably she was the wife of Thutmosis II. and the aunt of his son (by a concubine), Thutmosis III.

Thutmosis III. (who reigned alone from about 1515 B.C. [Mahler, 1480], his official 23rd year) was, of the

54. Thuthmosis III.

pharaohs, the greatest warrior. He defeated an alliance of the Syrians at Megiddo and made Syria as far as the Euphrates tributary, taking Carchemish, and ravaging even north-western Mesopotamia (Mitanni; see ASSYRIA, § 28, and MESOPOTAMIA). His reports of fourteen campaigns,[1] and his lists of subjugated Palestinian cities,[2] of embassies from Aššur, Sangar (middle of N. Mesopotamia), Cyprus, etc., are valuable sources of information on ancient Western Asia. The enormous spoils and the tribute he commanded enabled him to be an active builder, especially in Karnak.

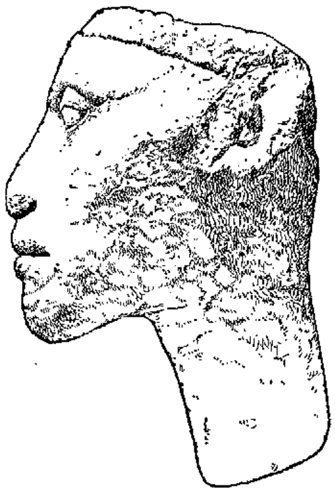


FIG. 11.—Amenhotep IV. Supposed head of the 'mask' that covered the mummy(?). (After Petrie.)

Amenophis II. (about 1485; Petrie, 1449) maintained his Syrian dominion, which reached to the city of Nī (on the Euphrates or Orontes?), subduing revolts; so did *Thutmosis IV.*, who also fought in Nubia. The latter, in consequence of

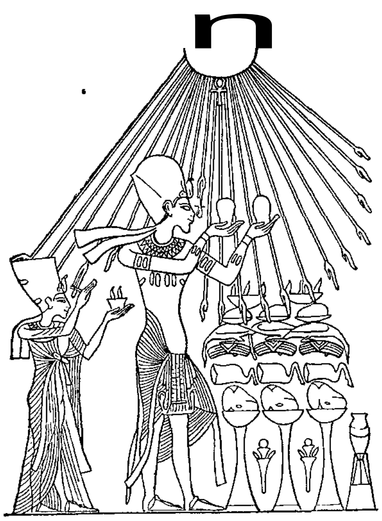


FIG. 12.—Amenhotep IV. (and his wife) worshipping the solar disk; the rays proceeding from which end in hands. (After Erman-Lepsius.)

a dream dug out from the sand which covered it the great sphinx dear the pyramids—a pious act which was, of course, useless.

1 Translations *RP* (1) 2 17 (doubtful); Griffith in Petrie's History.

2 See *RP* (2) 525, hut with caution. The editors are not Egyptologists. Maspero treated parts in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* and *ZA*, 1881, p. 119. The present writer hopes to publish a detailed study.

EGYPT

Amenophis (*Amen-ḥotep*) *III.* (1450?) is remarkable for the love shown by him everywhere to his fair wife Teye, a (Libyan?) woman not of royal blood. The great find of Tell el-'Amārna, an archive of cuneiform tablets[1] containing despatches from princes of N. Syria, Assyria, Baby-

55. Amarna Tablets.

lonia, Cyprus (Alašia), and from Amenhotep's vassal-kings in Jerusalem, Megiddo, etc., gives us a wonderful insight into his diplomatic relations, and into his marriages—*e.g.*, with two princesses of Mitanni (Osroene, capital probably Ḫarrān)—but also shows a growing neglect of his Syrian provinces, which fell to pieces under his successor. Amenophis III. built a large temple, before which were erected the famous colossal statues one of which became the 'singing image of Memnon' of the Greeks.

As we may conclude even from his portraits (figs. 10 and 11), *Amenophis IV.* (1415[2] B.C.) was no ordin-

56. Amenhotep IV. *circa* 1415.

ary man. Being dissatisfied with the confused religion of Egypt, he had the amazing boldness to introduce the worship of the sun-disk as the only god,[3] persecuting especially the worship of Amon, whose name he tried to have erased from all monuments where it occurred. He changed his own name, in consequence, into *Aḫu-n-aten* (or *Yeḫ(u)-*in*-aten*), 'splendour (or spirit) of the sun-disk.' This great religious reform was accompanied by a revolt against the traditional conventionalism in art, which was supplanted by a bold and ugly realism. The change in religious literature is not less remarkable. The hymns now composed in praise of the Sun-god are the best productions of Egyptian religious literature. Amenophis even gave up his palaces at Amon's city of Thebes, and built a new capital (at the modern el-'Amārna in Middle Egypt), called 'horizon of the sun-disk.' All these changes met with much resistance, and hardly had he died (about 1397) when all the results of his life-work were lost. His successor, *Ay*, had to return to the old traditions; the temples of the sun-disk and the monuments of the heretical king were razed to the foundations, and Egyptian religion became more than ever mummified.

Amenhotep IV.'s son-in-law *Smenḫ-* (others read *S'a-*) *An-re'*, the former priest ('divine father,' a low rank) *Ay*, and *Tuet-'anḫ-amun* did not reign long in this turbulent time; *Ḥar-em-ḥebi* (1380 B.C.?), formerly general and governor, established peace and a firm government. To the delight of the priests, he completed the religious reaction.

With *Ramses* (Ra'messu) I. we begin dynasty 19 (about 1355; Petrie, 1327). *Sethos I.* (often called Seti, Egyptian *Setoy*, 1350 B.C.), like his father, did not reign very long; but

57. Dyn. 19.

he was active as a builder (Abydos, Thebes) and in foreign politics. He drove nomadic tribes (reminding one of the Midianites and Amalekites of the OT) away from S. Palestine, and tried to regain Middle Syria. The Hittites (Heta of the

1 Best and most complete translations in *KB* 5 by Wi. ('96). Knudtzon has published the results of a fresh collation of the tablets in *Beitr. zu Ass.* 4 101-154 ['99]. The langnnge of these letters is Babylonian (the pharaoh's own foreign despatches were written in this language of diplomacy), mixed with Canaanitish words or phrases, often in a very faulty style. Some specimens of the non-Semitic languages of Mitanni and Cyprus occur.

2 This approximate date, serving as a basis for our chronology of dynasties 18 and 19, is inferred from the Babylonian synchronism (see CHRONOLOGY, § 22). Burnaburiaš II. and Amenhotep IV. seem to have come to the throne about the same time. Assyriologists must obtain a better agreement on Burnaburiaš II. and his predecessor Kadašman-Bel. From an exclusively Egyptological standpoint, the present writer would determine about 1380 (Petrie, 1383) as the minimum date. 1415 may he a trifle too high but not niuch. Wi.'s date for Burnaburiaš (1456 B.C.) seems decidedly too high; likewise Rost's date (*Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* 2 228), 1438.

3 This must not be ascribed to Asiatic influences. Although the Syrians were advanced enough to recngnise the forces of nature in their gods more clearly than the Egyptians, the monotheistic idea was entirely a new creation.

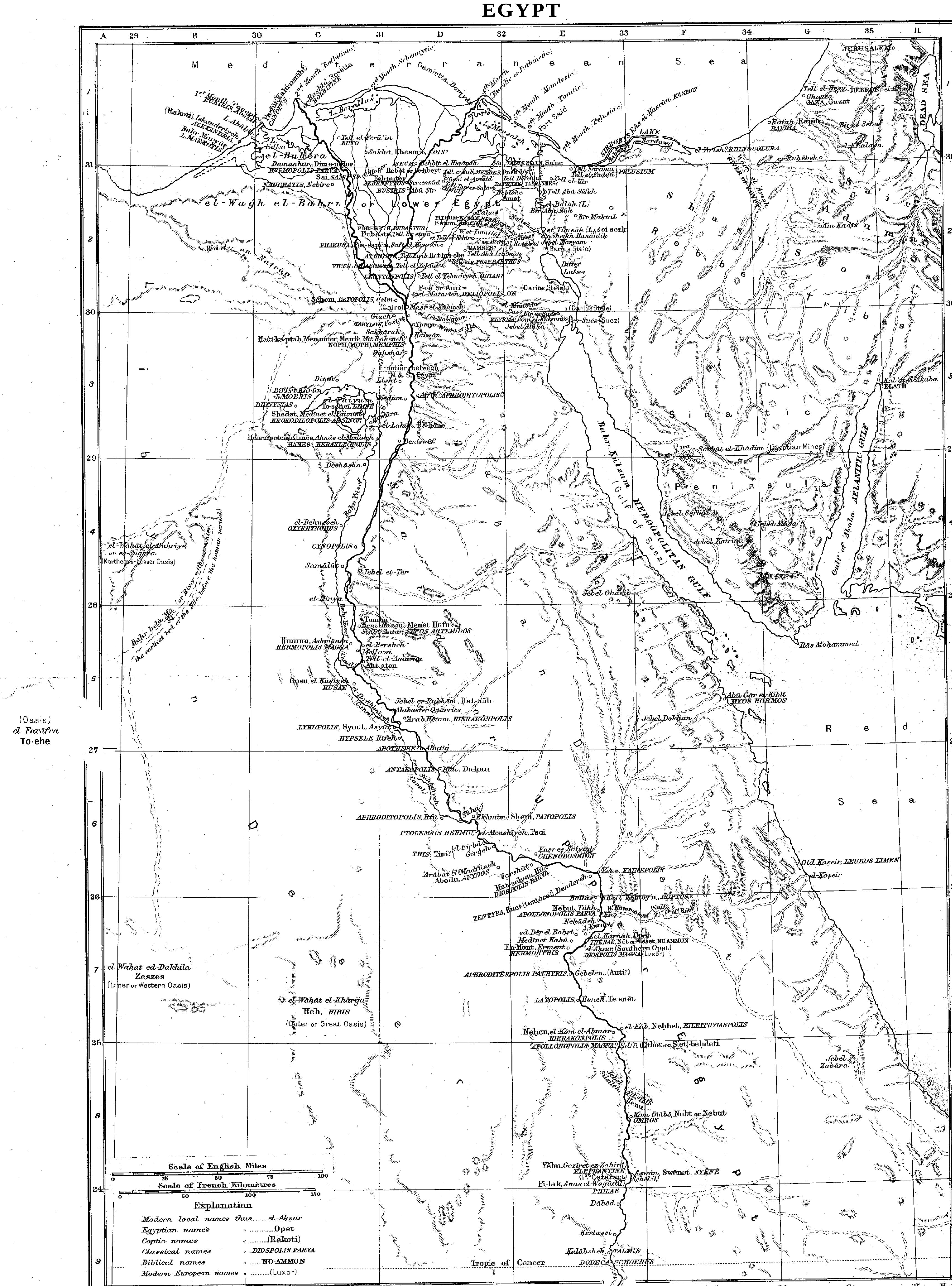
MAP OF EGYPT

INDEX TO NAMES (A-Ka)

Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement usually ignores prefixes: 'Ain ('spring'), Bahr ('sea' etc.), Bīr ('well'), el ('the'), Gulf, J. (Jebel, 'mt.'), Kh. (Khirbat, 'ruin'), L. (lake), Medīnet ('town'), Mt., N. (Nahr, 'river'), R. (river), Rās ('promontory'), Tell ('mound'), W. (Wādy, 'valley').

INDEX TO NAMES IN *MAP—Contznued* (Ke-Z)

EGYPT



ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA 1901

For Index to names see back of map: (A-Ka) on upper leaf, (Ke-Z) on lower leaf

MAP OF EGYPT

INDEX TO NAMES (A-Ha)

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Egyptians, Hatte of the Assyrians) from E. Asia Minor (Cappadocia) had conquered N. Syria,—beginning in the reign of Amenophis IV. when Egypt was too weak to resist them. Their influence reached even to Palestine, and Sethos became entangled with them in *a* war, waged in the Lebanon region south of Kadesh. This war was taken up more energetically by his son *Ram(e)ses II.* (Sesostris, *circa* 1340-1273 B.C.; see *figs.* 6, 12, and 4). He reconquered Phœnicia as far as Beirût in his second year, and in his fifth attacked the most important city of central Syria—Kadesh 'in the Amorite country' (*i.e.*, near the N. end of the Lebanon, on the Orontes). His victory there over the Hittite force of war-chariots became (greatly exaggerated) the subject of many pictures and inscriptions (on the epic, see above, § 25), because the king was (against his will) personally engaged in the fight. The war went on, however, till his twenty-first year, and Egypt was not always victorious—otherwise all Palestine would not have revolted. Ramses had to take the strong mountain-cities of Galilee (year 8), to punish the territory of Ephraim and Dan, and even to storm Askaluna (Askelon) and Gezer in the S. The treaty of peace (engraved upon a silver plate and preserved in a copy) was, however, favourable, leaving Palestine (inscriptions of Ramses have lately been found east of the Jordan)[1] and half of Phœnicia to Egypt. Ramses married a daughter of Hetaser the 'great king' of the Hittites. The rest of his long reign (sixty-seven years altogether) was peaceful. The conquests from Scythia to India, therefore, ascribed to him (Sesostris) by the Greeks, are pure fiction—a mere inference from his many buildings.

58. Ramses II. *circa* 1340-1273.



FIG. 13.—Mummy of Rameses II. After a photograph.

As a builder (temples of Luxor, the Ramesseum, Abydos, etc.) Ramses surpassed all other pharaohs, although the amazing multitude of monuments bearing his name is largely due to his erasure of the names of the ancient builders and usurpation of their works. Nubia also, which as far as Ben-Naga, S. of Kharṭûm, had long before his time become an Egyptian province, was favoured with many constructions—*e.g.*, the huge rock-temple at Abû-Simbel (see fig. 7). The special favour of this great king, however, was directed towards 'the land of Rameses' or Goshen (see GOSHEN, i. § 4). This desert-valley, which was formerly reached only very irregularly by the Nile, he rendered fruitful by a canal, colonised it (with Syrians, too, and among them the 'Apuri, frequently alleged to have been Hebrews), and built several cities in it, including a royal residence, the city of Rameses. Thus he would seem to be, according to Ex. 1₁₁, the pharaoh of the oppression; and his son Menephthes (*Me[r]neptaḥ*, see fig. 13; about 1273 B.C.) has, thus far, been generally assumed to be the pharaoh of the Exodus.

[1] The so-called 'stone of Job,' *ZDPV*, '92, p. 206, *ZÄ*, 31 100 ('93). An Egyptian officer worshipped a Canaanitish goddess (called approximately *El-kana*(?)-*z*(or *ṣ*)*apant*) on this spot.

The recent discovery of Meneptah's inscriptions mentioning Israel as defeated, and evidently dwelling in Palestine, makes this view very questionable. It is the opinion of the present writer that any chronological system of the Exodus must, at least, sacrifice Ex. 1₁₁ (Pithom and Raamses), which might be a gloss, and other details. Attempts to discover the name of Moses (the alleged 'Mesu') in the time of Rameses II. have failed. There are indications that the Israelitish nation or, at least, some tribes—*e.g.*, ASHER (*q.v.*, § 1)—were resident in Palestine at the beginning of dynasty 19, perhaps earlier (cp ISRAEL, § 2). It must be left to future excavations to determine how far the biblical accounts need a critical revision, and whether the Exodus can be referred to earlier periods.[1] That the Habiri of the Amarna tablets (under Amenophis III. and IV., see above, § 55 *f.*) are identical with the immigrating Hebrews does not, however, seem to be satisfactorily proved (cp ISRAEL, § 3).

59. Israel.



FIG. 14.—Head of Meneptaḥ, from a bas-relief at Thebes. After Lepsius.

Me(r)neptaḥ had for long to fight hard both with Libyans, who plundered the western part of the Delta, and with pirates who ravaged the coasts of Egypt and Syria. Finally these pirates from Asia Minor (Šakaruša and Luku—*i.e.*, Lycians) and Europe (Šardena, Akaiwaša and Tur(u)ša—*i.e.*, Sardinians, Achæans, and Etruscans,)[2] joined the Libyans and marched against Memphis, in sight of which they met with a crushing defeat.

60. Meneptaḥ.

The reigns of kings *Sethos II.*, *Amen-messe*, *Meneptaḥ II.* or *Siptaḥ* were short and inglorious. One of them is called a Syrian usurper, which points to his being a royal officer who had originally been a Syrian slave or mercenary. Perhaps the reference is to Meneptaḥ II., who became king by marrying queen T-usoret. After 'years of anarchy,' dynasty 20 united the country again, under King *Setnaḫt(e)* and his son *Ram(e)ses III.*

Ram(e)ses III. (somewhat before 1200 B.C.) cleared the Western Delta of the Libyans, who had settled there. Several attacks were repelled, the Syrian provinces maintained, and the territory of the Amorites and of petty Hittite kings N. of Palestine ravaged. (The great kingdom of the Hittites had broken up.) He fought also against the piratical Pulaste or Philistines who had settled in Palestine[3] (in the territory of the Avvim, Dt. 2₂₃), and ravaged Phœnicia as well as the Egyptian coasts.

61. Ramses III., etc. *circa* 1200.

Ramses III. sought to imitate also the architectural achievements of Ramses II. during his reign of thirty-two years; but his buildings (especially Medînet Habu in Western Thebes) cannot be compared with those of his predecessor. The kings who followed—Ram(e)ses IV.-XII., the so-called Ramessides—were short-lived and weak rulers (they ruled hardly over eighty years).

The Egyptian possessions in Syria were lost. For 400 or 500 years, with small intermissions, Palestine had been tributary to the pharaohs, and Egyptian garrisons had occupied several fortified cities (*e.g.*,

[1] Manĕtho's Exodus-narrative is a worthless distortion of the Hebrew account.

[2] The תירס of Gen. 10 2 (read תורס, Turs). They are nowhere else mentioned in MT. [Perhaps, however, the name originally stood also in Ezek. 38 2 39 1. See ROSH, 1.]

[3] Me(r)neptaḥ's wars with Palestinian revolters do not seem to have been important. The 'Israel inscription' speaks of Ashkelon Gezer, and Yenu'ama. The last mentioned place seems to have been in S. Lebanon (but cp JANOAH, 2). There is another new text (*R. trav.* 17 159), which speaks of him as 'forcing down Gezer. This looks as if S. Palestine was at the head of a rebellion against the Egyptian dominion.

[4] See now *MVG*, 1900, 1.

Zaratuna ; see ZARETHAN). It must not, however, be assumed that this loose relation influenced the inhabitants of Palestine in any considerable measure. The Egyptians did not often interfere in the continual feuds of the many petty kings. For evidence of this and the unsafe character of the land, see the Amarua letters.

A fact of importance for the Exodus question is that the 'Apurī, for whom a connection with the Hebrews (עפרי = עברי) has so often been claimed, still appear in great numbers in Egypt under these kings. Under Ram(e)ses III. they inhabited whole towns near Heliopolis—*i.e.*, at the western opening of Goshen. The last word on this question has, evidently, still to be said, and it is not safe to decide either for or against the Hebrew records.

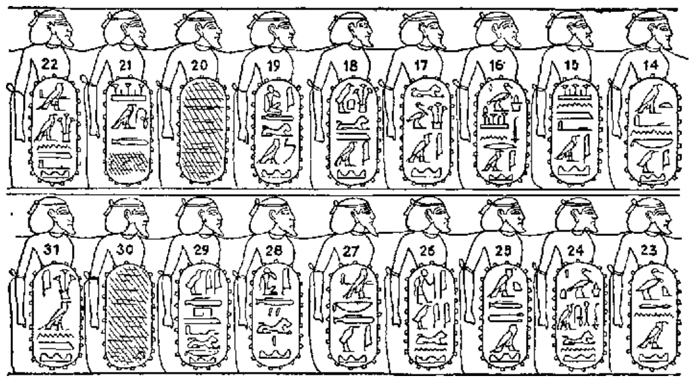
In this period, the paupers of Thebes began systematically to plunder the royal tombs, as is shown by many documents referring to spoliations and the measures taken to repress them.

Solomon's empire he made an expedition against both Judah and Israel (perhaps to secure the throne to Jeroboam?), an expedition recorded in 1 K. 14$_{25}$ and on the monuments of Karnak (see the extract given in Fig. 14). Cp SHISHAK.

64. Dyn. 22. It is very doubtful whether the other kings of the Libyan, or twenty-second, dynasty (from Bubastus?[1]) retained a hold on Palestine.

They hear for the most art Libyan names—Šošenk (the name of four kings altogether?, Osorkon (Wasarken two or three kings), Tikelō(or ē?)ti (Greek Takelothis : two kinks), Pemay (one king)—and the whole dynasty seems to have reigned (nominally) about 200 years. On the Zerah of Chronicles cp ZERAH, 5.

They first mark a tolerably quiet period of Egyptian history; but about 800 B.C. their dominion began to become weak. The generals commanding the large garrisons of Libyan soldiers in the great cities assumed the *rôle* of the ancient nomarchs or counts, and the pharaoh had little power over them.



Dyn.

2

By these kings, all that remained of the mummies of the kings of dynasties 18-20 were finally hidden in the hole near Der-el-bahri where they were discovered in 1881—so powerless were they to protect the royal necropolis. To their prudence we thus owe the preservation of the bodies of Ram(e)ses II. and III., Thutmosis III., etc.[3]

After the time of Ramses III. the immigration of Libyans began again, and Libyan mercenary troops had now become so numerous that the 'generals of the Mašawaša' (a Libyan tribe) came next to the king in power. About 950, one family of Libyan officers had become so influential (also by intermarriage with the high priests of Memphis) that they could venture to put one of themselves upon the throne, Šošenk I.

63. Šošenk I. *circa* 950. This pharaoh, the contemporary of Solomon and his son (see SHISHAK), who reigned at least twenty-one years, was more energetic, and again exercised influence upon Syria. He seems to have assisted Israel against the Philistines, who evidently still raided the Egyptian coasts (see 1 K. 9$_{16}$ and cp DAVID, § 7); possibly he was the pharaoh (it was hardly his predecessor *P-sū-ḥa'-m-nē* or Psusennes II.) who gave his 'daughter' to Solomon as wife (see, however, GEZER, § 1). A less friendly attitude is shown in 1 K. 11$_{18}$ (but see HADAD i., 3; TAHPENES); and after the division of

65. Ethiopian Supremacy. This weakness of the kingdom caused the Ethiopians to attack Egypt. Ethiopia (*q.v.*) had been an Egyptian province down to the beginning of dynasty 21. Since that time, owing to the struggle between the secular rulers and the high priests of Thebes, it had become an independent kingdom. The kings of Napata were able to take possession of Thebes. Middle and Lower Egypt were, nominally, under the dominion of dynasty 23, the successors, or rather the contemporaries, of the last members of the twenty-second (Bubastid)[2] dynasty. Really the country was divided among about twenty petty rulers of Libyan descent. About 750(?) B.C. the Ethiopian king P(i)'anḫy triccl to subdue them. He met with little resistance from the nominal ruler, Osorkon III. of Bubastus ; but the prince Tefnaḫt(e) of Saïs, who had already subjugated central Egypt, was a formidable enemy. He submitted nominally to the Ethiopian, after the latter had taken Memphis; but the Delta remained in his hands, and Tefnaḫt(e)'s son Bok-en-renf (Bocchoris of the Greeks) was able to extend his power again southwards. Bocchoris left the reputation of having been a great legislator (cp above, § 28). The new Saitic Dynasty 24 (consisting, in Manĕtho, only of

1 For a suppressed 'rebellion of the high priest' against Ram(e)ses IX. or his predecessors, see Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 19 91.

2 The papyrus Golenischeff (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 395) reports the adventures of an embassy sent by Ḥeriḥor to king Zakarba'al of Byblus (to buy 'Lebanon wood'), which visited also Dor, Tyre, and the queen of Cyprus. [See now *Rec. trav.* 2 76, *MVG*, 1900.]

3 On this great find see Maspero, 'Les Mommies royales,' 1889, *Mém. Miss. Franç.* i. pt. 4.

1 Naville, *Bubastis*, questions their being from this city.

2 Manetho seems to he wrong in calling them Tanitic. They reigned in Bubastus. His enumeration of four kings must he viewed with suspicion. The third (Ψαμμους) and the fourth (Ζητ ; read Ξητ) seem to be simply the Ethiopians P'anḫy and his son Kšeta (or Kešta), contemporaneous with dynasty 24. Consequently, only Peduhast (reigning at least nineteen years) and Osorkon III. remain, apparently belonging to a branch of dynasty 22. Their chronological relation to these kings (Šošenk IV.) is not certain.

Bocchoris), however," was shortlived. The Ethiopian king Sabako, the son of Kešta, invaded the country N. of Thebes, and took Bocchoris prisoner (according to one tradition he had him burned alive) about 706(?). Now, for the first time, the Palestinians and Phoenicians, who observed the approaching Assyrian colossus with growing anxiety, saw in the new dynasty of Egypt (25th) a power equal to the Assyrian, to which they could appeal for help.' On the ambassadors sent by Hoshea (to the governor of Lower Egypt), and on the governor Seve, who appeared in Syria to assist king Hanno (Ḥanunu) of Gaza, but was defeated at Raphia, S. of Gaza (ISRAEL, § 34, SARGON), see, however, So.[2] About 696 Šabako[3] seems to have been followed by Šabatako (the Sebichos of Manĕtho?), who in 691 was supplanted by the usurper T(a)harḳō (see TIRHAKAH) in Napata. At first the new king was compelled to be passive as far as northern affairs were concerned. This was the time of the revolt of the Philistines and of Hezekiah from Assyria (702); see ISRAEL, § 34. Whether the kings of Muṣri who came in 701 to save Ekron from the Assyrians and met with a complete defeat at Altaḳū (Eltekeh) were Ethiopian vassals from the Delta (or Arabs?) is again doubtful. On the plague in Sennacheribs army, by which, according to 2 K. 1935, Jerusalem, and consequently also Egypt, were saved, and on the distorted Egyptian tradition in Herodotus (2141), see HEZEKIAH, § 2. The tranquillity of Egypt, however, was soon to be disturbed. In 671 or 670 B.C., after Taharḳō had instigated the Phcenicians (Ba'al of Tyre) to a new but fruitless revolt, the Assyrian king Esarhaddon marched against Egypt; in his passage through the arid desert west of the 'brook of Egypt,' which always formed Egypt's best protection, he was supplied with water by the Arabs. It seems that an earlier attack upon Egypt (in 673) had failed. Now, however, the Assyrians had a complete success. Taharḳō was driven into Nubia; Memphis was stormed; and Egypt was parcelled out among twenty kings, descendants of those Libyan nobles whom we have already met (§ 63 *ff.*). Among them Necho (Nikū) of Saïs, of the family of the princes forming the twenty-fourth dynasty, again stood first. Thus Manĕtho dates the twenty-sixth dynasty even from his grandfather Stephinates (=Tefnaḫte; see § 65). Taharḳō invaded Egypt again about 669 or 668 (see TIRHAKAH), and his nephew and successor Tan(u)tamon (in cuneiform writing Tandamani, not Urdamani) in 667;[4] but the Assyrians on both occasions maintained the Delta, quelled revolts of the Egyptians in Saïs, Mendes, and Tanis, and finally drove the Cushites back to Nubia. The reason was that the Ethiopian kingdom alone, with its scanty population, was unable to raise armies equal to those of Assyria, as it had always been powerless against united Egypt.

66*a*. Šabako.

66*b*. Taharḳō. 691.

Necho's son Psa(m)eṯik (Psammetichus)[5] began his reign (663) as a vassal of the Assyrian king Ašur-bāni-pal. It may have been—about 660 (but this is uncertain) that he felt strong enough to renounce his allegiance. Assyria was, in fact, sinking. The rival king; the Dodecarchs of Herodotus, had, of course, been previously subjugated by him, with the help (it would seem) of Carian troops, sent to him, perhaps, by Gyges of Lydia.[1] He strengthened unmilitary Egypt by introducing a great quantity of Greek and Carian mercenaries. The terrible Cimmerian invasion was warded off by bribes and presents (about 620?).

67. Psameṯik. *circa* 660.

The new (26th) dynasty is a period remarkable for the revival of art (largely following archaistic tendencies) and architecture. In general, this last period of Egyptian independence seems to have been flourishing. The days of Egypt as a conquering power, were, however, past. Nekau or Nekō II. (the Pharaoh-Necoh of 2 K. 2329), who succeeded Psammefik in 609, tried to profit by the distress of the Assyrian empire during the ravages of the northern barbarians (see ASSYRIA, § 34). It was easy for Necho to occupy Syria as far as the Euphrates in 608. On his victories over king Josiah[2] (and the Assyrian governors), and on the taxation which followed the victory, see JOSIAH I, § 2 *f.*; JEHOIAKIM. The Egyptian conquest, however, lasted only to 604. Defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadrezzar, the Egyptians were driven back for good (2 K. 247), and had no better policy than that of first instigating the Syrians to rebel, and then letting them suffer through Egypt's remissness.

68. Necho II. 609.

The most important construction undertaken by Necho was his digging the canal (completed: not, as Herodotus believed, abandoned) through Goshen to the Red Sea, partly on the track of the canal which Ramses II. had led from the Nile only to the Bitter Lakes. In connection with this, he sent Phcenician ships to circumnavigate Africa. He was followed by his less energetic son Psam(m)eṯik II. 594-588 B.C. Whether the second or the first Psammeṯik led an expedition against the weak Ethiopian kingdom is uncertain (Greek inscriptions *at* Ahii Simbel).[3]

Apries (Uaḥ-eb-rē'), 588-569, took the last active steps to check the Babylonians, by aiding the Tyrians and the Jews in their resistance to Nebuchadrezzar (cp BABYLONIA, § 66). An interruption was thus caused in the siege of Jerusalem (Jer. 375). The revolt against GEDALIAH (*q.v.*, I) also must have been instigated from Egypt, whither so many Jews fled. From a fragment of his records it would appear that Nebuchadrezzar was still at war with the Egyptians in his thirty-seventh year (568-567). Whether he attacked Egypt herself is not quite certain;[4] at any rate, the expectation of the prophets that he would punish faithless and insolent Egypt was not fulfilled in the measure expected. Defeated and humbled everywhere, Egypt maintained her independence. One more reign has to be chronicled, and then follows the catastrophe. Amasis II. ('Aḥmose),

69. Apries. 588–569.

1 Whether the 1000 soldiers from Muṣri, who assisted the allied Syrian powers at Karḳar in 854, were Egyptians (sent by Šošenk II.?) is, however, very questionable; later the small kingdoms had no power to meddle in Syria. See' MIZRAIM, § 2 (*a*).

2 Wi. *MVG*, 1891, p. 28, assumes with prohability that the governor *Sib'i-So* represented an Arab kingdom. The usual chronology (Šabako 728, T(a)harḳō 704) is certainly improbable.

3 The chronology is not clear in every detail. (Cp Wi. *Unters.* 91 *ff.* and see **CHRONOLOGY, §** 21).

4 Wi. ***AOF*** 1 481.

5 The name is written פסמשך, with Aramaic letters ***(CIS*** 2 no. 148). It is of Libyan (not Ethiopian) derivation. On the alleged intermarriages between the Saïtes and the Ethiopians see *ZÄ* 35 29 ['97].

1 That he besieged Azotus (Ashdod?) in Philistia for twenty-nine years (Herod. 2 157) is a statement of very suspicious character.

2 At present the preference is mostly given to the Magdōlŏn of Herodotus (2 159) over the Megiddo of the Hebrew text (Wi. and already Mannert and Rosenmiiller). At any rate, Migdal could not be the Egyptian town. Josiah was unable to penetrate through Idumæa and the desert and to invade Egypt. The scene of the struggle would be one of the many Palestinian Migdals,—probably the Migdal-gad of Judæa in the plain. See, however, the present writer's essay in *MVG*, 1898, p. 163. Josiah fought (it would seem) **at** Megiddo **as** subject of the Assyrian governor.

3 The report of the migration of 240,000 (!) warriors to Ethiopia under Psammeṯik I. must be greatly exaggerated (Herod. 2 30). Still, desertions on **a** moderate scale are known to have occurred (see *ZÄ*, 22 86 93 ['84]; the garrison of Elephantinè, for example, deserted to a port on the Red Sea under Apries). The Sembridæ, mentioned by Greek writers as living near Kharṭūm, do not seem to have been Egyptian colonists (rather Kushitic Hamites).

4 The fragment (published by Pinches *TSBA* 7 218; better by Strassmaier, *Nabuchodonossor*, 194) has been discussed in greatest detail by Wi. (*AOF* 1 511). It seems to speak only of the preparations for war by king (Am)āsu. The hypothesis of Wiedemann (*Gesch.* ***Aeg.*** *von Psammetich I.* etc., 169), that Nehuchadrezzar conauered Egypt as far **as** Syenè, is now generally rejected (cp **Maspero, *ZÄ*,** 22 87-90, Brugsch, *ib.* 93-97 ['84]).

who dethroned Apries[1] in **569,** was a man of low birth, who obtained the crown through a rising of the native warriors against the Greek mercenaries. Amasis placed restrictions both on the mercenaries and on Greek commerce, but very prudently left Naucrătis to the Greek merchants as a port and settlement. He closed **a** prosperous reign in **526,** and was succeeded by his son Psammeṯik III., who did not reign one full year.

70. Persians. In **525**, after the battle of Pelusium, Cambyses conquered Egypt. Apart from the (possibly unhistorical) cruelties of Cambyses, the treatment of the province of Egypt by the Persians was at first **not** unfair. In particular, Darius I. (**521-486)** built temples (the largest in the **S.** Oasis, which he—or Cambyses?—seems to have conquered); he repaired Necho's canal to the Red Sea, in order to make Egypt more accessible. Under Xerxes (see AHASUERUS, **1**) the Libyan class of warriors, led by Khab(b)ash, rebelled for the first time in **487,** and drove the Persians from Egypt. They could not, however, long hold out against Xerxes; the country was again reduced to submission. A new revolution was set on foot (460-450) by Inarus, a Libyan of Marea (near Alexandria), who was aided by the Athenians. **A** more successful rebellion was that of Amyrtæus in 404, which made Egypt independent down to **342.** This period was filled not only with hard fighting against the Persians (Artaxerxes II. Mnemon [405-362] and III. [362-338]), who continually tried to win Egypt back, but also with internal discord. Three dynasties (**28-30**; from Tanis, Mendes, and Sebennytus). and at least nine kings, of whom only Nectanebus I. (better-nebis; Egyptian *Neḫt-ḥar-ḥeb*) and Nectanebus II. (*Neḫte-nebf*) are remarkable, are mentioned. The Greek soldiers constantly made their influence felt, and showed their bad faith during these troublous times. Because of the incapacity of Nectanebus II.[2] (360-343), Artaxerxes 111. Ochus (362-338) conquered Egypt again, and punished her cruelly. It is not surprising

71. Greeks. 332. that the destroyer of the Persian Empire, Alexander (336-323), was welcomed in Egypt (332 **B**.c.) as **a** deliverer. The history of Egypt after Ptolemy I. the son of Lagus had in **305** become a king instead of a Macedonian governor or *ḫšatrapan—i.e.*, (satrap' (as he is styled in an Egyptian inscription of 314 B.C.)—belongs to that of the Hellenistic world. Under the Macedonian kings or Ptolemies,[3] the Egyptians were perhaps less oppressed than they were under the later Persians; but as a class they were always treated as inferior in legal position to Macedonians and Greeks. They were never, therefore, completely Hellenised. They were also severely taxed. The great contrast between the native people and the foreign rulers—who, for the most part, did not condescend even to learn the language of their subjects, and from Alexandria, their Hellenic capital, followed anything but an Egyptian policy—was but little mitigated during the rule of this last dynasty. Hence the various revolts.

The great revolution of the native soldier-class against Ptolemies IV. and V. deserves special mention. It lasted twenty years (206-186) and, for the last time, placed nominal kings of Egyptian speech on the throne of the ancient pharaohs. Those who held their ground the longest ruled in the Thebaid. This revolution was quenched in torrents of blood in 186 B.C. As **a** punishment for assistance sent by the Ethiopians to the rebels the N. of Nubia was occupied. Previously, the kingdom of Meroe (Napata was abandoned as capital some time before) had been on good terms with the Ptolemies; economically weak, it naturally fell under Egyptian influence.

Ptolemy 11. caused a marvellous development of the trade on the Red Sea, exploring and colonising the African coasts. The growing commercial importance

72. Jews. of Egypt increased the immigration of Jews and Samaritans. They gathered especially at Alexandria and on the Eastern frontier, in the ancient Goshen.[1] Under Ptolemy VI. they even built at Leontopolis a great Jewish temple (see DISPERSION, § 8). In Alexandria they became strongly Hellenised: hence the Alexandrian version of the Scriptures; hence too the gnostic tendencies in Judaism. See ALEXANDRIA. § 2; DISPERSION, §§ 7, 15 *ff.*; HELLENISM, § 10; TEXT.

The Ptolemies possessed Palestine from **320** down to **198 B**.c., when Ptolemy V. Epiphanes lost it to Antiochus III., the Great, of Syria. Already his father had defended it against the Syrians with difficulty, and had kept it only by winning the battle of Raphia (**216 B**.c.), whilst Ptolemy 111. Euergetes had been able to conquer the whole Syrian empire for a short time in **238.**

73. Ptolemies. The succession is as follows:—Ptolemy **I.** Soter (**323-284**). Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (so called because, after the Egyptian custom, he married his own sister Arsinoe), to whom the exploratiun of Eastern Africa was due (285-247). Ptolemy III. Euergetes, the husband of the famous Berenike (**a** princess of Cyrene), the conqueror among the Ptolemies (247-222). Ptolemy IV. Philopator (222-205) waged war with Antiochus the Great. It was under this dissolute, cruel, and incompetent ruler that the great revolution began. Ptolemy V. Epiphanes came to the throne at the age of five, in 205, under the tutorship of the dissolute Agathocles. After the murder of his guardian by the Alexandrian mob, other generals held the post.[2] The Asiatic provinces were all lost, although Ptolemy retained their revenue by marrying Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus III., the Great, of Syria. After subjugating the rebellious Egyptians, Ptolemy became more and more dissolute; he was poisoned while preparing war against the Syrians. Ptolemy VII.[3] Philomētor (181-146) was **a** nobler personality, but unfortunate. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, of Syria, took him captive at Pelusium, and would have conquered Egypt had it not been for the brusque intervention of the Romans (171). Ptolemy Philometor had to accept as co-regent his younger brother (Euergetes, ironically called Kakergetes or Physcon), by whom he was exiled in 163; the Romans, however, brought him back. The ambitious Euergetes became the ruler of Cyrene. After the death of his brother Philometor (killed while intervening in the struggles of Syrian princes) and after the short reign of Ptolemy VIII. Neos Philopator, the restless Euergetes came back to Egypt as king. In 130, however, he was expelled and his wife Cleopatra (widow and sister of Philometor) assumed the supreme power. In 127 Euergetes (Ptol. IX.) returned from Cyprus. After his death (117) ensued a long period of ceaseless struggle, which strengthened the influence of Rome. Ptolemy X. Soter II. ruled from 117-81, his brother Ptol. XI. Alexander I. (against him) 106-88, Ptol. XII. Alexander II. 81-80, Ptol. XIII. Neos Dionysos (or Auletes) 80-51. The history of all these rulers is complicated and repulsive. The famous Cleopatra ruled first with her brother Ptol. XIV. under the guardianship of the Roman senate; expelled by Ptolemy in 48, she was brought hack by Caesar in 47. Her younger brother Ptol. XV., co-regent 47-45, was murdered by her, and Ptol. XVI. Cæsarion, her son by Cæsar, became her nominal co-regent. For ten years (41-31) she captivated the Roman triumvir Antony, and thus maintained her kingdom as **a** typical Ptolemaic ruler, not less able than wicked.

74. Rome. The sea-fight at Actium and Cleopatra's tragic death brought Egypt's independence to an end. It now became **a** Roman province under prefects (στρατηγοί), and its history[4] is devoid of interest, till the Arab conquest in 640 A.D. (preceded by **a** Persian conquest in 619-629). Many, but insignificant, rebellions (one as early as 30-29 *B.C.),* chiefly directed against the excessive taxation, could be enumerated. On the popularity of Egyptian religion in Western countries, see § 14.

On the introduction and progress of Christianity, and on the Egyptian or Coptic versions of the Bible, see TEXT. In **62** Annianus was bishop of Alexandria (Mark was the legendary first bishop). The last remnants of heathenism were suppressed by Justinian **(527-565)** on the island of Philæ, where the rapacious Ethiopian barbarians (the Blemmyans and Nobates) had maintained the worship of Isis. W. M. M.

1 The theory that the battle at Momemphis only forced Apries to accept Amasis as co-regent (Wiedemann, *Gesch. Aeg. von Psam.* 120) is successfully attacked by Piehl, *ZÄ* 25 9 ['90].

2 Said to have fled to Ethiopia. Cp, however (on his tomb near Memphis), *Rec. tmv.* 10 142.

3 On the succession and chronology of the Ptolemies, see below, § 73; Mahaffy, ***The Empire of the Ptolemies***, 1895; Petrie, ***Hist.*** **v.**; Strack, ***Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*** ('97).

1 On Jewish settlers in the Fayūm and the Thebaid, see Mahaffy, 86; on Samaritans, 178; on their infrequency in Memphis, 358.

2 The alleged guardianship of the Roman senate does not seem to he **a** historical fact.

3 Here Ptolemy Eupator *is* inserted as sixth king in official documents. He does not seem to have reigned.

4 Compare J. G. Milne in Petrie, ***Hist.*** v. ('98; very readable).

EGYPT, RIVER OF. The 'Wādy (or 'Torrent': of Mizraim' (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם; AV RIVER, or [Is. 27 12 STREAM, OF EGYPT; RV BROOK OF EGYPT; but both versions of נחל are misleading), or simply 'the Wādy' (נַחְלָה, with ה of direction; AV RIVER; RV BROOK), Ezek. 47 19 48 28 (see RV, and cp Toy, 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT*), is frequently mentioned as marking the boundary of Canaan towards the SW.

1. Identification.

See Josh. 15 4 [P] φαράγγος αἰγύπτου [BAL]; 15 47 χειμάρρου αιγ. [BAL]; Nu. 34 5 [P] -ρρον αἰγ. [A], -ρρουν αιγ. [BFL]; 1 K. 8 65 ἕως ποταμοῦ αἰγ. [BA], ἕ. ὁρίου ποτ. αἰγ. [L]; 2 K. 24 7 ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμάρρου [BAL]; 2 Ch. 7 8 ἑως χ. αἰγ. [BAL]; Is. 27 12 ἕως ρινοκορουρων [B[b]ℵAQF].

The identification suggested by 𝔊[1] in the last-cited passage and adopted by Saadiah in his version of Isaiah is manifestly correct. The Wady of Egypt is not the Wddy *Ghazza* (the 'torrens Ægypti' of William of Tyre, and perhaps Milton's 'stream that parts Egypt from Syrian ground') but the *Wādy el-'Arīsh*, which with its deep water-course (only filled after heavy rains) starts from about the centre of the Sinaitic peninsula (near the Jebel et-Tīh), and after running N. and NW. finally reaches the sea at the Egyptian fort and town of el-'Arīsh. Here, in late classical times, was an emporium of Nabatæan traffic, to which the name Rhinocorura or Rhinocolura was given. Here, too, travellers halted on the route from Gaza to Pelusium. Titus rested here on his way to Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* iv. 11 5) and as late as the fourteenth century A.D. the place was much visited by travellers (Ibn Baṭūṭa). Owing to the fact that as the boundary of Egypt and Canaan we find in two OT passages (Josh. 13 3 1 Ch. 13 5; see SHIHOR OF EGYPT) an arm of the Nile (the Pelusiac), and in a third passage (Gen. 15 18) the 'river (נהר) of Egypt' (which surely must mean the *Wādy el-'Arīsh*), some (following Abulfeda, *Descr. Æg.*, ed. Michaelis, 1776, p. 34, no. 68)[2] have supposed that the *Wādy el-'Arīsh* was taken for an intermittent channel of the Nile (cp Jer. on Am. 6 1; Reland, *Pal.* 285 *f.* 969 *ff.*). Niebuhr the traveller, on the other hand, seeks the Torrent of Egypt in the largest of three small streams that run into the Mediterranean from the large lake (*baheire*) which, he says, extended from Damietta eastwards towards Gaza (*Descr.* de *l'Arabie*, 360 *ff.*). All this speculation is needless. If a stream in the neighbourhood of *el-'Arīsh* is referred to, it can only be the wild torrent-stream that in December suddenly covers the banks of the Wādy el-'Arish with verdure (cp Haynes, *Palmer Search-expedition*, 262). which could never have been confounded with a channel of the Nile (so also Ebers). As for the expression 'the river of Mizraim' (נְהַר מ׳) in Gen. 15 18, either the original reading was נַחַל 'wady, torrent' (Lagarde, Ball), which was altered into נְהַר, 'river (of),' by an idealistic editor, who placed the SW. boundary of Canaan at the Nile, or else, if Winckler's inference[3] from a Minæan inscription (Hal. 535) is correct, נהר was applied in N. Arabia and its Palestinian neighbourhood to the Wādy el-'Arīsh, which historically at any rate was not undeserving of the name. The latter view seems preferable. It seems to derive support from Gen. 36 37 Nu. 22 5 when emended (see REHOBOTH, PETHOR).

We have still to account for the name ('The Wādy [or Torrent] of Mizraim'). The ordinary explanation makes it equivalent to 'the wādy which parts Canaan from Egypt.' At the mouth of the wādy lay an Egyptian fortress, which might seem to neutralise the fact that the wādy belongs geographically to N. Arabia. That this explanation was prevalent

2. Name.

[1] Cp Epiphan. *Hær.* 2 83, Ρινοκορουρα γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται Νεελ (נַחַל).

[2] See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiv. 3 141 *ff.*; Guérin, *Judée*, 2 240-249.

[3] *AOF* 1 36 337; *GI* 1 174, n. 2.

in later Jewish times is certain; but does it correctly represent the original meaning of that phrase? This question cannot be answered without considering the Assyriological data. That the *naḫal Muṣur* of inscriptions of Sargon and Esarhaddon[1] means, not the Egyptian wādy, but the wādy which runs through the N. Arabian land of Muṣri, seems to us beyond doubt, unless, indeed, it can be shown that the extended use of the term Muṣri or Mugur had gone out in that king's time. To assert this, however, would be entirely contrary to the evidence. 'Mizraim' should rather be 'Mizrim'. The land of Muṣri or Mugur in N. Arabia was repeatedly referred to by the OT writers; but the references were misunderstood by the later scribes. See MIZRAIM, § 2 (d). T. K. C.—S. A. C.

EHI (אֵחִי; αγχειc [BA], -ειν [D], ααχειc [L]), in the genealogy of Benjamin (Gen. 46 21†); see AHIRAM, 1, and BENJAMIN, § 9, i. 1 Ch. 8 6 has אֵחוּד, EHUD, ii.

ERUD (אֵהוּד, αωδ [BAL]), a Benjamite name, which, according to We. (*GGN*, 1893, p. 480; cp Gray, *HPN*, 26, n. 4) is from אֲבִיהוּד Ahihud (also Benjamite). Probably אִיהוּר should he read; cp Pesh. *'īhūr* 1 Ch. 7 10; *'abihūr*, *ib.* 8 6 and איעור for אביעור

1. b. GERA [*q.v.*], a Benjamite, the champion of Israel against Moab (Judg. 3 12-30; αυωδ [superscr. υ] B[a.b] in 3 30 41). The story is thoroughly archaic in tone, and is a popular tradition (so Moore, Bu.). It tells how Ehud, with a sword concealed under his garment, came bearing tribute to Eglon, king of Moab, at his residence E. of the Jordan, and sought a private audience. Being left-handed he was able to get hold of his sword without exciting the king's suspicions. In this way he quickly wrought Israel's vengeance, and made good his escape. Fleeing by way of Gilgal and the pillars there (see QUARRIES) he called the Israelites to arms and, by seizing the Jordan fords, cut off the retreat of the Moabites on the W. of the river, and slew them every one. See EGLON.

The historicity of the narrative was questioned in 1869 by Nö. (*Untersuch.* 179), mainly on the ground that both Ehud and Gera are clan-names (cp 2, below). More recently, Wi. (*Gesch.* 1 158) has drawn attention to the improbability of a Benjamite having been tribute-bearer for Ephraim, and points out that there is little to support the existence of Benjamin before the time of Saul. But the mention of Ehud's origin is due, it would seem, to R_D (so Moore, *SBOT*), and may very probably be a later trait. That the kernel of the story itself is not homogeneous has been shown by Wi. (*Alttest. Unt.* 55 *ff.*); a satisfactory analysis has yet to he made. Cp BENJAMIN, § 4.

2. h. Bilhan, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* § 9 ii. a) 1 Ch. 7 10 (αωθ [BL], αμειδ [A], *'īhūr* [Pesh.]).

EHUD (אֵחוּד, αωδ [BL], ωδ [A]; *Abihud* [Pesh.]), in genealogy of Benjamin (1 Ch. 8 6†). Gen. 46 2 has EHI, on which see AHIRAM, and BENJAMIN, § 9, i. The name is doubtless the same as אֵהוּד (see above).

EKER (עֵקֶר, the pointing is uncertain; Pesh. reads o in the first syllable; ακορ [BA], ικαρ [L]), ben Ram, a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 27).

EKREBEL (εγρεβηλ [B]), Judith 7 18†. See AKRABATTINE (end).

EKRON (עֶקְרוֹן; ακκαρων [BAL]; so Jos. also α(κ)καρων; these [cp the Assyr.] suggest the pronunciation עַקָּרוֹן, 'Aḳḳārōn).

The gentilic is **Ekronite** (הָעֶקְרוֹנִי): Josh. 13 3 (ακκαρων[ε]ιτης [BAL]), 1 Sam. 5 10 (ασκαλων[ε]ιτης [BAL]; see below, § 2).

Ekron, the most northerly of the five cities of the Philistines, was first identified by Robinson with the modern *'Āḳir*, in 31° 51.5′ N. lat., 4½ m. E. from *Yebnā* (JABNEEL, 1) and 9 m. from the sea; in a pass which breaks the low hills that form the northern boundary of the Philistine plain (*PEF* map, Sh. xvi.). Its position, inland, and not on the trunk, but on a branch, of the great line of traffic northwards, is probably the explanation of the fact that its name

1. Site.

[1] See Del. *Par.* 310; Wi. *Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'īn* ['98], 5 *f.*

is found in the early Egyptian records of conquest and travel only once (*Lists of Thotmes III. RP*[2], 550) as Aqar. Not 25 m. from Jerusalem as the crow flies, it lay nearer Israel than did any of its sister towns; but, though it was assigned to Judah, 'with its towns and villages from Ekron to the sea' (Josh. 15 45 *f.* [P]), and again to Dan (*ib.* 19 43 [P]), we find (*ib.* 13 2 [D, but probably from older sources]) 'all the regions of the Philistines as far as the north border of Ekron which is counted to the Canaanite' specified as part of the 'much land' that still remained to be possessed after the conquest, and this last representation best accords with all the known facts.

Like her sisters Ekron possessed, along with a market, the shrine and oracle of a deity—BAALZEBUB (*q.v.*), 2 K. 1 2.

2. History. In 1 S. 5 10 6 12 *f.* 16 it is said that from Ekron the ark was returned to the Israelites by the level road up the Vale of Sorek to Beth-shemesh, not 12 m. distant. 𝔊[BL], however, in this passage reads Ἀσκαλων in each case for Ekron (cp 6 17 and see Dr., H. P. Sm., *ad loc.*). Padi, king of Ekron, remained aloof from the general revolt of Philistia in 704 B.C. against Sennacherib, whose prism-inscription gives the name as Am-kar-ru-na. Padi's subjects delivered him to Hezekiah; but Sennacherib in 701 restored him to his throne. The next notices of the town are by Esar-haddon (*KAT*[2], 164) and Ašur-bāni-pal (Del., *Par.* 289); and the next (apart from the general history of Philistia, Jer. 25 20 Zeph. 2 4) not till 1 Macc. 10 89 (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 4 4), where it is said to have been given in 147 B.C. by King Alexander Balas to Jonathan the Maccabee for services against Apollonius the general of Demetrius II., an incident supposed by some, but on insufficient grounds, to be referred to in Zech. 9 5-7 (see, however, ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF).

After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans Jews settled in Ekron. See OS (91 6 218 57) where it is spoken of as a large ('grandis,' μεγίστη) village between Azotus and Jamnia, Jerome adding that some identified Accaron with Turris Stratonis (Cæsarea). In 1100 A.D. King Baldwin marched from Jerusalem to Ascalon by Ashdod 'inter quam et Jamniam, quae super mare sita est, Accaron dimisimus' (Fulch. Carnot, 23, in *Gest. Dei* 404, quoted by Robinson; cp Brocardus, 10186; Marin. Sannt. 165). When visited by the present writer in 1891 *'Aḳir* was a small but thriving village. It lies in a slight hollow by a well, Petrie doubts whether the ancient city can have been of much size (*PEFQ*, '90, p. 245). Built of mud, like most of the towns on the plain, it contains hardly any ancient remains (Robinson and *PEFM* 2 408). The plain about it is fertile but only partially cultivated; the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem passes to the north. G. A. S.

The connection between Hezekiah and Ekron has long attracted the attention of students. Sennacherib,

3. Hezekiah and Ekron. whose reference to Padi, king of Ekron, has been already mentioned, states in the same inscription that as a punishment for Hezekiah's revolt he cut off parts of his territory and gave them to certain Philistine kings, one of whom was the king of Ekron. This statement has been taken by M'Curdy to refer to certain towns and villages originally Philistine which Uzziah had taken from the Philistines (as the Chronicler probably means to assert in 2 Ch. 26 6), which Ahaz had lost (2 Ch. 28 18) and which, as we may infer from 2 K. 18 8 were retaken by Hezekiah. The earlier statement respecting the surrender of Padi implies, according to the same scholar, that Hezekiah was recognised by the people of Ekron as their suzerain (*Expos.*, 1891 6, 389 *f.*). So much at least appears to be highly probable,—that in the early part of the reign of Hezekiah the king of Ekron was a vassal of the king of Judah, and that he regained his independence only through the humiliation inflicted on Hezekiah by Sennacherib. Hezekiah, however, might console himself by the reflection that Ekron had been captured by the Assyrians and Jerusalem had not.

In the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ašur-bāni-pal we hear of a king of Ekron called Ikausu (with which WMM compares the name Achish), or Ikasamsu, who paid tribute to the great king (*COT* 2 41 *KB* 2 149 240). Soon after this a Hebrew prophet declares that Ekron 'shall be rooted up,' suggesting an etymology natural from an Israelite point of view, names being taken as prophetic of the fortunes of their bearers. The modern name 'Aḳir suggests the far more probable meaning 'sterile' (so Guthe; cp Ar. *'aḳara*, Heb. *'āḳār*). The dreary nature of the plain close to Ekron may serve to account for the name. G. A. S., § 1 *f.*; T. K. C., § 3.

EL (אֵל), **ELOHIM** (אֱלֹהִים). See NAMES, § 114 *ff.*

ELA. 1. (אֵלָא) 1 K. 4 18 RV, AV ELAH, (*q.v.* 6).
2. (ηλα [BA]) 1 Esd. 9 27; = Ezra 10 26 ELAM ii., 1.

ELADAH, RV ELEADAH (אֶלְעָדָה § 35; λααδα [B], ελεαδα [A], -Α [L]), a clan-name in a genealogy of EPHRAIM (*q.v.* i., § 12) individualised (1 Ch. 7 20). On the story of an ancient border contest in which Eladah fell, *see* BERIAH, 2.

Other forms of the name are found: ELEAD, *v.* 21 (אֶלְעָד; om. B, ελεαδ [A], λααδ [L]) and LADAN *v.* 26 RV (לַעְדָּן, for אֶלְעָדָן; λαδδαν [B], γαλααδα [A], λαδαν [L]); cp also ERAN, EZER i., 3. See further, EPHRAIM i., § 12.

ELAH (אֵלָה, and 1 K. 4 18 אֵלָא, an abbreviation of some name beginning with אל; § 51; ΗΛΑ [BAL], ΗΛΑΝΟC [Jos.]).

1. An Edomite duke or perhaps clan (Gen. 36 41 ηλας [ADEL], 1 Ch. 1 52 ηλας [BA]); no doubt it is the well-known ELATH (*Aila*), cp EL-PARAN (wilderness of Paran, Gen. 14 6; see PARAN) and ELOTH (1 K. 9 26 2 K. 16 6; see ELATH). See Di. *Gen.*, *ad loc.*, and Tuch, *ZDMG* 1 170.
2. Son of Baasha, king of Israel in Tirzah. After little more than a year he was killed by Zimri; his armed men and captains were busied at the time in the siege of Gibbethon, a Philistine city: 1 K. 16 6 8 13 *f.* (ηλααν [B *v.* 6] Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 4).
3. Father of Hoshea, king of Israel (2 K. 15 30 17 1 18 1 9).
4. A son of CALEB (*q.v.*): 1 Ch. 4 15 *bis* (*aha* [A], αδαι, αδα [B]). See KENAZ.
5. h. Uzzi in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*] § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 8 (om. B. ηλα [A], ηλαυ [L]); not mentioned in ‖ Neh. 11.
6. Father of SHIMEI [3] (1 K. 4 18 אֵלָא RV ELA). His name should be restored in 2 S. 23 11 in place of the MT reading אָגֵא (see AGEE), and possibly also in *v.* 33 for Shammah. Cp the ingenious discussion in Marq. (*Fund.* 20 *f.*).

ELAH, VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הָאֵלָה, 'Valley of the Terebinth,' cp 𝔊[AL]), the scene of the combat between David and Goliath (1 S. 17 2), and of the rout of the Philistines (21 9 [10]).

𝔊's readings are: in 1 S. 17 2, εν τη κοιλαδι αυτοι[1] [BA], της δρυος ουτοι και ουτοι [L], κ. της δρυος [Aq. Theod.]; in *v.* 19 εν τη κ. της δρυος [AL, om. B]; in 21 9 [10] κ. ηλα [BAL].

Assuming that 'in Ephes-dammim' and 'in the valley of Elah' mean the same thing, we have the names Socoh and Azekah (5 1) to guide us in determining the locality, also the implied fact that the valley ran westward. No doubt the valley meant is the *Wâdy es-Sanṭ*, one of the landmarks of the country, which begins near Hebron, runs northward as far as Shuweikeh, and thence westward by Gath and Ashdod, to the sea, joining the N. Sukerēr. On the positions of the opposed armies, see EPHESDAMMIM. According to W. Miller,[2] who has made a special study of the country, the valley of Elah, or 'of the terebinth,' is the gentle ascent with a watercourse which leads up from a break in the line of heights to Bēt Nettif (nearly opposite Shuweikeh, but more eastward). 'In the valley beneath barley is already ripening. The torrent is nearly dried up (see EPHESDAMMIM), its bed is strewn with smooth white pebbles, and the red sides of the bed are in places so steep that you might call it a valley "within a valley." It is this torrent-bed which the narrator, with perfect knowledge of the country, refers to under the name of the ravine; "the ravine" (הַגַּיְא), he says, "was between them."'[3] The suggestion for the explanation of הגיא

1 Read οὗτοι? (אֵלֶּה)
2 *The Least of all Lands*, 130 *ff.*; so Che. *Aids*, 85 *f.*
3 Che. *Aids*, 85 *f.*

is due to Conder (*PEFQ*, '75, 193). Some of his other identifications are hardly correct (see EPHES-DAMMIM, SHAARAIM, 1); but he has here thrown great light on the narrative. See also GASm. *HG* 226 *ff.*

One advantage in Miller's theory of the valley of Elah (see above) is that it offers a simple explanation of the twofold name of the valley which was the seat of war. A very fine specimen of the *buṭm-tree* (terebinth) grows on the slope leading up to Bēt Nettif. It is conceivable that the name of the great valley as a whole was, even in antiquity, 'valley of the acacias' (*sanṭ* = acacia, or rather mimosa). Wellhausen supposes the Wādy es-Sanṭ to be meant by the Valley of Shittim in Joel 3[4]18. It is a pity that we can hardly explain דמים in אפס דמים as a corruption of שטים. See EPHES-DAMMIM. T. K. C.

ELAM (עֵילָם; αιλαμ [BKADQL]). Geographically, the name describes the great plain E. of the lower Tigris and N. of the Persian Gulf, together with the mountain districts which enclose it on the N. and E., and to which the Hebrew name Elam and the Assyrian *Elamtu*[1] (note fem. ending) refer. It is nearly equivalent to the Susiana and Elymais of the Greeks, and the mod. Khūzistān. The native kings of this country called themselves lords of Anšan (or Anzan); so late a king as Cyrus still calls himself king of Anšan. This name was originally borne by a city, the conquest of which by Gudea, 'vice-gerent' (*patesi*) of Lagaš, between 3500 and 3000 B.C., is recorded in an inscription (*KB* 339); it afterwards designated a district in Elam (see CYRUS, § 1). Leaving the geography of this region, which has been fully treated from cuneiform sources by Fried. Delitzsch (*Par.* 320-329), we pass to the references to Elam in the OT.

1. Geography.

The earliest of these is that in Is. 226 (ελαμ[ε]ιται [BAℵQ]), where Elam and Kir are mentioned together as entrusted with the duty of blockading Jerusalem. The difficulty in this passage is that the Elamites were never loyal subjects of the Assyrians, and are never mentioned in the inscriptions as serving in an Assyrian army, but often as allies of the Babylonians. (Del., *Par.* 237; Che. *Intr. Is.* 133; cp *Proph. Is.* 1132 *f.*). Interpolation has been suspected; but this is not the only admissible theory (see 'Isaiah,' *SBOT*). The next certainly dated passage is Ezek. 3224 (ελαμ [Q]), where 'Elam and all her multitude' are mentioned in a grand description of the inhabitants of Shĕōl. The fate of Elam preoccupied more than one of the prophets; 'all the kings of Elam' are referred to in Jer. 2525 (om. ℵ*A*) immediately before 'all the kings of Media,' and a special prophecy against Elam is given in Jer. 4934-39 (*v.* 36 ελαμ [ℵ*]); but we cannot with any certainty ascribe these to Jeremiah (see JEREMIAH, BOOK OF). In Is. 212 (ελαμ[ε]ιται [BAℵQ], late exilic) Elam is named with Media as the destroyer of Babylon, and a plausible emendation introduces Elam ('go up, O Elam') into a passage of similar purport in Jer. 5021 (late). In Dan. 82 (αιλαμ [BAQG Theod.], ελυμαιδι [87]) Shushan is referred to as in Elam, though in Ezra 49 (ηλαμαιοι [BA], αιλαμιται [L]) it is seemingly distinguished from it; and according to Is. 1111 (αιλαμ[ε]ιτων [BA], ελαμ. [ℵQ], late), Esth. 9613 (Shushan) Acts 29 (ελαμειται [Ti. WH]), Jewish exiles resided in Elam in the post-exilic period.

2. Biblical references.

We come lastly to Gen. 1022 [P] (αιλαδ [E]), where Elam is mentioned immediately before Asshur as a 'son' of Shem. How is this to be accounted for? Not by the supposition that the Elamites were Semitic (as we now use the word) either in language or in physical type, or that at least a primitive Semitic population was settled in the lower parts of Elam. Not by referring to the early conquest of Babylonia by the Elamites; this might account for the description of Babylonia as a 'son of' Japheth, but not for the case before us: nor yet by the fact that a Kassite dynasty ruled in Babylonia in 1726-1159 B.C. — a reference which would only be in point if P were pre-exilic; but rather by the undoubted fact that Elam was repeatedly chastised by the Assyrians, and that parts of it were annexed by Sargon (*KB* 273). P was enough of a historian to know this; he may indeed have inferred it from Is. 226. The view of De Goeje (*Th. T.*, '70, p. 251) that Elam in Gen. 1022 is the Persian Empire is therefore to be rejected. As De Goeje himself remarks, it is strange that, if Elam has this meaning, Media should be a son of Japheth (*v.* 2). It is true, however, that the prominence of Elam in the Persian empire explains the precedence which it has among the sons of Shem, and the insertion of Lud (*i.e.*, probably Lydia) after Arphaxad may receive a similar explanation (see LUD, 1).

The history of Elam is closely interwoven with that of primitive Babylonia, and subsequently with that of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian empires. See ARIOCH, 3; AŠUR-BĀNI-PAL, § 6; BABYLONIA, § 42 *ff.*; CHEDORLAOMER, CYRUS, NANEA, PERSIA, SHUSHAN. T. K. C.

ELAM (עֵילָם, ηλαμ [BA], αιλ. [L]).

1. The b'ne Elam were a family, 1254 in number, in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9, § 8*c*), Ezra 27 (μαλαμ [B], αιλ. [AL]) = Neh. 712 (ελαμ [ℵ], αιλ. [BAL]) = 1 Esd. 512 (ιωλαμος [B]). In a passage from the 'memoirs of Ezra' (Ezra 727-834; see EZRA ii., § 5) the number of those in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1] *d*) is given as seventy, Ezra 87 (ηλα [B]) = 1 Esd. 833 (αaμ [B], ελ. [A]). One of the best known members of this clan was SHECANIAH (*q.v.*, 4), Ezra 102 (עולם, ktb., but עילם, kre.; ισραηλ [L] in ‖ 1 Esd. 892 'Israel' ισραηλ [BAL] occurs instead of 'Elam'). Various members are mentioned in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 1026 = 1 Esd. 927 (ηλα [BA]); and the clan was represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 2014 [15].

The name 'Elam' for a Jewish family or temple-guild is highly improbable. There is abundant evidence that names containing the root-letters עלם were Benjamite. One of these is עלמת (Alemeth) which may have been written עלמ'. If the mark of abbreviation were overlooked it would be natural to insert * or ו after y. Alemeth is identical with Almon, the name of a priestly city in Benjamin (Josh. 2118 P). Notice also the occurrence of the name in 3 below.

2. The children of the 'other Elam' (עילם אחר) in Ezra 231 = Neh. 734 (Ezra, ηλαμαρ [BA], Neh. ηλαμααρ [BA]; [υιοι] *arhap* ἑτέρου [L]) are unmentioned in ‖ 1 Esd. 5, and seem to have arisen from a needless repetition of *v.* 7; the numbers are identical (cp Be.-Ry. 18).

3. b. Shashak, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii.): 1 Ch. 824 (αιλαμ [B] αηλ. [A], ηλ. [L]).

4. A Korahite doorkeeper, 1 Ch. 263 (ιωλαμ) [BA]).

5. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii. § 13 *g*), Neh. 1242 (om. BN*A, αιλαμ [ℵc.a mg.]). T. K. C.

ELASA (αλαcα [A]), 1 Macc. 95 RV. see BEREA, 1.

ELASAH (אֶלְעָשָׂה, 'God hath made,' § 31; cp Asahel; ελεαcα [ALQ]).

1 b. PASHUR (*q.v.*, 3) in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 1022 (ηλασα) = 1 Esd. 922 (TALSAS, RV SALOAS; σαλθας [B], -λοας [A]).

2. *b.* Shaphan, together with GEMARIAH (1), was sent by Zedekiah to Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon and bore also at the same time Jeremiah's letter to those in exile there; Jer. 293 [𝔊 363] (ελεασαν [B*b], -ζαρ [Ba mg. ℵ], -σαρ [A]).

3. EV ELEASAH, b. Helez, a Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 239 *f.* (εμας [B]).

4. EV ELEASAH, a descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 837 (εσηλ [B]) = 943 (εσαηλ [B], εσηλ [A]). Cp LAISHAH.

ELATH (אֵילַת, cp אילת in the Sinaitic Inscr. [Eut. 551]; αιλαθ [BAL]; Dt. 28 αιλων [BAFL]; 2 K. 1422 -ω [B], ελωθ [A]; 166 αιλαμ [A]), also ELOTH (אֵילוֹת, 1 K. 926 2 K. 166 αιλαμ [A]; 2 Ch. 817 262, αιλαμ [B]). an important Edomite town, whose connection with Elah the phylarch or clan in Gen. 3641 is fairly obvious. Elath or Eloth (*i.e.*, great trees, perhaps date-palms?) is probably but a later

[1] Jensen connects *Elamtu* (Elam) with *illamu*, 'front,' and explains 'east region' (*ZA*, '96, p. 351).

designation of EL-PARAN (see PARAN)—*i.e.*, Elath which lies on the desert of Paran. It was situated on the NE. arm of the Red Sea, in the Ælanitic Gulf (which has derived its name from the place itself), and was close to EZION-GEBER (*q.v.*).

According to Pliny v. 11 12) it was situated 10 m. E. of Petra and 150 m. SE. of Gaza. The region has always been famous for its date-palms (cp Strabo, 16 776); and Mukaddasi Ihn el-Bennā (10th A.D.) in his geography says that Waila (Elath) is 'the harbour of Palestine and the granary of Ḥiğāz—rich in palms and fishes' (cp *ZDPV* 7 171, and Wetzstein in Del. *Hoh. u. Koh.* 168). Owing to its commanding situation and central position the possession of Elath has in all ages been fiercely contested. According to Hommel (*AHT* 195), the ancient town and port Mair mentioned upon old Bab. contract-tablets, which gave its name to ships and textile fabrics, is the same as Elath.

Apart from its occurrence under the form EL-PARAN (see PARAN) (Gen. 14 6), it is mentioned as one of the last stages of the Israelites (Dt. 2 8; see WANDERINGS, §§ 4, 11, 13). It is mentioned also in 1 K. 9 26 2 Ch. 8 17, in order to mark the position of EZION-GEBER (*q.v.*). It passed through various vicissitudes. It was repaired by Azariah (2 K. 14 22; see UZZIAH, 1), but was at a late? time recovered by Edom (2 K. 16 6: with Klostermann cancel 'Rezin' and read 'Edom' for 'Aram,' and 'Edomites' [kr.] for 'Aramites' [kt.]; but cp EDOM, § 8). Jerome and Eusebius state that Elath (Ailath, αιλαμ) in their time was a place of commercial importance, and the seat of a Roman legion (*OS*(2) 84 25 210 75). It was renowned for its trading with India (Theod. *Quæst. in Jerem.* 100 49; Procop. *Bell. Pers.* 1 19).

Elath was the residence of a Christian bishop and of a Jewish colony. After suffering at the hands of Saladin it dwindled away. Abulfeda (1300) knows of it only as a place deserted save for a castle which was built to protect the pilgrims who journeyed along by Elath between Cairo and Mecca on the road made by Aḥmad ibn-Ṭūlūn, who reigned in Egypt in the latter half of the ninth century.[1] It is known now as 'Akaba ('declivity'). Little is left of the former 'gate of Arabia' but some heaps of ruins, and the castle, which is still occupied by a few soldiers.[2]

EL-BERITH (אֵל בְּרִית), Judg. 9 46 RV. See BAAL-BERITH.

EL-BETHEL (אֵל בֵּית־אֵל, 'the god of Bethel'), the name given by Jacob to the sacred spot at Luz where he had built an altar (Gen. 35 7). 𝔊ADEL, Vg., Pesh. read simply 'Bethel'; but this is against Gen. 28 19. Perhaps we should read El-berith ('covenant-God'), or El-berith-Israel, 'Israel's covenant-God.'

T. K. C.

ELCIA (ελκεια [BℵA]), Judith 8 1 AV, RV ELKIAH.

ELDAAH (אֶלְדָּעָה, 'God calls'? cp the Sab. form ידעאל, *ZDMG* 27 648 37 399), a son of MIDIAN (Gen. 25 4; 1 Ch. 1 33).

𝔊's readings are: in Gen., θεργαμα [A], *i.e.*, Togarmah; (θ)εργαμ(α) [B], ραγαμα [*D*b rescr.], ραγα [L], αρ. [E*], εαρ. [EaL]; and in Ch. ελλαδα [B], ελδαα [AL].

ELDAD (אֶלְדָּד, § 28; ελδαδ [BAPL]; see ELIDAD and cp DOD, NAMES WITH) and **Medad** (מֵידָד, Sam. מודד, cp μωδαδ [BAFL], whence rend מוֹדָד, 'loved one'? § 56; cp ALMODAD) were two Israelites who prophesied without being locally in contact with Yahwè in the Tent of Meeting (or Revelation) where Yahwè was present in the cloud (Nu. 11 26-29). Moses rejoiced at the favour accorded to them, and longed that, not only the guides and directors of Israel, but *all* Yahwè's people might become prophets. The story (which is related to Ex. 33 7-11 Nu. 11 16 *f.* 12 1-15; see MIRIAM, § 1) was written by one of the latest members of the Elohistic school, whose aspirations are most nearly paralleled by Jer. 31 34 Ezek. 11 19 *f.* Joel 2 28 *f.* [3 1 *f.*] (Kue. *Hex.* 247 *f.*). The names Eldad and Medad (which perhaps do not belong to the original narrative) were probably selected from a store of old traditional names for the sake of assonance (cp Bera, Birsha; Jabal, Jubal, etc). It is not at all certain that the names are almost identical. See APOCRYPHA, § 23.

In its present form the prominent feature of the story is that these two men (alone of the seventy elders) for some unknown reason remained behind, and prophesied without going into the tent. Moses' answer shows clearly that the real point is that prophecy is not to be restricted to the few. In *v.* 26 the words והמה בכתובים ולא יצאו האהלה are probably a gloss.[1] A late scribe took exception to the idea that the power of prophecy could be given to anyone outside the seventy elect, and so inserted the gloss with the above effect. The inclusion of Eldad and Medad among 'those that were written down' does not seem, therefore, to belong to the original form of the story.

ELDERS (זְקֵנִים), Ex. 3 16. See GOVERNMENT, §§ 16, 19; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 8; and (for the Christian eldership) PRESBYTER.

ELEAD (אֶלְעָד), 1 Ch. 7 21. See ELADAH.

ELEADAH (אֶלְעָדָה), 1 Ch. 7 20 RV, AV ELADAH.

ELEALEH (אֶלְעָלֵה, and אלעלא Nu. 32 37, 'God is high'; ελεαλη [BKAL]), a Moabite town always associated with Heshbon (Is. 15 4 16 9, ελεαληcεν [Bab AQ cp Sw. *ad loc.*]; Jer. 48 34 om. Bℵ, ελεαλη [AQ]), and assigned in Nu. 32 3 37 to the Reubenites. Eusebius (*OS*(2) 253 33) places it 1 R. m. N. from Heshbon.

Probably Elealeh should be restored for the questionable [ב]אר אלים in Is. 15 8. To invent a place-name Erelayim (Perles, Marti) is imprudent. It is quite true, however, that the initial ב ought to be the preposition.

Elealeh seems to be the modern *el-'Āl* ('the lofty'), an isolated hill, with ruins, ½ hr. NNE. of Heshbon. See *SEP* 1 16-19; Tristr. *Moab*, 339 *f.*; Bäd.(3) 174.

T. K. C.

ELEASA, RV **Elasa** (αλαcα [A], ελ. [ℵV]; ܐܠܥܣܐ, *Elesa* [It.], *Laisa* [Vg.]), an unknown locality in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where Judas the Maccabee encamped before the encounter which resulted in his defeat and death (1 Macc. 9 5). Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11 1) places Judas's camp in Berzetho (the readings vary: ζηθω, βιρζηθω, βαρ. and βηρ.); but this may be in error for the Syrian camp which (1 Macc. 9 4) was at BEREA [1] (Syr. *Birath*). A suggested identification is *Kh. Il'asā* between the Beth-horons (*PEFM* 3 115). Reland, however, suggests ADASA (*q.v.*).

ELEASAH (אֶלְעָשָׂה) 1 Ch. 2 39 *f.* 8 37 EV. See ELASAH, 3, 4.

ELEAZAR (אֶלְעָזָר, 'God has helped' §§ 23, 28, 84; ελεαζαρ [BAFL]; cp Eliezer, Lazarus, and Phœn. בעלעזר, אשמנעזר, etc., Sin. קוסעדר, etc.). Both Eleazar and Eliezer are very common names, especially in post-exilic times and in lists of priests; with regard to the authenticity of the latter see EZRA i. §§ 1, 2, 5 end; ii. §§ 15 (1) *d*, 13 *g*.

1. The third son of Aaron and Elisheba (Ex. 6 23 [P]) is mentioned often in P, but only twice in JE, according to Driver—viz., in Dt. 10 6 and Josh. 24 33.[2] What we learn of him is to this effect. He discharged priestly functions together with Aaron and his brothers Nadab, Abihu, and Ithamar (Ex. 28 1), and after the two elder brothers had died childless Ithamar and he were left to carry on the duties alone (Nu. 3 4), Eleazar himself becoming the 'prince of the princes of the Levites' and superintending those that had the charge of looking after the sanctuary (Nu. 3 32; cp 16 37 8 [17 2 *ff.*] 19 3 *f.*). His special duty with respect to the

1 Cp Rob. *BR* 1 237 241; Niebuhr, *Beschreibungen von Arabien*, 400; Buhl, *Edomiter*, 39 *f.*; and for an illustration of this castle see Ruppel, *Reise in Nubien*, 248.

2 According to Jos. (*Ant.* viii. 6 4, ιλανεως, ix. 12 1, ηλαθους, ed. Niese), Elath in former times was called Berenice. The ordinary editions, it will be noticed, refer this remark to Ezion-geber, which is less suitable.

1 הַכְּתֻבִים applied to persons is a late expression, and the words ולא יצאו האהלה are omitted in *H-P* 16, 52, 73, 77 and in the first hand of 131.

2 From Dt. 10 6 Di. and Dr. infer that JE, as well as P, knows of Aaron as a priest, and of Eleazar as Aaron's successor. Robertson Smith, however, holds (*OTJC*(2), 405, n. 2) that Dt

things necessary for the sanctuary and its service is detailed in Nu. 4 16. Shortly before Aaron's death he was invested on Mt. Hor with his father's garments of authority (Nu. 20 25 *ff.*; cp Dt. 10 6 [D]). He now appears as Moses' coadjutor, taking the place of Aaron; together they took the census of the people (Nu. 26 63), and divided the spoil of the Midianites (Nu. 31 12 *ff.*). It was to them that the daughters of Zelophehad came to sue for an inheritance (Nu. 27 1 *ff.*), and the b'ne Reuben and b'ne Gad for a pasture-land for their flocks (Nu. 32 2 *ff.*).[1] The charge was given to Joshua in the presence of Eleazar, who was 'to inquire for him by the judgment of Urim before Yahwè' (Nu. 27 18 *ff.*); just as his son Phinehas is said to have done, previous to the assault on Gibeah (Judg. 20 28).[2] Henceforth in the accounts of the dividing of the land etc. Eleazar is mentioned before Joshua (Nu. 32 28 34 17 Josh. 14 1 17 4 19 51 21 1).[3] At his death be was buried at Gibeah of Phinehas (Josh. 24 33 [E]), which had been given to his son in Mt. Ephraim. He married 'one of the daughters of Putiel' (Ex. 6 25), and the priesthood is said to have remained in his family till the time of Eli, and again from Zadok till the time of the Maccabees—statements which need a strictly critical examination. See ZADOK, 1. **S. A. C.**

2. Son of Abinadab, temp. Samuel. According to a comparatively late story the **ark** was deposited for twenty years in the house of Abinadab at Kirjath-jearim under the guardianship of his son Eleazar (1 S. 7 1 *f.*). Eleazar in this 'idealisation' of history is intended as a contrast to that other son of Abinadab (Uzza) who proved wanting in the reverence essential to a minister of the **ark** (2 S. 6 3 6). His name is probably meant to suggest this contrast. Observe that Eleazar **was** specially 'sanctified' for his functions. *See* ARK, § 5. **T. K. C.**

3. b. Dodo the Ahohite (1 Ch. 11 12), or b. Dodai b. Ahohi (2 S. 23 9; but see AHOHITE [2]), one of David's 'three' heroes. His great exploit (which was in the valley of 'Kephaim': see PAS-DAMMIM) is recorded in 2 *S.* 23 9 *f.* (𝔊[B], however. has *ελεαναν*) and 1 Ch. 11 13 *f.* In both passages the text has to be emended; but there is much difference among critics (cp Klo., Marq. *Fund.* 16, and H. P. Smith). The name of Eleazar does not appear in 1 Ch. 27 4, though we expect to find him, not Dodai, in high command in David's army. Compare, however, DODAI, and note that an Eliezer b. Dodavahu occurs in 2 Ch. 20 37. See ELIEZER (3).

4. A Merarite: 1 Ch. 23 21 *f.* (*ελιαζαρ v.* 21 [A]) 24 28.

5. 1 Erd. 8 43 = Ezra 8 16, ELIEZER [10].

6. In Ezra 8 33 an Eleazar, son of Phinehas, is mentioned as superintending the weighing out of gold and silver in the temple: 1 Esd. 8 63 and (om. BN*A, but **ελεαζαρ** ℵ[c.a mg.] L) Neh. 12 42.

7. A priest in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), 1 Esd. 9 19 (*ελεαζαρος* [BA]) = Ezra 10 18, ELIEZER (7).

8. An Israelite (*i.e.*, a layman), son of Parosh: Ezra 10 25 1 Esd. 9 26.

9. The fourth son of Mattathias (1 Macc. 2 5), who **bore** the surname Avaran (cp AURANUS).[4] According to 2 Macc. 8 23 *ff.*

10 66 (the words after 'Moserah') is plainly a late and unauthorised gloss; he refers to *v.* 8, where the institution of the Levitical priesthood is assigned to a later stage of the wanderings. It is of ELIEZER that the older tradition speaks, as a son, however, not of Aaron, hut (together with Gershom) of Moses. In fact, in JE, Moses has the prior claim to the priestly office, and in J Aaron originally is not mentioned at all. In the genealogies of P even, one main branch of the tribe of **Levi** is still called Gershom, and another important member is called Mushi—*i.e.*, the Mosaïte (see We. *Prol.*(4) 138 *f.* *ET* 142 *f.*).

[1] 32 1-17 is of composite origin:' How much belongs to **P** (more precisely P_2) is disputed; but the mention of 'Eleazar the priest' beyond question comes from this source (see Dr., ***Zntr.*** 64; Holzinger, *Einl.*, 'Tabellen,' 10).

[2] Judg. **20** in its present form is post-exilic, and ***vv.*** 27*b*, 28*a* are no doubt glosses (see Moore, ***Judges***, 434; Kue. *Einl.* § 20, n. 10).

[3] All in **P**; in J E on the contrary Joshua is always represented as acting alone; cp 14 6 17 14 etc.

[4] 𝔊 [AℵV] ***auapav***, Jos. (*Ant.* xii. 6 1) ***aupav, apavand*** *αβαραν*; Syr. חורן. In *643* 𝔊 **gives** *σαυραν* which is probably a mistake

his brother Judas appointed him to read aloud the sacred hook, and with a variation of his own name as watchword ('the Help of God') he led the first hand of the army against Nicanor **and** completely defeated him; in 2 Macc. 13 15 this is credited to Judas himself. In the fight near Beth-Zacharias against Antiochus Eupator (163 B.C.) Eleazar nobly sacrificed his life (see 1 Macc. 6 43).

10. A learned scribe, who at the age of ninety years suffered torture and martyrdom at the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes, 2 Macc. 6 18-31 (**ελεαζορος** [VA]). He was designated **by** the early **Christian fathers** 'proto-martyr of the old covenant,' foundation of martyrdom' (Chrys. *Hom.* 3 in Macc. *et al.*).

The narrative in 3 Macc. 6 has apparently borrowed the name Eleazar from this scribe. See APOCALYPTIC, § 66.

11. Father of JASON (*q.v.*, 3), 1 Macc. 8 17.

12. Sirach Eleazar, father of Jesus (Ecclus. 50 27); see ECCLESIASTICUS, § 2.

13. b. Eliud, placed three generations above Joseph (Mt. 1 15).

S. A. C., 1, 3 *ff.*; T. K. C., *2.*

ELEAZURUS, RV ELIASIBUS (ελιαcιβοc [A]), 1 Esd. 9 24 = Ezra 10 21 ELIASHIB, **4.**

ELECTRUM (חַשְׁמַל), Ezek. 1 4 RV[mg.], EV AMBER.

EL-ELORE-ISRAEL (אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'God, the God of Israel'), the name given by Jacob to the altar which he had built at Shechem (Gen. **33** 20). Perhaps we should read 'God of the tents (אָהֳלֵי) of Israel'; 'his tent' (אהלו) precedes in *v.* 19. T. K. C.

EL ELYON (אֵל עֶלְיוֹן), Gen. 14 18. See NAMES, § 118.

ELEMENTS (cτοιχεια; *elementa*). *Στοιχεῖον*, from *στοιχος*, 'a row,' 'a line,' 'a rank.' means literally what belongs to a row or line, a member of a series, a part of an organism. This fundamental meaning gives the key to the exceedingly interesting history of the word from its use in Plato down to Modern Greek. All the special senses in which it is employed,' whether 'usual' or 'occasional'[1]—some of them very remarkable—can be carried back to this, though between the meanings 'one of a row' and 'demon' is a long way. It conduces to clearness if we keep in mind its three special concrete applications.

1. General history of word.

(*a*) It denotes a 'letter,' as one of the series of letters constituting a word or even a syllable—Le., not a written sign (*γράμμα*) but a speech-sound (Plato, *Deff.* 414 E: *στοιχεῖον φωνῆς φωνὴ ἀσύνθετος*: similarly Arist. ***Poet.*** 20). Thus, for example, the letter *ρ* is *τὸ ῥῶ τὸ στοιχεῖον* (Plat. *Crat.* 426 D), the alphabet is *τὰ στοιχεῖα*, and 'alphabetical' is *κατὰ στοιχεῖον*.

This concrete meaning explains the metonymy by which the plural is so frequently used to denote the beginnings, rudiments, or 'elements' of a science **or** art—the ABC as we say; cp the by-name Ahecedarians given to a group of Anabaptists at the Reformation, and see the *Oxford Engl. Dirt.*, *s.v.* It is enough to recall the title of Euclid's work (**στοιχεῖα**) on the Elements of Geometry. Many other examples are to be found in the Lexicons.

In this sense the word is met with only once in the Bible, 'ye have need again that some one teach you the rudiments of the first principles of the oracles of God (*τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ*),' Heb. 5 12, where the words *τῆς ἀρχῆς* intensify the idea, 'the beginnings of the elements.'[2]

(*b*) Shadow of the sundial (*e.g.*, Aristoph. *Eccl.* 652: *ὅταν ᾖ δεκάπουν τὸ στοιχεῖον*, 'when the shadow measures ten feet'). The shadow is here doubtless thought of as a line which hour by hour grows longer or shorter and by degrees marks the progress of the day. *Στοιχεῖον*, properly speaking, is a fraction of this line, and then by synecdoche becomes the line itself. This meaning is not met with in the Bible.

(c) 'Groundstuff,' 'element,' as constituent part of in organism. In this sense it was not used (so ancient

for **ελεαζαρος** ***aupav;*** 𝔊ℵV corrects **to** ***aupav.*** The meaning is doubtful. Some connect with חור 'he white' and refer it to Eleazar's white complexion; others understand it to mean 'beast-sticker': see Stanley, ***Jewish Church***, 3 318.

[1] On this dstinction see H. Paul, *Prinzipien d.* ***Sprachgesch.***(3), 1898, p. 68 *ff.*; cp **ET** of 2nd ed. (Strong, '90, p. 65 *ff.*).

[2] Cremer(8), 909.

tradition has it) before Plato; but from his time onward it became a current meaning. The early philosophers assumed sometimes one, sometimes more than one, primary constituent element of the universe. Empedocles reckoned four—fire, water, earth, and air. Many citations from non-biblical writers will be found in the Lexicons; and Philo and Josephus also use the word in this sense. In the Greek Bible the following examples occur:—Wisd. 7 17, 'For he himself gave me an unerring knowledge of the things that are; to know the constitution of the world and the operation of the elements (σύστασιν κόσμου καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων)'; 19 18, 'the elements changing their order one with another (δι' ἑαυτῶν γὰρ τὰ στοιχεῖα μεθαρμοζόμενα)'; 4 Macc. 12 13 '[the tongues of men] of like passions with yourself, and composed of the same elements' (τοὺς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότας στοιχείων; cp 2 Macc. 7 22, 'the first elements [στοιχείωσιν] of each one of you'); and, according to most exegetes, 2 Pet. 3 10, 'the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise (στοιχεῖα δὲ καυσούμενα λυθήσεται [AKL, etc., λυθήσονται]), and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up'; also *v.* 12, 'the day of God by reason of which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat' (δι' ἣν οὐρανοὶ πυρούμενοι λυθήσονται καὶ στοιχεῖα καυσούμενα τήκεται). The rendering 'elements' here gives an excellent sense, and it would be mere pedantry to ask why the elements are named along with the heavens and the earth; the writer's purpose is to depict the last day in the boldest colours, and he seeks to heighten the effect of his picture by bringing in the στοιχεῖα. At the same time the interpretation which takes the word here to refer to demonic life-spirits (see below, 2) is entitled to attention. Though the sense of 'rudiments' or 'beginnings,' alluded to above, is hardly to be traced to this last concrete application of the word, the very usual metonymic sense of 'fundamental condition,' 'thesis,' 'principle,' 'rule'—of which there is no example in the Bible—is doubtless to be taken from this meaning. On the other hand, the biblical passages receive much light from another part of the history of the word: the concrete sense in which in late Greek the word στοιχεῖα is specialised to mean the planets (as being the 'elements' and so to say 'supports' of the heavens)[1] and, more widely, the stars.[2]

Now every element has its god;[3] so also every star. In the Orphic Hymns the personified ether is called the 'noblest element,' στοιχεῖον ἄριστον (5 4), Hephæstus is called the 'perfect element,' στοιχεῖον ἀμεμφές (65 4), in the great Paris magic-papyrus *v.* 1303 the moon-goddess is the 'immortal element,' στοιχεῖον ἄφθαρτον, and in the so-called 'nymph of the world,' the Κόρη κόσμου of Hermes Trismegistus (ap. Stob. *Ecl.* i. 385 12 *ff.*), the στοιχεῖα come as gods before the supreme God, and make their complaint of the arrogance of men.[4] Conceptions such as these perhaps owe their origin to eastern influences; but at any rate they have their analogues in the Jewish idea that all things—as, for example, fire, wind, clouds, stars—have their proper angels or spirits,[5] a thought which is operative in primitive Christian literature also; see Rev. 7 1 (four angels standing at the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth), 14 18 (another angel . . . which hath power over fire), 16 5 (the angel of the waters; cp Jn. 5 4), 19 17 (an angel standing in the sun). It is from these notions probably that we ought to explain the peculiar meaning of στοιχεῖον, in which it stands, by synecdoche, for 'divine being,' 'spirit,' 'demon,' 'genius.' At what period this use first arose is obscure; but doubtless it is comparatively old. Our main examples[1] are found in the Testamentum Salomonis (see APOCRYPHA, § 14), which in its present form bears evidence of Christian editing, and by F. A. Bornemann is attributed to the time of Lactantius.[2]

Seven female spirits (πνεύματα) come to Solomon, and, questioned, reply: 'We are some of the thirty-three genii of the ruler of the underworld . . . and our stars are in heaven . . . and we are invoked as goddesses' (ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα τριων στοιχείων τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος τοῦ σκότους . . . καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἡμῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰσιν . . . καὶ ὡς θεαὶ καλούμεθα; Fleck,[3] 120 *f.*). Afterwards come six and thirty spirits (πνεύματα) to Solomon, and, questioned make answer: 'We are the thirty-six genii, the rulers of this underworld, . . . since the Lord God has given thee power over every spirit, in the air upon the earth and below the earth therefore we also like the rest of the spirits stand before thee' (ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τὰ τριάκοντα ἓξ στοιχεῖα οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τούτου . . . ἐπειδὴ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκέ σοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ παντὸς πνεύματος ἀερίου τε καὶ ἐπιγείου καὶ καταχθονίου, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς παριστάμεθα ἐνώπιόν σου ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ πνεύματα). The first calls himself the 'first decan of the zodiac circle' (πρῶτος δεκανὸς τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου; Fleck, 129 *f.*). Plainly *stoicheion* here is absolutely synonymous with 'god' and 'spirit,' and we are here dealing, in part, with star-gods. Further, the usage of writers of the Byzantine period has to be noticed. Sophocles (Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods, memorial edition, 1888, p. 1012) gives under στοιχεῖον 'genius' 'the spirit guarding a particular place or person,' also 'talisman,' Theoph. Cont. 379 14, Leo Gram. 287, Anon. Byz. 1209 C. Cp the same Lexicon also, *s.vv.* στοιχειολάτρης, στοιχειόω ('to perform talismanic operations upon anything'), στοιχειωματικός ('talismanic') στοιχείωσις ('the performing of talismanic operations upon anything'), and στοιχειωτικός ('talismanic'). Most instructive of all, however, is the usage of modern popular Greek. The ordinary name by which the local tutelary spirits are designated in modern Greece is στοιχειό (τό)—*i.e.*, στοιχεῖον, 'element.'[4] Skarlatos, Λεξικόν . . ., gives the meaning 'κατοικίδια δαιμόνια ἢ φαντάσματα' (*ib.*). All sorts of στοιχεῖα occur, the στοιχειό of the threshing-floor, the rock, the river, the bridge, and so on (*ib.* 187-9); στοιχειωμένος may mean 'one under the protection of a στοιχειό' (*ib.* 196). This employment of the word for 'tutelary spirit' is a specialisation of the more general meaning of 'spirit' and speaks for the relative antiquity of the latter use; in the ideas and vocabulary of the common people, as Jacob Grimm among others has shown, the conception of a remote antiquity will often be found to survive.

Here then is the historical line of progression from the original meaning of the word to that of tutelary spirit: member of a series, element, elemental deity, deity (demon, spirit), tutelary deity.

2. Gal. 4 3 9, Col. 2 8 20 (and 2 Pet. 3 10 12).

In Gal. 4 3, where Paul says: '. . . so we also, when we were children, were held in bondage under the elements of the world' (ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου), and in *v.* 9, where he says, 'But now that ye have come to know God, . . . how turn ye back again to the weak and beggarly elements (ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα) whereunto ye desire to be in bondage over again,' στοιχεῖα is taken by most interpreters as meaning 'rudiments' (so RV) in the sense indicated above (1 *a*); Paul is supposed to mean the crude first beginnings of religion in those who belong to the κόσμος. Others, however, start from the meaning given in § 1 *c* and take Paul to be speaking of the elements of the world, 'world' being here taken in its well-known ethical sense; *kosmos* is the central idea; 'under the elements of the world' (ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου)

1 Dieterich, 61. The present writer regards as much less probable the conjecture (see Pape's *Wörterbuch*) that the planets are so called as having a controlling influence upon the affairs of men.

2 It is further applied to the signs of the zodiac, and even to the entire heaven with its system of stars; the metonymic signification 'great stars' = 'great men,' also occurs.

3 Dieterich, 57, 61.

4 All the above examples are taken from Dieterich, 60 *f.*

5 Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas*, 1885, p. 265 *ff.*; Everling, 70 *ff.*

1 Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 61) holds that in Wisd. 7 17 (see above) 'demon' is a possible rendering as well as 'element'; this, however, is not probable, the πνεύματα (not 'winds' but 'spirits') being named in *v.* 20.

2 *Ztschr. für die Hist. Theol.*, 1844, Hft. 3, 15. An edition and discussion of this hitherto much-neglected writing would be very welcome and, in view of recent discoveries in the field of oriental Greek magic, most opportune.

3 *F. F. Flecki Anecdota* (Leipsic, 1837) = F. F. Fleck, *Wissenschaftliche Reise durch das südl. Deutschland, Italien, Sicilien, Frankreich*, 2 3.

4 Bernh. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen u. das hellenische Alterthum*, 1 183 ('71). For the history of the word Schmidt refers to Korais, Ἄτακτα, iii. 2 549.

is merely an amplification for 'under the world' (ὑπὸ τὸν κόσμον).

This last interpretation is certainly open to the objection that in *v.* 9 only στοιχεῖα are mentioned whereas if κόσμος had been the main idea, we should have expdcted the shortened phrase to run ὑπὸ τὸν . . . κόσμον and not ὑπὸ τὰ . . . στοιχεῖα. The first interpretation also, however, is not free from difficulty. In *v.* 3 it is the law, in one sense or another, that is being spoken of: this is shown by the context (cp especially *v.* 5 : ὑπὸ νόμον); but in *v.* 9 the topic is the gods of the Gentile Galatians. It is not easy to understand how Paul can here he speaking of the law as 'rudiments' after he had so shortly before been referring to it *(324)* as a 'tutor' (παιδαγωγός) and likening it (42) to 'guardians and stewards' (ἐπίτροποι and οἰκονόμοι); nor is it easy to see how he can say of 'rudiments' that they are ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχά ; 'a weak and beggarly ABC' is not a very happy phrase. Further, the whole context in both places points less to conceptions of material objects than to personal beings; see especially *v.* 9.

In view of these difficulties, there is much to he said for the interpretation which takes the word in the other sense (see § 1 c, end) of 'spirit,' 'demon.' Paul, in this view, is speaking of cosmic spiritual beings, and by them he understands, in *v.* 3 the angels by whom, according to 319, the law was 'ordained,' and in *v.* 9 the heathen deities whom the Galatians had formerly served. Jewish 'bondage to the law, as being bondage to angels, and Gentile service of strange gods as being bondage to demons, are alike slavery to the powers of the world (die kosmischen Machte). This interpretation, the essence of which consists in taking στοιχεῖα as meaning personal powers (personliche Mächte) has been upheld with a large variety of modifications by Hilgenfeld,[1] A. Ritschl,[2] Holsten,[3] Klöpper,[4] Spitta,[5] Everling,[6] A. Dieterich,[7] whose allusion to 'all the modern theological commentators' seems hardly called for.

It may fairly be conjectured that the phrase the 'elements of the world' (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου) is a technical expression which does not owe its origin to Paul. That it was a current one seems to be indicated also by the turn of phrase in the *Testamentum Salomonis* 'the elements, the rulers' (τὰ στοιχεῖα οἱ κοσμοκράτορες), or 'the elements of the ruler' (τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος).

In Col. 2 8 20, also, this last interpretation seems preferable to the rendering 'elements of the world' or 'rudiments of the world.' The context is in both places similar to that in Gal. 43. By the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, which he brings into sharp contrast with Christ, Paul intends in one sense or another the law; but he mentions, instead of the law, the personal cosmic powers standing behind the law, the angels; whom indeed, he goes on expressly to name in Col. 2 15 as the 'principalities and the powers' (τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας). We thus obtain a surprising light upon the much-disputed passage in Col. 2 18, where mention is made of a 'worship of angels' (θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων) : by the 'angel service' of the Colossians he means their 'law service' (cp Gal. 3 19) ; all the learned discussions about one particular kind of angel worship or another now become superfluous.

That in 2 Pet. 3 10 12 the rendering 'elements' is an adequate one has already been shown (§ 1 *c*). Yet it is not impossible that personal powers might he meant here also, as Spitta[8] and Kühl[9] suppose. The main objection—that the expressions 'dissolve' and 'melt' (λυθήσεται, τήκεται) could hardly be used of personal spirits—is well met by Spitta, by a reference to the *Test. xii. Patr.*, *Levi*, 4 (ed. Sinker, 140), where, in a similar way, in the description of the judgment day, it is said 'the whole creation being agitated and the invisible spirits melting' (καὶ πάσης κτίσεως κλονουμένης καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων πνευμάτων τηκομένων).

Literature.—Besides the commentaries on Gal. and Col., and various occasional contributions on the subject, cp Schneckenburger, *Theol. Jahrbb.* 7 ('48), 445-453; Kienlen, *Beitr. z. d. theol. Wissenschaften*, ed. Reuss and Cunitz ('51), 2 133-143; Schaubach, *Commentatio qua exponitur quid στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in NT sibi velint*, 1862; Blom, *Th. T*, 1883, 1 *ff.*; Everling, *Die paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie* ('88), 66 *ff.*; Albrecht Dieterich, *Abraxas; Studien zur Rel.-gesch. des späteren Altertums* ('91), 60 *ff.*; Cremer, *Bibl.-theol. Wörterb.*(8) ['95], 907 *ff.*; E. V. Hincks, 'The meaning of τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου' in *JBL* 15 ('96) 183 *ff.*; Hermann Diels, *Elementum: Eine Vorarbeit zum griechischen und lateinischen Thesaurus*, '99. This work provides abundant material for the history of στοιχεῖον and *elementum*, if it does not contribute anything really new bearing on the biblical passages. The present article was written before the appearance of Diel's book; hut, on the whole, it represents—as far as it comes into touch with this far more comprehensive work—the same ideas. G. A. D.

1 *Der Galaterbr.*, 1852, p. 66; *ZWTh.*, 1858, p. 99; 1860, p. 208; 1866, p. 314.
2 *Christl.* Lehre *von der Rechtfertigung*(3), 2 252 *f.* ('89).
3 *Das Evangel. des Paulus*, i. 1 168 *f.* ('80).
4 *Der* Br. an *die Kolosser*, 360 *ff.* ('82).
5 As ahove 265 *ff.*
6 p. 70 *ff.*
7 p. 61 *f.*
8 As above; 265 *ff.*
9 Meyer's *Komm.*(6) 12 450 *f.* ('97).

ELEPH (הָאֶלֶף, Hā-eleph, *i.e.*, 'thethousand,' Josh. 18 28) is supposed to be a Benjamite town, and, according to Conder and Henderson, is the modern *Liftā*; see, however, NEPHTOAH.

𝔊 reads και σήλεφ [A] κ. σελαελαφ [L], to which apparently corresponds B's σεληκαν (variants from H-P are σηδαλεεφ σηλαλεμ, σελαλακ, σεφαλεθ κελα ελεφ); Pesh. has גבירא, perhaps punctuating as אַלֻּף 'a chieftain'?

Before 'identifying,' it would have been well to examine the text. The two names before 'Jehus' in 𝔊[B] are και σεληκαν και θαρεηλα—*i.e.* וצלע ותראלה; καν is a duplication of και; σελη corresponds to צלע. Zela and Taralah therefore answer in 𝔊[B] to Zelah and Ha-eleph in MT. Ha-eleph (which is an impossible name) must he a corruption of Tar'alah or rather (see TARALAH) of Irpeel (ירפאל); אלף comes straight from פאל. T. K. C.

ELEPHANT (ελεφας). The word 'elephant' occurs, outside the Apocrypha, only in the AV[mg.] of Job 40 15 for BEHEMOTH [*q.v.*, § 1] and in the AV[mg.] of 1 K. 10 22 2 Ch. 9 21 ('elephant's teeth') for IVORY [*q.v.*]. It is an elephant of the Indian species that appears on the Black Obelisk (see below); but the African elephant also was no doubt known.

1. Early references.

The two species, *Elephas indicus* (maximus) and *E. africanus*, together with such fossil forms as the Mammoth (name probably from Behemoth),[1] the Mastodon, and others, constitute the Mammalian order Proboscidea. The Indian elephant is now found, in a state of nature, in India, Burmah, the Malay Peninsula, Assam, Cochin China, Ceylon, and Sumatra, frequenting the wooded districts; its African congener lives throughout Africa south of the Sahara desert, but is retreating before the approach of civilised man. In Pleistocene times it spread as far north as Europe.

The Indian species has been domesticated since prehistoric times and is still largely used in the service of man. The male alone as a rule has tusks. The African elephant is, in the male, larger than the Indian, the ear-flaps and the eyes are larger and the forehead more convex, there are two finger-like processes on the trunk instead of one, and the pattern on the teeth is different; both sexes have tusks. In temper this species is usually fiercer and the animal is undoubtedly more powerful and active than its Indian relative.

It is certain that elephants were known to the old inhabitants of Egypt and Assyria, by whom they were sometimes hunted for the sake of their ivory and their hides (*KB* 1 39, Tiglath-pileser I.; *AS. u. Eur.* 263, Thotmes III.; Houghton, *TSBA* 8 123 *ff.*). There is an elephant among the animals figured on the Black Obelisk[2] of Shalmaneser II. (858-824). Of course there may have been more than one elephant in the tribute from the land of Muṣri; but one was enough for the purpose of representation.

2. Use in warfare

Elephants in warfare first appear among the Persians. Darius at Arbela (331 *B.C.*) employed 15 of them. They were often used by the Seleucids, frequent mention of them being made in the Maccabean wars (cp 1 Macc. 3 34 6 30 8 6 11 56 2 Macc. 11 4 13 15 etc.). These elephants,

1 The 6 may have become *m* through Slavonic influence.
2 The term used for 'elephant' in Shalm. Obel. Epigr. III. is *baziati*. The word *al-ap* also occurs, but in the sense of 'ox' not 'elephant' (Wi. *KB* 1 151). Houghton suggests the wild buffalo. Cp IVORY.

some of which carried towers (1 Macc. 6 37 *f.*), were almost certainly of the Indian species. Special mention is made of the Indian driver (ὁ Ἰνδός, 1 Macc. *ib.*). The war elephants were placed under the care of a special officer (2 Macc. 14 12). In classical times the African species was tamed by the Egyptians and took part both in the Carthaginian wars and in the Roman shows. Since in recent times the natives of Africa have not shown sufficient ability to tame this somewhat restive animal it has been suggested that the Carthaginians imported their animals from the East;[1] but there is little reason to doubt that the true *E. africanus* was employed in the Punic wars and even accompanied Hannibal's army across the Alps. The presence of African elephants in modern menageries proves that this species is capable of domestication and education in the hands of competent trainers. The elephant rarely breeds in captivity. A. E. S.—S. A. C.

ELEUTHEROPOLIS (ελευθεροπολις, 'free city,' with play on double meaning of חֹרִים, 'Horites' and

1. History. 'free men'? cp *Ber. rabba*, 42), the name bestowed about A.D. 200 by the emperor Septimius Severus on Betogabra, now Beit Jibrin, an important place in Judæa, mentioned already (see BEN-HESED, § 2). How central it was appears from the fact that Eusebius in the *Onom.* often reckons the distances of other towns with reference to it. It was in fact the capital of a large province during the fourth and the fifth centuries of our era. It was also an episcopal city of *Palestina Prima* (*Notitiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, 6). In the Talmudic period it had a large Jewish population, and produced some eminent Rabbins.

The Talmudic name is Beth-gubrin (Neuh. *Géog.* 122 *ff.*). The 'Doctrine of Addai' (3rd cent. A.D.) expressly refers to Eleutheropolis as called Bētgubrin in the Aramaic tongue (Nestle, *PEFQ*, '79, p. 138; see ELKOSHITE, 3). The name Betogabra (βαιτογαβρα) is given to it by Ptolemy (v. 166). It also appears in the Peutinger Tables as Betogubri, and we can hardly be wrong in correcting, in Niese's text of Jos. *BJ* iv. 8 1, Βηταβριν into Βηταγαβριν. Whether the name alludes to prehistoric 'giants,' is beyond our knowledge.

For some centuries the Græco-Roman name supplanted the older designation; but when, 150 years after the Saracenic conquest, the city was destroyed, the latter revived (Reland, *Pal.* 222, 227; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1044).

On this site, which they called 'Gibelin' (a corruption of Ar. [Beth-lgehrim), the Crusaders in the twelfth century built a castle. After the battle of Ḥaṭṭin (1187 A.D.), it fell for a time into the hands of Saladin. Retaken by Richard of England it was finally captured by Bibars, and remained in possession of the Saracens until its destruction in the sixteenth century; ruins of it still remain (see Porter, *Syria and Pal.*, 256 *f.*).

The site of Eleutheropolis, in spite of the minute definitions of early writers, passed so completely out of

2. Site. mind that Robinson had to discover it. All the early statements point to Beit Jibrin, which is now a large village, N. of *Mer'ash*, situated in a little nook or glen in the side of a long green valley. Near it begin the famous caverns, to the excavation of which the limestone of the adjoining ridges was very favourable. We may not follow the Midrash which ascribes their origin to the HORITES [*q.v.*]; but the antiquity of their use can hardly be doubted.

Jerome already noticed their wide extent (*Comm. in Obad.* 1), in which indeed they rival the catacombs of Rome and Malta. They have been explored by Robinson, and more fully by Porter, who compares them to 'subterranean villages.'

Eleutheropolis, or Beth-gubrin, stands in close historical connection with MARESHAH (*q.v.*). G. A. Smith has put this in a very forcible way (*HG* 233). If from the first to the sixteenth centuries Beit Jibrin (= Eleutheropolis) has been prominent, and Mareshah forgotten, we may infer that the population moved under compulsion from the one site to the other. On the caves spoken of above, besides Robinson and Porter, compare Lucien Gautier (*Souvenir de la Terre-Sainte*, 63-67). He is of opinion that such caves have been in use for different purposes at many periods. Elsewhere a reference to them has been traced in a corrupt name in 1 K. 4 10, in the original text of which Mareshah may have been designated Beth-Horim (see BEN-HESED, § 2).

T. K. C.

[1] At all events there seems a close resemblance between *nagê* and *nâga* the Ethiopic and Indian words respectively for elephant (Meyer, *GA* 1226).

ELEUTHERUS (ελευθερος [AℵV]), a river of Syria (1 Macc. 11 7), the mod. *Nahr al-Kebīr*. See PHOENICIA.

ELHANAN (אֶלְחָנָן 'El is gracious.' § 28; cp Baal-hanan and Palm. בעלתיחן, בלתיחן; ελεανaν [BA], ελλαναν [L]; Jos. εφαν [var. νεφαν]).

1. In Sam. (1) The slayer of Goliath; one of David's warriors (ben-Jair). The MT of 2 S. 21 19 reads (RV), 'And there was again war with the Philistines at Gob; and Elhanan the son of Jair the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.' The document to which the passage belongs (2 S. 21 15-22, and 23 8-39) is an extract from an ancient Israelite 'roll of honour,' and deserves more credit than the later story which ascribes the slaying of Goliath to the youthful David.

It is scarcely necessary to criticise the theory of Sayce (*Mod. Rev.* 5 169 *ff.*), which is a development of Böttcher's, that David and Elhanan are the same person (cp Solomon—Jedidiah). This is in fact precritical in its origin. The Targ. on 2 S. 21 19 states that Elhanan was 'David the son of Jesse, who wove the curtains (cp Jaare-oregim) of the sanctuary'; cp also the Targ. on 1 Ch. 20 5 (Ελλαν [B]).

We have next to remark that definite information as to the time when Elhanan slew Goliath is wanting; in fact the meagreness of tradition as to the details of the Philistine war has excited a very natural surprise (see DAVID, § 7). All that is certain is that David was no longer in the prime of life, for an exploit similar to that of Elhanan was performed by the king's nephew Jonathan (2 S. 21 21), and in another episode of the same struggle David's warriors vowed that he should no longer encounter the risk of a single combat (17).

The place where Elhanan fought is mentioned; but the reading is uncertain. MT says that it mas at GOB (*q.v.*); but the first of the three combats related (*v.* 18) was possibly, and the third certainly (*v.* 20), at Gath. We may feel sure that Gob in *v.* 19 is a false reading.

The name of Elhanan's father also is slightly uncertain. In 2 S. 23 24 1 Ch. 11 26 we read of 'Elhanan ben-Dodo, of Bethlehem.' It is true, this Elhanan is sometimes (*e.g.* in BDB; but not in SS) distinguished from the slayer of Goliath: but the grounds do not seem to he conclusive. DODO is certainly a personal, JAIR (*q.v.*, ii.) may be a clan-name. It is tempting to suppose that the circumstance that, according to one tradition, Elhanan's father bore the name DODO (i.), facilitated the transference of Elhanan's exploit to the youthful David.

The description of three out of the four single combats related in 2 S. 21 15-22 recurs in nearly the same form

2. In Ch. in 1 Ch. 20 4-8. It is to this version (see *v.* 5) that we are indebted for a correction of the impossible name Jaare-oregim in 2 S. 21 19; the name should undoubtedly be read Jair (*i.e.* not יערי but יעיר). The surprising appendage *oregim* (*i.e.* 'weavers') is an accidental repetition of the closing word of the verse. The statement of Chronicles that Elhanan 'slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath' need give us no trouble. The words לחמי אחי (Lahmi the brother of) have been *introduced* by the Chronicler to harmonise this passage with the story of David and Goliath.[1] At the same time the Chronicler *omitted* the statement that Elhanan was a Bethlehemite (*beth-hallaḥmi*). Naturally enough; for from the latter part of this designation he obtained the name which he affixed to Elhanan's giant. He would not however deny that the giant had some connection

[1] This, however, is denied by Klostermann.

with Goliath and so he (or his authority) made Lahmi Goliath's brother. All this is to be regarded not as conscious depravation of the text, but as a supposed restoration of what must have been the historical fact. The only way to avoid this conclusion would be to assume that Lahmi was derived from the names of the gods Laḫamu, Luḫmu, mentioned at the beginning of the Babylonian epic of creation (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 268, 274; cp *RP*(2), 1 133), already brought into connection (not unplausibly)[1] with the name Bethlehem by Tomkins (*PEFQ*, 1885, p. 112). For other discussions of this subject see Ewald, *Hist.* 3 70; Stade, *Gesch.* 1228; Kohler, *Bibl. Gesch.* ii. 1294; Che. *Aids to Criticism*, 10 81 125. Compare Driver, *TBS*, 272; Budde and Kittel in *SBOT*. See also GOLIATH.

2. One of David's 'thirty' heroes; mentioned second on the list (ben Dodo), 2 S. 23 24 1 Ch. 11 26. Perhaps the same as no. 1 above. It is very improbable that David had two warriors of equal rank, both named Elhanan, and both Bethlehemites. Compare the case of SIBBECHAI (the slayer of Saph), also given in the list of the 'thirty'; cp Jos. *Ant.* vii. 12 2. T. K. C.

ELI (עֵלִי, 'high,' § 49; cp Palm. עלי, and Nab. עליאל, 'El is high,' and the numerous Sab. names compounded with עלי [cp *Ges.*(11) *ad loc.*]; the un-Hebraic character of the names Eli, Hophni, and Phinehas may be remarked; ηλει [BAL], but ηλει, 1 S. 1 9 [A], 4 11 [A* vid], and λεγει, 14 3 [BA]), priest of Yahwè at the temple of Shiloh, the sanctuary of the ark, and at the same time judge over Israel—an unusual combination of offices, which must have been won, by signal services to the nation in his earlier years, though in the account preserved to us he appears in the weakness of extreme old age, unable to control the petulance and rapacity of his sons, Hophni and Phinehas (1 S. 1-4 14 3 1 K. 2 27). While the central authority was thus weakened, the Philistines advanced against Israel, and gained a complete victory in the great battle of EBENEZER [*q.v.*, 1], where the ark was taken, and Hophni and Phinehas slain. On hearing the news Eli fell from his seat and died. According to MT be was ninety-eight years old, and had judged Israel for forty years (1 S. 4 15 18). 𝔊 gives but twenty years in *v.* 18, and seems not to have read *v.* 15, which is either a gloss or the addition of a redactor (cp *SBOT*, *ad loc.*).

1. History.

After these events the sanctuary of Shiloh appears to have been de'stroyed by the Philistines (cp Jer. 7, and see SHILOH), and the descendants of Eli with the whole of their clan or 'father's house' subsequently appear as settled at NOB (1 S. 21 1 [2], 22 11 *ff.*, cp 14 3). The massacre of the clan by Saul, with the subsequent deposition of the survivor Abiathar from the priestly office (1 K. 2 27), is referred to in a prophetic passage of deuteronomistic origin, such as might (the narrator thought) have been uttered in the days of Eli (1 S. 2 27 *ff.* 3 11 *ff.*; see Bu. *SSOT*).

2. The priesthood.

Now Zadok (from whom the later high priests claimed descent), who appears in 1 Ch. 6 12 [5 38] as the lineal descendant of Aaron through Eleazar and Phinehas, was not of the house of Eli (1 K. 2 27-35); and in 1 Ch. 24 Ahimelech, son of Abiathar, is reckoned to the sons of Ithamar, the younger branch of the house of Aaron. Hence the traditional view that in the person of Eli the high-priesthood was temporarily diverted from the line of Eleazar and Phinehas into that of Ithamar (cp Jos. *Ant.* v. 11 5 viii. 1 3, and for the fancies of the Rabbins on the cause of this diversion, Selden, *De Succ. in Pontif.*, lib. i. cap. 2). This view, however, is at direct variance with the passage in 1 S. 2 which represents Eli's 'father's house' or clan as the original priestly family, and predicts the destruction or degradation to an inferior position of the whole of this 'father's house,' not merely the direct descendants of Eli. Ahimelech, moreover, who is the only link to connect Eli with Ithamar, is an ambiguous personage, whose name has arisen from a textual corruption (see ABIATHAR, end), and it is evident that the priestly genealogy in 1 Ch. 5 *f.* merely endeavours to show that the sons of Zadok derived their origin in an unbroken line of descent from Aaron. The book of Chronicles wholly ignores the priesthood of Eli.

[So much at any rate is indisputable—that in the pre-regal period the family of Eli discharged priestly functions at the sanctuary of Shiloh. That it had a levitical connection is implied in the name of Phinehas borne by one of Eli's sons (HOPHNI is only a variation of this), and also in 1 S. 2 27-36. Eli's sons, however, do not appear to have entered into the original tradition; they are only introduced in the interests of later theory. That Eli belonged to the family of Moses is at any rate not impossible. The explanation of HOPHNI as an outgrowth of PHINEHAS leads to the suggestion that for עלי, 'Eli,' we should perhaps read אֱלִיעֶזֶר, 'Eliezer'=אֶלְעָזָר, 'Eleazar.' Eleazar and Eliezer are both Levite names, though the former is the ordinary name of the father of Phinehas.] See further LEVITES, PRIEST, ZADOK, § 2 *ff.* As HELI (1) Eli comes into the genealogy of Ezra (2 Esd. 1 1).

W. R. S.—T. K. C.

[1] The place-names of Palestine must in many cases have an origin very different from what the later inhabitants supposed, and a primitive divine name, famous in Babylonian mythology, is likely to have found a record in Palestine.

ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI, and Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabachthani. The last words of Jesus (=Ps. 22 1 [2]) according to Mt. 27 46, Mk. 15 34;[1] followed by a translation, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.' *Evang. Pet.*, however, gives (ch. 5), ['And the Lord cried out. saying] My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me' (ἡ δύναμίς μου, ἡ δύναμις, κατέλειψάς με),[2] which is quite different. The number of various readings of the text of Mt. and Mk. is surprisingly large.

As to the word for 'my God,' in both Mt. and Mk. WH give ελωι; Treg. prefers ηλι, in Mt., ελωι in Mk.; Ti. and Zahn prefer ηλει in Mt., ελωι in Mk. For the verb all agree in adopting σαβαχθανει (Zahn -νι, an unimportant variation).

Epiphanius (*Haer.* 69 68) remarks on Mt. 27 46 that the words ηλι ηλι were spoken by Jesus in Hebrew, the rest of the passage in Syrian.

Lagarde, too (*GGA*, '82, 329), referred to this passage as proving the systematic correction to which even our oldest MSS had been subjected. Certainly ελωϊ (or, more completely Aramaic, ελαϊ, or αλαϊ) is what we should have expected; but in citing a passage like this it was not unnatural to use the well-known Hebrew term אֵל '&?

Dalman, who holds this 'word from the cross' to be historical, thinks that Jesus most probably used the Hebrew form (*'ēlī*), just because it is a little less obvious.

The variation ζαφθανει[3] in D Lat. both in Mt. and in Mk. is very singular. σαβαχθανει is good Aramaic = שְׁבַקְתַּנִי. ζαφθανει, or rather αζαφθανει, is a Hebrew substitute for the Aramaic verb, due to one who wished to make the whole passage a quotation from the Hebrew. The original reading αζαφθανει was presumably altered into ζαφθανει = זעפתני (rendered ὠνείδισάς με in cod. D., Mk. 15 34) by scribes who only understood Syriac. See Chase, *Syro-Lat. Text of the Gospels*, 107, *JTh.S* 1 278, and *Exp.T* 11 334 *f.* T. K. C.

ELIAB (אֱלִיאָב, 'God,' or 'my God is father,' § 25; cp אֲבִיאֵל; ελ[ε]ιαβ [BAℵL]).

1. b. Helon, prince of Zebulun (Nu. 1 9 2 7 7 24 29 10 16).

2. b. PALLU (*q.v.*), father of Nemuel, Dathan, and Abiram (Nu. 16 1 12 26 8 Dt. 11 6).

3. Son of Jesse and brother of David. According to 1 S. 16 6 1 Ch. 2 13 he was the eldest son of Jesse (cp 17 13 28). In 1 Ch. 27 18 mention is made of a certain ELIHU (*q.v.*, 2) as one of the brethren of David (this name is inserted by Pesh. in 1 Ch. 2 13 and occupies the seventh place, David being eighth). Elihu, however, is

[1] In Mt. θεέ μου θεέ μου, ἱνατί [ἵνα τί, WH] με ἐγκατέλιπες [Ti. WH]; in Mk. ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με [Ti. WH].

[2] Syriac (Pesh., Sin., Hcl.) in Mt. gives the words of the exclamation alone, but in Mk. adds a translation as in the Gk.

[3] The transliteration of ב by φ before θ is analogous to that of ק by χ in σαβαχθανει. See Dalm. *Gram.* 304.

undoubtedly a variant for Eliab; so 𝔊^BAL and Jer. *Quæst., ad loc.* His daughter ABIHAIL (*q.v.*, 4) is mentioned in 2 Ch. 11 18 (Ελιαν [B]), where, however, 'Eliab b. Jesse' may be incorrect (see ITHREAM, MICHAL).

4. b. Nahath, a Kohathite, a descendant of Korah (1 Ch. 6 27 [12] BAL). In *v.* 34 [19] the name appears as ELIEL (*q.v.*, 5), and in 1 S. 1 1 as ELIHU (*q.v.*, 2).

5. One of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12 9 (see DAVID, § 11 [*d*] iii.).

6. A Levite porter and singer; 1 Ch. 15 18 (ελιαβα [Bℵ(1)], ελιβα [ℵ*]), 15 20 16 5.

7. b. Nathaniel, an ancestor of JUDITH, Jud. 8 1 (εναβ [ℵ]).

ELIADA (אֶלְיָדָע, § 32, 'God knows,' or 'whom El deposits,' see BEELIADA; also a Sabean name [Halévy]; ελειδα [B], -λιαδ. [AL]).

1. A son of DAVID [*q.v.* § 11 *d* (β)], 2 S. 5 16 (βααλειμαθ [BA], -λιλαθ [L]); 1 Ch. 3 8 (ελιεδα [A]). In 1 Ch. 14 7 he is called BEELIADA (*q.v.*)—his true name.

2. A Benjamite captain, temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 17).

3. AV Eliadah, father of REZON, 1 K. 11 23 (ελιαδαε [A], om. BL). Winckler (*Alt. Unt.* 74) supposes that the name is a Hebrew translation of the Aram. name טבאל, TABEEL (1).

ELIADAS (ελιαδας [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 28 = Ezra 10 27, ELIOENAI, 5.

ELIADUN, RV ILIADUN ([ε]ιλιαδουν [BAL]), 1 Esd. 5 58. See MADIABUN.

ELIAH (אֵלִיָּה). 1. Ezra 10 26 AV, RV ELIJAH, 3. 2. 1 Ch. 8 27 AV, RV ELIJAH, 4.

ELIAHBA (אֶלְיַחְבָּא, 'God hides' or 'protects,' § 30; cp HABAIAH, JEHUBBAH; but compound names where an imperf. follows a divine name are rare and chiefly late:[1] cp Gray, *HPN* 217, who suggests אֱלִיחָבָא), the Shaalbonite (see SHAALBIM), one of David's 'thirty' (2 S. 23 32 εμασου [B], ελιαβ [A], σαλαβαθ [L]; 1 Ch. 11 33 σαμαβα [B], EAM. [ℵ], ελιαβα [A], -λιβ. [L]).[2]

ELIAKIM (אֶלְיָקִים, 'God establishes,' §§ 31, 52; ελιακ[ε]ιμ [BℵAQΓL]).

1. b. Hilkiah, a governor of the palace, and 'grand vizier' under Hezekiah (2 K. 18 18 19 2 Is. 36 3 22 37 2). See RAB-SHAKEH, SHEBNA.

2. b. Josiah (2 K. 23 34 2 Ch. 36 4). See JEHOIAKIM.

3. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA, ii. § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 41 (ελιακιμ [ℵc.a mg.], om. Bℵ*A).

4. b. Abiud; Mt. 1 13 (ἐλιακείμ [Ti. WH]) and

5. b. Melea (Lk. 3 30), in the genealogy of Joseph. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

ELIALI (ελιαλεις [B], ελιαλει [A], cp Eliel, 1 Ch. 8 20?), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 38, BINNUI, 5.

ELIAM (אֱלִיעָם, § 46, 'God is kinsman'; cp AMMIEL and Phoen. אלעם [*CIS* 1 1, no. 147, *l.* 16]; ελιαβ [BAL]).

1. b. Ahithophel the Gilonite (see GILOH); one of David's heroes; 2 S. 23 34 (ουελιαφ [A], ο θαλααμ [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 34 (where 'Eliam the son of' is omitted before 'Ahijah the Pelonite, itself a corrupt reading; see AHITHOPHEL, end), and perhaps the same as 2 (below).

2. Father of Bathsheba (2 S. 11 3; called in 1 Ch. 3 5 AMMIEL, αμιηλ [BA], ηλα [L]). See AHITHOPHEL.

3. Possibly to be restored for ANIAM (*q.v.*).

ELIAONIAS (ελιαωνιας [A]), 1 Esd. 8 31 = Ezra 8 4, ELIEHOENAI, 2.

ELIAS (ηλειας), Mt. 11 14 AV, RV ELIJAH (*q.v.*).

ELIASAPH (אֶלְיָסָף, 'God increases' [*i.e.*, the family'], §§ 27, 44; ελ[ε]ισαφ [BAFL]).

1. b. DEUEL or REUEL (2); chief of Gad; Nu. 1 14 (-Qav[L]), 2 14 (-φ[αν] [L]), 7 42 47 10 20.

2. b. LAEL; chief of Gershon (Nu. 3 24).

ELIASHIB (אֶלְיָשִׁיב, *i.e.*, 'God brings back,' §§ 31, 62, 82; but 𝔊^L except in no. 1 reads אלישוב, 'God returns' (or 'turns'); cp Is. 52 8, and prop. name JASHUB, old Aram. אשרתב, 'Assur returns,' *CIS* 2, no. 36, and Sab. תובאל, Hal. 485; ελιασουβ [L], ελ[ε]ιασειβ [AℵB]).

1. A descendant of Zerubbabel; 1 Ch. 3 24 (ασειβ [B], ελιασ. [L]).

2. Eponym of one of the priestly courses: 1 Ch. 24 12 (ελιαβιει [B]).

3. High priest in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 1 (ελ(ε)ισουβ [BℵA]); 3 20 *f.* (βηθ-ελ(ε)ισουβ [B], -αιλεισου and -αιλισου [N], -ελει ασσουβ and -ελιασουβ [A] *ah-* [L]) mentioned in pedigree of Jaddua (see EZRA, ii. § 6 *b*), 12 10 (ελιασιβ [ℵ]). In Neh. 10 he is not mentioned among the signatories to the covenant.

4, 5, and 6. A singer, Ezra 10 24 (ελ(ε)ισαφ [BℵA]) = 1 Esd. 9 24, AV ELEAZURUS, RV Eliasibus (ελιασεβος [B], -ιβος [A]); one of the b'ne Zattu, Ezra 10 27 (ελ(ε)ισουβ [BA], ελισου [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 28 ELISIMUS, RV Eliasimus (ελ(ε)ιασ(ε)ιμος [BA]); and one of the B'ne Bani, Ezra 10 36 (ελειασειφ [B]) = 1 Esd. 9 34, ENASIBUS (ενασ(ε)ιβος [BA], χελιασουβ [L]); all in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end).

ELIASIS (ελιασεις [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 37, JAASAU.

ELIATHAH (אֱלִיאָתָה, in 1 Ch. 25 27 אֱלִיָּתָה; § 35; cp, however, HEMAN; ηλιθα [L]).

A 'son of Heman,' the name of the twentieth of the classes of temple singers, 1 Ch. 25 4 (ηλιαθαθ [B], ελιαθα [A]), also *v.* 27 (αιμαθα [B], ειλαθ [A]; Pesh. ܐܠܝܐܒ, *i.e.*, *Eliab*; Jerome, *Quæst.*, Eliba); but see HEMAN.

ELIDAD (אֱלִידָד, § 28; ελδαδ [BAFL]), a Benjamite prince, Nu. 34 21,† P). The name seems traditional (cp ELDAD); its meaning is disputed. Some connect it, like BILDAD and BEDAD, with the divine name Dad (= Ramman); thus it would mean 'Dad is (the clan's) god': the name Dad-ilu is borne by a king of the land of Kaska (Schr. *COT* 1 244 *f.*; Del. *Par.* 298). However, Elidad may also mean 'God has loved'; cp Sab. ודדאל, D. H. Muller, *ZDMG*, 1883, p. 15; and see NAMES, § 28. Incidentally this avoids the apparent incongruity of giving a heathen name to an Israelite; but heathen names such as Elidad, Hur, Ash-hur, Ash-bel(?), may have been borne by men who knew nothing of the heathen gods whose names entered into their own, or who at any rate did not worship them (cp MORDECAI, 1). Gray's explanation (*HPN*, 61) 'a kinsman (uncle) is God' seems less probable; see DOD [NAMES WITH]. T. K. C.

ELIEHOENAI (so RV; אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי; also written אליועיני; the spelling in MT may be intended to emphasise a particular view of the meaning of the name; for the [probably] true name see ELIOENAI).

1. AV ELIOENAI (ελιωναις [B], -ωηναι [A], -ωναι [L]). A Korahite Levite, one of the doorkeepers of the sanctuary, 1 Ch. 26 3.

2. AV ELIHOENAI (ελιανα [BL], -ιααν. [A]), one of the b'ne Pahath-Moab in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1] *d*); Ezra 8 4 = 1 Esd. 8 31, ELIAONIAS (ελιαλωνιας [B], -αων. [A], ελιανα [L]). Compare ELIOENAI.

ELIEL (אֱלִיאֵל, ελ[ε]ιηλ [BAL]); a man's name somewhat frequent in Chronicles, but not found elsewhere in the OT. It means 'My God is El,' § 38; or, perhaps, 'El is God.' In 1 Ch. 6 34 [19] Eliel is substituted for Elihu (= 'He [Yahwè] is God'). Both names are virtually identical with Elijah ('Yahwè is God,' or, 'my God'). Compare the royal name Iluma-ilu, 'Ilu is god,' where the second *ilu* takes the place of this king's special deity (*KB* 3 84, Hommel, *AHT* 129 *f.*).

1. 'The Mahavite' [*q.v.*] (הַמַּחֲוִים; λ[ε]ιηλ [Bℵ], ιελιηλ [A], ιεηλ [L]), one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 11 46†), and

2. Another of David's warriors (δαλειηλ [B], αλιηλ [A]), 1 Ch. 11 47.† See DAVID § 11 *a*, ii.

3. A Manassite prince (1 Ch. 5 24 and 5†).

4. In a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. β): b. Shimei, 1 Ch. 8, and (ελιηλ[ε]ι [BA]), v. 20.† b. Shashak (ελεηλ [BA]), 22 †

5. A Kohathite (ελιαβ [L]), 1 Ch. 6 34 [19]. Cp ELIAB [4], ELIHU, 2.

6. A Gadite, one of David's warriors; perhaps identical with

[1] In all the Aramaic inscriptions only two examples of this form occur, viz. בעלתיחן and בלתיחן, both Palmyrene.

[2] For these forms cp Marq. *Fund.* 20, who shows that the initial σ is, in each case due to the following σαλαβανι, and that the μ is a corruption from λα (M = ΛΑ); thus εμασου, σαμαβα, etc., stand for ελααβου (= אלחבא), αλααβα, etc.

(1) or (2); but the name is ελ[ε]ιαβ in BA though ελιηλ in L (1 Ch. 12 11).† Cp ELIAB, and see DAVID, § 11 *a*, iii.

8. A son of Hebron, one of David's Levites (ενηρ, -ηλ [B], -ηλ, ανεληµ [ℵ]), 1 Ch. 15 9 11.†

9. One of Hezekiah's Levites (ιε[ε]ιηλ [BA]), 2 Ch. 31 13.†

ELIENAI (אֱלִיעֵינַי; otherwise vocalised as ELIOENAI), b. Shimei in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*); 1 Ch. 8 20 (ελιωλιαλ [B], -ωεναι [A], ηλιωναι [L]).

ELIEZER (אֱלִיעֶזֶר, 'God of help,' or 'God (or, 'my God') is a helper'; see ELEAZAR; ελ[ε]ιεζερ [BAKL]).

1. Abraham's chief slave and steward (Gen. 15 2). The clause in which he is referred to is a piece of E's work and perhaps originally followed *v.* 3*a* (Bu.). It states that Abram's most trusted servant, in lieu of a son, would inherit his property (cp 1 Ch. 2 34 f.). It should be noticed, however, that the other narrator (J) does not give the name Eliezer (see 24 2), and the text is evidently in some disorder. The most probable way of emending seems to be to read וּמִשְׁכַּן אָהֳלִי יֵעָזֵב 'and my tent-dwelling will be deserted' (see Che. *Exp. T.*, 11 47 [Oct. '99]).

Kalisch thought that the full name of the steward was Dammesek Eliezer and RV implies the same theory. Grammatically the rendering 'is Dammesek Eliezer' (𝔊DL, οὗτος Δαμασκὸς Ελιεζερ) is no doubt inevitable; but how absurd it is! The text, therefore, must be incorrect. The words הוּא דַּמֶּשֶׂק, 'he (or it) is Damascus,' are taken by some to be an intrusive marginal gloss on the word מֶשֶׁק which the glossator misunderstood (although it is difficult to see how he would have construed הוא דמשק ביתי). So, long ago, Hitzig and Tuch; unfortunately the existence of a word משק (or משך) 'possession' is extremely doubtful. Ball's rendering 'and he who will possess my house is a Damascene—Eliezer,' is not much more plausible than that of Hitzig. See *Exp. T.*, *l.c.* **T. K. C.**

2. Second son of Moses and Zipporah (Ex. 2 22), so called because 'the God of my father was my help' (18 4). The Chronicler assigns him an only son Rehabiah (1 Ch. 23 15 17 26 25). See ELEAZAR (1), n.

3. A prophet, b. Dodavah of Mareshah, temp. Jehoshaphat: 2 Ch. 20 37 (ελειαδα [B]). Gray (*HPN* 232) suggests that the name may have been derived from a good historical record; but the prophets of Chronicles are often of such doubtful historicity that the suggestion seems hazardous. Was not the name more probably suggested by 'Eleazar b. Dodai (or Dodo)' in 2 S. 23 9 1 Ch. 11 12? See ELEAZAR (3).

4. A Reubenite 'prince' (1 Ch. 27 16).

5. A Benjamite (BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. *a*), 1 Ch. 7 8.

6. A Levite (1 Ch. 15 24).

7, 8, and 9. A priest, Ezra 10 18 = 1 Esd. 9 19, ELEAZAR [7] (ελεαζαρος [BA]); a Levite, Ezra 10 23 (ελιαζαρ [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 23 JONAS [2] (ιωανας [B], ιωνας [A]); and an Israelite, b. Harim: Ezra 10 31 = 1 Esd. 9 32 ELIONAS [2] (ελιωδας [B], -ωνας [A]), in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end).

10. Head of family, temp. Ezra (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 16 (ελεαζαρ [BA]) = 1 Esd. 8 43, ELEAZAR [5] (-ρος).

11. Son of Jorim, in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk. 3 29 ελιεζερ [Ti. WH]). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

ELIHOENAI (אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי), Ezra 8 4 AV, RV ELIEHOENAI (2).

ELIHOREPH (אֱלִיחֹרֶף; ελιαφ [B], εναρεφ [A], ελιαβ [L]; true name perhaps Elihaph [cp 𝔊B], *i.e.*, 'God is Haph' [= Apis, see APIS], of which Elihoreph may be an alteration on religious grounds; cp Aḥishahar, from Ahi-ḥur? so Marquart), one of Solomon's 'scribes,' son of Shisha (1 K. 4 3). The text of *vv.* 1-20, however, is in much disorder, and *v.* 3 needs emendation. *V.* 2 promises a list of 'princes.' The first prince (*v.* 2) is Azariah, son of the priest Zadok. The next should be 'Elihoreph' (Elihaph?) and Ahijah sons of Shavsha the secretary' (Klost.). See SHAVSHA. **T. K. C.**

ELIHU (אֱלִיהוּא,[1] 'God is He' [Yahwè]; ελιου [AL], in Job -ς [BℵAC]).

1. One of the interlocutors of the Book of JOB (*q.v.*, § 9).

[1] The final א is omitted in 1 Ch. 26 7 (Kt.), 27 18 (Kt.), and once or twice in JOB.

2. b. Tohu, in the genealogy of Samuel (1 S. 1 1 ηλειου [B], ειλι [L]). Samuel's pedigree, however, is composite (see JEROHAM [1], TOHU), and Elihu of the clan of Tahan (so, for Tohu; cp EPHRAIM i., § 12) corresponds to ELKANAH [*q.v.*, 1] of the clan of Jerahmeel (so for Jeroham). In 1 Ch. 6 27 [12] Elihu is called ELIAB (*q.v.*, 4) and in 1 Ch. 6 34 [19] Eliel (*q.v.*, 6); whilst conversely ELIAB (*q.v.*, 3), David's eldest brother, seems to be called Elihu in 1 Ch. 27 18, where 𝔊BAL reads Eliab. Perhaps some early divine name has been excised (in various ways) by editors; the name, *e.g.*, may have been Elimelech (cp REGEM-MELECH beside RAAMIAH), and it is probable that this, rather than Elkanah, was the true name of Samuel's father. So Marq. *Fund.* 12 *f.*

3. A Manassite, one of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12 20 [21] (ελιμουθ [Bℵ], ελιουδ [A]). See DAVID, § 11, *a*, iii.

4. A porter of the temple, 1 Ch. 26 7 (εννου [B]).

ELIJAH, in Mt. 11 14 AV, ELIAS (אֵלִיָּהוּ [sixty-three times], § 38, or, as in 2 K. 1 3 4 8 12 and in Mal. 3 23 (4 5), אֵלִיָּה; *i.e.*, 'Yahwè is God,' cp Joel; ηλ[ε]ιας [BAL, Ti. WH]) was among the greatest and most original of the Hebrew prophets; indeed it is in him that Hebrew prophecy first appears as a great spiritual and ethical power, deeply affecting the destiny and religious character of the nation. He lived and worked under Ahab (*circa* 875-853), contending with heroic courage for Yahwè: as the sole god of Israel, and refusing to make any terms with plans favoured at the royal court for uniting the worship of the national god with that of the Tyrian Baal. Thus he vindicated the true character of the religion of Israel, and is not unworthy of a place by the side of Moses. We shall be better able to appreciate his position, however, when we have examined the legendary narratives in which his history is enshrined.

1. Date of 1 K. 17-19.

1. In 1 K. 17-19 we have a varied and singularly vivid account of his conflict with the foreign Baal-worship. It is from the hand of one who was a subject of the northern kingdom, and must therefore have written before the conquest of Samaria in 722 B.C. Otherwise in mentioning Beer-sheba (19 3) he would scarcely have taken the pains to tell his readers that it belonged to Judah, or at least would not have expressed himself in that way. Again the type of his religious thought is clearly older than that of Hosea or even Amos. Not only does he speak, or make his hero speak, with reverence of Yahwè's altars in N. Israel (19 10), but, in spite of abundant occasion, he makes no protest against that worship of Yahwè: under the accepted symbol of an ox, which provoked Hosea's bitter scorn. Accordingly, we may acquiesce in Kuenen's suggestion (*Ond.* i. 2 25) that he may have flourished in the ninth century, within a generation or two at furthest from the lifetime of Elijah. Only we must allow time for the creative work of popular fancy and the rise of partial misconception as to the points at issue in the deadly struggle.

The narrative has been mutilated at the beginning, and hence the abruptness with which the prophet appears on the scene: otherwise we might have attributed to dramatic art the sudden introduction, adapted as it is to the meteor-like character which Elijah's appearances preserve throughout. The story must have begun with some account of the quarrel and its origin in Ahab's religious innovations; but the editor of the Book of Kings had already given an account of Ahab's defection (16 29-34) in his own way and naturally refrained from explaining the matter over again in the words of the older document which he used. Hence Elijah of Tishbeh in Gilead (𝔊BAL 17 1; but cp JABESH [i.]) is brought at once before us as if we were already familiar with him and with his cause.[1] He confronts the king

[1] [The statement that Elijah was 'of the inhabitants (rather, 'sojourners') of Gilead' is vague and improbable. Either we must read 'of Tishbeh in Gilead,' or else (cp JABESH i., § 1) the

with a message from Yahwè 'before whom he stands' in constant service. No rain or dew is to fall for 'these years' save at the prophet's will or declaration. Straightway the scene changes to a lonely wādy called Cherith (?) (so most; hut see CHERITH). Here, in or near the wild and pastoral land of his birth, Elijah is shielded for a time from the famine which followed the drought. Ravens, forgetting their natural voracity, bring him bread and flesh morning and evening. Thus his supply of food was constant and beyond the needs of life in the East, where flesh is eaten only on festal occasions. In time, however, the stream of water fails, and Elijah at the bidding of his God passes beyond Yahwè's land to Zarephath, *a* Phœnician city to the S. of Sidon (but here again the name and sitnation of Elijah's place of refuge is disputable: see ZAREPHATH). At the gate of the city, where markets were held and remnants might be strewed about, a widow, who worshipped Yahwè[1] (1 K. 17 12 24). was gathering sticks. Water she gives at the prophet's request, but being asked for bread, protests that she has but a handful of meal and a little oil, with which she is about to prepare for her son and herself the last food they will ever eat. Finally, however, she does the prophet's bidding and is rewarded by the fulfilment of his promise that neither meal nor oil shall fail while the drought lasts. Nay, when her son dies, not of famine but of natural sickness, the 'man of God' bending over the corpse brings back by his prayer the life which had fled.

2. The contest with Ahab. Elijah returns to Israel at the divine command and meets the prefect of the palace, Obadiah. This courtier, who 'feared Yahwè' and had saved the lives of a hundred prophets from the fury of Ahab's queen, was engaged like his royal master in seeking fodder for Ahab's horses and mules. He falls down in reverence before the prophet, but refuses to consent to let Ahab know where Elijah is, till the prophet has sworn that he will keep his tryst, instead of suffering himself, after his work is finished, to be carried away by the spirit of YahwB and thus leave Obadiah to bear the brunt of Ahab's disappointment. 'Is it thou,' says Ahab, 'thou troubler of Israel?' 'I have not troubled Israel,' is the fearless answer, 'hut thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken Yahwè and thou hast followed the Baalim.' Thereupon Elijah, the solitary champion of Yahwè, challenges the 450 prophets of Baal ('the 400 prophets of the Ashērah' have been added by an interpolator in 18 19 and in the 𝔊BL text of *v.* 22) to a memorable contest (see CARMEL, § 3; DANCING, § 5). One bullock is to be laid on the wood for Baal, another for Yahwè, and the god who without human aid kindles the fire of his sacrifice is to be 'the God'—*i.e.*, the sole recognised God of Israel. In vain Baal's prophets invoke him with wild dances and cries, and gash themselves with knives to appease the burning fury of the sun-god, while Elijah mocks their pains. Then they desist and at Elijah's prayer the lightning of Yahwè consumes the victim on his altar and 'licks up' the water which had been poured over and round the altar to enhance the marvel. Baal's prophets are slain by the Kishon, and now that the heart of the people is 'turned back,' the rain will come.

Already the prophet listens in spirit to its welcome splash. As yet in spirit only. He crouches down on Carmel with his face between his knees, and his servant, sent to look seawards from the highest point, returns six times, and can but report that 'there is nothing.' The seventh time he sees a cloud 'as small as a man's hand. Soon the heavens are black, the king drives at full speed to Jezreel, fleeing before the terror of the storm. Borne by Yahwè's hand. Elijah runs on foot the whole distance of something like 16 m. but, true to his Bedouin instincts, refrains from entering the city.

The momentary triumph at Carmel does but fan the persecuting zeal of Jezebel; and Elijah sets out for Horeb, as if Yahwè had forsaken his land and withdrawn to his ancient dwelling-place. In the wilderness beyond Beersheba (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*), weary and desperate, he sits down under one of the retem bushes (the retem is a species of broom; see JUNIPER) common in that region and prays for death. The angel of Yahwè, however, bids him rise and eat. He finds at his head a cruse of water and a cake baked on the coals, and in the strength of that he travels for forty days and nights to Horeb, the mountain of God. (If the text is right[1] the narrator is remarkably vague here, for the distance between the southern boundary of Palestine and the Sinaitic peninsula is only about 50 geographical m., and the earlier view of Horeb made it not very far from the S. border of Canaan.) Here on the sacred mount, when hurricane, earthquake, and lightning have cooled the air, Elijah in the rustling of a gentle breeze discerns YahwB's presence. He had believed that the cause which he had held dearer than life was lost, and that he had better cease the unavailing struggle and die. Not so. He is to anoint new kings and inaugurate new dynasties for Damascus and Samaria. He is to anoint Elisha as his own successor. Each of these changes is to hasten the calamity which hangs over Israel, and only the 7000 who have not bowed the knee to Baal are to escape. Here, as at the beginning, the narrative fails us a second time. We do indeed learn how Elijah calls Elisha to the prophetic office; but in the text of the Book of Kings as it has come down to us, Elisha takes no part in the deeds of violence which brought Hazael and Jehu to the throne. On the early and very striking story of Elijah's ascent (2 K. 2) see ELISHA, § 3; and on the true scene of the legendary narrative in 1 K. 17 1-7 8-24 19 4-18, see CHERITH, ZAREPHATH, JUNIPER.

3. Other stories. 2. Little need be said concerning the prediction of Ahaziah's death when he consulted Baal-zĕbūb of Ekron in his sickness, and the fire froin heaven which consumed two companies of soldiers sent to arrest the prophet. The story (2 K. 12-17) with its perverse supernaturalism and sanguinary spirit may safely be assigned to a period when the true notion of prophecy had grown confused and dim. The portrait of Elijah with his robe of goat's or camel's hair and his leathern girdle is, perhaps, the solitary fragment of genuine tradition which it contains. Very different in value and in date is the striking history of Naboth's judicial murder in 1 K. 21 1-18 20 (to be compared with and partially corrected by 2 K. 9 25 *f.*). Naboth, probably on religious grounds, refused to sell his ancestral vineyard at the king's desire. He was condemned, on a false charge of treason against the god and the king of Israel, by the elders of his city; for the kingly power in Israel was no Oriental despotism, and the authority of the city sheiks, who had replaced the sheiks of the tribes, had to be respected (cp GOVERNMENT, § 24). Death was the penalty, and it fell, according to the custom of the time, not only on himself but also on his family. There was a judgment, however, higher than that of the earthly court. In after-days Jehu remembered how he heard the divine sentence pronounced against the unrighteous king: 'I have seen yesterday the blood of Naboth and his sons—it is the oracle of Yahwè—and I will requite thee on this plat.'

3. Such in brief outline are the early legends of the prophet's life, but we have still to estimate the residuum of authentic history and through the mist of tradition to see the prophet as he was. We must not charge

whole description must he read thus, 'Elijah the Jaheshite, of Jabqsh in Gilead' (Klost.). The latter is the more probable view. In either case, the second part of the description seems to be a gloss.]

[1] [It *is* usual to suppose that the widow was of a strange religion; so *e.g.* Strachan in Hastings, *DB* 1688*b*. This, at any rate, cannot be proved by her words 'Yahwè thy God,' which are merely an acknowledgment of the superior religious standing of the prophet (1 S. 15 30 2 K. 19 4).]

[1] [Wi. (*GI* 1 29 n.) plausibly suggests that 'forty days and forty nights' are a later insertion. A later glossator, who may have had a different view of the general situation of Sinai, can more easily he accused of geographical vagueness than the original narrator.]

Ahab with conscious apostasy from YahwB. He had great merits as well as great faults. He was a chivalrous and patriotic king, and in the very names which he gave to his children he professed his allegiance to the god of his people. Nor can we believe that even Jezebel seriously endeavoured to exterminate YahwB's prophets. Some four hundred of them gathered round her husband at the muster for his last and fatal campaign (1 K. 226), and the success of Jehu's revolution proves that only a very small minority of Israelites could have devoted themselves to the foreign worship. Ahab, however, did build a temple of Baal in his capital. No doubt it seemed to him the natural and fitting acknowledgment and consecration of the alliance between Israel and Tyre. Elijah would brook no such amalgam of worships radically diverse. He was not indeed a monotheist after the fashion of the later prophets. To him Yahwi? was the sole god of Israel, in whose land Yahwb was all or nothing. No wonder then that he looked on the drought as a sign of YahwB's anger. Here by the way we are on firm ground. The fact of the drought is attested independently by Menander of Ephesus (*ap.* Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13 2), according to whom, however, it lasted only one year and was stayed by a procession of Phœnician priests (cp HISTORICAL LIT., § 5).

Elijah's devotion to Yahwè was something infinitely higher than mere patriotic attachment to hereditary religion. To him YahwB and Baal represented two principles—viz., worship of national righteousness and the sensual worship of nature. Again, the 'sons of the prophets,' like bands of dervishes, stirred the enthusiasm of the people, and encouraged them to believe that Yahwb must fight for Israel. Elijah, in the best and earliest accounts, stands alone or with a single disciple. He saw YahwB's work not so much in national victory as in national calamity. He was able to believe that Hazael, the scourge of Israel, had been raised to power by Yahwb himself. Thus he opened a new era in the religion of Israel. Malachi speaks of him, 3 23 [4 5], as the minister of judgment and purification within Israel, the herald of 'YahwB's great and terrible day.' Jesus beheld the spirit of Elijah revived in the stern and solitary Baptist, and on 'the holy mount' Moses and Elijah, representing the law and the prophets, bore conjoint testimony to the transfigured Christ. For the closing scene of Elijah's life, see ELISHA, § 3.

A few words, supplementary to the article KINGS (§ 8), may be added on recent criticism of the Elijah-narratives.

4. The Elijah-narratives. The late character of the narrative in 2 K. 1 2-17*a* is generally admitted; but Kautzsch in his essay on the Book of Kings in Ersch and Gruber (*Allgem. Encyk.*) attributes the rest of the biography to one writer. On the other hand Wellhausen and Kueneu separate 1 K. *17-19* 21, where the prophet stands alone, from 2 K. 2 1-18 (which, however, Kuenen observes, can hardly be much later than 1 K. *17-19)* where, instead *of* being a wanderer, he has a home with Elisha at Gilgal, and where, too, he is associated with 'the sons of the prophets.' Further, Kuenen separates 1 K. 17-19, where Elijah contends against Baal-worship, from 21 where the contest turns upon a judicial murder without so much as a passing allusion to foreign idolatry. The reason is far from cogent, and there is a similarity of language between 17 17 and *21* 1, 18 1 and 21 *17* (cp Benzinger, p. 106). In *St. Kr.*, **1892,** Rosch has endeavoured to show (cp Stade, *GVI*[1] 1 522, n.) that all the narratives are post-exilic, a theory which in the face of the reasons given above seems absolutely untenable (cp KINGS, § **8**; König, *Einleitung*, 266).

[In Moslem traditions Elijah is identified with the mythical personage el-Hadir—i.e., the evergreen or youthful prophet (for fables see Weiland *Legenden*, 177) who has become the guardian of the seas; but was at an earlier time spoken of as dwelling 'at the confluence of two seas (rivers?),' as the guide of the Israelites at the Exodus (equivalent therefore to the pillar of Ere and cloud). Originally he was probably the rescued hero of the Deluge-story. See DELUGE, § 15 (col. 1062), and cp Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.* 32 388 *ff.*]

6. Literature. The monographs on Elijah are mostly out of date. His life and character are given from a critical point of view in the recent Histories of Israel by Stade (vol. i.), Kittel (vol. ii.), and Wellhausen; also in Smend's *AT Relig.* (152 *ff.*[2]; 175 *ff.*). See also Cheyne's *Hallowing of Criticism* ('88), and Gunkel's article on Elijah, *Preuss. Jahrb.* '98, pp. 18-51. On the apocryphal Apocalypse of Elijah and its interesting connection with 1 Cor. 2 9 and Eph. 5 14, see Harnack's *Altchristliche Lift.* 853 *ff.*, and APOCRYPHA, § 20. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigraph. VT*, 1070 *ff.*, has illustrated the place of Elijah in Jewish folklore.

2 A priest, temp. Ezra; Ezra 10 21 (ελ[ε]ια [BA], -ς [L]). Omitted in 1 Esd. 9 21; 𝔊L, however, has ελειας.

3. A layman, temp. Ezra; Ezra 10 *26* (AV ELIAH; ηλια [AB], -ς [L]), called in 1 Esd. *927* AEDIAS (αηδ[ε]ιας [BA], ηλιας [L]).

4. A Benjamite (BENJAMIN, § 9 ii., β), 1 Ch. *827* (AV ELIAH, ηλια [BAL]). W. E. A.

ELIKA (אֱלִיקָא; probably corrupt). In the first of the two lists of David's 'thirty' we find (2 S. 2325 MT) 'Elika the Harodite (rather, Aradite).' This item is absent from 𝔊BL (but 𝔊A gives ενακα), and from the list in 1 Ch. 11. Hence Driver (note on 2 S. 23 39) would omit it, thus making the number of David's minor heroes exactly thirty, but reducing the total of the heroes (including in this the five major ones) to thirty-five. The total given in *v.* 39 may be due to a late editor. Marquart (*Fund.* **19**) agrees, regarding 'Elika the Harodite' as an (incorrect) gloss on *v. 33b.* Wellhausen and Budde, however, retain 'Elika the Harodite,' remarking that the framer of the list likes, when he can, to couple two warriors from the same district. (Arad and Beth-palet, however, may very well be combined.) Another name, it is true, is still wanting to produce a total of thirty-seven. See ELIPHELET, 2, and Cp DAVID, § 11 *a*, i. T. K. C.

ELIM (אֵילִם; αιλειμ [BAL]; *Elim*; Ex. 15 27, *Nu.* 33 9), the second station of the Israelites after crossing the sea, where there were twelve fountains and seventy palms (the term 'Elim' covers palm-trees; see ELATH). On the usual theory of the route of the Israelites, Elim is now generally identified with the beautiful oasis in Wiidy Gharandel, 63 m. from Suez, 7 from 'Ain Hawwära (*Ordnance Survey of Sinai*, 1151).

ELIMELECH (אֱלִימֶלֶךְ, 'God (or, 'my God') is king,' §§ 24, 36, cp Malchiel; αλιμελεκ [A], αβειμελεχ [B], ελι. [L]), a Bethlehemite, husband of Naomi (Ruth 1 2). *See* RUTH.

ELIOENAI (אֶלְיוֹעֵינַי and אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי, § 34, *i.e.*, 'towards God are mine eyes,' or [We.] Elioeni [Eliaueni], 'God brought me forth' [from Aram. יְצָא=יַצֵּא], but analogy suggests that the word is corrupt. The true name may be אֱלִישָׁמָע (Che.)—עי coming from ש, and ני from מ (cp JUSHAB-HESED); ελιωηναι [A]. -ωναι [L]).

1. h. Neariah, 1 Ch. 3 23 *f.* (ελειθανα, -ν [El, *v.* 24 ελιωνναι [A]).

2. A prince of SIMEON 1 Ch. 4 36 (ελιωναι [B], -νηι [A]).

3. b. BECHER in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* § g, ii. *a),* 1 Ch. 7 8 (ελειθαιναν [B]).

4. One of the b'ne PASHHUR (*q.v.* 3) among the priests in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10 22 (ελιωνα [B], -ιαωναι [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 22, ELIONAS (ελιωναις [B], -ας [A]).

5. One of the b'ne ZATTU in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10 27 (ελιωνα [B], ελιωναν [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 28 ELIADAS (ελιαδας [BA]).

6. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*), perhaps the same as (4), Neh. 12 41 (om. B). See ELIEHOENAI, ELIENAI.

7. 1 Ch. 26 3 AV, RV ELIEHOENAI.

ELIONAS (ελιωνας [A]).

1. 1 Esd. 9 22 = Ezra 10 22, ELIOENAI, 4.

2. 1 Esd. 9 32 = Ezra 10 31, ELIEZER, 9.

ELIPHAL (אֱלִיפָל), 1 Ch. 11 35; AVmg. ELIPHELET (*q.v.*, 2).

ELIPHALAT. 1. 1 Esd. 9 33 (ελειφαλατ [BA]) = Ezra 10 33 ELIPHELET, 5.

2. 1 Esd. 6 39 RV (ελειφαλα [B]) = Ezra 8 13, ELIPHELET, 4.

ELIPHALET. 1. (אֱלִיפָ֫לֶט) 2 S. 5 16, RV ELIPHELET, 1.

2. 1 Esd. 8 39 AV = Ezra 8 13, ELIPHELET (4).

ELIPHAZ (אֱלִיפָז), probably a corruption of an old name, but see § 38; ελ(ε)ιφας [AL in Gen., B in Ch.], -αz [AL in Ch., E in Gen.]; z rarely becomes c).

1. Son of Esau, and father of Teman, Omar, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, and Amalek (Gen. 36 4 [-φαζ, L], 10-16 [*v.* 11 -φαθ, E; *v.* 15 -φαζ, D], 1 Ch. 1 35 *f.*). See AMALEK, § 4 EDOM, § 11.

2. A Temanite, one of Job's friends (Job 2 11 [ελ[ε]ιφαζ, BℵAC], and often). See JOB i. and ii.

ELIPHELEH, RV **Eliphelehu** (אֱלִיפְלֵהוּ, § 27; ελιφαλ [L]). A Levite name, 1 Ch. 15 18 (ελειφενα [Bℵ], ελιφαλα [A]); 21 (ενφαν[α]ιας [Bℵ], ελιφαλαιας [A]).

ELIPHELET (אֱלִיפֶ֫לֶט, 'God is a deliverance,' § 30; ελ[ε]ιφαλετ [AℵL]. According to Cheyne a similar name, Ahiphelet, was borne by 'the Gilonite,' David's treacherous counsellor, *pelet*, 'deliverance,' being altered by tradition into *tophel—i.e.*, lit., 'brother of insipidity' or 'folly'; cp 2 S. 15 31).

1. A son of David born to him in Jerusalem (2 S. 5 16 1 Ch. 3 8 14 7). According to 2 S., David had eleven sons born to him in Jerusalem; but by a textual error (which occurs also in 𝔊BL of S.) this number is increased to thirteen, by the addition of NOGAH and another Eliphelet: 1 Ch. *36* 145 (אֱלְפָּ֫לֶט, ELPÁLET [AV], ELPELET [RV]). The latter is omitted by Bertheau, Thenius, and Wellhausen (*Gesch.*[4], 216, ET *ib.*).

𝔊's readings are 2 S. 5 16 ελ[ε]ιφααθ [BA *bis*], ελφαλατ [BA], -δατ, ελιφαλαδ [L];[1] 1 Ch. 3 8 ελειφαλα [B], ελιφααδ [L]; 1 Ch. 14 7 εμφαλετ [B], εν. [ℵ], ελιφαλατ [L]; 1 Ch. 3 6 ελειφαληθ [B], ελιφαθ [L]; 1 Ch. 14 5 ελειφαλεθ [B]. See DAVID, § 11 *(d)*.

2. One of David's 'thirty' (2 S. 23 34; in 1 Ch. 11 35 the name is given by error without the last letter: MT Eliphal, אֱלִיפָל). The name of his father is variously given as Ahasbai (2 S. in MT) and as Ur (1 Ch. in MT); see DAVID, § 11 *(a)* i. *f.*

Both forms, however, are evidently corrupt, and to recover the original name we must not (with We.) omit 'the son of' before 'the Maachathite.' בן and בת, בת and בית were easily confounded; the words which now follow אחסבי, 'Ahashai,' in MT should probably be read (according to Klo.) בֵּית־הַמַּעֲכָתִי, 'a man of Beth-maachah.' And, if Klo. is right in supplying HEPHER (ii., 1) before the gentilic noun, we can hardly doubt that he is right also in regarding בן אחסבי (EV 'son of Ahashai') as a corruption of a gentilic noun formed similarly to בית־המעכתי. If so, the original list ran thus, 'Eliphelet, a man of Beth——; Hepher, a man of Beth-maachah. The number thirty-seven in 2 S. 23 39 is thus accounted for (Che.). The 'Ur' of 1 Ch. might be a corrupt fragment of the lost place-name. For a more tentative view see Driver, *Sam.* 264, and for a bolder but very ingenious view Marquart, *Funk* 22. The versions are equally obscure (2 S. 23 34; αλειφαλεθ [B], οφελλι [L]; 1 Ch. 11 35 ελφατ [Bℵ], ελιφααλ [A], -φαελ [L]).

3. b. Eshek in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 39 (ελιφαλεις [B]).

4. One of the b'ne ADONIKAM (*q.v.*) in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [i.] *d*), Ezra 8 13 (αλειφατ [B], ελιφαλα—θειηλ, for Eliphelet and Jeuel [A], ελιφαλατ [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 39 ELIPHALET, RV ELIPHALAT (ελειφαλα [B], ελιφαλατος [A]).

5. One of the b'ne HASHUM (*q.v.*) in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end); Ezra 10 33 (ελειφανεθ [B], -φαλ [Bab ℵ], ελιαφαλετ [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 33, ELIPHALAT (ελειφαλατ).

ELISABETH (ελεισαβετ [Ti. WH]; *i.e.*, ELISHEBA [*q.v.*]), the righteous and blameless wife of Zacharias, and mother of John the Baptist (Lk. 1 5 *ff.*).

ELISHA (אֱלִישָׁע: 'God is salvation,' § 28; the name אלישע occurs on a seal from 'Ammān, prob. of seventh century B.C. [*ZATW* 7 501 ('97)]; ελεισαιε [B] -λισε [AL]; in NT ελισ[σ]αιος), Elijah's successor in

1. Relation to Elijah.

his prophetic work, and for about half a century the 'father' and guide of the northern kingdom in its struggle for national life and independence. We have in the books of Kings a considerable collection of anecdotes illustrating his history. We cannot be surprised that much of this material from which we have to construct our view of the manner of man he was, bears clear marks of its legendary nature. In this respect the traditions about Elisha do not differ from those about his master (cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5). Unfortunately, however, in the case of Elisha it is much harder to recover the kernel of literal fact, and we miss the clear and bold lines in which the portrait of the true Elijah stands out on the canvas. The difference springs from the vastly superior originality of Elijah. The ideas which came straight to the master's heart were taught to the disciple by outward word and example. He learnt as others might learn. Moreover, he sympathised more than Elijah had done with the natural thoughts and desires of his countrymen, and was much more on a level nith them. For these reasons there is great difficulty in distinguishing the genuine history of Elisha from the overgrowth of popular imagination.

2. Disorder of the Anecdotes.

Reference is made elsewhere (see KINGS, BOOKS OF, § 8) to the disorder and chronological confusion which characterise the bundle of anecdotes on Elisha's life. It may be well to add a few details.

In 2 K. 5 the story of Naaman's cure implies that the relations between the Aramæan and the Israelite kingdoms were ostensibly peaceable. Then, without any explanation of the change, we are introduced in 6 8-23 to the very midst of the warfare between the nations. In the closing verse of this section we are told that the Aramaeans made no further invasion of Israelite territory, whereupon in 6 24 we find the Aramaean king besieging Samaria. In 5 26 *f.* Gēhăzi, Elisha's servant, is said to have been struck with life-long leprosy, which, however., does not offer any obstacle to his familiar intercourse with the king in 8 1-6.

There is no unity therefore in the stories as a whole, though some of them are, no doubt, connected with each other (so 8 16 4 8-37 38-41 42-44. See also KINGS, § 8). Further, it is uncertain whether the editor made his selection on any definite principle, for the assertion that he has related twelve and only tu-elve miracles of Elisha cannot be maintained save on an arbitrary method of reckoning. In any case he failed to understand Elisha's connection with contemporary events. By placing all the anecdotes, with one exception, before Jehu's revolt, he has reduced the greater part of Elisha's public life to a mere blank. Yet how energetic and fruitful in result that life was, we learn with unimpeachable evidence from the exclamation of the king who stood by the aged prophet's death-bed (2 K. 13 14).

Nevertheless the stories, despite their legendary character, are early in date. They belong to the literature of the Northern Kingdom and to the eighth century B.C. Thus, even when they cannot claim to be treated as sober history, they are of great value for the light they throw on the manners and beliefs which prevailed at the time when they were written; and sometimes at least we are justified in the confidence that we have before us fragments of tradition which will bear the test of criticism.

3. Elisha's call.

Elisha was the son of Shaphat and belonged to ABEL-MEHOLAH (*q.v.*): it was there that Elijah found him. The meeting occurred some time after Elijah's return from Horeb; for the route from Horeb to Damascus (1 K. 19 15) would not lead through Abel-meholah, and the word 'thence' in *v.* 19 must refer to some place mentioned in a section of the narrative which stood between *vv.* 18 and 19, but has been omitted by the editor. Elisha had twelve pair of oxen ploughing in the field before him, and was himself driving the twelfth pair. This implies that he was a man of substance, and far (therefore) from the common temptation to 'prophesy for a piece of bread' (Ani.

[1] See also DAVID, § 11 *(a)*, col. 1032. The copy upon which L based his translation seems to have been corrected to agree with Ch.

7 12). Still, when Elijah threw his mantle upon him, he was ready to leave all and only asked leave to bid his parents farewell. The leave was given, but with the added warning to remember the sacred service to which he was now bound by the fact that Elijah had thrown his mantle over him (for this seems to be the meaning of the obscure words in 1 K. 19 20). Returning, Elisha slew the oxen, kindled a fire with the wood of the plough, and made a sacrificial meal for the people about him. From that time forth he was known **as** Elijah's disciple, as one who had 'poured water on his hands' (2 K. 3 11). His call had come mediately, through Elijah, not immediately from Yahwè. So also by Elijahs instrumentality he was perfected for the graver and more independent duties which awaited him when his master was gone.

He is said to have followed his master, when his end was near, from Gilgal in the centre of Palestine[1] to the sanctuary of Bethel and thence to Jericho. Elijah smites the Jordan with his mantle and the two comrades cross dry-shod. 'Ask what, I shall do for thee,' says Elijah, 'before I am taken from thee. The disciple indulges no idle hope of becoming **a** second Elijah; hut he would receive '**a** double portion' of his master's spirit—*i.e.*, the portion of the first-horn, comparing himself with other 'sons of the prophets,' not with his and their mighty father. Even that is **a** 'hard thing' to ask; hut he is to gain this pre-eminence if he is enabled to behold the parting form, **as** it is borne upward in the storm and lightning. He sees the wondrous ascent; he gazes on his 'father' till he vanishes in the height, and rends his clothes in grief for his bereavement. Then he lifts the mantle which had fallen from the ascending prophet's shoulders, smites the river with it and divides the waters in the strength of Elijah's God. Other members of the prophetic guild seek anxiously for their lost leader in hill and dale. Elisha has the calm assurance that Elijah is gone and that he is the heir.

The ascension of Elijah introduces a group of miracles. One miracle is stern and cruel; he curses the youths at

4. Miracles.

Bethel who mock him, and forty-two of them are devoured by two she-bears (2 23-25). Another has at least a penal character; Gēhăzi is struck with life-long leprosy for his covetousness (5 20 *ff.*). The rest are deeds of beneficence.

Elisha heals with salt the waters of Jericho (2 19-22), makes poisonous gourds (see GOURDS [WILD]) wholesome hy sprinkling meal upon them in time of famine (4 38-41), multiplies bread to feed **a** hundred guests (4 42-44) and oil to save the poor widow **of a** prophet from the creditor who would have seized her sons for debt and made them slaves (4 1-7); he brings the borrowed axe up from the river-bed and makes it swim on the water (6 1-7). With exquisite tact he enters into the sorrows of the Shunamite woman who had given him hospitable entertainment, and restores the life of the son whose very birth had been a token of the prophet's power and gratitude (4 8-37). He cleanses the leprosy of NAAMAN (*q.v.*) the Aramaan statesman (chap. 5); and even after he has heed laid in the grave the touch of his hones restores **a** dead man to life (13 20 *f.*)

It may be noted that these miracles are in part connected with the prophetic colonies, that they are modelled to some extent on the wonders ascribed to Elijah (cp 2 K. 2 14 with *v.* 8; 2 K. 4 1 *ff.* with 1 K. 17 14 *ff.*; 2 K. 4 32 *ff.* with 1 K. 17 17 *ff.*; 2 K. 8 10 *ff.* with 1 4), and that so far as they embody the spirit of active love, they contribute a Christ-like element (which **is** missed, however, in Ecclus. 48 12-14) to the ideal of prophecy.

Though both Elisha and his master were wonder-workers and champions of Yahwè's exclusive worship,

5. Political influence.

Elisha's career presents points of marked contrast to that of Elijah. Instead of appearing and disappearing like a meteor flash, Elisha could be found readily enough by the people who consulted him in the leisure of New Moons and Sabbaths (2 K. 4 23), or by princes who sought him in person (2 K. 3 12 6 33). The strife with Baal was over and Elisha exercised decisive power in court and camp.

Thus, Elisha accompanied the combined armies of Israel Judah and Edom, then a vassal state under Judah, in an expedition against Moab, and saved them from perishing of thirst. The story is historical in substance (cp JEHORAM, § 3 *f.*). The allied army marched round the Dead Sea and crossing the Nahal hā-'Arābīm (see ARABAH ii.) attacked Moah from the S. This was just the course which would suggest itself. Moab, **as** we now know from Mesha's altar-stone, had recovered and fortified cities on the N. the Arnon presented an obstacle to invasion from that quart;, and the Aramaeans farther N. still might have cut off all possibility of retreat. 'Dig trenches on trenches in this valley,' said the prophet, **a** rational method of reaching the water which filters through the sand to the rock beneath, and one which still gives its name to the Wādy el-Aḥsā at the S. end of the Dead Sea (see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*(2) 147). We may perhaps doubt whether the Moahites really mistook the water under the sun for blood shed in the quarrel **of** the allies among themselves, though Stade (*GVI* 1 536) sees no reason to question the truth of even this feature in the narrative.

For his political influence, however, Elisha paid a heavy penalty. He felt, and was sometimes worsted by, the temptation to use means which his predecessor would surely have disdained. We may, indeed, on considering the relations between Samaria and Damascus, question the representation in 8 7-15 that he was largely responsible for the murder of Ben-hadad by Hazael; but he certainly was a prime mover in the revolt by which the crafty and murderous Jehu, a man with no character for religion (note especially 10 18), seized the throne of Israel (see JEHU). He bore a nobler part under other kings of Jehu's line.

If we follow Kuenen's plausible conjecture (*Onderzoek*, 1 2, § 25, n. 12, hut see JEHORAM, § 2), it was in the time of Jehoahaz that the Aramaeans besieged Samaria, till the famine within the walls made women devour their children, and the king, despairing of help from Yahwi: and attributing the evil to Elisha's supernatural power, sought the prophet's life. Elisha, we are told, with **a** confidence like that of Isaiah, predicted victory and plenty. His prophecy was fulfilled, the Aramæans terrified by **a** rumour that their own land was invaded (sed JEHORAM, § 2), fled and left their supplies behind.

There came a turn in the tide. The Aramæans, struggling for life against Rammān-nirari III., could no longer hope to subjugate Israel; and Elisha, now stricken in years, saw in spirit the dawn of a brighter day.

It is said that on his death-bed he hade king Joash stand hy the open window and shoot an arrow eastward. The prophet laid his own aged hands on the hands of the young king and cried, as the arrow sped: 'An arrow of Yahwè's victory ('yea, an arrow of victory over Aram. Moreover he told the king to strike the ground with the arrows and when he did so declared it was the sign of three battles to he won, chiding him, however, because he did not double the strokes and so double his success against the foe.

Well might Joash lament over Elisha: 'My father, my father! Israel's chariots and horsemen (art thou)'! His guiding and animating spirit had been worth many a troop to his people. Here lay Elisha's strength and here also its limitations. No new idea came to the birth through him. He was a faithful disciple, a true patriot, a man of loving heart. He worked for Israel, scarcely through Israel for the world; and it is not, perhaps, by mere accident that in the NT he is mentioned only once (Lk. 4 27).

All the modern histories of Israel—especially those of Stade, Kittel, and Wellhausen—treat of Elisha; Smend, *AT Relig.*, also may he consulted. W. E. A.

ELISRAR (אֱלִישָׁה; ελ[ε]ιcα [BADEL], in 𝔊[L] of Gen. 10 4, ελιccα), a son of Javan, occurs elsewhere only in the combination אִיֵּי א׳, Ezek. 27 7, 'coast-lands of Elishah' (νηcων ελ[ε]ιcαι [BAQ]), whence violet and purple stuffs were brought to Tyre. The two most plausible identifications are that with S. Italy and Sicily, where were Greek colonies (Kiepert, Lag., Di., Kau.; cp TIRAS, end), and that with Carthage or, more widely, the N. African coast (Schulthess, Stade, E. Meyer [*GA*, 1 282]). Both regions were famous for the purple dye (cp PURPLE). The latter is favoured by the name; Elissa, princess of Tyre, was the legendary founder of Carthage, which was perhaps originally called Elissa. On the other side Dillmann quotes the gloss in Syncellus, 'Elissa, whence the Sicelots' (ἐλισσὰ ἐξ οὗ σικελοί; Eus. *Chron. Armen.* 2 13); but this seems to tell against the identification of Elishah and Sicily.

[1] 2 K. 2 1. We have assumed that the Gilgal here intended is Jiljīlia SW. of Shiloh. See further, GILGAL, § 4. If we identify Elisha's Gilgal with the famous sanctuary by the Jordan, then we must suppose that there is some confusion in the text, and make Elisha start from his home in Samaria. Robertson Smith (KINGS, BOOKS OF, in *EB*) held this to be the original intention of the narrator (see *v.* 25).

Dillmann urges that Carthage, being a Phœnician colony, would not be represented as descended from Japheth; but this would have as much force against Tarshish or Tartessus (cp TIRAS). It may be granted, however, that 'אִיֵּי א, 'coast-lands of Elishah,' would be perhaps more natural of S. Italy and Sicily; Tg. on Ezek. 27 7 indeed explains this phrase by 'the province of Italy.' A decision is difficult; but perhaps Carthage has the more in its favour. F. B.

ELISHAMA (אֱלִישָׁמָע, 'my God hath heard,' § 32; ελ[ε]ιсαмα [BAL]).

1. b. Ammihud, prince of EPHRAIM (*q.v.*, i.) (Nu. 1 10 2 18 7 48 53 10 22), 1 Ch. 7 26 (ελειμασαι [B]). Cp TRIBES.
2. Son of David (2 S. 5 16 ιαναθ σαμυς [L]; 1 Ch. 3 8 14 7, ελεισαμεε [B]), and
3. Another son of David, mentioned in 1 Ch. 3 6 (ελεισα [B]) = 2 S. 5 15 1 Ch. 14 5, ELISHUA, which name should be restored here, as it is scarcely conceivable that two of David's sons should bear the same name. See DAVID, § 11 (*d*).
4. A Judahite, son of Jekamiah, 1 Ch. 2 41, identified by some with
5. Grandfather of the royal prince ISHMAEL [2], 2 K. 25 25 (ελισαμαν [L]) Jer. 41 1 (𝔊, 48 1; ελασα [B], -εσα [א], ελεασα [Q]). Cp Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 380 *f.*
6. Jehoiakim's scribe, in whose chamber Jeremiah's roll was laid up, Jer. 36 12 20 21 (𝔊 43, ελεισα *vv.* 20 21 [B]).
7. A Levitical priest introduced, by the Chronicler, into his life of Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 17 8.

ELISHAPHAT (אֱלִישָׁפָט, 'God [or, my God] hath judged,' § 35; cp Jehoshaphat and Ph. בעלשפט; ελειсαφαν [B], ελιсαφατ [AL]), b. Zichri, a captain in the time of Jehoiada (2 Ch. 23 1).

ELISHEBA (אֱלִישֶׁבַע, 'God is an oath,' or perhaps rather 'God is health' (Che.), see ABISHUA, ELISHUA, and cp BATHSHEBA, BATHSHUA; similarly ELISABETH, JEHOSHEBA, §§ 33, 50; ελ[ε]ιсαβεθ [BL], -βετ [A], -βε [A*F]), wife of Aaron and daughter of Amminadab (Ex. 6 23 † P). She is also styled 'sister of NAHSHON,' and 'Nahshon b. Amminadab' in P is the well-known chief of Judah in the desert march. P hardly derived the Aaronids from a Judahite mother. 'Sister of Nahshon' is, therefore, most probably a gloss (R_P) which has arisen from a confusion of Elisheba's father with the Judahite. It was, possibly, to avoid this confusion that the writer of 1 Ch. 6 22 [7] mentions a son of Kohath (Aaron's grandfather) named Amminadab, whose place, however, is elsewhere taken by Izhar (cp *ib.* 28). The tribal connection of Aaron's wife, therefore, is as obscure as that of the wife of his famous son ELEAZAR [*q.v.*, 1].

The name Elisheba may well be pre-exilic (see Gray, *HPN*, 206), and with regard to the difficult question of the origin of Levitical names it may be pointed out that in this case a name of parallel formation is borne by a devout follower of Yahwè, the wife of the priest Jehoiada of Judah. See JEHOSHEBA.

ELISHUA (אֱלִישׁוּעַ, 'God is a help,' § 28; cp Elisha; ελιсογε [L]), 'a son of David' [*q.v.*, § 11 *d* (β)] (2 S. 5 15, ελ[ε]ιсογс [BA]; 1 Ch. 14 5, εκταε [B], ελιсαγ [A]). In 1 Ch. 3 6 for ELISHAMA (*q.v.*, 3) Elishua should be restored (so 𝔊^B ελεισα).

ELISIMUS, RV ELIASIMUS (ελ[ε]ιс[ε]ιмοс [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 28 = AV Ezra 10 27 ELIASHIB, 5.

ELIU (ηλειογ [BאA], ηλιογ [B^c], *i.e.*, אֱלִיהוּא, ELIHU), a forefather of Judith (Judith 8 1).

ELIUD (ελιογδ [Ti. WH], *i.e.*, אֱלִיהוּד, 'God' [or 'my God'] is glorious'; cp Ammihud, Abihud), sixth from Zerubbabel in the ancestry of Joseph (Mt. 1 14). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 2 (c).

ELIZAPHAN (אֱלִיצָפָן, *i.e.*, 'God [or, my God] shelters'; cp Elzaphan; ελ[ε]ιсαφαν [BAL]).

1. A Kohathite prince, according to Nu. 3 30 P; but in 1 Ch. 15 8 his name is co-ordinated with that of Kohath (ελεισαφατ [B]). He is also named in 2 Ch. 29 13. See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (i.).
2. A prince of ZEBULUN, Nu. 34 25 P. See PARNACH.

ELIZUR (אֱלִיצוּר, 'God' [or my God'] is a rock,' § 29; cp ZURIEL, PEDAHZUR; ελ[ε]ιсογρ [BAL]), a Reubenite prince (Nu. 1 5 2 10 7 30 35 10 18 †). See ZUR, NAMES WITH.

ELKANAH (אֶלְקָנָה, 'God hath created (him)' or 'God hath bought him,' § 36; ελκανα [BAL]).

1. The father of the prophet Samuel (1 S. 1 1). He was the son of Jerahmeel (see JEROHAM [1]) according to one form of the genealogy of Samuel; but the name of Samuel's father is also traditionally given (it would seem) as Elihu or rather (see ELIHU, 2) Elimelech.

2. Eponym of one of the three divisions of the Korahite Levites (Ex. 6 24; see KORAH [3]), the others being ASSIR (1) and ABIASAPH. In 1 Ch. 6 the genealogy of the sons of Korah is given in two forms, both differing from that of Exodus, and Samuel's father is represented as a descendant of the Korahite Elkanah. This may mean either that the descendants of Samuel were actually incorporated after the exile in the Korahite guild under the name of sons of Elkanah, and that an older Elkanah, son of Korah, was inserted to give symmetry to the genealogical tree, or simply that the Korahite guild of Elkanah was led by its name to claim kinship with the prophet Samuel and incorporate his ancestors in its genealogy. See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iii.).

3. A Levite: 1 Ch. 9 16 (ηλκανα [B]).
4. One of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 6 (ηλκανα [BAL]). See DAVID, § 11 (*a*).
5. A Levitical door-keeper for the ark: 1 Ch. 15 23 (ηλκανα [BאA]).
6. A Judahite noble: 2 Ch. 28 7 (ειλκανα [B]). W. R. S.

ELKIAH (ελκεια [BHA]; AV ELCIA—*i.e.*, Hilkiah), an ancestor of Judith (Judith 8 1).

ELKOSHITE, THE (הָאֶלְקֹשִׁי, Ginsb., with most MSS and editions; הָאֶלְקוֹשִׁי, Baer, with the small MS Massora; הָאֶל־קֹשִׁי and הָאֶל־קוֹשִׁי also are found in MSS.; ελκεсαιοс [BHAQ]), a gentilic noun, derived from Elkosh, the name of the town to which the prophet Nahum belonged (Nah. 1 1).

According to Peiser [*ZATW*, 7 349 ('97)], the word contains the name of the deity, קוּשׁ [cp KISH], which he finds likewise in the name Kushaiah [1 Ch. 15 17], and in Prov. 30 31 [he reads אֶלְקוּשׁ for אַלְקוּם].

Three sites have been proposed.

a. There is an el-Ḳūš not far from the left bank of the Tigris, two days' journey N. of the ancient Nineveh, where the grave of the prophet Nahum is pointed out. According to Friedrich Delitzsch and A. Jeremias,[1] this is the place referred to in Nah. 1 1. This theory involves the assumption that Nahum belonged to the 'ten tribes' and was born in exile, and has been thought to be favoured by the prophet's (presumed) accurate knowledge of local details respecting Nineveh. On the one hand, however, the N. Israelitish exiles were not settled in Assyria proper (2 K. 17 6 18 11), and we find no trace in Nahum of any hope of a return home such as an exile would certainly have expressed somewhere (cp Kue., *Ond.*(2) ii., § 75. n. 4); and, on the other, quite enough was known of Assyria in Palestine in the time of Nahum to enable a prophet of such power to sketch the picture that we have in chap. 2. We must rather suppose that it was at a later day that the graves of the two prophets who prophesied against Nineveh were sought in the neighbourhood of that city. Whilst a resting-place for Jonah was found in Nineveh itself (Nebi Yûnus), the village called el-Ḳūš seemed, in view of Nah. 1 1, to be appropriate for the grave of Nahum. That there was a village there, however, in the seventh century B.C. cannot be shown. The earliest reference to it, according to Jeremias, is in the eighth century A.D.; nor is the grave mentioned before the sixteenth.

b. A ruined site in Galilee, *Elcese*, was shown to Jerome as the birthplace of the prophet, and is attested,

[1] See the treatise by Billerbeck and Jeremias cited under NAHUM (beg.).

with slight variations, as Ελκεσε also by the Greek fathers. As ἐλκεσαῖος is also the form of the name in Nah. 11 (ελκαισεου [א*], -κεσεου [א c.b]) it is possible that אֶלְקֹשֶׁה was a collateral form by the side of אֶלְקֹשׁ (Kue.), or, rather, that the name of Nahum's birthplace was אֶלְקֹשֶׁה, not אֶלְקֹשׁ. Indeed, since the ו of the *scriptio plena* is in no case binding, האלקשי might itself be read הָאֶלְקֹשִׁי and derived from אֶלְקֹשֶׁה. In this case the name would have nothing to do with the deity קוֹשׁ. If, then, the tradition reported by Jerome be correct, we must suppose that Nahum, assuming that he lived in the seventh century (see NAHUM, § 2), was born in Galilee amongst the Israelites left there in 722, and then, as the book itself refers us to Judæa, removed thither at a later date (cp further CAPERNAUM, §§ 1, 5).

c. Against the statement of Jerome, however, is to be set that of the *Vitæ Prophetarum* of Pseudo-Epiphanius. The text of the latter is indeed unfortunately very unsettled, and in its common form the ελκεσει of Nahum is located E. of the Jordan. Nestle, however, has made it very probable that Ἰορδάνου εἰς is due to a corruption of the text, and that the genuine text says that Elkese lay 'beyond Betogabra' (=ELEUTHEROPOLIS, the mod. Bēt Jibrin) in the tribe of Simeon (*ZDPV* 1 222 *ff.* ['78]; transl. in *PEFQ*, 1879, pp. 136-138; cp *Marg. u. Mat.* 2 26 *f.*, 43 *ff.* ['93]). Beyond question a place in Judah would be much more in harmony with the age and contents of the book (cp We. *Kl. Proph.* 155 [(3), 158], who asserts that Nahum was 'at all events a Judæan from Judah'), and it should likewise be considered that all similar names of places point to the S.—viz., אֶלְתְּקֵה, אֶלְתְּקוֹן, אֶלְתּוֹלַד to the kingdom of Judah; אֶלְעָלֵה to the S. part of the trans-Jordanic district. Certainty *is*, however, unattainable. *K.* B.

ELLASAR (אֶלָּסָר, ελλαcαρ [D], cελλ. [A], ελα. [L], ܐܠܣܪ, *Ponti* [gen.]), the **land** or city and district ruled over by ARIOCH (Gen. 14 1). It was natural to think, with Ménant and others, of Ašur, the old capital of Assyria, and its territory. Ellasar might very well be a Hebrew transliteration of the Assyrian *alu* Ašur (*city of* Ašur); Assyrian (not Babylonian) *š (d)* is represented in Hebrew by s (ס). Most scholars, however, have rightly adopted Sir H. Rawlinson's view that Ellasar means Larsa or Larsam, the ancient Babylonian city of the sun-god, the ruins of which are still to be seen at *Senkereh* (cp BABYLONIA, § 3), because the name (Arioch) of the king is identified with Eri-aku, son of Kudnr-mabuk, and vassal-king of Larsa. This, no doubt, requires one to assume either a slip on the part of the writer or a corruption of the text;[1] but, since the narrator speaks of allies or vassals of the Elamitic over-king Chedorlaomer, it is clear that he must mean, not Ašur, but Larsa. See Del. *Par.* 224, and, on the historical value of the account, CHEDORLAOMER, § 4f. *e.* P. *T.*

ELM, a misleading rendering of אֵלָה in Hos. 4 13 AV, for TEREBINTH [*q.v.*]. Palestine is too warm *for* elms.

ELMQDAM or better RV **Elmadam** (ελμαδαμ [Ti. WH]), six generations above Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. *328*).

Pesh. (cp Arm.) gives Elmodad; cp. **ALMODAD** (Cen. 10 26), a poor early conjecture. Read Elmatham—*i.e.*, Elnathan (see 𝔊A 2 K. **248**); *d* and *th* were confounded, see 𝔊's readings of ELZABAD. Cp GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

ELNAAM (אֶלְנַעַם, 'God is graciousness,' § 38, cp Phœn. גדנעם, *CIS* 1no. *383*) in David's army list (1 Ch. 11 46; ελλααμ [B], -αμ [א vid.], ελναάμ [A], BAN. [L]). Cp JOSHAVIAH, and see DAVID, § 11 *(a)* ii.

ELNATHAN (אֶלְנָתָן, 'God has given,' §§ 24, 27, ελναθαν [BAQ mg.]).

1. Grandfather (on the maternal side) of Jehoiachin; designated, 'Elnathan of Jerusalem'; 2 K. 24 8 (ελλαναθαμ [B], -μαθαμ [A], -ναθαν [L]). Most probably the same as Elnathan b. Achbor, Jer. 36 12 ([𝔊 44 12], ιωναθαν [B], *ν.* [AQ*]), who was sent by Jehoiakim to fetch Uriah out of Egypt, Jer. 26 22-24 ([33 22-24], om. B), and is mentioned again in connection with the burning of Jeremiah's roll (36 25 ναθαν [A]).

2. Three men of this name are mentioned in Ezra 8 16. Two were 'chief men' (ראשים) and the third, one of the מבינים or 'teachers,' RV (αλωναμ, ελναθαν, εαν. [BA], ελιν., ελν. [L, who gives only two]). In 1 Esd. 8 44 there are only two names, ALNATHAN, RV ELNATHAN (ενααταν [B]), and EUNATAN, a misprint which is corrected in the RV ENNATAN (ενναταν).

ELOHIM (אֱלֹהִים), see NAMES, § 114 *f.*

ELQI (ελωι), Mk. 15 34. See ELI, ELI.

ELON (אֵילוֹן, *i.e.*, '[sacred] oak,' § 69; **cp** ALLON). 1. One of the cities assigned to Dan in Josh. 19 43, where it is mentioned along with Shaalabbin, Aijalon, Timnah, and Ekron. (𝔊 has: αιλων [B], ελ. [A], ιαλ. [L], but 𝔊L ελων for 'Aijalon' in *v.* 42—a case of transposition.) The site has not been identified; but it is obviously to be looked for in or near the Valley of Sorek (*W. Ṣarār*). The same Elon is referred to in 1 K. 4 9 (crit. emend.), where it follows Shaalbim and Bethshemesh. See ELON-BETH-HANAN (where 𝔊's readings are given).

2. See AIJALON, 2; and cp below, ELON ii., 1 *f.*

ELON (אֵלוֹן, Gin. Ba.; αλλων [BAL]). 1. A son, that is, family or clan, of ZEBULUN: Gen. 46 14 (ασρων [B]) = Nu. **2626** (αλων [L]); perhaps the same as

2. One of the six 'minor' judges, most of whose names 'appear to be those of clans rather than of individuals' (Moore, *Judges*, xxviii.): Judg. 12 11 *f.* (Gin. אילון, Ba. אֵלֹן, αιλωμ [BL], -ν **[A]**; *Ahialon*). Elon is really the *heros eponymos* of Aijalon (or rather Elon; see AIJALON, 2), in the land of Zebulun. The gentilic is **Elonite,** אֵלֹנִי; Nu. 26 26 (αλλων[ε]ι [BAF], αλωνι [L]).

3. (אֵילוֹן, Gin. Bä.; properly a place-name; see **NAMES,** § 69), a Hittite, father of BASHEMATH (1), one of Esau's foreign wives: Gen. **2634** (αιλωμ [AL], -δωμ [*D*]), called father of ADAH, 2: Gen. 36 2 (ελωμ [א], αιδωμ [*D*], -λων [E], -μ [L]). See BASHEMATH, 1, BEERI, 1.

ELQN-BETH-HANAN (אֵילוֹן בֵּית־חָנָן; but some MSS have בן for בית, and others prefix ו; ελωμ εωc βηθλαμαν [B], αιλωμ εωc βηθαναν [A], αιλων εωc βαιθναάμ [L]). A name, or rather names, at the end of the description of Solomon's second prefecture (1 K. 4 9). 𝔊 is probably right in reading '... and Elon as far as B.' (cp *v.* 12, end). Elon is probably the first ELON (i., 1) mentioned above, though it is also possible to read Aijalon. 'Beth-hanan,' if a frontier town is meant, can hardly be right; some well-known name is wanted.

Possibly we should, with Klostermann, read BETH-HORON, an important place, marked out by nature for **a** frontier-town. Conder's suggestion of *Beit 'Anān* (Socin, *Bēt 'Enān*, a village 8½ m. from Jerusalem, on the road to *Jimzū* (*PEFM.* 3 16), *Beit Ḥanūn*, 2 h. NE. of Gaza (*BR* 2 371), may be mentioned.

ELOTH (אֵילוֹת), 1 K. 9 26 2 Ch. 8 17. See ELATH.

ELPAAL (אֶלְפַּעַל, § 31; αλφααδ, ελχααδ [B], αλφαα, -λ., ελφ. [A], ελειφ. [L]), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. *β*); 1 Ch. 8 11 *f.* 18. See *JQR* 11 102 *ff.*, § 1. Cp EPHLAL.

ELPALET (אֶלְפָּלֶט), 1 Ch. 14 5; or RV Elpelet (1 Ch. 14 5) see ELIPHELET (1).

EL-PARAN (אֵיל פָּארָן, *i.e.*, 'the tree [@'terebinth'; better, 'palm-tree'] of Paran'; εωc τηc τερεμινθου

1 Ordinary processes will not account for the change of Larsa to Ellasar. If it were a Greek document, *we* could understand such a change better, as the Greeks take great liberties in the transcription of Semitic names; but the Hebrews are more accurate. [Ball (*SBOT*) suggests **as** the original *-āl Larsam*, 'the city of Larsa.']

ΤΗϹ ΦΑΡΑΝ [(A) (D)], ε. τ. τερμινθογ τ. φ. [E], ε. τερεβινθογ τ. φ. [L] Gen. 146). See PARAN. (Onk., Sam. 'plain [מישרא] of Paran'; see MOREH, ZAANAIM.)

EL-ROI (אֵל רֳאִי), Gen. 16 13, RVmg.; see NAMES, § 116, and cp ISAAC, § 2.

EL-SHADDAI (אֵל שַׁדַּי), Gen. 17 1; see NAMES, § 117.

ELTEKE or ELTEKEH (אֶלְתְּקֵא or אֶלְתְּקֵה, Assyr. *Al-ta-ḳu-u*, ελθεκω [A]), a town of the Judæan lowland, mentioned with Ekron and Timnah, in the book of Joshua (19 44, αλκαθα [B], ελθεκειν [L]), was (21 23 ελκωθαιμ [B], ελθεκα [L]) a Levitical city in the inheritance of Dan. It was taken and destroyed by Sennacherib on his way to Timnah and Ekron after his defeat of the Egyptian forces that had come to the help of the Ekronites (see his 'prism' inscription, Schrader, *KAT*(2), 171 *f.*, 289, 292 [ET, 159 *f.*, 282, 285]). The army overthrown by Sennacherib probably consisted of Jews as well as Ekronites and Egyptians, and a likely spot for them to unite and take their stand would be up the Wādy Ṣarār (Vale of Sorek) on the high road between Ekron and Jerusalem, at the foot of the hills—a position which equally suits the data in Joshua. Sennacherib might reach it from the coast and the neighbourhood of Joppa (where he was previously), by the vale of Aijalon and the easy pass, from the latter to the Vale of Sorek. No trace of the name, however, has been discovered here or elsewhere. *Khirbet Lezkā*, 7 m. SW. of Ekron and near the great N. road (*PEF* map, Sh. xvi.; see map to JUDÆA) suits the data of Sennacherib's inscription, but seems incompatible with those of Joshua. *Beit Likiā* in Aijalon (Conder) is too far N. (cp Guthe, *Zukunftsbild d. Jesaia*, 48). See CHRONOLOGY, § 21.

G. A. S.

ELTEKON (אֶלְתְּקֹן: θεκογμ [B], ελθεκεν [AL]), a town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 59), mentioned in a small group of six along with Halhul (Ḥalḥūl), Beth-zur (Burj Stir) and Gedor (Jedūr). The site is therefore to be sought, most probably, somewhere on or near the route from Hehron to Jerusalem. The reading *θεκουμ* of 𝔊B suggests that the element אל in this name was sometimes taken to represent the definite article (cp ELTOLAD). Some have thought of this Eltekon as the site of Sennacherib's victory of Altaku, and indeed, in spite of what Schrader says (*KAT*(2), 171 *f.*), the spelling of the latter is nearer Eltekon than Eltekeh; but the geographical reasons he gives in favour of Eltekeh are well grounded. See ELTEKE.

ELTOLAD (אֶלְתּוֹלַד), one of the cities of Judah in the Negeb near the border of Edom (Josh. 1530, ελθωλαδ [A], -ωλαδ [L], ελβωναλαδ [B]), but in Josh. 19 4 (ελθογλαδ [A], -λαδ [L], -λα [B]) assigned to Simeon. In 1 Ch. 4 29 the name is TOLAD (תּוֹלָד; *θωλαδ* [A], *θουλαειμ* [B], *θολαθ* [L]), the prefixed Arabic article אל being omitted (so at least Kon. 2 417, but apparently not Ges.-K. § 35*m*; cp ELTEKON, above).

ELUL (אֱלוּל, ελογλ [BbאAvid]; in Assyr. *Ululu*; see Schr. *KAT* 380, and cp אלול in Palm. [de Vogüé, *Syr. Cent.* no. 79]) occurs in Neh. 615 (εδογλ [B], αλογλ [L]) and 1 Macc. 14 27 (ελογλ [VA], om. *K*) as the name of a MONTH (*q.v.*, § 5).

ELUZAI (אֶלְעוּזַי, *i.e.*, 'God is my refuge?' § 29; αζαι [B], ελιωζι [A], ελιεζερ [L]), one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 5†. See DAVID, § 11 (*a*) iii.

ELYMAIS (ελ[λ]γμαις [B]). 1. In 1 Macc. 6 1 *f.* AV has, 'king Antiochus, travelling through the high countries, heard say that Elymais in the country of Persia was a city greatly renowned for riches, silver, and gold, and that there was in it a very rich temple,' etc. (cp NANEA). RV, however, reads, '. . . that in Elymais in Persia there was a city,' etc. AV follows TR; RV represents *ἐν Ἐλυμαΐδι ἐν τῇ Περσίδι*; 𝔊B reads *εν ελυμαις* (*ελυμες* [A]) *εν τη περσ*. Whether RV is justified in adopting this text seems doubtful; *εν* before *ελυμαις* may be the correction of a scribe who knew that there was no city bearing the name of Elymais. Polybius (31 11), it is true, states that the temple on which Antiochus had designs was in Elymais; but 2 Macc. 9 2 places it at Persepolis, which was not in Elymais, but in Persia proper.

G. Hoffmann (*Auszüge aus Syr. Akten Pers. Märtyrer*, 132 *f.*), quoting a passage *τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν τὰ Ἀζαρα*, assumes that *Ἀζαρα* is the city referred to, and identifies *Ἀζαρα* with the Ar. Āzar, which is in Khūsistān, SE. of Susa, one day's journey on the road from Rām-hormuz to el-Ahwāz (cp al-Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, 41913). Possibly, however, the real name was one which admitted of being mutilated and corrupted so as to produce עֵילָם Elam. Gratz (*MGWJ*, 1883, p. 241 *ff.*) seeks a clue in the obscure passage Dan. 1145; but it seems hazardous to assume that אפדנו (EV 'his palace,' which does not suit אהלי 'the tents of') is equivalent to *Απφαδανα*, the name of an Elamite city in Ptolemy, for Gratz himself holds that the rest of the clause is deeply corrupt. Compare, however, Vg. and Aq. in Dan. *l.c.*; both take א to be a proper name.

'Elymaïs' recurs in Toh. 2 10, where RVmg. certainly adopts the correct reading. For the statement that ACHIACHARUS went to Elymais (*εἰς τὴν Ἐλ(λ)υμαιδα* [BאA]—possibly *εἰς γῆν* 'E.) support has been found in the semi-apocryphal romance which bears his name (Rendel Harris, *Story of Aḥiḳar*, lii.). Dillon, however, ingeniously suggests that the name has arisen from the underground cell — the original narrative had some derivative of עלם—in which Aḥiḳar hides himself from the wrath of Sennacherib and Nadan (*Contemp. Review*, March 1898). It is to he noted that the allusion to Achiacharus has little bearing upon Tobit—at least in its present form (see TOBIT).

ELYMAS (ελγμας [Ti. WH]), Acts 13 8. See BARJESUS.

ELYON (עֶלְיוֹן), Gen. 14 18 RVmg. See NAMES, § 118.

ELZABAD (אֶלְזָבָד, 'God has given,' § 27; cp Palm. נבוזבד, de Vogüé, *Syr. Centr.* no, 73. Ili-zabadu, a Jewish name of fifth century B.C., has been found on a tablet from Nippur [Hilprecht]).

1. One of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12 12 (*ελιαζερ* [B]. probably only a scribe's error, *ελεζαβαδ* [A], *ελσαβαδ* [L]). See DAVID, § 11 (*a*) iii.

2. h. Shemaiah, a Korahite door-keeper,[1] 1 Ch. 26 7 (*εληζαβαθ* [B]; *ελζαβαδ* [A]; *ιεζ.* [L]).

ELZAPHAN (אֶלְצָפָן, 'El conceals' or 'defends,' § 30; cp Zephaniah; ελιςαφαν [BAL]), h. Uzziel, a Kohathite Levite (Ex. 622 Lev. 10 4). Cp ELIZAPHAN.

EMADABUN (ημαδαβογν [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 58 RV, AV MADIABUN.

EMATHEIS (εμαθεις [A]), 1 Esd. 9 29 RV = Ezra 10 28, ATHLAI.

EMBALMING. The Egyptian belief in the continued existence after death of the hnman *Ka* (see EGYPT, § 18) seems to he of very great antiquity. To make this existence happy precautions of every Bind were taken; food and drink were placed in the grave that the *Ka* might not starve; his favourite movables in like manner were buried with him; hut above all the body had to be preserved so that the *Ka* could resume possession at pleasure. Hence the very ancient practice of embalming.

A minute description of the methods employed in his own time is given by Herodotus (2 86 *ff.*); with this may be compared the account of Diodorus Siculus (1 91). According to Herodotus embalming was the business of a special guild. He distinguishes three methods.

[1] Read 'and Elzabad and his brothers' with 𝔊 and some Heb. MSS (Ki.).

1. In the costliest of the three the brain was withdrawn through the nose with an iron hook and the cavity filled with spices. Then an incision was made in the abdomen on the left side with an 'Ethiopic stone' (flint knife), the bowels removed and washed with palm wine, the cavity filled with myrrh, cassia, and other drugs, and the opening sewed up. Next the body was kept for seventy days in natron (according to modern analysis, sub-carbonate of soda), then finally washed and skilfully swathed in long strips of byssus smeared with gum. The mummy was usually enclosed in a sort of case which showed the outlines of the body, and lastly in a wooden coffin of human shape, occasionally also in a stone sarcophagus.

2. The second method was simpler, and correspondingly cheaper. Cedar oil was introduced into the body and removed after it had decomposed the viscera; the body was then laid in natron, which, according to Herodotus, wholly consumed the flesh, leaving nothing but the skin and bones.

3. The third and cheapest method substituted for the cedar oil of the second some less expensive material.

Broadly speaking, the statements of Herodotus are confirmed by what we learn from Egyptian sources and from examination of the mummies themselves.[1] Extant mummies, however, exhibit more methods of embalming than the three just described. In particular those of the New Empire show a marked advance in the art, as compared with those of the Old. According to Erman, however (*Egypt*, 315), accurate details as to this are still wanting. One of the main innovations was in the treatment of the viscera. In the New Empire these were removed; the heart was replaced by a stone scarabæus (the scarabwns, as a peculiarly mysterious and holy creature, was supposed likely to be of essential use to the dead). The heart, lungs, liver, and other remaining viscera were set aside in four vases, usually (from an old misunderstanding) called Canopic. Each vase was under the protection of a special dæmon—all four dwmons being sons of Osiris—and the lid of each took the form of the head of that dwmon: man, jackal, hawk, cynocephalus. The special function of the dwmon was to ward off hunger.

This custom of embalming was specifically Egyptian. The Hebrews did not practise it. It is only as being an Egyptian custom that the narrator speaks of it as applied in the cases of Jacob and Joseph (Gen. 50 2 *f.* [J2], 5026 [E]). With his statement that the embalming lasted forty days (503) may be compared that of Diodorns (1 91) which makes it at least thirty days. Ordinarily, however, it seems to have taken seventy days. There is a statement of Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 7 4), referring to a later period—a statement which stands by itself—that the body of Aristobulns was embalmed with honey so as to allow of its being afterwards removed to Jerusalem.

See Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 2451 *ff.*; Maspero, *Mém. sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, II.: le rituel de l'embaumement*; J. Czermak (as in note); articles in Winer, Riehm, and *PRE*(3); Erman, *Egypt*, chap. 13. I. B.

[1] Compare especially the results of Czermak's physiological examination of two mummies at Prague, in *SWAW*, 1852.

EMBROIDERY. RV's substitute for the 'needlework' of AV in Judg. 5 30 Ps. 45 14 [15] (רִקְמָה 'broidered work'), and virtually in Ex. 26 36 27 16 28 39 36 37 38 18 39 29 (מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם). EV gives 'broidered work' in Ezek. 16 10 13 (רִקְמָה), 'their broidered garments' in 26 16 (בִּגְדֵי רִקְמָתָם). The Heb. word (*rikmah*) is used metaphorically in Ezek. 17 3 (feathers of an eagle) and 1 Ch. 29 2 (ornamental stones, or mosaic work). The cognates of רקמה are Eth. *rekem*, Ar. *rakama* 'to embroider,' also 'to write' ('to make points'), with which the Targ. רִקְמְתָא 'coloured spots,' and the Syr. *tarkemāthā* 'red pimples,' may be compared, from which it seems to follow that the first step towards embroidery was making points, or little strokes; diversity of hue would be sought for in the next stage. In its usual specialised sense of needlework-ornamentation of woven fragments, Ar. *rakama* has passed into Italian (*ricamare*) and Spanish (*recamar*). 𝔊 has ποικιλαί, ἡ ποικιλία τοῦ ῥαφιδευτοῦ, ἔργον ποικιλτοῦ, ποικίλος. In Ex. 28 4 AV has 'a broidered coat' for כְּתֹנֶת תַּשְׁבֵּץ; RV 'a coat of chequer work.' See TUNIC, and observe that, though in Ps. 45 15 [14] לִרְקָמוֹת (RV 'in, or upon, broidered work') is plainly corrupt, the reference to brocade-work in *v.* 14 [13] is unquestioned (see Che. *Ps.*(2)).

1. Hebrew terms.

Embroidery was regarded by the Romans as peculiarly a Phrygian art[1] (*vestis Phrygia; opus Phrygium*). Pliny (8 48) even states that embroidery with the needle was invented by the Phrygians. More probably the Phrygians derived the art indirectly from Babylonia. According to Perrot and Chipiez (*Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, 2 363) the Chaldwans first set the example of wearing richly embroidered stuffs, 'as we know from the most ancient cylinders, from the Telloh (Tell Lōḥ?) monuments, and from the stele of Marduk-nadin-aḫi.' Should this statement be correct, it practically decides the question as to the origin of the art of embroidery. The Latin expression for an embroidering-needle (*acus Babylonia*) would seem to point in the same direction.

2. Home of the art.

It is true, the ancient Babylonian cylinder-seals hardly supply any confirmation of the statement of historians. In the magnificent records of De Sarzec's excavations, however, there is (pl. I. *bis*, fig. 1*a*) a representation of a standing figure clothed in a garment covered with diagonal lines which form lozenges. In this we may most probably see an example of exceedingly early embroidery (3000 or 4000 B.C.), which would naturally assume a very simple form. Our next important example is that of Marduk-nadin-aḫi (about 1120 B.C.), in which the robe of the king is very elaborately wrought. The finest specimens of all, however, are the designs on the robe of the Assyrian king Ašur-naṣir-apli (885 B.C.), which are most interesting and instructive with regard to this subject. The sculptures representing him show that his dress was embroidered with most varied designs, representing men, deities, and animals, as well as the king himself performing ceremonies before the sacred tree, etc. The borders and ornaments (generally floral, the chief subject being the sacred tree) are extremely good (see Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, and Perrot and Chipiez; *Chaldæa*, figs. 253-259, and text).

In the inscriptions we cannot at present say with certainty that either needlework or woven embroidery is spoken of. Garments and woven stuffs are indeed referred to; we even have lists of garments; but the precise signification of the words employed is often obscure. Very possibly, however, the phrases (*ṣubatu*) *ša ina ašagi barru* and (*ṣubatu*) *ša ina kunsilli barru* refer not to garments 'torn with thorns,' or other objects of that kind, but to cloth 'ornamented' or 'embroidered with a thorn' (? needle) and 'with a shuttle (?)' respectively.

Egyptian embroidery is known only through late specimens; but from these we can safely infer the production of similar fabrics in earlier times. Herodotns (3 47) mentions that Amasis (570 B.C.) sent to the Athena (Minerva) of Lindos a linen corslet inwoven with figures and embroidered with gold and cotton; and Ezekiel (27 7), addressing Tyre, says 'Of embroidered byssus from Egypt was thy sail.' Lucan (10 141-143) speaks of Egyptian embroidery. The thread is called Sidonian, the silk is from the Seres, the needle is Egyptian (Nilotis).

In Greece the invention of the art was ascribed to Athena: hence the offerings of foreign work of this kind to her temple (see above). Embroidery with the needle cannot be shown to be mentioned in the Homeric poems. Almost always the terms used are those applicable to weaving (*Il.* 3 125 *ff.* 22 440 *f.*; *Od.* 19 225 *ff.*).

[1] It is said that the *toga picta* worn by the emperor on festal occasions, by the consuls on entering office, by the magistrates when giving public games, and by the Roman generals on their triumphs, was of Phrygian embroidery.

To the value set on embroidery in ancient Palestine Judg. 5 30 supplies an eloquent testimony; it is presumably Babylonian work that the poet refers to. At any rate, Achan's mantle was Babylonian (Josh. 7 21 24).

3. Biblical references. In the account of Hezeliiahs tribute (Taylor cylinder, 3 34 *ff.*), there is no mention of embroidered garments; hut, though we may perhaps assume that the veil of the temple (see below) was not Jewish work, it is probable (especially if P is late) that the art of embroidery was practised in Judæa. The account of the process of preparing the gold thread for the embroiderer, in Ex. 39 3, deserves notice. 'And they beat out the plates of gold, so that he could cut them into wires, to work these into the blue, and the purple, and the scarlet, and the fine linen, the work of an artist.' In this passage the word חֹשֵׁב, *ḥōšēb* (EV 'cunning workman') takes the place of רֹקֵם, *rōḳēm* (EV 'embroiderer'); another similar but perhaps higher class of work may be meant.

According to the Talmudists רקמה, or embroidery, was when the design was attached to the stuff by being sewn on, and visible, therefore, on one side only, and the work of the חֹשֵׁב was that in which the design was worked in by the loom appearing on both sides.[1] The correctness of this, however: may he doubted, for the statement that the חֹשֵׁב worked golden threads and also cherubim into the fabric (Ex. 26 1 31 36 8 35), implies that he, too, was a needle-worker (cherubim being probably much too difficult for a loom-worker at that period), and moreover an 'artist,' not only on acconnt of the more complicated nature of the work he executed, but also because he worked from new and much more varied designs than the רקם.

Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 5 4 *BJ* v. 5 4) speaks of the wonderful veils both of the first and of the second (Herod's) temple. Clermont-Ganneau has suggested[2] that the veil of the first, which Antiochus Epiphanes certainly took away, was the curtain of the sanctuary of Olympia, of Assyrian workmanship, dyed with 'Phoenician purple, and given by Antiochus. Josephus's description of the highly artistic veil in Herod's temple, sets us wondering where it was made. He calls it *a* Babylonian curtain. It is doubtful whether any but priests' families remained on the site of ancient Babylon; but of course the art of embroidery may have been practised in other cities of Babylonia. T. G. P.

EMEK-KEZIZ, AV 'The valley of Keziz' (עֵמֶק קְצִיץ: αμεκαcειc [B] -κκα. [A], εμ. [L]), an unidentified city in the territory of Benjamin (Josh. 18 21), enumerated between BETH-HOGLAH and BETH-ARABAH, 2. The name *Ḳĕṣīṣ* sounds like the word *Ḳeṣāṣ*, another name of the *W. Ḥaṣāṣeh*, between Tekoa and En-gedi (see ZIZ); but this Wādy could not belong to Benjamin. If 𝔊^B is right in reading Beth-abarah in Josh. *l.c.*, we may conjecturally identify Emelr-keziz with the broad and deep *Wādy en-Nawā'imeh*, NW. of the modern Jericho, which Robinson explored on his way from Jericho to Bethel. The place intended was possibly near the springs of *'Ain ed-Dūk* (see DOCUS). T. K. C.

EMERALD (cμαραγλοc, *smaragdus*)[3] represents in 𝔊 (see, however, PRECIOUS STONES) the Heb. בָּרֶקֶת, *bārĕḳeth* (Ex. 28 17 39 10) or בָּרְקַת, *bār^eḳath* (Ezek. 28 13).

1. Name. It, is also the rendering of RV^mg.; EV, wrongly, has CARBUNCLE. Targg. and Pesh. retain the Heb. word: בַּרְקְתָא [Jerus. Jon.], בַּרְקָן [Onk.], ܒܪܩܐ [Pesh.]). The Gk. name, which occurs also without the initial letter, seems to be the same as the Hebrew; but the ultimate origin of the word is unknown. The Semitic root *baraḳ*, 'to lighten,' readily suggests itself; but cp Sans. *marakata*, *marakta*. In Arabic two varieties of emerald are distingnished, *zabarjad* and *zumurrud*.

1 In Phœn. חשב = weaver (Ges.(13)-Bu.(2)). Cp WEAVING.
2 *PEFQ* 1878, pp. 79-81.
3 Whence *emerald*, through (presumably) *smaraldus*.

2. Description. The emerald is classed mineralogically with the beryl (see BERYL), from which, however, it differs in having a fine green colour, attributed to the presence in it of chromium sesquioxide; it also never presents the internal striæ often seen in the beryl.[1] It occurs in six-sided prismatic crystals of the hexagonal system, the edges of which not unfrequently show various modifications. The emerald is transparent or translucent, and has a vitreous, rarely resinous lustre. It was highly valued by the ancients (see Pliny, *NH* 37 5). Various virtues were ascribed to it; it was said to be good for the eyes, to colour water green, to assist women in childbirth and to drive away evil spirits; in the East it is still credited with talismanic and medicinal properties.

3. Biblical References. Besides being mentioned in Ezek. 28 13 as one of the precious stones with which the king of Tyre was decked, and in Ex. 28 17 39 10 as among the gems in the high priest's breastplate, the emerald is alluded to in Tobit 13 16 Judith 10 21 Ecclus. 32 6 Rev. 4 3 (σμαράγδινος, of the rainbow), and Rev. 21 19.

2. In Ex. 28 18 39 11 Ezek. 27 16 28 13,† EV has 'emerald' for נֹפֶךְ, *nōphek*, but RV^mg. renders 'carbuncle.'

The resemblance between the letters of Heb. *nōphek* and Egypt. *mfk(t)*, or, as commonly written, *mafkat*, may be urged in favour of 'emerald' as at any rate a better rendering of *nōphek* than 'carbuncle.' The Egyptian word represents, according to WMM, a green stone, not however the emerald, but malachite. It is not less plausible to identify *nōphek* and *mafkat* with the *lupakku*-stones in the Amarna Tablets (202, 16), sent by the prince of Ashkelon to the king of Egypt. In S. Philistia, where the roads from Sinai terminated, it would be easy to obtain *mafkat* from the Egyptian mines. If we follow 𝔊 in Ezek. 27 16 and read 'Edom' (אדם) for MT's 'Aram' (ארם), it will appear that *nōphek* as well as other precious stones came from Edom. This too is quite consistent with the equation *nōphek* = *mafkat* (so WMM, *OLZ*, Feb. 1899, p. 39 *ff.*). Maspero, however, interprets *mafkat* as 'turquoise.'

EMERODS,[2] RV 'tumours,' except in Dt. 28 27; but see mg. (עֳפָלִים, *'ŏfālīm*; 𝔊^BAL η εδρα, αι εδραι: in 1 S. 5 6 εις τας εδρας [A] ναυς [B]; both renderings combined in L), mentioned with other diseases in Dt. 28 27 [EV] and in the account of the affliction of the Philistines (1 S. 5 6 9 12 6 4 *f.* 11 17). According to the ordinary view, *'ŏfālīm* became at length a vulgar word, and Ḳrē therefore substitutes the more seemly word טְחֹרִים, *ṭĕḥōrīm*, which is also to be found in the late insertions 1 S. 6 11*b* 17-18*a* (see Bndde, *Sam. SBOT*). Since, however, *ṭĕḥōrīm* is no euphemism at all,[3] and analogous Ḳrē readings (see HUSKS) have been argued to be corrupt, it has been proposed to read for the improbable and unpleasant word טחרים, רתחים (= שחינים, 'ulcers).' Ḳrē is therefore not a euphemism but a gloss (Che.).

The reading *ṭĕḥōrīm* must, it is true, have been an early one, for it seems to he implied in the ἕδραι of 𝔊, not, however in Ps. 78 66 where a small corruption has obscured the true sense.[4] Tradition has in fact radically misunderstood the meaning of *'ŏphālīm*, which (like the gloss *rĕthāḥīm*) must be a descriptive term for the disease, and probably means 'tumours' (so RV; cp *'ōphel*, 'hill'). This suits the (almost certainly correct) reading, וַיִּפָּרְחוּ, of the verb in 1 S. 5 9*b* (for MT's וַיִּשָּׂתְרוּ).[5] According to the emended text the passage runs thus—'and he smote the men of the city, both small and great, and tumours broke out upon them.'[6]

That hæmorrhoidal swellings *in uno* are referred to is rendered possible by the usage of the Ar. *'afl* (see Ges.

1 The chemical composition of the emerald may be represented by the formula $6SiO_2, Al_2O_3, 3GfO$. It has an uneven and conchoidal fracture, a hardness of 7.5-8, and a specific gravity of 2.679 to 2.732.
2 'Emerods' is found only in AV. The nearest approach to the form is 'emeraudes,' Mid. Eng. in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* of 1440, which is nearly the same as old Fr. 'emeroides'—*i.e.*, hæmorrhoids (or piles).
3 See BDB and Ges.-Buhl, *s.v.* טחר.
4 For וַיַּךְ read וַיָּשֶׁב, 'And made his foemen turn back.' Retreating and ignominy are constantly connected in the Psalms (*e.g.*, 6 10 [11]).
5 Cp Ex. 9 9 *f.*; פ and שׂ, and ת were confounded (Che.).
6 This happens to he H. P. Smith's rendering, but it is put forward by him as a mere conjecture. The lexicographers on the other hand, seek to justify the sense of 'break out' (cleave) by comparing Ar. *šatara* ('to have a cracked eyelid'). וַיִּבָּקְעוּ would have been more natural.

Thes.), and by the case of the alleged punishment of the Athenians for dishonour done to Dionysos (schol. ad Aristoph. *Acharn.* 243). The sense of 'plague-boil' (RV's second rend., Dt. 28 27 mg.) is favoured—not indeed by the (imaginary) symbolism of the mouse—but by the statement of the rapid spread of the disease among the Philistines. The most decisive passage is 1 S. 5 12, 'And the sick (הָאֲנָשִׁים, Klo.) that died not were smitten with the tumours, and the cry of the city went up to heaven';—*i.e.*, as soon as the ark reached Ekron there came on the whole population a plague which killed some at once, while the rest were afflicted with painful tumours, so that a cry of mourning and of pain resounded through the city. 'Plague-boils' in the technical sense of the expression, however, occur only in the groins, the armpits, and the sides of the neck; *ṭĕḥōrīm* therefore cannot be so rendered. Plainly a thorough treatment of the text is a necessary preliminary to a consistent and natural explanation of the narrative in 1 S. 5. As the text of 1 S. 6 4 *f.* 17 *f.* now stands, 'golden tumours,' as well as 'golden mice,' were sent by the Philistines as a votive offering to Yahwè. H. P. Smith however thinks that the original narrative mentioned only 'golden tumours,' the mice wherever they appear being the result of late redactional insertion. This view is certainly preferable to that of Hitzig, who thought that the only golden objects sent were symbols of the pestilence which had devastated the Philistine cities (Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron) in the form of mice, a theory which, being so widely accepted, ought to be correct, but is unfortunately indefensible. The idea of 'golden tumours' is very strange, however. Votive offerings, both in ancient and in modern times, represent not the disease from which the sick man has suffered but the part of the body affected. 'Indeed it could hardly be otherwise; for most morbid conditions do not admit of plastic representation so as to be distinguishable by untrained eyes.' So Dr. C. Creighton, who proposes to interpret *'ŏfālīm* in 1 S. 6 4 *f.* and *ṭĕḥōrīm* in *a.* 17 of the anatomical part of the body affected, and to make the disease dysentery; but it is plain from 𝔊 that the narrative in 1 S. 5 *f.* has been interpolated, and it would seem that not only 1 S. 6 17 18*a* but also the references to 'golden tumours' in *vv.* 4 *f.* must be late insertions.' ע[כ]ברי and עפלי are not very unlike; out of a false reading a false statement may have developed.

T. K. C.

EMIM, THE (הָאֵימִים, 'האמ, as if 'the terrors'; probably corrupted from הָעֲצֻמִים, 'the strong'; cp ZUZIM; in Gen. τους ϲομαιουϲ [A], ϲομμ. [E], εμμ. [L]; in Dt. οι ομμειν [BFL], οομμειν, ομμιειν [A]), prehistoric inhabitants of Moab (Gen. 14 5 Dt. 2 10 *f.* †). See SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM, REPHAIM (i.).

Schwally (*ZATW* 18 135 ['98]) compares Ar. *'ayyim*, 'serpent,' as if 'serpent-spirits' were meant (cp ADAM AND EVE, col. 61, n. 3); but the text is more probably corrupt. The parallel names all admit of simple explanations. T. K. C.

EMINENT PLACE (גַּב), Ezek. 16 24. See HIGH PLACE, § 6.

EMMANUEL (εμμανουηλ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 23 AV; RV IMMANUEL.

EMMAUS (εμμαουϲ [Ti. WH]; deriv. uncertain; cp חַמַּת, 'hot [spring],' see HAMMATH; or הַמֹּצָה, 'spring, fount,' see MOZAH and cp below, no. 2).

1. A city in the 'plain,' at the base of the mountains of Judæa, near which was the scene of the defeat of Gorgias at the hands of Judas, 164 B.C. (1 Macc. 3 40, αμμα[ο]υ[ν] [AℵV]; 57, αμμαουμ [A], -ς [ℵ], εμμαους [V]); 4 3, εμμάουμ [Aℵ$^{c.a\ c.b}$], ναμμαουν [K"], αμμ. [V]). It was among the strongholds afterwards fortified by Bacchides (*ib.* 9 50 αμμαους [K"], αμμαουμ [ℵ$^{c.a}$ V], εμμ. [A]). Emmaus, mod. *'Amwās*, was situated 22 R. m. from Jernsalem on the road to Joppa, and 10 m. SSE. from Lydda. In Roman times it was the seat of a toparchy, and frequently enters into the history of that period (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11 2; *BJ* i. 11 2, ii. 5 1 20 4, iv. 8 1, v. 1 6). From the third century it bears the name Nicopolis, the origin of which is variously explained (see Schiirer, *GVI* 1 537 *ff.*, ET, 2 253 *f.*), and in Christian times it was an episcopal see. Emmaus was renowned for a spring believed to be endowed with miraculous powers (cp Mid. *Ḳōhéleth* 7 7), from the existence of which it may have derived its name. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 257 21 121 6), whom early writers followed, agreed in identifying Emmaus-Nicopolis with 2.

2. The Emmaus of Lk. 24 13 (referred to, but unnamed, in Mk. 16 12), a 'village' (κώμη), 60 (ℵ and some others read 160) stadia from Jerusalem. The identification has found supporters in modern times (notably Robinson *LBR* 147 *ff.*), but is unlikely. Emmaus was too important a city to be called κώμη; and, not to mention other reasons, the supposition that the disciples accomplished so long a journey (for no specific purpose) is at variance with the narrative. It is very evident that the reading 160 is an intentional alteration to harmonise with the tradition shared by Eusebius and Jerome. Emmaus is to be sought for in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and it is agreed that it can be no other than the Emmaus of Josephus (*BJ* vii. 6 6) 30 (so Niese; others read 60) stadia from Jerusalem, which Vespasian colonised by assigning to it 800 discharged veterans. Now about 34-35 stadia to the NW. of Jerusalem lies *Ḳulōniyeh*, a little village, which derives its name, it would appear, from 'colonia' and reminds us of the 800 veterans above.[1] In close proximity is the ruined *Bēt Mizzā*, probably the Benjamite הַמֹּצָה of Josh. 18 26, which according to the Gĕmāra on *Sukk.* 4 5 was also a 'colonia' (see MOZAH). The close resemblance between the names הַמֹּצָה (*Bēt Mizzā*) and Emmaus is sufficiently striking, and since it is almost the required distance from Jerusalem, there can be little doubt as to the identity of *Ḳulôniyeh* and the Emmaus of Josephus. The further identification of *Ḳulōniyeh* and the Emmaus of Lk. becomes equally probable, and is accepted by most moderns (Hi., Caspari, Buhl, *Pal.* 186, Schultz, *PRE*(2) 11 769 771, Wolff in Riehm *HWB*, Wilson in Smiths *DB*(2); see also Sepp, *Jer. u. d. heil.* Land, 1 54-73).[2]

By those who adopt the less accredited distance of 60 stadia, several sites have been proposed for Emmaus. (*a*) Conder (*HB* 326 *f.*, *PEFM* 3 36 *ff.*) finds it in the name el-Khamasa (according to him = Emmaus), SW. of Bittir (see BETHER i.): the antiquity of the place is vouched for by the existence of rock-hewn tombs. El-Khamasa, however, is 72 stadia from Jerusalem direct, and the distance is even greater by road. (*b*) el-Ḳubēbeh about 64 stadia from Jerusalem, W. of Neby Samwil. Further support for this is claimed in the tradition (which, however, is not older than the 14th cent.) associating this place with Christ's appearance (cp Baed.(3) 16, 115, and esp. Zschokke, *D. neutest. Emmaus* ['65]). (*c*) Ḳariet el-'Enab (or Abu Gōsh), to the S. of el-Ḳubēbeh, about 66 stadia from Jerusalem (cp Williams, *Dict. Gk. and Rom. Geog.*, Thomson *LB*(2) 534, 666 *f.*; and see *JPh.* 4 262). Cp KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 2. S. A. C.

EMMER (εμμηρ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 20, IMMER ii.

EMMERUTH (εμμηρουθ [A], etc.), 1 Esd. 5 24 RV = Ezra 2 37, IMMER ii., 1.

EMMOR (εμμωρ [Ti. WH]), Acts 7 16 AV, RV HAMOR.

ENAIM (עֵינַיִם—*i.e.*, probably 'place of a fountain,' §§ 101, 107, cp ENAN; αιναν [ADEL]), mentioned only in Gen. 38 14 21 RV (AV$^{mg.}$ Enajim), where AV following Pesh., Vg., and Targ. (see Spurrell's note)[3]

1 Possibly the original reading in 1 S. 6 17 was עפלי, which was displaced by the *Ḳerē*.

1 See KULON. A little to the WSW. is *Ḳasṭal*, whose name also bears a trace of a former Roman encampment.

2 It is interesting to recall that, according to Wilson, '*Kulōniyeh* was, and still is, a place to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out for recreation.'

3 The apoc. Book of Jubilees (chap. 41) omits the name. *OS*(2) 98 18 221 18) follows 𝔊, *anim*, αιναμ.

treat the word as an appellative, 'an open place.' Enaim, however, is obviously a place; it lay between Adullam and Timnah, and is the Enam (עֵינָם; ηναειμ [AL], μαιανει [B]) named in Josh. 15 34 in the first group of towns in the lowland of Jndah. The fuller form of the name in Gen. and Josh. is probably Tappuah of Enaim (or, of Enam); see TAPPUAH, 1, and NEPHTOAH. The Talmud mentions a place called Kefar Enaim (*Pesik. Nab.* 23), and here and elsewhere distinctly states that Enaim is a place-name, on the authority of Rab (*Sota*, 10 *a*). Conder's identification with Kh. Wādy 'Alin does not suit the reference in Genesis. T. K. C.

ENAN (עֵינָן, § 101, cp ENAIM, HAZAR-ENAN; αιναν [BAFL]).

1. Father of AHIRA (Nu. 1 15 2 29 [αιμαν A] 7 78 83 10 27, P). See ANER, 1.

ENASIBUS (ενας[ε]ιβος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 36, ELIASHIB, 6.

ENCAMPMENT (טִירָה), Gen. 25 16 Ezek. 25 4 etc., RV; see CAMP, § 1; CATTLE, § 1, n. 2.

ENCHANTER, ENCHANTMENTS (מְלַחֵשׁ, etc.). See MAGIC, § 3; DIVINATION, § 3.

ENDIRONS (שְׁפַתַּיִם), Ezek. 40 43 AVmg. See HOOK (7).

ENDOR (עֵין דּוֹר [Josh. 1 S.], עֵין דּאֹר [Ps.], αενδωρ [BℵARTL; Euseb.], ενδωρον Jos.). (*a*) Endor appears in Josh. 17 11 (MT) among those Manassite towns within the territory of Issachar from which the Manassites were unable to expel the Canaanite inhabitants; but it is not mentioned in 𝔊BAL (unless εδωρ [Ba.b mg.] is a trace of the name) nor in the ∥ Judg. 1 27, and has evidently slipped into MT through the similarity of the name to that of Dor (cp Bennett, ***SBOT***, *Josh.*, *ad loc.*).

(6) Saul's visit to the witch of Endor before the battle of Gilboa is related in 1 S. 28 5-25 (αελδωρ [B], νηνδωρ [A]). Although the name Endor was recognised in the fourth century A.D. as attaching to a large village 4 R. m. S. of Tabor (OS 259 70; 226 25), and though this fourth-century name still lingers at Endūr, a miserable village on the N. slope of the Nabi Dahi, the question arises whether the narrator of 1 S. 28 7-25 did not mean a village called En-harod, close to the fountain spoken of in Judg. 7 1. The true order of events in these narratives probably is: (1) the Philistines muster their troops at Aphek (in Sharon), and Achish promises to take David with him, while Saul musters at 'Ēn Ḥărōd (28 1 *ff.* 29 1); (2) Israel encamps in the plain of Jezreel, and the Philistines send David away, etc. (29 2-11); (3) the Philistines penetrate as far as Shunem (28 4); (4) Saul seeks an oracle and finds it by night at Endor (28 3-25; so Budde). Note that in 1 S. 28 5 it is said that Saul's heart 'trembled exceedingly' (ויחרד; cp Ḥărōd); how naturally after this, if our conjecture is right, comes the speech of the servants of Saul in *v.* 7 respecting the wise woman at the Well of Trembling (En-Harod)! Almost certainly 'En-dor' in 1 S. 28 7 should be emended as proposed.

(c) In Ps. 83 10 [11], 'they perished at Endor' does not accord with the mention of Sisera and Jabin. 'At Endor' (בעין־דאר) is obviously corrupt. The context requires 'without survivors,' and we should probably read וְאֵין־שָׂרִד: ש and א are liable to be confounded (Che. *Ps.*(2)). Gratz's conjecture 'at the fountain of Harod' (בְּעֵין חֲרֹד), adopted by Winckler and Wellhausen, only removes *a* part of the difficulty. It is suggestive, however. Formerly Gratz read 'En-dor' for 'En-harod' in Judg. 7 1, and 𝔊BA's 'Endor' in 1 S. 29 1 may come from 'En-harod' (see HAROD, WELL OF, 2).

The village of Endūr (not 'Endūr) is '7 or 8 m. from the slopes of Gilboa, partly over difficult ground' (Grove-Wilson). Nor is it quite beyond question that there was a place called Endor in pre-exilic times. There may perfectly well have been two spots called En-harod. The fourth-century village of Endor may have owed its name to a corruption of the text of 1 Samuel.

The meaning of דאר is by no means perspicuous, and the confusion of דאר and חרד was easy. At any rate we need not speculate as to whether one of the caves in the calcareous cliff on the slope of which Endūr stands, was the scene of the visit of the unhappy Saul to the wise woman (so J. L. Porter, in Kitto's *Bib. Cyc.* s.v. 'Endor'). What 'Harod' really means is uncertain (cp HARODITE). Perhaps we should read Adōr (אדור), from which דאר [cp 'Dor'] would come even more easily than from חרד. T. K. C.

EN-EGLAIM (עֵין עֶגְלַיִם, 'fountain of Eglaim' = Eglam,—*i.e.*, 'calf-place'? on form of name, see NAMES, §§ 101, 104, 107); ενανγαλειμ [BA], αιναγαλειμ [Q]; *ENGALLIM*), one of the two points between which fishing in the former 'Salt Sea' was to be carried on when Ezekiel's vision was fulfilled (Ezek. 47 10). Since the vision relates to the land W. of the Jordan, and the other point mentioned is En-gedi, we naturally look for En-eglaim near the influx of the Jordan into the Dead Sea. At present, the salt water and the fresh intermingle some way above the mouth of the river, and fish that are carried down are thrown up dead on the beach (cp DEAD SEA, § 4). It will therefore be in the spirit of the vision if, with Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 93) we identify En-eglaim with *'Ain Ḥajleh* about 1 hr. from the N. shore of the Dead Sea, which is regarded by the Bedouins as the best fountain in the *Ghōr*. It is hardly too bold to emend the text and read for Eglaim, Hoglah (חָגְלָה); see BETH-HOGLAH.

T. K. C.

ENEMESSAR (ενεμεσσαρ[ος] [BℵA], *SALMANASAR*, Tob. 1 2 13 15 *f.*; a corruption of form of SHALMANESER (which the Syr. reads).

ENENIUS, RV Eneneus (ενηνιος [BA]) 1 Esd. 5 8 = Neh. 7 7, NAHAMANI.

ENGADDI (Ecclus. 24 14, AV). See EN-GEDI, n.

EN-GANNIM (עֵין גַּנִּים,—*i.e.*, 'fountain of gardens,' § 101.

1. A city in the first group of towns in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 34 αδιαθαειμ [A], if we follow the Hebrew order; but this really represents עֲדִיתַיִם of *v.* 36; ηγοννειμ [L], 𝔊B apparently ιλουθωθ, unless this form represents Tappuah); according to Clermont-Ganneau, the modern *Umm Jīna*, W. of Beth-shemesh. Jerome and Eusebius (OS 121 26, *Engannim*; 259 66, Ηνγαννιμ) say 'now a village near Bethel.'

2. A Levitical town of Issachar (Josh. 19 21, ιεων και τομμαν [B], ηνγαννιμ [A], ιαγαννειμ [L]; 21 29, πηγὴν γραμμάτων [BAL],[1] πηγὴν γαννιμ [Aq. Sm. Th.]). The parallel passage in 1 Ch. 6 73 [58] has ANEM (עָנֵם, αναμ [A], αιναν [L], B om. *v.*) which seems to be a mere corruption (Be., Ki.). There is mentioned in Egyptian texts a place called *Ḳinạ* (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 174), which Budde (differing from Muller) would identify with En-gannim (see HEBER, 1). In *Am. Tab.* 164 17 21, we find a district called *Gina*. En-gannim is the Γινάη, Γήμα, or Γιναία of Josephus (*BJ* iii. 3 4 and elsewhere), on the frontier of Galilee, and, though no ruins of the ancient place are still left, we can hardly doubt that it is the modern *Jenīn*.[2] This is a large and picturesque village 17 m. N. from Shechem, at the entrance of a valley which opens into the plain of Esdraelon. The slopes at the foot of which it lies are covered with plantations of olive trees and fig trees, and the houses of the village are surrounded with gardens fenced by hedges of cactus. A few palm trees add to the charm of the place. The secret of this

[1] Apparently reading עֵין סֵפֶר. Compare πόλις γραμμάτων (*i.e.*, קרית ספר) in Josh. 15 49 for KIRJATH-SANNAH.

[2] Stade's spelling Jennin is less accurate, and his doubt as to the reading En-gannim seems unnecessary (*GVI* 1 542).

luxuriance is a spring, or rather torrent, which rises in the hills behind the village and sends its waters in many rivulets to fertilise the gardens and meadows, and at last disappears in the undulating plain of Esdraelon. The name of the place was therefore well chosen, and the author of the ancient song (Cant. 4 12-15) might almost have been thinking of En-gannim when he made the newly-married husband liken his fair young wife to a 'garden' and a 'fountain of gardens' (מַעְיַן גַּנִּים). The historical associations of *Jenīn* are scanty. It is hardly probable that the 'fonntain in Jezreel' referred *to* in 1 S. 29 1 is the great fountain of En-gannim, 'Jezreel' being intended for the whole district (GASm. *HG,* 402); see HAROD, 2; but most scholars (not, however, Conder) agree in identifying BETH-HAGGAN (*q.v.*), in the direction of which Ahaziah fled from Jehu, with Jenin, and therefore with En-gannim. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6 1 *BJ* ii. 12 3) describes a fatal dispute between the Galilæan pilgrims to Jerusalem and the Samaritans which took place at Γινάη, 'a village of the Samaritans,' and thereby illustrates the unfriendly reception accorded to Jesus in just such a village (Lk. 9 52 *ff.*). T. K. C.

EN-GEDI (עֵין גֶּדִי [so also outside pause, Ezek. 47 10 for עֵ׳ גְּדִי], —*i.e.*, 'fountain of the kid,' §§ 101, 104; ενγαδδ[ε]ι [BWAC]), the modern *'Ain Jidī* (overlooking the western shore of the Dead Sea), 680 ft. below sea-level, and 612 ft. above that of the lake. 'The beautiful fountain bursts forth at once a fine stream upon a narrow terrace or shelf of the mountain.' It was, and is, a spot of rich vegetation in a severely desolate wilderness. Its vineyards and henna flowers are referred to in Cant. 1 14, whilst an allusion to its palm-trees is preserved in its alternative name, HAZAZON-TAMAR (*q.v.*) in Gen. 14 7 2 Ch. 20 2, and also in Ecclus. 24 14 ('I was exalted like a palm tree in Engaddi').[1] Hazazon may be connected with the modern *Wādy Ḥaṣāṣeh,* up which runs one of the main roads from Engedi to the interior (cp 2 Ch. 20 16, and see ZIZ, ASCENT OF). Engedi was one of the scenes of the wanderings of David (1 S. 23 29 [24 1] γαδδι [L]). The cave which plays a part in this narrative is described as being not at Engedi, but somewhere in the wilderness. In the oasis itself the present writer found only insignificant caves; but Tristram mentions in the neighbourhood 'a fairy grotto of vast size.' The 'strongholds' which David and his men inhabited must have lain about the fountain; the narrow shelf could be easily made impregnable, and it is here that most of the ruins are scattered. Solomon appears to have fortified Engedi; for the MT of 1 K. 9 18 reads 'Tamar' [Kt.] (not Tadmor [Kr.]) 'in the wilderness in the land(?)' (cp Josh. 15 61 *f.* ανκαδης [B], ηνγαδδι [A], αγγαδδει [L], 'in the wilderness . . . En-gedi'). It was worthy of fortification, for it commands one of the roads from the Dead Sea Valley to the interior of Judah, and by it the Edomite invasion of Judah seems to have been made in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 20, ενγαδει [B], εγγαδδι [L]). It is mentioned once, if not thrice, in Ezekiel's vision of the renovated land (Ezek. 47 10, ινγαδειν [B], ενγαδδ. [A], αινγαδαιμ [Q]; see TAMAR, i.). Josephus praises its fertility, especially its palms and balsam (*Ant.* ix. 1 2), and says it was the centre of a toparchy under the Romans (*BJ* iii. 3 5); but Pliny omits it in his list of the toparchies (*HN* 5 14 70). To Pliny it was known as Engadda, a place supplied with palm-groves and a centre of the Essenes (*HN* 5 15 [17]). It is mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 16 8). In the fourth century, according to Eusebius and Jerome, it was still 'a very large village, whence opobalsamum was obtained' OS 119 15 254 67) 'and with vines' (Epit. Paulæ, xii.).

[1] This particularly apt parallel is spoilt by RV, which follows 𝔊BA in reading εν αιγιαλοις (as against εν ενγαδδοις ℵc.a, Pesh., and presupposed by Vg.), and renders 'I was exalted like a palm tree on the sea shore.'

During the Crusades there were vineyards held by a convent under Hebron (Rey, *Colonies Franques en Syrie*, 384), and to these times probably belong most of the ruins. The site was recovered by Robinson in 1838; it is held and cultivated by the Rushaideh Arabs; but there are now neither palms nor vines. The great staircase—for no other name adequately expresses the steepness of the ascent from the spring to the plateau—is hard for beasts of burden, and the camel-drivers who bring salt from Jebel Usdum prefer to go farther N. before turning up to Jerusalem.

For further description see Robinson, *BR* 2 439 *ff.*, Lynch, *Narr.*, 282; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 286; Conder, *Tent Work*, new ed. 265 *f.*; Bäd.(3), 200; GASm. *HG*, 269 *f.* G. A. S.

ENGINE (חִשָּׁבוֹן, lit. 'invention,' from חשב, see Eccles. 7 29), in the expression 'engines invented by cunning men' (חִשְּׁבֹנוֹת מַחֲשֶׁבֶת חוֹשֵׁב, μηχανας μεμηχανευμενας λογιστου [BA], μ. μ. λογισμοις [L]), *diversi generis machinas*), to denote contrivances for hurling stones and arrows, 2 Ch. 26 15; see SIEGE.

For the מחי קבלו (AV 'engines of war,' RV 'battering engines') of Ezek. 26 9† and the סללה (EV 'mount,' AVmg. 'engine of shot') of Jer. 6 6 32 24 Ezek. 26 8 (2 S. 20 15, AV 'bank'), see also SIEGE.

ENGRAVE (פִּתַּח, Ex. 28 11 Zech. 3 9, etc., ἐντυπόω, 2 Cor. 3 7); **Engraver** (חָרַשׁ אֶבֶן, Ex. 28 11, etc.); **Engraving** פִּתּוּחַ Ex. 28 11, etc.); or GRAVE (פִּתַּח, 1 K. 7 36 2 Ch. 2 14 3 7, EV; חצב, Job 19 24; חקה, Is. 49 16; חקק, Is. 22 16; חרש, Jer. 17 1; חרת, Ex. 32 16 [all EV]); GRAVING (פִּתּוּחַ, Ex. 39 6 AV, Zech. 3 9 2 Ch. 2 14 EV; מִקְלַעוֹת [plu.], 1 K. 7 31 EV); GRAVING TOOL (חֶרֶט), Ex. 33 4. See HANDICRAFTS, SEAL, WRITING, and on GRAVEN IMAGE (פֶּסֶל), see IDOL, § 1 *a*.

EN-HADDAH (עֵין חַדָּה, §§ 99, 101; ηναδδα [A], αν. [L], αιμαρεκ [B]), in the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19 21 †), apparently not far from En-gannim (*Jenīn*). The identifications with the mod. Kefr Adhān, to the W. of Jenin (Conder), or with 'Ain Judeide, on the E. side of Mt. Gilboa (Kn.), assume the accuracy of MT. For 'spring of Haddah'[1] we should perhaps read 'Spring of Harod' (חרד for חדה), the most probable site of which, *'Ain Jālūd*, is nearly 10 m. NNE. from Jenin. See HAROD. S. A. C.

EN-HAKKORE (עֵין־הַקּוֹרֵא, §§ 101, 104—*i.e.*, 'spring of the partridge,' but, in the legend, 'spring of the caller'; πηγη του επικαλουμενου [B], π. επικλητος [AL]), the name of a fountain in Lehi (Judg. 15 18 19). Identifications of the site are fanciful (see LEHI).

EN-HAZOR (עֵין חָצוֹר, § 101; πηγη ασορ [BA], -ωρ και ιεσωρ [L]), a fenced city of Naphtali (Josh. 19 37), possibly to be identified with *Hazīreh* to the W. of Kedesh (but see Guérin, *Galil.* 2 118). The name, Hazor, however, is not uncommon in Upper Galilee; see HAZOR, 1.

EN-MISHPAT (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט, § 101), Gen. 14 7. See KADESH i., § 2.

ENNATAN (εννατan [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 44 RV= Ezra 8 16, ELNATHAN, 2.

ENOCH (חֲנֹךְ, חֲנוֹךְ; ενωχ [ADEL and Ti. WH], *HENOCH*). The name of the best-known Enoch seems to be distinct from the names of 2 and 3. It has probably a Babylonian origin (see CAINITES, § 6), though to a Hebrew ear it suggested the meanings of 'dedication' and 'instruction.'[2]

1. A hero or patriarch mentioned in Gen. 4 17 *f.* [L ενως in both *vv.*] 5 18 19 21-24 (1 Ch. 1 3); also in Ezekiel (emended text), in the Apocrypha, and in the

[1] Gesenius's interpretation of חַדָּה, 'sharp'—*i.e.*, 'rapid'—mist be deemed improhable.

[2] See CATECHISE, DEDICATE. חנך and its derivatives, however, are found only in late passages.

NT. It is shown elsewhere (see CAINITES, § 6, NOAH) that Enoch played a great part in a legend of which fragments alone remain. Confirmations of this view will be supplied presently.

The Genesis-passages need no further comment; but the restoration of Enoch in passages of Ezekiel is too interesting to be passed over. In MT of Ezek. 14 14 20, Noah, Daniel, and Job appear as proverbial for their righteousness, and in Ezek. 28 3 the prince of Tyre is said, poetically, to be wiser, and to have more insight into secrets, than Daniel. This strikes one as strange. The personage referred to should be a hero of legend, and would most naturally be of the same cycle as Noah. The name Daniel, however, is not at all suggestive of this. The type is not ancient, in spite of the occurrence of Daniel in 1 Ch. 3 1 as the name of a son of David (the reading is corrupt, see DANIEL i. 4). It is extremely probable that the name was introduced into Ezekiel by a mistake similar to that which has been conjectured in Gen. 22 22 (see ISAAC, § 2; MORIAH). The name is spelt not דניאל but דנאל; this must surely be a misreading of חנאך—*i.e.*, Ḥanāk (Enoch). This acute suggestion is due to Halévy (*REJ* 14 20 *f.*). It is supported by the discovery of the true text of Ecclus. 44 14 (see below), and supplies fresh material for the criticism of Daniel and Job, and the exegesis of Ezekiel (cp *Expositor*, July 1897, p. 23).

1. Biblical references.

We pass now to the NT passages. The notice in the genealogy in Lk. 3 37, and the description of Enoch as the 'seventh from Adam' in Jude 14, need not detain us. Note, however, that the description in Jude is borrowed from Enoch 60 8, and is followed by a quotation (*v.* 14 *f.*) from Enoch 1 9 5 4 27 2. Heb. 11 5 mentions Enoch's 'translation' (μετετέθη; *translatus est*), and refers to Gen. 5 22 24 in 𝔊ADEL's rendering εὐηρέστησε τῷ Θεῷ as by implication a testimony to Enoch's faith, 'for without faith it is impossible to please [God].' The translation of Enoch is also twice mentioned by Sirach (Ecclus. 44 16 ו[י]לקח, μετετέθη; 49 14 ἀνελήμφθη [A μετετέθη] ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; cp 𝔊BAL, 2 K. 2 10 ἀναλαμβανόμενον = לֻקָּח, *v.* 11 ἀνελήμφθη = וַיַּעַל, also Mk. 16 19 etc). Ecclus. 49 14 merely extols the unique destiny of Enoch; but 44 16, after stating that he was 'taken,' adds the notable phrase אוֹת דַּעַת. The Syriac version omits the whole verse, the Greek instead of 'an example of knowledge' gives ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας 'an example of repentance,' as if אוֹת תְּשׁוּבָה (cp Heb. 4 11, ὑπόδειγμα ἀπειθείας). Nöldeke suggests reading ἐννοίας for μετανοίας (see also ECCLESIASTICUS, § 7 (*e*), *n.*); but the Greek translator may have drawn the same uncritical inference from Gen. 5 22 ('Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah') which was drawn by some of the later Rabbis[1] (see the sayings quoted in *Ber. Rabba*, 25; Wünsche, 112 *f.*), and seems to have arisen out of hostility to the Book of Enoch. דעת, however, seems to mean 'wisdom' (Prov. 17 27); the writer must surely have heard the tradition of Enoch's wisdom alluded to (as has been shown) in Ezek. 28 3, and largely developed by subsequent writers.

We have thus found that the later belief in Enoch's wisdom is traceable in Ecclesiasticus and even in Ezekiel. The 'Secrets of Enoch' (a phrase used as the title of an apocryphal book, see APOCALYPTIC, § 33 *ff.*) receive their first record in an exilic prophet, and the prophetic recorder even takes it for granted that Enoch's story is well known in Phœnicia. That the later belief is not a mere accretion on the older Enoch-story will be plain to those who recognise the solar origin of the original hero; a child of the 'all-seeing' sun must be wise as well as pious. At the same time speculative inferences must be largely responsible for the details of the later beliefs.

2. Later belief.

To this subject we now address ourselves. It was the belief of the later Jews, adopted by Christians and Mohammedans (Ens. *Præp. Ev.* 9 17; d'Herbelot, *Or. Bibl.* 1 624 *f.*), that Enoch invented writing, arithmetic, and astronomy. The *Book of Jubilees* says, 'He was the first among men who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom, and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of the months in a book. And he was with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything on earth and in the heavens. And he was taken from among the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour' (Chap. 4, Charles's transl.). Very similar statements are made in Enoch (note the phrase 'scribe of righteousness,' 12 4); probably the writers of both books drew from, and amplified, a still living tradition (see CAINITES, §§ 2, 6). It will be noticed that Enoch's translation, according to *Jubilees* (cp Enoch 70 1 60 8; cp Charles's note), is to Paradise. This reminds us of the story of Pār(?)-napištim (DELUGE, § 2). The Palestinian Targum, however, says that Enoch 'ascended to the firmament.' This agrees with the story of the hero Etana, who was carried to the heaven of Anu by an eagle (ETHAN, 4). The Targum also states that Enoch's name was called '*Metatron*, the great writer.' Now the *Metatron*,[1] as the divine secretary, sits in God's inner chamber, where, according to Enoch 14 14 *f.*, not eve? Enoch can presume to enter. Enoch, then, grew in honour as time went on. Moḥammed, too, declares of Idris (the 'instructed') that he was 'a confessor, a prophet,' and that God 'raised him to a lofty place' (*Koran*, Sur. 19 57).

The early Church was not behindhand in its respect for the patriarch. It regarded him, for instance, as one of the two witnesses[2] of whom such great things are said in Rev. 11, who finally 'went up to heaven in the cloud.' That some share in the accomplishment of God's purposes should be allotted to those who had left the earth long ago without tasting death, seemed natural. The other 'witness' was Elijah, and in *Enoch* 70 1 the 'translation' of Enoch is described in terms suggested by 2 K. 2 11. In fact, the same idea underlies the traditions of the disappearance of both personages (cp Che. *OPs.* 383). Why Noah, who was equal in piety to Enoch, was not also said to have been translated, is a problem on which criticism has been able to throw some light (see CAINITES, § 6; NOAH). On the composite Book of Enoch, see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 18 *ff.*

2. The third son of Midian, Gen. 25 4 (EV 'Hanoch'), 1 Ch. 1 33 (AV 'Henoch,' RV 'Hanoch').

3. The eldest son of Reuben (EV 'Hanoch'), Gen. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 5 1 Ch. 5 3. Not improbably offshoots of the Midianitish clan of Enoch became Israelitish. The name can hardly be connected with (1). Kn. compares that of the village called Ḥanākiya by Burckhardt (*Trav. in Arab.* 2 396), and Henākiyeh by Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 2 183 185), which formerly belonged, says the latter, to the great nomad tribe of el-'Anezy. It is not far to the NE. of Medina. T. K. C.

ENOS, or rather (so RV) **Enosh** (אֱנוֹשׁ, 'man'; ενωc [BADEL]). Son of Seth, and grandson of Adam (Gen. 4 26 5 7 9-11 1 Ch. 1 1 Lk. 3 38†). 'It was he who began to call on the name of Yahwè' (𝔊, Vg., B. Jub.; so We., reading זֶה הֵחֵל)—*i.e.*, Enos introduced forms of worship. He is thus represented as the first and greatest of founders, worthy to be the father of a city-builder (see CAINITES, § 3). This tradition cannot, however, be very ancient. Early myths always ascribe forms of worship to the teaching of a god; cp the statement (see CAINITES, § 3) that Marduk erected the temples, and the epithet given to the Moon-god, *mukīn nindabē*, 'appointer of sacrifices' (4 R. 9 33; see Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.* 'nindabū'). Enos, therefore (a name that is merely a synonym of Adam, 'man'), which Hommel

[1] For parallels see ENOS (i., end), NOAH (end). The Alexandrian scholars seem to have interpreted Enoch's supposed moral crisis in a good sense (cp Philo, *De Abrah.*, § 3); those of Palestine (so Fränkel) in a bad, as if Enoch were on the point of repenting of his former pious life when God in mercy 'took' him. In Wisd. 4 10-14, however, nothing is said of Enoch's repentance or change of life; 'he was caught away (ἡρπάγη), lest wickedness should change his understanding' (σύνεσιν), where the 'wickedness' is that of Enoch's contemporaries. See Edersheim on Ecclus. *l.c.*; Fränkel, *Einfluss der palästin. Exegese* ('51), 44 *f.*; Geiger, *Urschrift*, 198; Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, 2 323; and, on the connection of the antipathy of certain rabbis to Enoch, Hal. *REJ*, 14 21. Cp also APOCALYPTIC, § 10 n. 1.

[1] See Weber, *Altsynag. Pal. Theol.*, 172 *f.* (ed. 2, p. 178 *f.*).
[2] See *e.g.*, Jerome, *Ep. ad Marcellam*; Aug. *De Gen. ad Lit.* 9 6.

traces to the Amelon (=Bab. *amīl*, 'man') of Bērōssus, must have been substituted for some other name. On the original position of Gen. 4 25 *f.* see CAINITES, § 12.

The MT reading, אָז הוּחַל, is 'possibly' (Di.), if not certainly, to be rendered 'Then was profaned,' the object being to avoid contradiction of the statement in Ex. 4 3 (P). Such a phrase, however, as הוּחַל with אז is unparalleled in the Genesis narratives. הֵחֵל, 'began,' occurs again in 9 20 10 8, where, it is true, according to R. Simon (*Ber. rabba* 23), it has the sense of profanation. The alteration of הֵחֵל into הוּחַל involved a disparagement of Enos similar to that inflicted upon ENOCH (§ 1, end) and NOAH (i., end) in certain circles. According to an Aggada, in the time of this patriarch, and in that of Cain, the sea flooded a great tract of land (*Ber. rabba*, as above). The same extraordinary view of הוּחַל is implied in Tg. Onk. and Jon. and is adopted by Rashi. T. K. C.

EN-RIMMON (עֵין רִמּוֹן, § 95, 'fountain of Rimmon'—*i.e.*, the god Rammān [see RIMMON i.]; ρεμμων [BAL]), mentioned in a list of Judahite villages (EZRA ii. 1 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 29 (ρεμμιων [ℵ c.a (mg.)], BA omit), but also referred to in Josh. 15 32 (Ain and Rimmon; ερωμωθ [B], αιν και ρεμμων [L]), 19 7 (ερεμμων [B], αιν και ρεμμωθ [A]) and 1 Ch. 4 32 (Ain, Rimmon, ενρ. [L]), Zech. 14 10 ('from Geba to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem'). En-rimmon is the Ἐρεμβων or Eremmon of Eusebius and Jerome (OS 256 92; 120 6), described by them as a 'very large village' 16 m. S. from Eleutheropolis. It is usually identified with modern *Umm er-rumāmīn*, 9 m. N. of Beersheba. Zech. 14 10, however, suggests that it lay farther to the S. Elsewhere (HAZAR-ADAR) it is suggested that Azmon, a place on the extreme S. of Judah (Nu. 34 4 *f.* Josh. 15 4) is a corruption of En-rimmon, and that this is represented by the once highly cultivated el-'Aujeh in the Wādy Ḥanein, called by Arab tradition a 'valley of gardens' (E. H. Palmer).

EN-ROGEL (עֵין רֹגֵל, § 101; πηγη ρωγηλ [BAL], η ρ. [B in 1 K. 1 9], η πηγη του ρ. [L in 2 S. 1 K.]), a famous land-mark near Jerusalem. It was the hiding-place of David's spies, Jonathan and Ahimaaz (2 S. 17 17), and lay close to the stone ZOHELETH where Adonijah held a sacrificial feast when he attempted to assert his claims to the throne (1 K. 1 9). In later times it was one of the boundary marks between Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15 7 18 16). The obviously sacred character of the spring (cp also GIHON [1], 1 K. 1 38) snggests that it is the same as the Dragon Well of Neh. 2 13 (cp DRAGON, § 4 *g*; but see ZOHELETH). There can be little doubt of its antiquity, and it may well have been a sacred place in pre-Israelite times. The meaning of the name and its identification are uncertain.

The interpretation 'Fuller's Well' does not bear the mark of antiquity, and is rightly omitted in *Ges.*(13); רֹגֵל, 'fuller,' is nowhere else found in biblical Hebrew (see FULLER, ROGELIM). It is probable that, like Zōhéleth, the original name had some sacred or mythic significance.

Two identifications of the place have met with considerable favour: (1) the Virgin's fountain ('Ain Sitti Maryam), now 'Ain Umm ed-Deraj, 'the only real spring close to Jerusalem,' exactly opposite to which lies *ez-Zeḥwēleh*, perhaps Zoheleth (Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQ* 1869-70, p. 253); and (2) Bīr-Eyyūb, otherwise known as the Well of Nehemiah, at the junction of the W. er-Rabābi and Kedron (Robinson, *BR*(2) 1 332). Against (2) (which has found recent support in H. P. Smith, *Sam.*, and Benz., *Kings*) it is urged that Bīr-Eyyūb is a well, not a spring,[1] that it lies too far from ez-Zeḥwēleh, that it is in full view of the city, and does not suit the context of 2 S. 17 17, and that its antiquity is uncertain. The chief points in favour of (1) (which Baed.(3) identifies with GIHON [1]) are: its antiquity (cp CONDUITS, § 4) and the evidence of Jos. (*Ant.* vii. 14 4), who places the well in the royal gardens.[2] Other arguments based upon the fact that in later times the well was used by fullers are necessarily precarious. S. A. C.

[1] H. P. Smith, however, observes that water flows into the well, sometimes coming over the top, so that it might readily be called a spring (*Sam.* 354).

[2] The identification of En-rogel with ερωγη (*Ant.* ix. 10 4; see Grove, *Smith's DB*(2)) seems difficult; the reading is substantially the same in all MSS (see Niese), and appears to be based upon ἀπορρήγνυμι which follows.

ENROLMENT (ἀπογραφή, Lk. 2 2 Acts 5 37, AV 'taxing'); 'to be enrolled' (ἀπογράφεσθαι; Lk. 2 1 3 5, AV 'taxed'; Heb. 12 23, AV 'written'; cp 3 Macc. 4 15). See QUIRINIUS, TAXATION.

RV has 'enrolled' also in 1 Tim. 5 9 (καταλέγομαι, AV 'taken into the number') and in 2 Tim. 2 4, στρατολογέω ('enrolled him as a soldier,' AV 'chosen him to be a soldier').

EN-SHEMESH (עֵין שֶׁמֶשׁ, 'fountain of the sun,'[1] §§ 9, 15; Josh. 15 7 [πη]γης ηλιου [BAL]; 18 17 πηγην βαιθσαμυς [B], π. σαμε [A], [πη]γην σαμες [L]), on the border of Benjamin, between EN-ROGEL and ADUMMIM. The favourite identification with the modern *'Ain el-Ḥōḍ* or 'Apostles' shrine'[2] near Bethany is questioned by Baed.(3) 149, who seems to prefer the tradition which identifies the Well of the Sun and the Dragon's Well with *'Ain Sitti Maryam* (see EN-ROGEL). Van Kasteren, however (*ZDPV* 13 116; see also Buhl, *Pal.* 98), would find En-shemesh in *'Ain er-Rawābī* in an offshoot of the Wādy of the same name, situated on the ancient road to Jericho.

ENSIGNS AND STANDARDS. Two questions have to be considered here: (1) how are the Hebrew terms to be rendered, and (2) what inferences are to be drawn from the historical passages containing these terms?

(a) נֵס, *nēs* (σημεῖον, σύσσημον; also σημαία and σημείωσις [BMAL etc.]).

1. Renderings. In Is. 5 26 11 10 (𝔊 ἄρχειν) 12 18 3 30 17 31 9 (text corrupt; see *SBOT*) נֵס is rendered by EV 'ensign,' but in Jer. 4 6 (𝔊 φεύγετε) 21 (𝔊 φεύγοντας) 50 2 51 12 27 'standard'; AV also gives the latter in Is. 49 22 62 10, and RV in Nu. 21 8 *f.* 'Banner' is adopted by AV in Is. 13 2 (RV 'ensign') and by EV in Ps. 60 4 [6] (see below), also by EVmg. in Ex. 17 15 (𝔊 καταφυγή). In Nu. 21 8 *f.* AV gives 'pole,' RV 'standard.'

'Banner,' being still in common use, seems the best rendering for נֵס except in Nu. 21 8 *f.*, where 'pole' is more natural. 'Banner' is required also in Ex. 17 15 *f.*, where Moses is said to have named an altar Yahwè-Nissi, 'Yahwè is my banner' (see JEHOVAH-NISSI), and to have broken into this piece of song:—

Yea, (lifting up) the hand towards Yahwè's banner,
(I swear that) Yahwè will give battle to Amalek everlastingly.

Here, too, we must not pass over four disputed passages in which AV (and in some cases RV) assumes the existence of a denom. verb from נֵס, viz., (α) Ps. 60 4 [6] ('a banner . . . that it may be displayed'); (β) Is. 10 18 (נֹסֵס, EV 'standard-bearer,' RVmg. 'sick man'; (γ) Is. 59 19 ('lift up a standard,' so RVmg.; but RV '[which] . . . driveth,' AVmg. 'put to flight'); (δ) Zech. 9 16 ('lifted up as an ensign,' but RV 'lifted up on high,' RVmg. 'glittering'). All these four passages must be regarded as corrupt. (α) Ps. 60 4 [6] should probably be read thus, 'Thou hast given a cup [of judgment] to thy worshippers that they may be frenzied because of the bow' (להתהולל); cp Jer. 25 16. In compensation Ps. 116 13 becomes, 'I will raise the banner (נֵס for כּוֹס) of victory.' (β) Is. 10 18 נֹסֵס (𝔊 φεύγων) should apparently be נַעֲצוּץ, 'a thorn-bush.' (γ) Is. 59 19, נֹסְסָה בוֹ should probably be נָשְׁבָה בוֹ (Klo., Che.), 'when Yahwè's breath *blows upon* it.' (δ) The text of Zech. 9 15 *f.* needs some rearrangement (see Che. *JQR* 10 582). 'Stones of a diadem lifting themselves up over his land' is nonsense. In מתנוססות probably ס should be צ. *Glittering* stones, used as amulets (see PRECIOUS STONES), are meant.

(6) דֶּגֶל, *dégel*, is rendered by EV 'banner' in Cant. 2 4, (𝔊 τάξατε), by 'standard' in Nu. 1 52 2 2, etc. (all P; τάγμα [BAFL]). EV also finds a denom. verb from דגל in Ps. 20 5 [6] Cant. 5 10 6 4 10. Gray thinks (*JQR* 11 92 *ff.*)

[1] Schick (*ZDPV*, 19 157) observes that the name *'Ain esh-shems*, 'eye of the sun,' is popularly given to holes in prominent rocks.

[2] The name dates from the fifteenth century. It is the last well on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho before the dry desert is reached, and it is therefore assumed that the apostles must have drunk from it on their journey.

that the context of all the passages in Nu. is fully satisfied by the meaning 'company,' whilst in some of them the sense 'standard' is plainly unsuitable. The sense of 'company,' however, is even more difficult to justify than that of 'banner.'[1] דגל in Nu. 12 10 is probably a corruption of גְּדוּד, 'troop' or 'band'; the sense of the word in 1 Ch. 7 4 2 Ch. 26 11 is strikingly parallel. No other course is open, for all the other passages adduced for the sense of 'banner' are, with the possible exception of those in Numbers, corrupt. This applies not only to Cant. 2 4, but also to the passages in which a denom. verb is assumed (𝔊 τεταγμέναι, Cant. 6 4 10). For an examination of these passages see Che. *JQR* 11 232-236.

In Cant. 2 4 read, 'Bring me (so 𝔊) into the garden-house (בֵּית־הַגַּן); I am sick from love. Stay me, etc.' As to Ps. 20 5 [6], it is safe to say that 'to set up banners in the name of Yahwb' is an unnatural phrase (read נָגִיל, 'we exult'). The bridegroom in Canticles (5 10 etc.) *is* not 'marked out by a banner above ten thousand' (RVmg.); he may perhaps be called 'one looked up to, admired'; but more probably he was described in the original text as כָּלִיל 'perfect (in beauty).' The bride on her side is not called 'terrible as bannered [hosts]' but 'awe-inspiring as towers'; so at least a scribe, but not thk poet himself, wrote. The corruption was a very early one. The scribe, seeking to make sense of half-effaced letters which he misread אֲיֻמָּה, 'terrible,' bethought him of the figure in 8 10, and inserted כַּמִּגְדָּלוֹת 'as towers.'

(c) אוֹת, *'ōth*, is rendered 'ensign' by EV in Nu. 2 2 (σημεία or σημαία [BAF], σημασία [L]), Ps. 74 4 (σημεῖον [Ba.b mg. inf. ℵRT]). In the latter passage the 'ensigns' have been supposed to be military standards with heathen emblems upon them,[2] which reminds us of a similar theory respecting the 'abomination of desolation' in Mt. 24 15. The context of the passage in Ps., however, is very corrupt.[3]

2. Historical interpretation. Of all the above passages there are only two which are at once old and free from corruption—viz., Ex. 17 15 *f.* Nu. 21 8 *f.* The pole in the latter passage was probably such as was commonly used for signals to collect the Israelites when scattered; the banner in the former was a pole with some kind of (coloured?) cloth[4] upon it to attract attention.

Other terms which might be used for 'banner' were תֹּרֶן, *tōren* (Is. 30 17), and מַשְׂאֵת, *mas'ēth* (Jer. 6 1, RV 'signal'). That דֶּגֶל also was so used in early times is more than can be stated safely, nor can we tell what distinction there may have been between *'ōth* and *nēs.*[5] Tg. Jerus. (pseudo-Jon.) tells us that the standards were of silk of three colours, and had pictured upon them a lion, a stag, a young man, or a cerastes respectively. History to the writer of this Targum was not essentially different from poetry. T. K. C.

3. Parallels. Banners are frequently found on the Egyptian and the Assyrian monuments. Apart from the royal banner, each battalion or even each company in Egypt had its own particular emblem, which took the form of a monarch's name, a sacred boat, an animal, or some symbol the meaning of which is more or less doubtful.[6] The standard was borne aloft npon a spear or staff, and carried by an officer who wore as an emblem two lions (to symbolise courage)

1 It maybe mentioned that Friedr. Del. (*Heb. Lang.* 40; *Prol.* 59-61) went too far in rendering Assyr. *diglu* 'banner'; it simply means, as his own *Ass. HWB* states, 'the object of gaze, or of attention' (on the Arabic and Syriac roots, cp Gray *l.c.*).

2 The Jews certainly regarded the προτομαί on the Roman standards as idols; see below. § 3.

3 For an attempted restoration, see Che. *Ps.*(2).

4 In Is. 33 23 EV rightly renders נֵס 'sail'; a coloured, decorated sail is meant (Ezek. 27 7).

5 Mr. S. A. Cook suggests that the אֹתֹת in Nu. 2 2 may refer to clan-marks (cp CUTTINGS, § 6).

6 See Goblet d'Alviellas's *Migration of Symbols*, 220 *ff.* In some cases the symbols may have been mere totems; for analogies cp Frazer, *Totemism*, 30.

and two other devices apparently representing flies. The standard of the Heta-fortress of Dapuru which figures in a representation of a siege consists of a shield upon a pole pierced with arrows (see EGYPT, fig. 4, col. 1223). Reference is made elsewhere (ISRAEL, § 90) to the courtesy with which the Roman procurators, in deference to Jewish prejudice, removed from the ensigns (σημαῖαι) the 'effigies' (προτομαί) of the emperor. It was not the ensigns themselves but the presence of the additional προτομαί that was the cause of the Jewish sedition against Pilate (cp Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3 1, *BJ* ii. 9 2 *f.*). See further, art. 'Signa Militaria' in Smiths *Class. Dict.*, and art. 'Flag' in *EB*(9).

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

EN-TAPPUAH (עֵין־תַּפּוּחַ; πηγη θαφθωθ [B*], etc.), Josh. 17 7. See TAPPUAH, 2.

EPÆNETUS (επαινετος [Ti. WH]), 'my beloved, the first-fruits of Asia[2] unto Christ,' as he is described in the salutation sent to him in Rom. 16 5, appears to have been Paul's first convert in Ephesus, as Stephanas and his household were in Corinth (1 Cor. 16 15). From his not being designated 'kinsman' it has been inferred that he was a Gentile. The name is of not uncommon occurrence in the East; cp *CIG*, 2953 (Ephesus), 3903 (Phrygia). For the bearing which this name has upon the criticism of the epistle, see ROMANS, §§ 4, 10. Cp COLOSSIANS, § 4.

In the lists of 'the seventy disciples' by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus (see DISCIPLE, § 3), Epænetus figures as Bishop of Carthage or Carthagena (Καρθαγένης, *Cartaginis*). In the Greek Church he is commemorated with Crescens, Silas, and Andronicus on 30th July.

EPAPHRAS (επαφρας [Ti. WH], an abbreviated form of EPAPHRODITUS [*q.v.*]), a faithful 'minister' (διάκονος), and 'bond-servant' (δοῦλος) of Christ (Col. 1 7 4 12), founder of the church at COLOSSE [*q.v.*, § 2], and teacher in the neighbouring towns of Laodicea and Hierapolis (see 4 13). Epaphras visited Paul in his captivity, and it is probable that the outbreak of false teaching in the Colossian church may have led him to seek Paul's aid with the result that the epistle to the COLOSSIANS (see § 5, *f.*) was written. Did Epaphras share Paul's imprisonment during the writing of the epistle, or does 'fellow-prisoner' (ὁ συναιχμάλωτος; Philem. 23) refer to merely a spiritual captivity? Cp the term 'fellow-soldier' (art. EPAPHRODITUS) below, and see Milligan in Hastings' *DB*.

EPAPHRODITUS (επαφροδιτος [Ti. WH.], 'charming'), the delegate (ἀπόστολος, see APOSTLE, §§ 1 n., 3) of the Philippians, visited Paul during his imprisonment at Rome and remained with him—to the detriment of his health (Phil. 2 25 *ff.* 4 18). Paul's estimate of him is summed up in the eulogy 'my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier' (ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συνστρατιώτην μου; 2 25). On his return Epaphroditus no doubt took with him the epistle to the PHILIPPIANS, the grave warnings of which (3 2) may have been due to the report he had brought (cp EPAPHRAS). It is by no means necessary to identify Epaphras and Epaphroditus: indeed, though they have several features in common (note, *e.g.*, 'fellow-soldier' and 'fellow-prisoner') these are far outweighed by the points of difference. Epaphroditus is a common name in the Roman period.[3]

EPHAH (עֵיפָה,[4] γαιφα [BALQmg.], γαιφαρ [ℵAQ]).

1. Perhaps rather עֵפָה or עֵיפָה, a Midianite clan; Gen. 25 4 (γεφαρ [A], γαιφ. [DEL]); 1 Ch. 1 33 (γαφερ [B], γαιφαρ [A]). With Midian it is mentioned in Is.

1 Can one compare the mysterious 'hornet' which paved the way for the entrance of the tribes into Canaan (see HORNET)?

2 TR 'Αχαίας (cp AV) is certainly wrong; see ACHAIA (end).

3 Notably the one to whom Josephus dedicated his 'Antiquities' (*Vita*, § 76; *Ant.* Pref., § 2; c. *Ap.* i. 1).

4 According to Halévy (*Journ. As.* 7th ser. 10 394 *f.*), עפה occurs as a personal name in the Ṣafa inscriptions.

606 as being rich in camels, and as bringing gold and incense from Sheba. See MIDIAN.

2. and 3. Calebite names; 1 Ch. 2 46 (γαιφαηλ [παλλακη] [B*], γαιφα [η π.] [B^b A], η γαιφα [π.] [L]); v. 47.

EPHAH (אֵיפָה; οιφ[ε]ι [Lev. 5 11 620 Nu. 5 15 28 5 Judg. 6 19 Ruth 2 17 1 S. 1 24 17 17 Ezek. 45 13b], μετρον [Dt. 25 14 f. Pr. 20 10, Am., Zech., Ezek., etc.]). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

EPKAI (עֵיפַי, Kr.; עוֹפַי, Kt.; ωφε [א], -τ [A], ιωφε [B], -θ [Q^mg. sub θ' ut vid.], OPHI, Syr. Hex.^mg.), according to MT, a man of Netophah, whose sons were among the adherents of Gedaliah (Jer. 40 8†). In the parallel text, 2 K. 25 23, ובני עיפי is not found. Apparently 'sons of . . .' (בניעופי) is a corruption of a duplication of the following word 'Netophathite,' הנטופתי (Che.); note the warning Pāsēḳ which precedes. The Netophathite meant is SEXAIAH (q.v., 3).

EPHER (עֵפֶר, 'gazelle,' § 68, cp EPHRON; αφερ [BADEL].

1. A Midianite clan, Gen. 25 4 (αφειρ [L]); 1 Ch. 1 33 (οφερ [BA], γο. [L]). Knobel and Delitzsch compare the Banu Gifār of the stem of Kināna in Ḥijāz; but if HANOCH (q.v., 1) has been rightly identified, Epher may very possibly be the modern 'Ofr, which is near Ḥanākiya, between the Tihāma mountain range and Ābān (so Wetzstein; see Di.). Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 449), however, prefers to connect the name with the *Apparu* of the inscriptions of Ašur-bāni-pal (*KB* 2 223). From its mention in connection with Judah, E. Manasseh, and Reuben (see below), it is possible that various layers of the tribe of Epher were incorporated with the Israelites at a later time (cp Nöld. in Schenkel, *BL* 4218. See MIDIAN).

2. b. Ezrah, of JUDAH, 1 Ch. 4 17 (γαφερ [A], εφερ [L]); cp EPHRON i., 3.

3. A head of a subdivision of MANASSEH, 1 Ch. 5 24 (οφερ [BA]); cp EPHRON i., 2. S. A. C.

EPHES-DAMMIM (אֶפֶס דַּמִּים; εφερμεμ [B], αφεσδομμειν [A], αφεσ[δα]μειν [L]; [Pesh.]; εν περατι δομειμ [Aq.], *in finibus dommim* [Vg.]; cp OS 35 11, 96 23, 226 18), or, if *ephes* be taken to mean 'end [of],' Dammim is, according to MT, the name of a spot where the Philistines encamped, between SOCOH 1, and AZEKAH (1 S. 17 1). By Van de Velde (who is followed in Riehm's *HWB*) it is identified with *Damūn*, on the N. side of the Wādy es-Sanṭ, E. of the Roman road to Bēt Nettīf; but a different name for this ruin was obtained in the Ordnance Survey, and the name Damûn, if it occurs at all, seems to belong to a site nearer the high hills. Conder (*PEFQ*, 1875, p. 193), on the other hand, finds an echo of the name in *Bēt Faṣed* ('a place of bleeding'), which is close to Socoh (*Shuweikeh*) on the SE. This will not do for the site of the encampment—for the reason given in Che. *Aids*, 85, n. 1—but Conder's view is not that Bēt Faṣed represents the site (Buhl, *Geogr.* 90, n. 92), but that it is an echo of a name of the great valley of Elah (see ELAH, VALLEY OF) which arose out of the sanguinary conflicts that frequently occurred there. This is too fanciful a conjecture. We must, it would seem, either regard 'in Ephes-dammim' in 1 S. 17 1 as (on the analogy of PASDAMMIM) a corruption of בעמק רפאים 'in the valley of Rephaim' (or Ephraim; see REPHAIM), or else take *-dammīm* to be a corruption of some proper name, *ephes* being in this case also a corruption of עמק, 'valley.' The latter view is less probable, but hardly impossible.

The Philistines appear to have encamped on the southern, and the Israelites on the northern side of the valley of Elah (see Che. *Aids*, 85), and, considering how often the same valley has more than one name, we may conjecture that the site of the Philistine encampment was described as 'in the valley of X'= 'in the valley of Elah' (or, 'terebinth-valley'). In 1 S. 17 2 some point in the valley of Elah is mentioned as the site of the encampment of the Israelites; but 'in the valley of Elah' would not improbably be inserted by the redactor from v. 19, which verse seems to have come from another version of the tradition (see Klo.).

The present writer, who prefers the former of the alternatives suggested above, supposes (1) that 'in the valley of Rephaim' (or Ephraim) is a discrepant statement of the scene of the fight with Goliath, and (2) that it is the *correct* statement. Others may have an insuperable objection to this, and for their benefit another suggestion is made. It is not inconceivable that 'Valley of the Terebinth' (הָאֵלָה) was the name of that part of the valley in which David won his victory, whilst a larger section of the valley was called 'Valley of the red-brown [lands]'; cp 'the ascent of the red-brown [hills],' Josh. 15 7; red-brown in each case is אֲדֻמִּים. 'Large patches of it (the ploughed land in the valley of Elah) were of a deep red colour, exceptional, and therefore remarkable' (Miller, *The Least of all Lands*, 125). From אדמים to דמים is an easy step. H. P. Smith is hardly decisive enough in his rejection of Lagarde's בספר המים.[1] The torrent was *of course* dried up, and no longer a landmark. See ELAH, VALLEY OF. T. K. C.

EPHESIANS. See COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS.

EPHESUS (εφεcοc [Ti. WH]; gent. Ἐφέσιος, EPHESIAN) lay on the left bank of the Cayster (mod. *Kuchuk Mendere*, Little Meander), about 6 m. from the sea, nearly opposite the island of Samos. Long before the Ionian immigration the port at the month of the river had attracted settlers, who are called Carians (Paus. vii. 2 6), but were probably the Hittites whose centre of power lay at Pteria in Cappadocia; see HITTITES, § 11 *ff.* To the E. of Mt. Koressos, in the plain between the isolated height of Prion (or Pion) and the eminence at the foot of which the modern village stands, there arose a shrine of the many-breasted Nature-goddess identified by the Greeks with their own Artemis (see DIANA). The population lived, in the primitive Anatolian fashion, in village groups (κῶμαι) round the shrine, on land belonging to it wholly or in part, completely dominated by the priests. With the coming of the Ionians, who, after long conflict, established themselves on the spur of Mt. Koressos now shown as the place of Paul's prison (ancient Athenæum), began an obstinate struggle between the Oriental hierarchy and Hellenic political ideas, which were based upon the conception of the city (πόλις). The early struggles of the immigrants with the armed priestesses perhaps gave rise to the Greek Amazon-legends. Even after actual hostilities had ceased, and the two communities had agreed to live side by side, this dualism continued to be the key to Ephesian history. The power of the priestly community remained co-ordinate with, or only partially subordinate to, that of the civic authorities; the city and the temple continued to be formally distinct centres of life and government (cp Curtius, *Beitr. z. Gesch. u. Top. Kleinas.*, 14).

1. Early history.

2. Government.

The situation of the shrine, near one of the oldest ports of Asia Minor, at the very gateway of the East (Strabo, 663) brought the worship into contact with allied Semitic cults. These and similar influences gave the Ephesian worship that œcumenic character which was its greatest boast (Acts 19 27; Paus. iv. 31 8; Hicks, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 482, see Ramsay, *Class. Rev.* 1893, p. 78 *f.*). Even apart from the existence of the *hieron*, the greatness of Ephesus was assured; for, admirably placed as were all the Ionic cities (Herod. 1 142), none were so fortunate as Ephesus, lying as she did midway between the Hermos on the N. (at the mouth of which was Smyrna) and the Mæander on the S. (port, Miletus). On the downfall of Smyrna, before the Lydians, about 585 B.C., and

[1] See *BN* 76, and cp *Übers.* 76. For the grounds of this reading see Dr. *TBS* lxxviii., 292, and note Dr.'s criticism on Lag.

EPHESUS

the ruin of Phokaia and Miletus by the Persians in 494 B.C., she inherited the trade of the Hermos and Mæander valleys. The port had always suffered from the alluvium of the Cayster, and its ultimate destruction from that cause had been rendered inevitable by an unfortunate engineering scheme of Attalus II. Philadelphus, about a century and a half before Strabo wrote; yet in Strabo's time and in that of Paul the city was the greatest emporium of Asia (Str. 641, ἐμπόριον οὖσα μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου; reflected in Rev. 18 11-14). Shortly after Paul's visit the proconsul Barea Soranus tried to dredge the port (61 A.D.; Tac. *Ann.* 16 23). Its commercial relations are illustrated by the fact that even the *minium* (μίλτος) of Cappadocia was shipped from Ephesus, not from Sinope (Str. 540), and by the travels of Paul himself (Acts 18 19-21 19 1; cp 18 24). Ephesus was the centre of Roman administration in Asia. The narrative in Acts reveals an intimate acquaintance with the special features of its position. As the Province of Asia was senatorial (Str. 840), the governor is rightly called proconsul.[1] Being a free city, Ephesus had assemblies and magistrates, senate (βουλή), and popular assembly (ἐκκλησία) of its own; but orderliness in the exercise of civic functions was jealously demanded by the imperial system (Acts 19 40; cp *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1883, p. 506). The theatre, which was probably the usual place of meeting for the assembly,[2] is still visible. Owing to the decay of popular government under the empire, the 'public clerk' (γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου) became the most important of the three 'recorders,' and the picture in Acts of the 'town-clerk's' consciousness of responsibility, and his influence with the mob is true to the inscriptions (*e.g.*, *CIG* 2994, 2966, etc.). From its devotion to Artemis the city appropriated the title 'Neokoros' (Acts 19 35: νεωκόρος, *lit.* 'temple-sweeper'), and, as the town-clerk said, its right to the title was notorious.

The word Neokoros was 'an old religious term adopted and developed in the imperial cultus,'—*i.e.*, under the empire the title Neokoros, or Neokoros of the Emperors was conferred by the Senate's decree at Rome, and was coincident with the erection of a temple and the establishment of games in honour of an Emperor. When a second temple and periodical games were, by leave of the Senate, established, in honour of a later Emperor, the city became δὶς Νεωκόρος ('twice Neokoros'), and even (τρὶς N.) 'thrice Neokoros' in inscriptions and on coins. Hence under the empire not only Ephesns hut also Laodiceia and other Asiatic cities boasted the title. See Rams. *Hist. Phryg.* 158; Buchner, *de Neocoria.*

Naturally Ephesus was the head of a *conventus,—i.e.,* it was an assize town (Plin. 527, 'Ephesuni vero, alterum lumen Asiæ, remotiores conveniunt'); hence in Acts 19 38 'the courts are open' (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 21, Strabo, 629). From its position as the metropolis of Roman Asia Ephesus was naturally a meeting-point of the great roads.

3. Importance.

On the one side a road crossing Mt. Tmōlos ran north-eastwards to Sardis, and so into Galatia (cp GALATIA). More important was that which ran southwards into the Mæander valley. Ephesus was, therefore, the western terminus of the 'back-bone of the Roman road system'—the great trade route to the Euphrates by way of Laodiceia and Colossæ (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 49), and the 'sea-end of the road along which most of the criminals sent to Rome from the province of Asia would be led' (Rams. *Ch. in R. Emp.* 318); hence Ignatius, writing to the church there, says, 'ye are a high road of them that are on their way to die unto God' (*Eph.* 12, πάροδός ἐστε τῶν εἰς Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων; cp Rev. 17 6).

It was, in part, by the route just described, that Paul on his Third journey reached Ephesus from the interior, avoiding, however, the towns of the Lycus valley by taking the more northerly horse-path over the Duz-bel pass, by way of Seiblia (Acts 19 1, διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη. See Rams. *Ch. in R. Emp.* 94). True to his principle, Paul went to the centre of Roman life; and along the great lines of communication, without his personal intervention. his message spread eastwards into the Lycus valley (see COLOSSE, HIERAPOLIS, LAODICEA). All the 'seven churches'[1] of Rev. 1-3 were probably founded at this period, for all were great trade centres and in communication with Ephesus. The labours of subordinates were largely responsible for their foundation, perhaps in all cases, though it is only in one group that evidence is forthcoming (Col. 1 7 4 12-17). The position of Ephesus as the metropolis of Asia is clearly reflected in her primacy in the list (Rev. 1 11 21). In this way, 'all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word . . . both Jews and Greeks' (Acts 19 10).

Jews we should expect to find in great numbers at Ephesus. As early as 44 B.C., Dolabella in his consulship had granted them toleration for their rites and Sabbath observance, and safe conduct in their pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 12); they must then have been a rich community to have been able to buy these favours. Their privileges were confirmed by the city (*ibid.*, 10 25), and subsequently by Augustus (*id.*, xvi. 6 2 7). To them, as usual (cp ACTS, § 4), was Paul's first message on both visits (Acts 18 19 19 8); but the good-will with which he had been welcomed on his first appearance (Acts 18 20) cooled, and he was compelled at last to take his teaching from the synagogue to the philosophical 'school of one Tyrannus' (Acts 19 9, διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου—'from the fifth to the tenth hour' added by D—*i.e.*, after the usual teaching hours; cp *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1887, p. 400; Rams. *Expos.* March, 1893, p. 223).

4. Attitude to Christianity.

Soon Paul came into collision with the beliefs and practices peculiar to the place in a twofold manner.

Ephesus was a centre of the magical arts of the East.

It is significant that the earliest Ephesian document extant deals with the rules of augury (6th cent. B.C.; *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 678). The so-called 'Ephesian letters' (Ἐφέσια γράμματα) were mystic symbols engraved upon the statue of the goddess (Eustath. *Od.* 14); they were inscribed upon tablets of terra-cotta or other material, and used as amulets (Athen. 12 548, ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φέρων Ἐφεσήϊα γράμματα καλά). When pronounced they were regarded as powerful charms, especially effective in cases of possession by evil spirits (cp Plut. *Symp.* vii. 54: οἱ μάγοι, τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους κελεύουσι τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα καταλέγειν καὶ ὀνομάζειν). The study of these symbols was an elaborate pseudo-science.

The miracles ascribed to Paul were therefore clearly designed *to* meet the circumstances; they were 'special' (Acts 19 11: οὐ τὰς τυχούσας)—the expulsion of diseases and of evil spirits by means of 'handkerchiefs or aprons' (σουδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια) which are, possibly, to be connected with Paul's own daily labour for his living (1 Cor. 4 12: κοπιῶμεν ἐργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν; 1 Thess. 2 9). Especially was his power brought into comparison with that claimed by the Jewish exorcists (see EXORCISTS), as previously in Paphos (Acts 13 6); although in the story of the sons of Sceva and the burning of the treatises on magic there are considerable difficulties—'the writer is here rather a picker-up of current gossip, like Herodotus, than a real historian' (Rams. *St. Paul*, 273).

In the second place, the new teaching came into collision with the popular worship. Even before the great outbreak, fierce opposition must have been encountered from the populace (1 Cor. 15 32: ἐθηριομάχησα, 'I fought with beasts'—a word which contains a mixture of Roman and Greek ideas: the Platonic comparison of the mob to a beast, *Rep.* 493, and the death of criminals in the circus; cp 1 Cor. 4 9: ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν, ὡς ἐπιθανατίους, and *v.* 13). In the conviction that 'a great door and effectual' was opened in the province, in spite of there being 'many adversaries' (1 Cor.

1 Acts 19 38, ἀνθύπατοι; the plural is generic, although other.; take it to allude to P. Celer, imperial procurator, and the freedman Helius, who may have remained in Asia with joint proconsular power after murdering the proconsul Junius Silanus at the instigation of Agrippina, in 54 A.D.—Tac. *Ann.* 13 1; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri.*

2 Cp Jos. *Ant.* xix. 8 2, Agrippa at Cæsarea; Tac. *Hist.* 2 80, 'tum Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est. . .'; Jos. *BJ* vii. 3 3; Cic. *Pro Flacc* 7, § 16; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 4 10 (p. 147), ἦγεν ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον, of Ephesus.

1 [' From the seven letters, chap. 1 *f.*, we see how carefully the author had studied the situation in the Christian communities accessible to him.'—Jülicher, *Einl. in das NT*, 169.]

16 8 *f.*), the apostle had resolved to remain at Ephesus until Pentecost (of 57 A.D. probably). The great festival of the goddess occurred in the month Artemision (*CIG*, 2954) = Mar.-Apr.; but whether it must be brought into connection with the riot or not is uncertain. The opposition did not originate with the priests, but was organised by the associated tradesmen engaged in the manufacture of 'shrines' (*ναοί*), led by Demetrius who was one of the chief employers of labour (Acts 19 *24*; see DIANA, § 2). Such trade-guilds (*ἔργα*, *ἐργασίαι*) were common in Asia Minor.[1] It is clear, however, that the riot was badly orgdnised (see Acts 19 32).

The watchword, 'Great is Artemis' (Μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις) raised by the workmen, diverted the excitement of the populace, and the demonstration became anti-Jewish (*v.* 34) rather than directly and especially anti-Christian. The nationality of Gaius and Aristarchus (Macedonians, AV; Aristarchus alone Macedonian according to some few MSS, Gains in that case being the Gains of Derbe of Acts 20 4; cp GAIUS, 2) would tend in the same direction so long as Paul remained invisible (*v.* 30), as, apart from the Romans, the Jews formed the only conspicuous foreign element in the city, and one notoriously hostile to the popular cult. The solicitude of 'certain Asiarchs' (*v.* 31; cp Euseb. *HE* 4 15; see ASIARCH) for the apostle is significant, as they were the heads of the politico-religious organisation of the province in the cult of Rome and the Emperor; whence we must infer that neither the imperial policy nor the feeling of the educated classes was opposed to the new teaching as yet. The town-clerk's speech is virtually an *apologia* for the Christians. It is true that a very different view has been suggested (Hicks, *Expos.* June 1890; cp Rams. *Expos.* July 1890), in which Demetrius the silversmith is identified with the Demetrius named as President of the Board of Neopoioi ('temple-wardens,' *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 578). Hicks supposes that the priests persuaded the Board to organise the riot, and that the honour voted in the inscription to Demetrius and his colleagues was in recognition of their services in the cause of the goddess. Apart from the doubt attaching to the restoration Ν[εοποιοί], and to the date of the decree, the theory does not show why the priests acted by intermediaries who were civil not religious magistrates; nor how *trade* interests were affected—*i. e.*, it involves the assumption that the author of Acts misconceived the situation, and in recasting his authority altered *νεοποιὸς Ἀρτέμιδος* into *ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος*. Further, in order to explain the difference between the friendly attitude of the Asiarchs and the supposed hostility of the priests, it is necessary to assume that the Asiarchs represented a different point of view from that of the native hierarchy. There is no evidence that they represented the point of view of the Roman governors, and probably they had themselves previously held priesthoods of local cults before becoming Asiarchs: they represented the view of the upper classes generally, one which prevailed outside Jewish circles wherever Paul preached (for complete discussion, see Rams. *Ch. in Rom. Emp.* 112 *f.*).

The short visit during the voyage from Corinth to Cæsarea at the close of the Second journey, and the two and a half years' labour there during the Third journey, together with the interview with the Ephesian elders at Miletus on the return voyage (Acts 20 17), form the only record of Paul's personal contact with Ephesus, unless we admit the inferences drawn from the Pastoral Epistles.[2]

[1] Cp *CIG* 3208: οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐργάται προπυλεῖται. See especially Thyatira, where we have, among others, *χαλκεῖς*, *χαλκοτύποι*. Possibly classification by trade was pre-Greek—Herod. 1 93—the tribe being a Greek introduction; Rams. *Hist. Phryg.* 1 105. Cp *Oxyrhyncus Papyri*, vol. i. p. 85—returns of stock in trade by Egyptian guilds, *κοινὸν τῶν χαλκοκολλητῶν*, *τῶν ζυθοπωλῶν*, etc. See Menadier, *Ephes.* 28.

[2] [The Pastoral Epistles, though they may possibly contain fragments of genuine letters of Paul (worked up with freedom), are un-Pauline in language and in theological position, nor can they be fitted into a chronology of the life of Paul. See Julicher (*op. cit.*, § 13), and cp PASTORAL EPISTLES.—ED.]

Philem. 22 ('prepare me also a lodging'), cp Phil. 2 24) expresses an expectation of visiting Colossæ, which inevitably implied a visit to Ephesus. 1 Tim. 1 3 implies that this intention was realised, and perhaps there are hints also of a fourth visit: some reconstruct the fragmentary picture of these years so as to give even a fifth or a sixth visit (Conybeare and Howson 2 547 *f.*) before the final departure for Nicopolis by way of Miletus and Corinth (2 Tim. 4 20).

5. Post-Christian times. On the destruction of Jernsalem the surviving apostles and leading members of the church found refuge in Asia, and for a time Ephesus became virtually the centre of the Christian world. *ANDREW* and *PHILIP*, with Aristion and *JOHN* the Elder, had their abode here; in this circle Polycarp passed his youth.

The modern name of Ephesos (*Ayasaluk*) is a corruption of Ayos Theológos (Ἅγιος Θεολόγος), the town being named in Byzantine times from the great Church of St. John the Divine, built by Justinian on the site of an earlier edifice: its ruins are visible on the height above the modern village (cp Procop. *de Æd.* 5 1; Rams. *Hist. Geogr. AM*, 110). This church became the centre of a town, Ephesus itself being gradually abandoned. The plain has thus reverted to its original condition, the miserable remnant of the population now occupying the site of the sanctuary of Artemis founded by the prehistoric settlers, whilst the site of the Greek and Roman Ephesus is a desert (Rev. 2 5).

6. Bibliography. See Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, 1877, for the excavations (now resumed in the town by the Vienna Arch. Inst.; cp *Athenæum*, no. 3677; *Class. Rev.* April, 1900). For history, Curtius, *Beitr. z. Gesch. u. Top. Kleinasiens*, 1872; but Guhl's *Ephesiaca*, 1843, is still valuable. The epigraphic results of Wood's labours are given in *Greek Inscr. of Brit. Mus.* 3. Consult also Zimmermann, *Ephesos im ersten Christ. Jahrhundert*; Weber, *Guide du Voyageur à Ephèse* (Smyrna, 1891), with good maps (plan of Ephesus after Weber in *Handbook to Asia Minor*, Murray, 1895, p. 96); good article, with good views and maps, by Benndorf ('Topographische Urkunde aus Ephesos'), in *Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, 1898.

W. J. W.

EPHLAL (אֶפְלָל, meaning ?), a Jerahmeelite name, 1 Ch. 2 37. The MT is virtually supported by 𝔊 (*αφαμηλ*, *-ηδ* [B], *οφλαδ* [A]—A, M from A), but the name was perhaps originally theophorous. Read, therefore, אלפל, an abbreviated form of אֱלִיפֶלֶט (see ELIPHELET), or, more probably, אֶלְפַּעַל (cp 𝔊^L ελφαελ). See ELPAAL, and cp 𝔊's readings there cited.

S. A. C.

EPHOD (אֵפוֹד, אֵפֹד; in Pent. 𝔊^BAL, ΕΠΩΜΙΣ, Vg. *superhumerale*; in Judg. and 1 S. ΕΦΟΥΔ, ΕΦΩΔ, *ephod*; in 2 S. 6 14 1 Ch. 15 27 ΣΤΟΛΗ, but ΕΦΟΥΔ [L] in 1 Ch.; Hos. 3 4 ΙΕΡΑΤΕΙΑ [BAQ]), a Hebrew word (*ēphōd*) which the English translators have taken over as a technical term. The word is used in the historical books in two meanings, the connection between which is not clear.

1. As a garment. The boy Samuel ministered before Yahwè, 'girt with a linen ephod' (חגור אפוד בד, 1 S. 2 18); in the same garb, David, when he brought the ark up to Jerusalem, danced before Yahwè with all his might (2 S. 6 14; in 1 Ch. 15 27*b* the words are a gloss). It was long the accepted opinion that the linen ephod was the common vestment of the priests; but in 1 S. 22 18 'linen' (*bad*) is a gloss (see 𝔊^B, as also 𝔊^L in 1 S. 2 18), and the other passages usually alleged in support of the theory speak of *bearing* or *carrying* the ephod, not of wearing it (see below, § 2). This ephod was manifestly a scanty garment, for Michal taunts David with indecently exposing himself like any lewd fellow. It was probably not a short tunic, as is generally thought, but a loin-cloth (*περίζωμα*) about the waist; Samuel's tunic (מעיל) is mentioned separately, and the verb rendered 'gird' (חגר) is used in Hebrew not of belting in an outer garment, but only of binding something (girdle, sword-belt, loincloth) about the loins; additional support is given to this view by the shape of the high priest's ephod (see below, § 3). David's assumption of this meagre garb on an occasion of high religious ceremony may perhaps have been a return to a primitive costume which antiquity had rendered sacred, as the pilgrims to Mecca

to-day must wear the simple loin-cloth (*'izār;* see GIRDLE, I), which was once the common dress of the Arabs.

The ephod was used in divining or consulting Yahwè. Of this there is frequent mention in the history of Saul and David (I S. 14 18 *bis* [𝔊]:[1] cp *v.* 3 23 6 g 30 7); see also Hos. 3 4. From the passages in I S. it appears that the ephod was carried by the priest (14 3 18 𝔊, cp 23 6); to carry the ephod is the distinction of the priesthood (22 18 𝔊), one of its chief prerogatives (2 28). When Saul or David wishes to consult Yahwè, the priest brings the ephod to him; he puts an interrogatory which can be answered categorically (14 37 23 10-12 30 8), or a simple alternative, or a series of alternatives narrowing the question by successive exclusion (14 36-42, cp 10 20-22). The priest manipulated the ephod in some way; Saul breaks off a consultation by ordering the priest to take his hand away (14 19). The response, as we should surmise from the form of the interrogatory, was given by lot; in 14 41 *f.* (𝔊, cp 18) the lot is cast with two objects, named respectively Urim and Thummim (see URIM). That the ephod was part of the apparatus of divination may be inferred also from its frequent association with the TERAPHIM [*q.v.*] (Judg. 17 *f.* Hos. 3 4; cp Ezek. 21 21 [26] Zech. 10 2).

2. The ephod-oracle.

The passages in Samuel, whilst leaving no doubt concerning the use of the ephod, throw little light upon its nature. They show, however, that it was not a part of the priests' apparel; it was carried, not worn (נשׂא never means 'wear' a garment; cp also 23 6, 'in his hand'), and brought (הגּישׁ, 'bring near') to the person who desired to consult the oracle. Other passages seem to lead to a more positive conclusion. At Nob the sword of Goliath, which had been deposited in the temple as a trophy, was kept wrapped up in a mantle 'behind the ephod,' which must, therefore, be imagined as standing free (I S. 21 9 [10]).[2] In Judg. 17 *f.* ephod and teraphim in one version of the story are parallel to *pesel* and *massēkāh* (idol) in the other. It is natural, though not necessary, to suppose that the ephod was something of the same kind, and the association of ephod with teraphim elsewhere (Hos. 3 4) is thought to confirm this view. Gideon's ephod (made of 1700 shekels of gold) set up (הצּיג, cp I S. 5 2 2 S. 6 17 [of the ark]; cp ἱδρύειν) at Ophrah, where, according to the deuteronomistic editor, it became the object of idolatrous worship Judg. 8 27), was plainly an idol, or, more precisely, an *agalma*, of some kind. Many scholars infer that the ephod in Judg. 8 27 17 *f.* and I S. 21 9 was an image of Yahwè;[3] and some think that a similar image is meant in all the places cited above where the ephod is used in divining.[4] We should then imagine a portable idol before which the lots were cast. See below, §§ 3 (end), 4.

In P the ephod is one of the ceremonial vestments of the high priest enumerated in Ex. 28 4. The pattern for the ephod is given in 28 6 *ff.*; the fabrication is recorded in 39 2 *ff.* (= 𝔊 36 9 *ff.*), the investiture of Aaron in 29 5 Lev. 8 7. The description is not altogether clear; nor do the accounts of those who had (probably) seen the high priest in his robes afford much additional light.[5]

3. The high priest's ephod in P.

[1] MT (so 𝔊A) substitutes *the ark* (ארון), as in I K. 2 26. See ARK, col. 305, n.

[2] It is possible, however, that *ēphōd* has here been substituted for another word (perhaps *ărōn*, 'ark'), for reasons similar to those which led 𝔊 to omit the words altogether (they have been introduced in many codd. from Theodotion).

[3] See Moore, *Judges*, 381.

[4] If the words 'before me' (לפני) in I S. 2 28 are original, they exclude this hypothesis; see, however, 𝔊BAL and Pesh.

[5] Ecclus. 45 10 Heb.; *Ep. Arist.*, ed. Schmidt, in Merx, *Archiv*, 1 271 *f.*; Philo, *De Monarch.* 2 5 *f.* (ii. 225 *ff.* Mangey), *Vit. Mosis*, 3 11 *ff.* (ii. 151 *ff.*); Jos. *BJ* v. 5 7; *Ant.* iii. 7 5. See also Jerome, *Ad Fabiolam*, ep. 64 15; *Ad Marcellam*, ep. 29.

Braun (*De vestitu sacerdotum*, 1698, p. 462 *ff.*), whom most scholars since his day have followed, held that the ephod consisted of two pieces, one covering the front of the body to a little below the waist, the other the back; two shoulder straps (כתפות) ran up from the front piece on either side of the breastplate, and were attached to the back by clasps on the shoulders; a hand, woven in one piece with the front of the ephod, passed around the body under the arms and secured the whole.

Others conceive of the ephod as an outer garment covering the body from the arm-pits to the hips, firmly bound on by its girdle, and supported by straps over the shoulders, something like a waistcoat with a square opening in front for the insertion of the breastplate.[1] This view is incompatible with the descriptions in Exodus, especially with the directions for the making and the use of the band (28 8 27 29 5); against Braun's theory it must be noted that nothing is said in the text about a back piece, nor is there anything to suggest that the ephod was made in two parts; 28 8 again seems to exclude such a construction.

As far as we can now understand the description, the high priest's ephod appears to have been a kind of apron, tied around the waist by a band or girth (חֵשֶׁב – חבוּג, *cingulum*); from the corners of the apron two broad shoulder-straps (כתפות) were carried up to the shoulders, and there fastened (to the robe, מעיל) by two brooches set with onyx stones.[2] The oracle-pouch (חשן משפט, EV 'breastplate of judgment'; cp BREASTPLATE ii. col. 607) was permanently attached by its corners to the shoulder-straps, filling the space between them, and on its lower border meeting the upper edge of the ephod proper. The high priest's ephod may then be regarded as a ceremonial survival of the primitive loin-cloth (*ēphōd bad;* see above, § I) worn by Samuel and David,[3] precisely as a Christian bishop at one time wore —as the Pope does still—over his alb a succinctorium with its zona, the two ends falling at his left side.[4]

The fact that the apparatus of the high-priestly oracle, the חשן משפט, with the sacred lots, was permanently attached to the ephod recalls the use of the ephod by the priests of Saul and David in divining (see URIM); and the most natural explanation is that it also is a survival. This is, of course, impossible if the ephod in Samuel was an image (see above, § 2); but the latter conjecture is not so certainly established that the evidence of P may not be put into the scales against it.[5]

Various hypotheses have been proposed to connect the different meanings and uses of ephod in the OT. It is possible that the primitive ephod—a corner of which was the earliest pocket—was used as a receptacle for the lots, from which they were drawn, or into which they were cast (see Prov. 16 33); and that when it was no longer a common piece of raiment it was perpetuated in this sacred use, not worn, but carried by the priest; the ephod and oracle-pouch of the high priest would then preserve this ancient association. The ephod of Gideon—perhaps also the ephod in the temple at Nob—was, however, an *agalma* of an entirely different character; what relation there may be between the ephod-garment and the ephod-idol, it is not easy to imagine.[6] In both cases we must admit the possibility

4. Attempted explanations.

[1] Dillmann, *Ex. I. Lev.* (3) 334; Nowack, *HA* 2 118 *f.*; Driver in Hastings' *DB*, s.v.; cp Saadia, Abulwalid. The figures in Lepsius' *Denkmäler* (3 224 *a d*, 222 *h*, 274 *b*), in which Ancessi, followed by Dillm. and others, would see an Egyptian ephod of this form, represent, not a ceremonial dress, but simply body armour of two familiar types.

[2] The interpretation 'shoulder-cape,' 'Schulterkleid,' found in some recent works is a mechanical mistranslation (through Old Latin and Vg. *superhumerale*) of 𝔊 ἐπωμίς, which is not a garment covering the shoulders, but one open on the shoulders and supported by brooches or shoulder-straps (ἐπωμίδες).

[3] Rashi (on Ex. 28 4 *ff.* 40 end) likens the ephod of the high priest to a woman's *surceint*, two pieces of cloth, in front and behind, on a band or belt.

[4] See Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, 153, 165 *f.*; that the original use of the succinctorium was not forgotten, see Innocent III., *De sacro altaris mysterio*, lib. I, c. 52.

[5] The alternative is that the union of the ephod with the Urim and Thummim is an artificial combination suggested to the author of P by the passages in Samuel themselves. P, it is thought, knew nothing about the true nature of the old ephod or the Urim and Thummim.

[6] For the etymological explanation by J. D. Michaelis, see below; cp also Smend. *AT Rel.gesch.* 41 n.

that *ēphōd* has supplanted a more offensive word, possibly *ĕlōhīm*; cp the substitution of *ărōn*, 'ark,' for *ēphōd* in 1 S. 14 18 1 K. 2 26. See ARK, § 6, n. 1.

The etymology of *ēphōd* is obscure; the verb אפר (Ex. 29 5 Lev. 8 7) is generally regarded as denominative. Lagarde's derivation from a root נפר is formally unimpeachable; but his explanation, 'garment of approach to God,' is inadmissible (*Uebers.* 178). J. D. Michaelis conjectured that Gideon's ephod-idol was so called because it had a 'coating' (אֲפֻדָּה, cp Ex. 28 8 39 2) of gold over a wooden core (cp Is. 30 22).[1] This theory has been widely accepted, and extended to the whole class of supposed oracular ephod-idols; but the combination is very doubtful. Even in Isaiah it is quite possible that an actual garment may be meant.

6. Literature. See the authors cited above in the notes, and in Moore, *Judges*, 381. Older monographs: R. D. Carpzov, 'De Pontificum Hebræorum vestitu sacro,' in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, 12 785 *ff.*; Ugolinus, 'Sacerdotium Hebraicum,' *Thes.* 13 135 *ff.* (opinions of Jewish scholars *in extenso*); cp Maimonides (*Kĕlē hamiqdāsh* 9 9 *ff.*), *ib.* 8 1002 *ff.*; especially Braun, *De Vestitu Sacerdotum*, ii. 6; Spencer, *De Leg.* lib. iii. diss. 7, c. 3; further, Ancessi, *Annales de philos. chrétienne*, 1872; König, *Rel. Hist. of Israel*, 107 *ff.*; Sellin, *Beitr. zur isr. u. jüd. Rel.* ii. 1 119 *f.*; van Hoonacker, *Le sacerdoce Lévitique*, 370 *ff.* ('99).

G. F. M.

EPHPHATHA (εφφαθα [Ti. WH]), an Aramaism used by Jesus according to Mk. 7 34†. It is glossed by διανοίχθητι, and is properly the passive (Ethpe'el or Ethpa'al—opinions differ) of פְּתַח, 'to open.'

The assimilation of the ת before פ can be paralleled in later Aramaic; but it would perhaps be simpler to suppose that the older reading was (correctly) εθφαθα. See Kau. *Gram.* 10, Dalm. *Gram.* 202, 222.

EPHRAIM

Ephraim (אֶפְרַיִם; § 100; on meaning of name see below, § 2; εφραιμ, occasionally αιφ. or -εμ;[2] on gentilic **Ephraimite, Ephrathite** see below, §§ 1 [end], 5 i.), the common designation in Hosea (originally oftener than now) of the northern kingdom of Israel. This usage was not confined, however, to northern writers. It occurs also in Isaiah and Jeremiah[3] and in post-exilic prophets and poets.[4] There is no evidence that the name was used by other nations. The Moabites called the northern kingdom 'Israel' (*MI*, *l.* 5); the Assyrians called it Bit Ḫumri (cp OMRI), or Israel (cp Aḫabbu Sir'ilai). Nor does 'Ephraim' in this sense occur in the earlier historical books.[5] The explanation probably is that it was not a correct, formal style. An orator may speak of 'England'; a diplomatist must say 'Great Britain.'

1. Application of names.

The form of the name suggests that it is really geographical (cp the many place-names ending in *aim* [NAMES, § 107], and, for the prefixed א, such names as Ahlab, Achshaph; cp also Achzib).

'Land of Ephraim' (ארץ אפרים), it is true, occurs only once, late (Judg. 12 15), and 'Wood of Ephraim' may be corrupt (see EPHRAIM [WOOD OF]); but 'Mount Ephraim' (הר אפרים)[6] occurs over thirty times (cp Mt. Gilead), and it is significant that we never hear of 'house of Ephraim' (as we do of 'house of Joseph').[7]

[1] See IDOL, § 5.

[2] The following forms occur in Josephus: for the eponym εφραιμ; for the tribe εφραιμις; variants εφραης, -αδη, -αθη, -ανη, -αμη, -αιμη.

[3] Ezekiel is uncertain.

[4] Cp Ecclus. 47 21, 'out of Ephraim a kingdom of violence' (מאפרים ממלכת חמס; and *v.* 23).

[5] Statistics as to the occurrence of the name may now be found conveniently collected in W. Staerk, *Studien*, 1 84-86.

[6] For 'הר א we have in Obad. 19 'שְׂדֵה א. If the text of these two words is correct (see NEGEB), we must give שָׂדֶה the meaning it has in Assyrian (*šadû*), viz. 'mountain' (for other cases see FIELD, 1).

[7] The late passage, Judg. 10 9, cannot be considered an exception. The phrase is artificial, modelled after others. 𝔊B omits 'house of.' The Chronicler speaks of the 'sons of Ephraim' ('בני א), 2 Ch. 28 12.

Against the view that Ephraim is the name of a district the absence of such a place-name from the Egyptian records is of no significance. They mention, on the whole, towns rather than districts. Nor need we consider seriously the suggestion (Niebuhr, *Gesch.* 1 251) that there may be in Egypt a trace of Ephraim as the name of a people—viz. in the '(A)pury, repeatedly discussed in relation to Israel (the 'Hebrews'; cp HEBREW, § 1), since Chabas called attention to them, in 1862 (*Mél. Égypt.* 42 *ff.*).[1] The objections to such a view—initial '*ain* for '*aleph*[2] and certain facts about the '(A)pury—are obvious (so, strongly, WMM).

The occurrence in a document of Egyptian '*ain*[3] for initial Semitic '*aleph*, is not indeed impossible, as is proved by the singular case of the similar name Achshaph (see above);[4] but that must be regarded simply as a blunder of the scribe who wrote the papyrus (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 173). The name '(A)pury occurs too often for there to be any uncertainty about its spelling and it is always with '*ain*.[5]

Phonetically, therefore, the equation is indefensible. Nor is there in favour of it any positive argument. We find '(A)pury in the time of Ramses II. (cp EGYPT, § 58) in the (eastern) borders of Egypt where a persistent tradition says that Joseph, which, as we shall see, is practically equivalent to Ephraim, was settled (cp JOSEPH i.); but '(A)pury are mentioned as early as the thirteenth and as late as the twentieth dynasty,[6] and there is nothing to suggest their being connected with a special movement towards Canaan.

It is most probable, therefore, that 'Ephraim' is strictly the name of the central highlands of W. Palestine. The people took the name of the tract in which they dwelt, just as their neighbours towards the S. were called 'men of the south,' 'sons of the south' (see BENJAMIN, § 1). Ephraim would thus be simply the country of Joseph; called his son, as Gilead is called the son of Machir. It is just possible that Machir, too, was at one time used in a wider sense, more nearly equal to Joseph; J's story says (Gen. 37 28 *b*; cp 45 4) that it was because Joseph was sold (וימכרו את יוסף) that he was found living in Egypt (מכיר, Machir = 'sold').[7] When Joseph was regarded as consisting definitely of three collections of clans—Machir (Manasseh), Ephraim, and Benjamin—the main body retained the name Ephraim.

The gentilic occurs seldom (Judg. 12 5 1 S. 1 1 1 K. 11 26) in MT, and the text is doubtful (see below, § 5, i.). Analogy would lead us to expect Ephrite (אפרי*; cp מצרי from מצרים; חרני from חרנים); but the form used is Ephrathite (אפרתי), as if from a noun Ephrah. 'Ephraimite' (Josh. 16 10 [AV] Judg. 12 4 6 [AV], *v.* 5 [EV]) is an invention of EV. 'Ephrathite' in Judg. 12 5 is probably genuine (εφραθειτης [B], εκ του εφραιμ [AL]) in the sense of 'belonging to Mount Ephraim.'

i. From the days of Hosea (13 15, יפריא) and the Blessings of Jacob (Gen. 49) and of Moses (Dt. 33) men have seen in the name Ephraim a fitting designation for the central district of Palestine,[8] 'fair and open,' fertile and well-watered; and modern scholars (*e.g.*, We., *Abriss d. Gesch.* 5) regard the name as originally a Hebrew

2. Meaning of name.

[1] For the literature see reff. in Kittel, *Gesch.* 1 166 n. 2, Marq. *Chronologische Untersuch.* 57 n. 124.

[2] Another phonetic objection, that medial פ is normally represented by *f* not *p* (so WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 93), is not decisive. *P* also appears, for example, Bai-ṭi-ṭu-pa-ịra = בית ספר (pap. Anast. i. 22 3).

[3] Brugsch compared the Midianite 'Epher, עֵפֶר (*ZÄ* '76, p. 71).

[4] Achshaph occurs in the list of towns in Upper Rtnu of Thotmes III. (no. 40) normally as '*-k-sap*; but in pap. Anast. i. 21 4 it appears as '*-k-sa-pu* (initial y).

[5] As the Egyptian pronunciation of '*ain* was less emphatic than the Canaanite it might be thought possible that an emphatic Semitic '*aleph* should sometimes be represented in Egyptian by *ain*. What is found, however, is the converse effect—Egyptian '*aleph* for Semitic 'ain,—and it is hardly possible to believe that in the case of people for many centuries in the employment of the Egyptians a name which was spelled by the Egyptians with initial y invariably, really began with א.

[6] It has even been argued that '(A)pury is never a race name (Meyer, *GA*, 297, n. 2; Maspero, *Hist. anc.* 2 443, n. 3; but not so Erman W. M. Müller).

[7] The place of the incident of the sale in the life of Joseph is referred to elsewhere. See JOSEPH ii. § 3.

[8] E applies the etymology differently (Gen. 41 52: 'fruitful in the land of my affliction' [עניי]); and again, Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 6 1 [§ 92]): 'restoring' (ἀποδιδούς), 'because of the restoration (διὰ τὸ ἀποδοθῆναι) 'to the freedom of his forefathers.'

appellative meaning 'fertile tract.'[1] Formally this is plausible (see above, § 1), and, as we shall see (§ 3*f.*), such a name is fitting—it would be eminently fitting on the lips of Hebrew immigrants from the Steppes. The Arabs called the beautiful plain of Damascus[2] the *ġūṭa*, and this has become a proper name (el-Ghūṭa). Compare the (very different) name given to the parched tract S. of Judah (see NEGEB). Other possible explanations, however, should not be overlooked.

ii. If אֵפֶר means 'earth,'[3] Gesenius in connecting 'Ephraim' with אפר may have been wrong only in interpreting the termination *aim* as a dual ending, and 'Ephraim' may have meant 'the loamy tract.' The Assyrian *epru* may be $אפר_1$ not $אפר_4$.

iii. A slightly different explanation would be reached if we followed the hint of the Mishnic Hebrew אפר (Eυxt. אָפָר); cp Bēṣā 5 7: 'Domestic animals (ביתיות) are such as pass the night in the city (בעיר), pastoral animals (מדבריות) are such as pass the night in the open (באפר);' also Pesiḳta 86: '[Exod. 34 24] teaches that thy cow may pasture in the open (באפר).' If this sense for אפר was old, 'Ephraim' might mean the country where the earlier settlers in Palestine had not yet built (many) cities (cp below, § 7 ii.). אפרה, אפרא in the Talmud means 'meadow.'

On the other hand, the interpretation of geographical names is proverbially precarious (cp CANAAN, § 6, ARAM, § 1); we must take into consideration the possibility that the name Ephraim as it has reached us may owe its precise form in part to popular etymology such as, it is thought, has turned (conversely) *Château vert* into Shotover (hill).

Ephraim is generally called 'Mount Ephraim'[4] (הר א׳)—*i.e.*, 'mountainous-country[5] of Ephraim.'

3. Character and extent. This was no mere form of speech. From the plain of Megiddo to Beersheba is a great mountainous mass, ninety miles in length, called 'the mountain.' 'Mountain of Ephraim' will mean that part of this great mountain mass which lies within the (fertile) tract called Ephraim—viz. the northern part. It is impossible not to see that Ephraim differs from the less fertile tract that extends down to Beersheba. The change is patent. It is more difficult, however, to say where it occurs (see, further, end of this §). In fact, there is not really a definite physical line of section, any more than there was a stable political boundary. It has been suggested elsewhere (BENJAMIN, § 1 *f.*) that this made easier the formation of an intermediate canton called 'the southern [Ephraim]'—*i.e.*, Benjamin. The OT nowhere defines the extent of Ephraim. It is likely that there was always a certain vagueness about its southern limits. There can be little doubt, however, that it included Benjamin (see BENJAMIN, § 1). All that follows the word 'even' in Judg. 19 16 is probably an interpolation (to magnify the wickedness of the Benjamites? ; so Bu. *ad loc.*). The northern boundary is clearer. When Josephus tells us (*Ant.* v. 1 22 [83]) that Ephraim reached (from Bethel) to 'the great plain' (τὸ μέγα πεδίον) he may mean the plain not of Megiddo but of the Makhneh (see below, § 4); but he is speaking of the seat of the smaller Ephraim tribe. The general character of the OT references and the cities assigned to Mt. Ephraim (see below, § 13) make it probable that it reached to the plain of Megiddo.

The only serious argument against it is the rather obscure passage Josh. 17 14-18 (on the text of which see Che. *Crit. Bib.*, and cp REPHAIM). The house of Joseph, complaining that Mt. Ephraim is too small for them, are told to clear for themselves a settlement in the wood in the land of the Rephaim and the Perizzites. It has been supposed that this refers to the northern part of the western highlands from Shechem to Jenin (so Stade, Steuernagel, van Kasteren, *MDPV* '95, p. 28 *f.*); but it is more likely that the passage is to be connected with the story of Josephite colonies settling E. of the Jordan (cp JAIR, etc.; REPHAIM [WOOD]; so Bu. *RiSa*, 34 *ff.* 87; *KHC ad loc.*, Buhl, *Pal.* 121 n. 265). See MACHIR, MANASSEH, and, on the relation of Ephraim to other tribes, below, § 5.

The places expressly said to be in Mount Ephraim we: in the south, Ramath(aim), perhaps *Bēt Rīmā* (see RAMATHAIM), Zuph, and Timnath-heres (Josh. 19 50 24 30 Judg. 2 9), perhaps et-Tibnah (see TIMNATH-HERES); in the centre, Shechem (Josh. 20 7 21 21 1 K. 12 25 1 Ch. 6 67 [52]); in the N., SHAMIR [*q.v.*; Judg. 10 1); also the hills ZEMARAIM, S. of Bethel (2 Ch. 13 4), and GAASH, near Timnath-heres (Judg. 2 9, etc.).

The Ephraim highlands differ from those of Judah in several respects.[1] In Judah we have a compact and fairly regular tableland deeply cut by steep defiles, bounded on the E. by the precipices that overlook the depths of the Dead Sea, and separated on the W. from the maritime plain by the isolated 'lowland district' of the Shĕphēlah (see JUDAH). In Ephraim this gives place to a confused complex of heights communicating on the E. by great valleys with the Jordan plain, and letting itself down by steps on the W. directly on to the plain of Sharon, cut across the middle by a great cleft (see below, § 4, end) and elsewhere by deep valleys, and enclosing here and there upland plains surrounded by hills.

The change in the western border occurs about Wādy Malāka, directly west of Bethel; the change in the character of the surface not till the Bethel plateau ends (some 5 or 6 m. farther N.) at the base of the highest peak of Ephraim—on which the ruins of Tell-'Aṣūr probably mark the site of BAAL-HAZOR—whose waters running east through the W. Sāmiya and west through the W. en-Nimr and the W. Dēr Ballūṭ empty themselves into the Jordan and the Mediterranean by the two 'Aujas.

Geographically, as well as historically, the heart and centre of the land is Shechem. 'Embosomed in a forest of fruit gardens' in a fair vale sheltered by the heights of Ebal and Gerizim, it sends out its roads, like arteries, over the whole land, distributing the impulse of its contact with foreign culture.

Plains, wādys, etc.

1. Northwestwards the W. esh-Sha'ir winds past the open end of the Samaria plain down to Sharon.

From the plain of Samaria, whose island city-fortress the sagacity of Omri made for centuries the capital, one gets by the valley up to near Yāṣīd and then down the W. Abu Kaslān, or by a road over the saddle of Beyāzīd, into the upland plains of Fandaḳūmiyeh and Marj el-Ġaraḳ, and on to Sahl 'Arrābeh, Dothan, and the plain of Megiddo.

2. The E. end of the vale of Shechem is the plain of 'Askar.

If one turns to the left, the steep, rugged gorge of W. Bēdān (with its precipitous cliffs, surmounted by Ebal on the left and by Neby Belān on the right) takes one down northwards to the great crumpled basin which collects the waters of the W. Fāri'a, the main avenue of access from Gilead[2] by the ford of ed-Dāmieh, less than 20 m. off.

W. Fāri'a turns off to the right (SE). Straight on (NE.) past 'Ain Fāri'a is the road to Beisān in the Jordan plain, passing by the large village of Ṭūbās (identified by some with THEBEZ, *q.v.*), which lies (10 m. from Nāblus) looking down the W. Buḳē', by Teyāṣīr (identified by some with ASHER [*q.v.*, ii.]) in a secluded and fertile open valley near the head of the W. Māliḥ and by Kh. Ibzīḳ (BEZEK), and through the W. Khashneh, with 'its hills thickly clothed with wild olives.

On the left all along the road is the watershed, with the heights of Ṭallūzā (1940 ft.; a village on a knoll commanding a fine view of W. Fāri'a), the 'barren rounded top' of Rās el-'Akrā (2230 ft.), and Rās Ibzīḳ (2404 ft.), which rises 1400 ft. above Teyāṣīr.

3. Straight in front of the E. exit from Shechem the plain

[1] On the view of Gesenius see later (§ 2 ii.). G. H. Skipwith suggests (*JQR* 11 247 ['99]) that אפרם is the masculine equivalent of אפרת(ה), an appellation of Rachel, signifying 'her that maketh fruitful' (see RACHEL).

[2] Cheyne has conjectured that the plain below Jerusalem similarly received the name 'Ephraim,' corrupted by transposition of letters into REPHAIM [*q.v.*]. Bethlehem (or a place near it), only two or three miles distant, seems to have been called Ephrath.

[3] So Barth, *Etym. Stud.* 20 *f.*, comparing Ar. *ġubār*, which, however, means 'dust'; also Ges.(13)-Bu.(2)

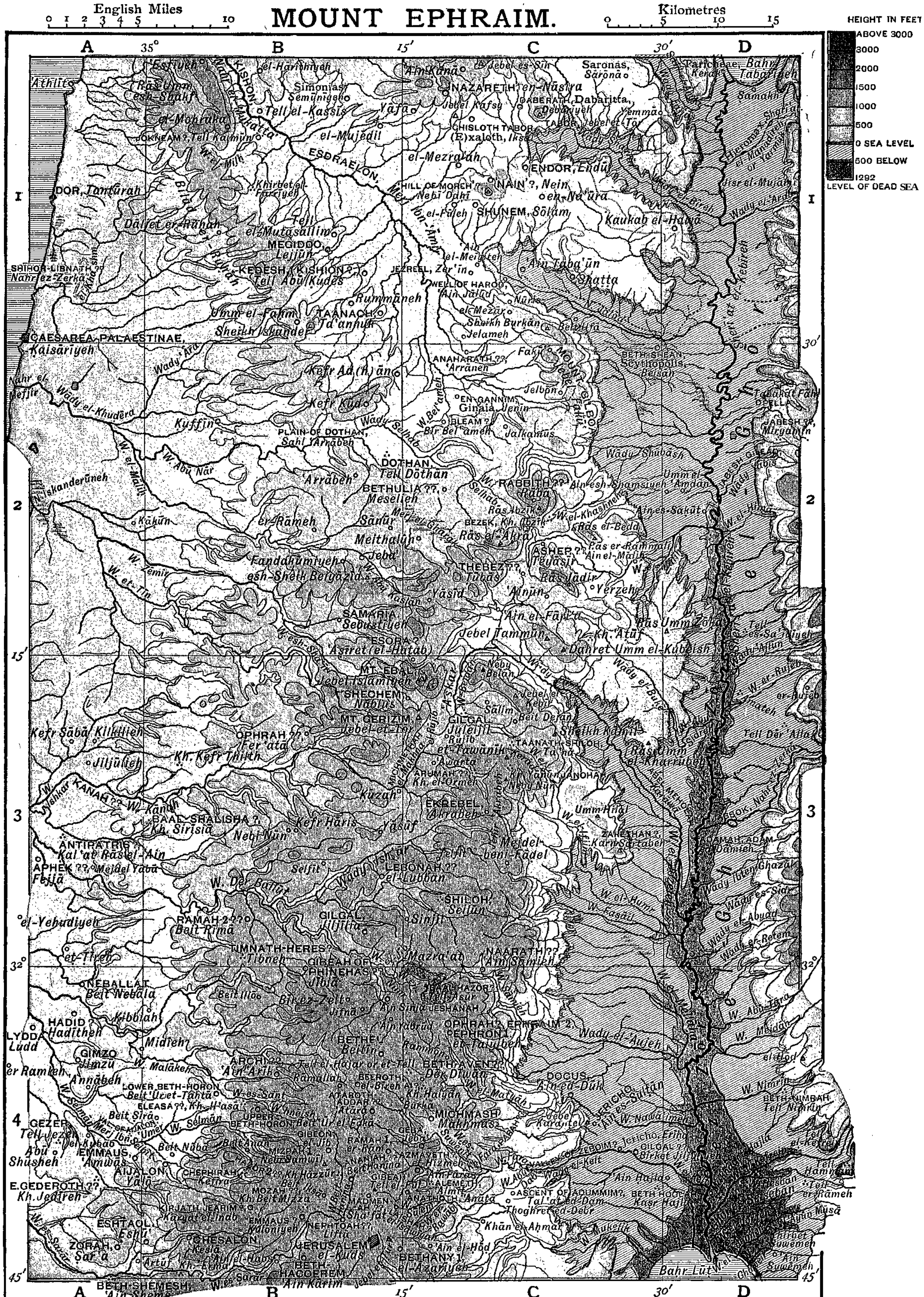
[4] Twice 'mount Israel,' Josh. 11 16 21 [D]; on Ezekiel's frequent 'mountains of Israel' (הרי י׳), see HIGH PLACE, § 2.

[5] Looked at from the sea, indeed, or from across the Jordan, it 'presents the aspect,' as G. A. Smith says, 'of a single mountain *massif*.'

[1] When Josephus says loosely that they do not differ at all (*BJ* iii. 3 4 [68 *f.*]; κατ' οὐδὲν διάφορος) he explains his meaning thus: they are made up of hilly country and level country (ὀρειναὶ καὶ πεδιάδες), are moist and fertile, etc.

[2] Note that it is just opposite the W. Zerḳā, that great cleft in the Gilead plateau.

MOUNT EPHRAIM.



MAP OF EPHWAIM

INDEX TO NAMES

Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement usually ignores prefixes: abu ('father of'), 'ain ('spring'), beit ('house'), beni ('sons'), birket ('pool'), ḍahret ('summit'), dēr ('monastery'), el ('the'), ghōr ('hollow'), jeḥīr ('hole'), karn ('horn'), ḳaṣr ('castle'), kefr ('village'), khān ('inn'), khirbet ('ruin'), makhādet ('ford'), mejdel ('castle'), merj ('meadow'), neby ('prophet'), rās ('summit'), sheikh ('saint') ṭal'at ('ascent') tell ('mound'), thoghret ('pass'), wādy ('valley').

of ʻAskar connects with the plain of Sālim leading on to Taʻnā (TAANATH-SHILOH) at the head of W. el-Kerād, which leads through the steep W. Ifjim down to the Jordan.

4. On the right the plain of ʻAskar (see SYCHAR) leads S. into the plain of Riijib and the plain of Makhneh, the route to the S. passing on across ridges-and valleys through the deep plain of Lubhan, round the heights of Sinjil—leaving up on the left, shut in between high bare mountains, theancient temple-city of Shiloh (near it the open plain of Merj el-ʻId)—on through the W. el-Jib, under the heights of Tell ʻAṣūr (E. of which is the enclosed plain of Merj Sia), up to the plateau of Bētīn (Bethel) and el-Bireh, and *so* on to Jerusalem and the south.

5. West of the line just described, leading south from the plain of ʻAskar, a maze of valleys gradually simplifies itself into the great arterial wādys that lead down to the maritime plain and finally unite in the lower course of the ʻAujā.

These are the W. Kānah, the **W.** Deir Ballūṭ, and the W. Malākeh : the Deir Ballūṭ, with its two [or three] great converging branches (the straight W. Ishʻār beginning in **a** little plain south of the village of ʻAkraba upon the main watershed, and the deep W. en-Nimr); the W. Malakeh, with its deep head valleys beginning below el-Bīreh. South of the W. Malākeh is the W. Selmān, the country drained by which is enclosed in the great sweep of the W. Ṣarār, which, beginning **just** below el-Bireh, describes **a** semicircle and enters the sea **as** N. Riibin due W. of er-Ramleh.

6. South of Gerizim the watershed lies east of the traveller's route. Just as, north of the W. Fāriʻa, we have seen, there runs along the watershed a succession of valleys or plains, so from the S. foot of et-Tawānīk (2847) the Jehir ʻAkrabah runs S. as far as Mejdel-beni-Fāḍel (2146), overlooked by Yānūn (JANOAH) in the northern part, and by the modern village of ʻAḳrabeh (2045) about midway. Then, however, the system becomes more complex, till at Tell ʻAṣūr we reach the Bethel plateau.

7. The district of the open valley of Fandaḳūmiye and the enclosed plain Marj el-Ġarak is, we saw, partly separated from the Samaria valley by the Bayāzīd range. Farther north are the plains of Dothan, ʻArrābeh, and the W. Selhab. **If** the W. Fāriʻa was the route of the invasions from the east (Nomads, Aramæans, Assyrians), the upland plain of Dothan was the great route across from Sharon to the east end of the plain of Megiddo. There were other routes (W. ʻĀra, etc.) farther NW. By these routes the armies of Egypt and the other great states passed and repassed for centuries and centuries. The low hill-land beyond the plain of Dothan culminates in the height of Sheikh Iskander, north of which the W. ʻAra divides it from the still lower hill-land called Bilād Rūḥa which stretches across to W. el-Milh, beyond which rises the range of CARMEL [*q.v.*].

Mt. Ephraim is thus divided across the middle (by the great valleys that continue the vale of Shechem) into a northern and a southern half. The northern of these again is divided by the great line of plains and valleys that reaches from the Jordan plain near Gilboa southwestwards to the Makhneh. The NW. quarter **is** remarkable for ʻits plains; the NE. for its series **of** parallel valleys (especially the great W. Fāriʻa) running down SE. to the Ghōr. In the southern half the SW. is remarkable for its maze of wādys (note the long straight W. Ishʻār that runs down thirteen miles without a bend SW. from ʻAkrabe) coagulating at the base of Tell ʻAṣūr and below el-Bireh, and its great valleys converging into the ʻAujā ; the SE. for its heights, plains, and plateaus, and the series of deep rugged wādys (note in particular the deep W. el-ʻAujah leading up to Tell ʻAṣūr and the W. Ḳelt-Suwēnīṭ leading up to the Benjamin plateau) that furrow its eastern declivity.

Such is Ephraim ; a land well watered and fertile, a land of valleys, plains, and heights, a land open to the commerce, the culture, and the armies of the world.

5. Inhabitants.

i. *Relation to Manasseh.*—Not all the Ephraim district, however, was regarded as belonging to the Ephraim tribe; part was peopled by men of Machir-Manasseh (see MANASSEH). Their towns were apparently chiefly in the N. A writer of disputed date tried to delimit a northern portion to be assigned to Manasseh (see below, § 11) ; but from the fragments of another account (*ib.*) it would seem that there was in reality no geographical boundary. The whole highland country was Ephraim ; certain towns were specially Manassite. The fact that in the whole OT there is scarcely a case of a man being called an Ephraimite suggests that Ephraini was hardly ever a tribe name in the ordinary sense : the leading men were men of Ephraini unless they were otherwise described.

The two cases occurring in the MT are those of (*a*) Jerohoam and (*b*) Elkanah the ʻfather' of Samuel. Both are doubtful.

(*a*) Jeroboam is called ʻan Ephrathite' (εφραθ[ε]ι [BAL]) in 1 K. 11 26 (= MT); but in 𝔊L 12 28 = 𝔊B 12 24*b*, in the other recension of the story (see KINGS, § *3)*, he is only ʻa man of Mount Ephraim' (ἐξ ὄρους Εφραιμ [BL]).[1]

(*b*) The ʻgenealogy' of Samuel (1 S. 1 1) is corrupt (see ELIHU, 2 ; ELKANAH, 1). 𝔊A follows MT (υἱοῦ Σουπ Εφραθαιος) ; but 𝔊BL read Ephraim (υἱοῦ Σωφ ἐξ ὄρους Εφραιμ [L] ; ἐν Νασειβ Εφραιμ = 'בנציף א, *i.e.*, 'בן צוף א, ʻson of Zuph of Ephraim' [B]).

The mutual relations of the branches of Joseph are somewhat perplexing (see MANASSEH, and cp JOSEPH i.).

J, E, and P appear to agree in representing Ephraim as the younger (Gen. **48** 18 [J], 41 51 [E], Josh. 17 1 [P]) ; but whilst J and E lay stress on the preeminence attributed by Jacob-Israel to the younger (Gen. **48** 14 19*b* [J], *v.* 20*b* [E]), P usually speaks of Manasseh and Ephraim.[2]

The significance of the distinctions just referred to has been explained in various ways.

It has been supposed that in the seniority of Manasseh lay **a** reference to early attempts at monarchy (GIDEON, JEPHTHAH, ABIMELECH) ; whilst in the blessing of Ephraim lay **a** reference to the undisputed preeminence of the monarchy established by Jeroboam I. Of this latter reference there can be no doubt. The meaning of the seniority of Manasseh is not so certain especially when we bear in mind how in Israelitish legend preference of the younger is almost universal. Jacobs has acutely argued that this preference is simply a survival of the forgotten custom of junior birthright, which the later legend-moulders misunderstood.

There is a rather obscure allusion in Is. 9 21 [20] to discord between Ephraim and Manasseh. The reference may be to conflict between rival factions **in** the last years of the northern kingdom. Legend told of rivalries also in the pre-historic period (see JEPHTHAH, GIDEON).

The currents that stirred the troubled waters of Samarian politics cannot now be fully traced : Shallum and Pekah may have been Gileadites (see JABESH, 2 ; ARGOB, 2), Menahem was perhaps a Gadite[3] (see GAD, § 10). The family of Jehu may have belonged to Ephraim (see, however, ISSACHAR, § 4).[4]

ii. *Relation to Joseph.*—If there is some difference of usage in regard to the order of the tribes Ephraim and Manasseh, there is agreement as to their being brothers. Still there is at times a tendency to regard them as a single tribe (see JOSEPH i.). The question therefore arises whether their distinctness was on the increase or on the decrease. Did they unite to form Joseph, or did Joseph split up into Ephraim and Manasseh (for a similar question see BENJAMIN, § 1 *f.*)?

In the ʻBlessing' of Jacob as we find it in our Genesis, Ephraini and Manasseh do not appear ;[5] they are represented by Joseph. There is indeed a play on the name Ephraim (*v.* 22) ;[6] but as there is no reference to Manasseh, Ephraim might be not part but the whole of Joseph. This may be so. On the other hand the Song of Deborah already recognises two tribes ; Ephraim

1 See, further, Cheyne's theory of Jeroboam's origin on the mother's side (JEROBOAM 1).

2 Sometimes, however: P gives the other order. See, especially, Gen. 48 5. See, more fully, MANASSEH.

3 Baasha was an Issacharite; Tibni may have been **a** Naphtalite (see GINATH). It was, according to Cheyne, against the Ephraimite city of Tappuah that Menahem took such cruel vengeance (see TIPHSAH). It has been conjectured that Omri also was of Issachar (Guthe *GVZ*, 138). Cp ISSACHAR, § 4.

4 It is to be noted that in this family the name Jeroboam recurs.

5 The same is true of the ʻBlessing' of Moses (Dt. **33**). *V.* 17*b* is **a** gloss.

6 Cp We. *CH* (2) **322**, (3) 324. **C.** J. Ball, however, would transfer the word פרת to the saying on Naphtali (*PSBA* 17 173 *f.* [95]). For other views see Di.'s commentary. Cheyne's suggested restoration of the passage is mentioned in the next note.

and Machir seem (already) to be found side by side W. of the Jordan.[1]

Whether the designation of Benjamin as a brother, and of Ephraim and Manasseh as sons of Joseph implies a popular belief that when Benjamin definitely separated from Joseph, Manasseh was not yet distinguished clearly from Ephraim we cannot say; nor yet whether such a belief, if it existed, was based on any real tradition (cp MANASSEH).

The general result is: on the whole, Joseph was in early times equated with Ephraim, which included Machir-Manasseh and Benjamin (cp above, § *3*; JOSEPH i.). On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that 'Joseph' was doubtless originally a group of clans.

There seems to have been much speculation as to how Ephraim came to be settled where he was. The great sanctuaries would have their legends.

6. Legends about their Settlement.

At GILGAL [*q.v.*] in the plain of Jericho which, though not in the highlands, belonged to N. Israel, priests mav have told how a great Ephraimitish hero, after erecting their sacred circle of stones (Josh. **4** 20, E) and leading the immigrant clans from Gilead against JERICHO and other places, had encamped for long by their sanctuary (Josh. 10 15 = 43: 𝔊 om.; perhaps late), and how there Yahwè had instructed the tribes to what part of the highlands they were to ascend to find a home (Judg. **11**). Up on the plateau, at the royal sanctuary of Bethel, it was told how their fathers had effected an entrance into the city (Judg. 1 25), and how the mound that now stood two miles off in the direction of Jericho had once been a royal Canaanite city, till their fathers, with much difficulty, had stormed it and made it the 'heap' it now was (Josh. 828). At the great natural centre of the land, home of many stocks, conflicting stories were told of quiet settlements, of treaties, of treacherous attacks, of a legal purchase (cp DINAH, § 3), of a great assembly gathered to hear the last admonition of the veteran Ephraimite leader (Josh. 24), and how he had set up the great stone under the terebinth (*v.* 26). Shiloh, too, must have had its settlement stories to tell, especially how the great Ephraimitic shrine (see ARK) had been there; but these stories have perished (for a possible trace of a late story see MELCHIZEDEK, § 3). When its temple was lying in ruins there was written (in circles of students who had never seen Shiloh) a book which explained that after Israel had conquered the whole of Canaan, they were assembled there by the successors of Moses and Aaron to set up a wonderful sacred tent and to distribute by lot the holy land (Josh. 18 1 **14** 1). Tininath-heres boasted that it was the resting-place of the great leader of Ephraim (see below). Shechem even claimed that near at hand were buried the bones of the great eponym of the house of Joseph (Josh. 24 32, E).

The legendary history was carried back still farther.

Joseph, though he **entered by** way of Gilead, came from Egypt, where Ephraim and Manasseh were born.[2] In fact they were really Egyptian; but Jacob-Israel had adopted them (Gen. **48** E).[3] Even before that, Joseph had been at Shechem and Dothan (JOSEPH i. § 3), Jacob-Israel had founded the royal sanctuary at Bethel (Gen. **35** 14 [J], and **28** 18 [E]), and reared the sacred pillar at Shechem[4] (Gen. 33 20 [E]), and Abraham had built altars at Shechem (Gen. 12 7 [J]), and at Bethel (*v.* 8 [J]).

It is pretty clear that Ephraim had forgotten how he came there. Some seem to have thought that before the Israelites known to history settled in Ephraim there were others, who eventually moved southward (see SIMEON, LEVI, DINAH, JUDAH). It was remembered that there had been more Danites on the western slopes of Ephraim than there were in later times (DAN, § 2 *ff.*). It is unlikely that it was believed that there had been a

[1] It has been suggested that in an earlier form of the text the 'Blessing' of Jacob also perhaps mentioned not Joseph but Ephraim and Manasseh (Che. *PSBA* 21 243 *f.* ['99]).

[2] This, however, may be merely an incident in the story, unavoidable since Joseph, the hero, never left Egypt.

[3] Cp Bertholet, *Stellung*, 50.

[4] On 'Jacob's well' see SYCHAR.

settlement of Amalekites.[1] On the other hand, it has been suggested that there may be a trace of an ancient tribe in the neighbourhood of Shechem (*see* GIRZITE). The evidence for the preponderating Canaanite element in Shechem has been referred to already. The ancient Canaanite city of Gezer, once an Egyptian fortress, which, we are told, became Israelite in the days of Solomon, was hardly in Mt. Ephraim; but it belonged to Ephraim (see GEZER). Issachar may have been represented on Mt. Ephraim's NE. slopes (see ISSACHAR, § 8). There were late Israelitish writers who thought that Asher, too, had its claims, and it has recently been suggested that there may really be traces of an early stay of people of Asher south of Carmel (see ASHER, § 3). Timnath-heres is said to have been settled by Joshua (see JOSHUA i.). Of a clan of this name in historic times we have no evidence, and the same is true of RAHAB [*q.v.*]. On the extraordinarily meagre Ephraimite 'genealogy' in Chronicles and on its points of contact with other tribes, see below (§ 12).

The extra-biblical hints are vague in the extreme and difficult to turn to account.

7. Extra-biblical data.

i. The long list of places conquered by Thotmes III, probably contains some towns in central Ephraim.

Flinders Petrie (*Hist. Egypt* 2 323-332) proposes a considerable number of identifications, including, *e.g.*, Shechem and several places near it; Yerzeh, Teyāṣir, and Rāba in the NE; and not a few places in the SW, from W. Der Ballūṭ southwards.

When the land of Haru was added to the Egyptian Empire it can hardly have sufficed to seize the towns on the margin: Y-ra-ḏa (?), Mi-k-ti-ra (Mejdel Yāba? so WMM), Gezer (Ḳa-ḏi-rụ, **104**). Even if we could identify with certainty, however, many names of towns, we should still know nothing about the people who occupied them. Special interest and importance, however, attaches to two unidentified sites which, it would seem, must be in Ephraim — the much-discussed 'Jacob-el' and 'Joseph-el.' The reading 'Jacob' may be treated as fairly sure; but that of 'Joseph' is questionable (see JOSEPH i. § 1). For the interpretation of these names we must be content to wait for more light (see, for a suggestion, JACOB, § 1). We may hope, however, that they have something to tell us of the origin of Ephraim.

ii. As the report of the early expedition of Amenhotep II. contains nothing that casts light on our present problems,[2] our next data belong to the time of Amenhotep IV. Unfortunately, though the Amarna correspondence tells us a good deal about the fortified towns in Palestine[3] and their conflicts, it sheds little light on the central highlands. Knudtzon's proposal to read *mtŠa-ak-mi* for Winckler's *māt-su la-a*(?)-*mi* in letter 185, *l.* 10, however, brings the Habiri into connection with 'the land of Shechem'[4] in a very interesting way.[5] Moreover, we must remember that the tablets rescued from destruction are only some of those that were found at Tell el-Amarna. Those that were allowed to perish may have referred to other Ephraimite places. If, however, there really were few (if any) Egyptian fortresses in that tract,

[1] On Judg. 5 14 see below, § 8; on Judg. **12** 15 ('mountain of the Amalekite'), see PIRATHON, 1.

[2] We have no details of Syrian expeditions of Thotmes IV. Amenhotep III. was engaged in other concerns.

[3] Ahkelon, Bit-Ninib (see IR-HERES), Aijalon, Zorah, Gimti (see GATH), Gezer, perhaps Beth-shean (see Knudtzon, *Beitr. z. Assyr.* 4 111), Megiddo.

[4] The passage remains obscure. Knudtzon (*l.c.*) says that tablet 185 is a continuation of 182. In addition to reading *mtŠakmi* for *mat-su la-a*(?)-*mi* he reads *ma-ṣar-tú* for Winckler's ***ma-ku-ut*** in *l.* 7, and provisionally renders lines 6 6-11 (*KB* **5** no. 185) thus: and the people of Ginti are a garrison in Bitsāni, and, indeed, we have to do (in the same way?) after Labaya and Šakmi have contributed (cp no. 180 *l.* 16) to the Ḫabiri (so Knudtzon kindly informs the present writer).

[5] Are we to compare with this the story of Gen. **34**? According to Marquart (*Philologus*, suppl. bd. **7** 680 *ff.*), the Habiri immigration is to be brought into connection with the settlement of the Leah-tribes: Joseph came later. Cp Steuernagel, *Josua*, 151 (in *HK*). See JUDAH.

the Habiri might be already settling there without our hearing of them.[1]

iii. The contests of Seti I. were in S. Phœnicia and Galilee. When we again get a glimpse of Palestine in the time of Ram(e)ses II. it is once more the border towns that are named : Heres, Luz, Sa-ma-ša-na.[2]

iv. To Ram(e)ses' successor we owe what is perhaps the most interesting statement of all. 'Israel,' says Merenptah, is devastated; and 'Israel,' it is to be noted, is not a place but a people. If we assume that the people referred to were settled in Ephraim, nothing very definite can be urged against the assumption—or for it[3] (cp ISRAEL, § 7 ; EGYPT, § 59).

The cities mentioned in Ram(e)ses III.'s list seem to be Amorite, north of Galilee (*As. u. Bur.* 227).

Until hieroglyphic or cuneiform (or Hittite) records shed some more light on the scene, accordingly, we must remain without definite information as to the early history of Ephraim. It is clear, however, that the girdle of Canaanite cities was of remote antiquity and practically certain that there were already towns up in the highlands—Shechem, perhaps Luz, and others. The population was no doubt mixed ; Habiri, although we have no certain mention of them, may have immigrated there also.

8. Earliest Memories.

The earliest incontestable fact that Ephraim remembered was the great fight with Sisera;[4] but they may have known no more about who he was than we do (see SISERA). What part Ephraim played in the great conflict, the condition of the text in Judg. 5 14 does not enable us to say with certainty.[5] Perhaps we should read : 'Out of Ephraim they went down into the plain.' It is not likely that Ephraim supplied the leader (see DEBORAH).

It was not only along its northern border that Ephraim was exposed to attack. The open valleys and easy fords,[6] which, when circumstances favoured, united it with Gilead, exposed it to the inroads' of the still nomadic peoples of the east. Stories were told at OPHKAH [*q.v.*] and elsewhere of heroic fights (see GIDEON), and of spirited colonies sent out (see MANASSEH). PIRATHON[8] and SHAMIR, an unidentified place in Mount Ephraim, seem to have boasted that they had produced heroes in the time of old (see ABDON, TOLA). The Shechemites even told of how they came, for a time, to have a *tyrannos*, and how they got rid of him again (ABIMELECH, 2).

9. Transition.

Of greatest historical importance was the life-and-death struggle with hated non-Semitic rivals (see PHILISTINES). North Ephraim claimed a share in the glory of the struggle of those dark days; but when the cloud lifts the hegemony is passing to Benjamin. If the monarchy thus involved a loss to N. Ephraim, there was also a gain ; Gilead and Ephraim were bound together more closely (on earlier relations see JEPHTHAH, §§ 3, 5 [end] ; GAD, § 2 ; MACHIR). Indeed when the disaster of Gilboa laid Israel once more at the feet of the Philistines, the connection with Gilead was found to be very valuable (see ISHBAAL, 1). How, exactly, Ephraini was brought under the sway of the state that was rising beyond the belt of Canaanite cities to the S., is not very clear (see DAVID, § 6, ISHBAAL, 1, ABNER, ISRAEL, § 16 *ff.*). The skill and energy of David must have been great. It is difficult to believe, however, that he effected in Ephraim all that has been attributed to him by Winckler. Still the change must have been profound. How far there may have been an influx of people from the S. we cannot tell. Others besides Absalom (2 S. 13 23) may have acquired possessions in Mt. Ephraim. Although we must on general grounds assume that there were dialectical differences, chiefly in pronunciation, between the various Hebrew-speaking, as between other, communities—peculiarities of the Shibboleth type are universal—they cannot have had any effect on freedom of interconrse. The fixing of the capital at Jerusalem was most politic. It was perhaps in a belt hitherto unclaimed, scarcely ten miles from Bethel. Ephraini might regard it and the other Canaanite cities annexed as a gain in territory. The fairs at the great Ephraimite sanctuaries would now be open to people from Mt. Judah and the Negeb in a way that would hardly have been possible before. Ephraimite legend became enriched. Abraham, *e.g.*, it came to be said, had built an altar at Shechem (Gen. 12 7 [J]) and at Bethel (*v.* 8 [J]).

Many interesting questions arise.

When did the general interweaving of legends take place? How was it possible to deposit the great Ephraimite shrine in Jerusalem? (see ARK). How did Ephraim act in the Ahsalom rebellion and in that of Sheba? How was Solomon's 'overseer of the whole house of Joseph' related to his prefect of Ephraim? The former, of course, had his official residence at the natural centre of the land, Shechem. The latter, whether or not he was a son of Zadok and of Beth-horon (see BEN-HUR), may have resided nearer Jerusalem (see also below, § 12).

10. Monarchy.

The final schism cannot have taken anyone by surprise (JEROBOAM, § 1 ; SOLOMON, § 2 ; ISRAEL, § 28). 'The old royal city of Shechem was naturally the scene of the negotiations and the first seat of the monarchy of Ephraim.[1] The links between Gilead and Ephraim, geographical and historical, were too close to be severed now. The kingdom of Ephraim included Gilead. That is to say, Gilead, if it befriended David (against Judah? see MAHANAIM), would not go out of its way to help his sons. For two eventful centuries Ephraim maintained a real or nominal independence. How it subordinated Judah, contended with Aram, allied itself with Phœnicia, was distracted by constant dynastic changes and yet reached a high level of civilization and produced a wonderful literature, is told elsewhere.

Shechem, indeed, centre of the land though it was, was not able to maintain itself as the capital. It may not have been quite suitable from a military point of view. It bad to yield to Tirzah (an important but somewhat tantalising place-name, see TIRZAH) and then to Samaria, which was well able to stand even a regular siege. In historical times the great sanctuaries were Bethel and Gilgal. See also GIBEON, SHILOH. That any attempt was made to centralise religious festivals at one sanctuary in Ephraim there is no evidence.

A. Duff, however, has propounded[2] the interesting theory that such a project had been conceived,—that indeed the kernel of the book of Deuteronomy originated in Ephraim, and that the (now) unnamed sanctuary meant in it was originally that of Shechem (see now *Theol. of OT*, 225 39 n., 50 n., 59 *f.*).

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[1] C. Niebuhr also suggests that the Ḫabiri were already settled in Mt. Ephraim (*Der alte Orient* 1 60).

[2] The pap. Anast. I., however, appears to mention again 'the mountain of Shechem' (*As. u. Eur.* 394, note to pp. 172-175).

[3] It has even been suggested that Yi-si-ra-al may be not really Israel at all (see JEZREEL i. § 1). On the other hand Marquart (*l.c.*) inclines to explain the name as referring to the Leah-tribes, supposed to be still resident in central Palestine (see JUDAH).

[4] S. A. Fries (*Sphinx*, 1214 [Upsala 97]), and Hommel (*AHT*, p. xiii n. 3) find a genuine traditio; of a still earlier event in the quaint story in 1 Ch. 7 21*b*-25. See, however, below, § 12 (towards end) and cp BERIAH.

[5] J. Marquart (*Fund.* 6 ['96]), following Winckler (*AOF* 1 193) reads,

מני אפרים שרו בעמק
מִנִּי מכר ירדו מְחֹקְקִם

'Out of Ephraim they descended into the plain
Out of Machir went down leaders.'

So also Budde, *KHC ad loc.* P. Ruben (*JQR* 10 550 *f.*) reads

. . , מני אפרים [שׂר צבא] חֲרֵי מבנימן בַּעֲמָמֶיהֶם

[6] There are said to he, between the Lake of Galilee and the Dead Sea, 54 fords: 5 near Jericho, the rest between W. ez-Zerkā and the Lake of Galilee (Guthe *GVI* 47).

[7] We read of attacks by Ammon, Moab, Midian, and Assyria, in addition to the Philistines and the Egyptians. Judah often escaped.

[8] Even if the view advocated in the article PIRATHON be adopted, Abdon may perhaps be claimed for Mt. Ephraim. Abdon is Benjamite.

[1] On the Egyptian incursion see SHISHAK.

[2] In a paper read before the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford ('96).

However that may be, there must have bceii other great thinkers besides Hosea. Ephraim produced a DECALOGUE and a longer code (see EXODUS ii. § 3), and must have had otherwise a share in the development of that mass of ritualistic prescription which was ultimately codified in Judah (see LAW LITERATURE). If it had its Elis,[1] Samuels, and Elishas, whom legend loved to glorify, we must not forget the men of name unknown whose only memorial is their work : the work of its story-tellers, annalists, poets, and other representatives of social or religious movements, whose achievements are dealt with elsewhere. We probably under-estimate rather than over-estimate the debt of Judah to Ephraim.[2]

See HISTORICAL LITERATURE ; POETICAL LITERATURE ; ELISHA ; ELIJAH ; PROPHET ; IDOLATRY.

The accessibility to the outer world, however, to which Ephraim owed its rapid advance, occasioned also its fall. In the struggle with Aram, it *lost* much ; and when Aram was swamped in the advancing tide of Assyrian conquest another great turning-point in Ephraim's history was at hand. How, precisely, it was affected by the Assyrian conquest, how it fared when the Semitic Empire passed to Persia, what befel it during the long struggles between Ptolemy and Seleucid, Seleucid and Maccabee, Palestinian and Roman, will be discussed elsewhere (see SAMARIA, and cp ISRAEL).

On the late notion of a Messiah called 'Ephraim,'[3] or 'son of Ephraim,'[4] or 'son of Joseph,' etc., alongside of the 'son of David' (משיח בן דוד) see Hamburger, *RE*, artt. 'Messiasleiden' and 'Messias Sohn Joseph' ; cp MESSIAH ; JOSEPH [husband of Mary].

11. P's boundary. Great difficulty in the way of a true knowledge of the history of Ephraim is occasioned by its rivalry with Judah. This has distorted the perspective, broken the outlines, and tinged the colour, of the picture that has reached us. A. Rernstein tried to show how Ephraimite patriotism might account for many points in the patriarch stories. It is certain that Ephraim has suffered at the hands of the writers of Judah. The account of the occupation of the Ephraim highlands in Joshua is surprisingly meagre. All that lies N. of Bethel is passed over in silence (cp JOSHUA ii. § 9). The indications of the boundary of Ephraim as they appear in the post-exilic book are very incomplete and only partly intelligible. The critical analysis is still disputed. Great confusion prevails, and the text is bad. Apparently the southern border is represented as reaching from the Jordan at Jericho up to Bethel (*Bētīn*), to Ataroth Addar (*'Aṭārā?*; see ARCHITES, ATAROTH, 2), down westwards to the territory of the Japhletite (PALTI) and of the BETH-HORONS (*Bēt 'Ūr*), and on to GEZER (*Tell Ǵezer*) and the sea. The northern boundary is given eastwards and westwards from [the plain of] MICHMETHATH (*el-Makhna?*). Eastward it reaches to TAANATH-SHILOH (*Ta'na*), on to JANOHAH (*Kh. Yānūn*), Ataroth (unidentified), NAARATH (*'Ain Sāmieh?*), Jericho and the Jordan; westwards it proceeds from 'Asher of the Michmethath' (see ASHER ii.) east of Shechem southwards to EN-TAPPUAH, and the course of the KANAH (*W. Kānah?*), and on to the sea (17 7-9). One of the writers who have contributed to the account just sketched, however, is aware that this representation is somewhat arbitrary (cp above, § 5, i.), and so he proposes (Josh. 16 9) to give a list of Ephraimite cities beyond the Manassite border. Some editor has unfortunately removed the list. The list of Ephraimite cities, too, that E must have given has been removed.

12. Genealogies. P's 'genealogy' of Ephraim is not only very meagre (cp above, § 11) but also somewhat obscure. We have it in two forms :[1] in Nu. 26 35 *f.* and, as reproduced by the Chronicler, in 1 Ch. 7 20-25.

A study of the variants in 𝔊 and Pesh. and of the repetitions (noticed by A. C. Hervey)[2] in MT, leads to the following hypothetical results (reached independently of Hervey ; see further *JQR* vol. 13, Oct. [1900]).

Bered (*v.* 20) should be deleted as a corruption of BECHER [*q.v.*], which has strayed hither from the genealogy of Benjamin. Zabad is simply a duplicate of Bered, and Ezer of Elead. The middle letter (*sh*) of Resheph (*v.* 25) belongs really to the next name, Telah. What is left—Reph—is a duplicate of Rephah (see below). Thus emended the list stands

1. (*v.* 20) Shuthelah,	Tahath,	Eleadah.
2.[3] (*v.* 21) Tahath,	Shuthelah,	Elead (or Ezer).
3. (*v.* 25) Shuthelah,	Tahan,	Ladan.

We have thus simply a triplet written thrice. The third name may be really Eleadah or (so Pesh. in *v.* 21) Eleazer : Azariah, Klostermann has suggested, may have been the name of Solomon's prefect over Ephraim, perhaps of Beth-horon (cp BEN-HUR) ; see below, and above § 9 (end).

The middle name appears here) and elsewhere (in the genealogy of Samuel ; and in that of Reuel the Midianite) in many forms : Tahath, Tohu, Tahan, Nahath. The last may be what the Chronicler wrote : note the story of the Ephraimites who *descended* against Gath (נחת = 'descend').

The triplet is followed by an appendix—the 'prince' of Ephraim and its great hero.

The Ephraimite clans mentioned in the historical books are few : Nahath or Tahath, Zuph (in one genealogy of Samuel; the first also a 'son of Reuel,' Gen. 36 13 17), Nebat (cp JEROBOAM i.). On the story in *vv.* 21 *b*-23 *see* BERIAH, 2 *f.*

Between the recurring triplets and the genealogical appendix there is a list of towns : the Beth-horons (see above § 11) and . . . and Hepher (?), founded perhaps by Eleazar.[4] In the blank, MT has Uzzen-sheerah. Perhaps we should read Ir-serah (cp 𝔊L) or Ir-heres. The degree of probability of the suggestions in § 12 varies. Several seem almost certain.

13. Town Lists. To the 'genealogical' list are appended two geographical lists : *v.* 28, a pentad of Ephraimite border towns mentioned in Joshua, with the addition of Ai; and *v.* 29, a pentad of towns which Manasseh was unable to occupy (= Josh. 17 11 = Judg. 1 27).

Of other towns that must have been in Ephraim we find mention of MIGRON (*Makrūn*), GIBEAH of Phinehas (*Jībiā*), GIBBEATH - HA - ARALOTH, BAAL - HAZOR. Ramah (*er-Rām*) was fortified by Baasha against Judah. It has been suggested that Jericho was fortified by Jehu against the Aramæans (JEHU, § 3).

Many of the most famous Ephraimite sanctuaries were in the part of Ephraim that was called BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 6) ; but the holy mountains EBAL, GERIZIM, and CARMEL must always have had a high place in the regard of Israel. Ramah (*Beit-Rīmā*), Shiloh, Shechem, Ophrah, Timnath-heres, and Samaria must all have had important sanctuaries. We perhaps learn incidentally of the destruction of some unnamed Ephraimite sanctuary in the story of the founding of Dan. H. W. H.

EPHRAIM (אֶפְרַיִם, §§ 100, 107 ; εφραιμ [BA], γοφρ. [L]), a city near Baal-Hazor (see HAZOR, 2), mentioned in the story of Absalom (2 S. 13 23; see Dr. *TBS*, *ad loc.*). Possibly the name should be 'Ephraini, with *'ain* for *aleph* (עפרים ;[5] cp 𝔊L), and the place identified with Ephron in 2 Ch. 13 19 (see EPHRON, I. 1). So, cautiously, Buhl (p. 177), who also thinks the same city may be meant (1) in 1 Macc. 11 34 (where the governments of APHEREMA [*q.v.*], Lydda, and Ramathem are said to have been added to Judæa from Samaria); (2) in Jn. 11 54 (where Jesus is said to have 'withdrawn to the country near the wilderness, to a city called Ephraim' [ἐφραιμ, all editors, but ℵL, Vet. Lat., Vg., Memph. ἐφρεμ]) ; and (3) in Jos. *BJ* iv. 9 9

1 Are we to add Moses? Guthe says yes (*GVI* 22).

2 A. Duff throws out the suggestion that Nahum may have been of northern descent (*op. cit.* 2 36 46).

3 אפרים משיח צדקי. See the statements in *Pesiḳta Rabbathi* (ed. Friedmann, 161 6).

4 Targ. Jon. on Ex. 40 11.

1 The omission of it in Gen. 46 [MT] may be due to P's mentioning only 'grandsons' of Jacob (cp MANASSEH).

2 *The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 361-364 ['53].

3 𝔊L gives the names in line 2 in the same order as in 1 and 3.

4 For ביתו : ובתו שארה read perhaps ביתו : אשר הוא or rather ביתו : הוא אשר.

5 On the proverb about 'bringing straw to "Ephraim"' (לעפרים), see JANNES.

(Bethel and 'Ἐφραιμ, two 'small cities' taken by Vespasian).

A village called *Efrem* is defined by Jerome (*OS* 94 7) as being 5 R. m. E. of Bethel, Ens. (222 40) writes the name αφρηλ (?). We also hear (118 30) of an Efræa, 20 R. m. N. of Olia. This position agrees well with that of the modern *et-Taiyibeh*, which occupies a splendid (and no doubt ancient) site crowning a conical hill on a high ridge 4 m. NE. of Bethel (*BR* 2 121 427). See OPHRAH.

These identifications, however, are by no means all certain. The site of Baal-hazor, and therefore also of Ephraim in 2 S. *l.c.*, cannot be said to be fixed. Indeed, the reading may perhaps be questioned (for analogies see MAHANAIM); Gratz would read 'in the valley (בעמק) of Rephaim.' The 'city' in Jn. 11 54 also is very doubtful (for different views see Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 37, n. 2). It is even possible that the Greek text is corrupt, and that εφραιμ arose out of an indistinctly written ιερειχω.[1] By this hypothesis we can reconnect Jn. with the Synoptic tradition. Keim's remarks (*Jesus von Nazara*, 37) may be compared with those of Ewald in *Gesch. Christus*, 416. The 'round-about journey' of which Ewald speaks may be avoided by the view here proposed. There is nothing in the context of Jn. 11 54 to favour the view that the evangelist is at all influenced by Lk.'s statement (9 52 *f.*) that Jesus took the route by Samaria to Jerusalem. Cp JERICHO. T. K. C.

EPHRAIM, GATE OF (שַׁעַר אֶפְרַיִם), 2 K. 14 13 Neh. 8 16. See JERUSALEM.

EPHRAIM, WOOD OF; or (RV) FOREST OF (יַעַר אֶפְרַיִם). The scene of the battle between 'the people of Israel' and the 'servants of David' (2 S. 18 6†). For 'Ephraim' (ἔφραιμ [BA]) 𝔊L has μααιναν 'Mahanaim,' which Klostermann adopts. Certainly it is not very probable that Ephraim should have given its name to 'a wood or jungle on the eastern side' (GASm. *HG* 335); the reference to Jndg. 12 4 implies a doubtful view of that passage (see Moore, *ad loc.*). 'Mahanaim,' however. has the appearance of an attempt at correction. More probably the original reading was רפאים, 'Rephaim.' Where should we more naturally expect to find tliis name? The converse error has been pointed out in Is. 17 5 (*SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb. 195). 'Jungle' (so H. P. Smith) seems hardly the best word (cp Tristram's and Oliphant's descriptions of the forest of 'Ajliin). The site cannot be determined without a study of the whole narrative. See MAHANAIM. T. K. C.

EPHRAIN (עֶפְרַיִן), 2 Ch. 13 19 AV RVmg., RV EPHRON i. 1.

EPRRATH (אֶפְרָת, Gen. 48 7†) or **Ephrathah** (אֶפְרָתָה, **AV Ephratah**; εφραθα [𝔊BNAL]).

1. The place near which Rachel died and was buried is called in MT Ephrath (Gen. 35 16 19 48 7); but we should probably read Beeroth (בארת). See RACHEL, § 2; JOSEPH i. § 3.

2. Another name of BETHLEHEM [*q.v.*, § 3], or perhaps rather a name of the district of Bethlehem, Ps. 132 6 (ευφραθα [A] -τα [Rvid.]), Mic. 5 1 Ru. 4 11 Josh. 15 59 (only 𝔊, εφραθα [BAL]); ethnic **Ephrathite** (אֶפְרָתִי, εφραθαιος [BAL]), Ru. 1 2 1 S. 17 12 (εφραθαι· ου [A]). In Ps. *l.c.* and Mic. *l.c.* the reading is uncertain. On 1 S. 1 1 1 K. 11 26 Judg. 12 5, see EPHRAIM i. § 5, i.

3. 'Wife' of Caleb, 1 Ch. 2 19 (εφραθ [BL], φραθ [A]) 24 (see CALEB-EPHRATHAH) 50 44. The passages reflect the post-exilic age, when the Calebites had migrated from the Negeb of 'Judah to the districts surrounding Jerusalem. Was Ephrath a clan-name? See CALEB, § 3.

1 The phrase 'the Jews' in Jn. 11 54, as usually in the Fourth Gospel (so Plummer, *St. John*, 72), means 'the opponents of Jesus among the Jews' (cp JEW). The people of Jericho seem to have been to a large extent friendly to Jesus and were therefore in so far 'Israelites indeed' rather than 'Jews.' Strabo, too (16 2), speaks of the mixed population of Jericho, like that of Galilee and Samaria.

EPHRON (עֶפְרוֹן, Kt.; עֶפְרַיִן, Kr.; εφρων [BAL]).

1. One of the places won by Abijah, king of Judah, from Jeroboani, king of Israel (2 Ch. 13 19 RV, AV EPHRAIN). Since the ending *-aim* or *-ain* sometimes, interchanges with *-on*, and since Ephron or Ephrain (RVmg.) was near Bethel, some critics identify it with the city of Ephraim (although Ephraim in MT begins, with א not ע; see EPHRAIM ii.).

2. Ephron (εφρων [AℵV]; cp the Manassite EPHER, 3), a city on the E. of Jordan, between Carnaim and Scythopolis, attacked and destroyed by Judas the Maccabee in his expedition to Gilead (1 Macc. 5 46-53 2 Macc. 12 27 *f.*; cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 5) is probably the γεφροῦς or γεφρούν (cp γεφυροῦν, 2 Macc. 12 13) of Polybius (v. 70 12). We are told that it lay in a narrow pass which it dominated in such a manner that the Jews 'must needs pass through the midst of it.' This description will not suit Kal'at er-Rabaḍ with which Seetzen identified it, but agrees perfectly with the watch-tower called Ḳaṣr WHdy el-Ghafr, which completely commands the road at a certain point of the deep Wādy el-Ghafr (W. of Irbid, towards the Wādy el-'Arab), on which see Schumacher, ***Northern*** *Ajlūn*, pp. 179, 181. *So* first Buhl, *Geog.* p. 256; *Topogr. d. N O Jordanlandes*, 17 *f.* See CAMON, GEPHYRON.

3. MOUNT EPHRON (הַר עֶפְרוֹן; εφρων [BAL]), a district on the northern frontier of Judah (Josh. 15 9) between Nephtoah and Kirjath-jearim (cp the Judahite name EPHER, 2). If the latter places are Lift2 and Karyat el-'Enab respectively, Mt. Ephron should be the range of hills on the W. side of the Wādy Bēt-Ḥanīnā, opposite Liftā, which is on the E. side (see, however, NEPHTOAH). Conder, however, thinks (in accordance with his identifications of Nephtoah and Kirjath-jearim) of the ridge W. of Bethlehem, and (in Hastings' *DB*) does not even mention any rival view.

According to MT the district in question bad 'cities.' עָרֵי is supported by 𝔊L [ἐπὶ κώμας ὄρους ἐφρ.] and apparently by 𝔊A [ορους εφρ.]); but עָרֵי may be a dittogram of הַר (Che.); 𝔊B does not express 'cities.' Two other (probable) mentions of 'mount Ephron' should be noticed. One is in Josh. 15 10 (see JEARIM, MOUNT); the other is Judg. 12 15 (see PIRATHON).

EPHRON (עֶפְרוֹן, 'young gazelle'? see EPHER; §§ 68, 77; εφρων [BADEFL]), b. Zohar, a Hittite, the seller of the cave of Machpelah, Gen. 23 8 *ff.* 25 9 49 29 *f.* [P]. As to the question in what sense, or with how much justice, he is called a Hittite, see HITTITES, § 1 *f.*

EPICUREANS (οι επικουριοι [Ti. WH]), Acts 17 18. What opinions the Epicureans really held do not now concern us, but only what faithful Jews or Jewish Christians believed them to hold. This is how Josephus describes the Epicureans,—'who cast providence out of life, and deny that God takes care of human affairs, and hold. that the universe is not directed with a view to the continuance of the whole by the blessed and incorruptible Being, but that it is carried along automatically and heedlessly' (*Ant.* x.117). Some, both in ancient and in modern times, have thought that the system, thus ungently characterized, is referred to in ECCLESIASTES [*q.v.*, § 13]. Jerome remarks (on Eccles. 9 7-9), 'Et hæc, inquit aliqnis, loquatur Epicurus, et Aristippus et Cyrenaici et cæteræ pecudes Philosophorum. Ego autem, mecum diligenter retractans, invenio,'[1] etc. According to Jerome, then, the author of Ecclesiastes only mentions the ideas of these 'brutish' philosophers in order to refute them. In later times certainly the leaders of Judaism could find no more reproachful designation for an apostate than אפיקורוס *Epikuros.* The author of Ecclesiastes, however, is not a sufficiently fervent Jew to justify us in assuming that he would altogether reject Epicurean ideas, if they came before him. A fervent Christian, like Paul, doubtless did reject them, if he ever came into contact with them. Did he, then, encounter these ideas?

1 *Opera*, ii. (1699), *Comm. in Eccles.*

From Acts 17 18 (if the narrative is historical) we only learn that certain Epicurean and Stoic philosophers met with him (συνέβαλλον αὐτῷ)[1]—observe in passing the precedence given to the Epicureans. There is nothing in the sequel to suggest that he held any conferences with them ; the speech beginning 'Men of Athens' ("Ανδρες Ἀθηναῖοι) is plainly not intended for them. It looks as if the reference to the philosophers were merely a touch suggested by the writer's imagination, which he did not permit to exercise any influence on the following narrative. That Paul had examined and rejected Epicureanism elsewhere, is probable enough. See ATHENS, § 2, HELLENISM, § 9. T. K. C.

EPILEPTIC (ϲεληνιαζομενοϲ), Mt. 4 24 17 15 RV. See MEDICINE.

EPIPHANES (επιφανηϲ), 1 Macc. 1 10. See ANTIOCHUS, 2.

EPISTOLARY LITERATURE

For the understanding of any document a knowledge of its true character and object is essential. Thus,

1. The problem. for example, if Egyptian exploration brings to light a papyrus fragment containing a negotiation between a Roman emperor and an Alexandrian gymnasiarch,[2] we cannot understand or appreciate it accurately until we know the general character of the writing to which it presumably belonged. If it is a fragment from the record of an actual negotiation in which a Roman emperor took part, it becomes a historical document of first importance ; if it is merely a scrap from a work by a writer of fiction, it falls into a wholly different category.

The NT contains a large number of writings which are usually referred to as 'Epistles.' The designation seems so plain and self-evident that to many scholars it has suggested no problem at all. A problem, nevertheless, there is, of great literary and historical interest, underlying this seemingly simple word. We cannot go far in the study of the history of literature before we become aware that alongside of the real 'letter,' which in its essential nature is non-literary, there is a product of art, the literary letter, which may for convenience be called the epistle. The problem is in each case to determine the category to which such writings belong : are they all 'letters'? or are they all 'epistles'? or are both classes represented? First, let us realise the distinction more clearly.

The function of the letter is to maintain intercourse, in writing, between persons who are separated by distance.

2. Meaning of word 'letter.' Essentially intimate, individual, and personal, the letter is intended exclusively for the eyes of the person (or persons) to whom it is addressed, not for publication. It is non-literary, as a lease, a will, a day-book are non-literary. It differs in no essential particular from a spoken conversation : it might be called an anticipation of telephonic communication. It concerns no one but the writer and the correspondent to whom it is addressed. So far as others are concerned, it is supposed to be secret and sacred. As with life itself, its contents are infinitely varied. The form also exhibits endless variety, although many forms have specialised themselves in the course of the ages and are not unfrequently met with in civilisations widely separated and seemingly quite independent of each other. Neither contents nor form, however, are the determining factors in deciding whether a given writing is to be considered a letter or not. Equally immaterial is it whether the document be written on clay or on stone, on papyrus or on parchment, on wax or on palm-leaves, on scented note-paper or on an international post-card ; whether it be couched in the conventional forms of the period ; whether it be written by a prophet or by a beggar ; all such considerations leave its special character unaffected.[1] The one essential matter is the purpose it is intended to serve — frank intercourse between distant persons. Every letter, however short' and poor, will from its very nature be a fragment of the *vie intime* of mankind. The non-literary, personal, intimate character of the letter must constantly be borne in mind.

There is a sharp distinction between the letter as thus understood and the 'literary' letter which we find it

3. Meaning of word 'epistle.' convenient to designate by the more technical word 'epistle.' The epistle is a literary form, an expression of the artistic faculty, just as are the drama, the dialogue, the oration. All that it has in common with the letter is its form ; in other respects they differ so widely that we might almost resort to paradox and say that the epistle is the exact opposite of the letter. The matter of the epistle is destined for publicity. If the letter is always more or less private and confidential the epistle is meant for the market-place : every one may and ought to read it; the larger the number of the readers, the more completely has it fulfilled its purpose. All that in the letter — address and so forth —is of primary importance, becomes in the epistle ornamental detail, merely added to maintain the illusion of this particular literary form. A real letter is seldom wholly intelligible to us until we know to whom it is addressed and the special circumstances for which it was written. To the understanding of most epistles this is by no means essential. The epistle differs from the letter as the historical play differs from a chapter of actual history, as the carefully composed funeral oration in honour of a king differs from the stammering words of comfort a father speaks to his motherless child, as the Platonic dialogue differs from the unrestrained confidential talk of friend with friend—in a word, as art differs from nature. The one is a product of literary art, the other is a bit of life.

Of course intermediate forms will occur ; such as the professed letter, in which the writer is no longer unrestrained free from self-consciousness in which with some latent feeling 'that he is a great man, he has the public eye in view and coquettes with the publicity which his words may perhaps attain. Such letters are no letters, and with their artificiality and insincerity exemplify exactly what real letters should never be.

A great variety alike of letters and of epistles has come down to us from antiquity. The survival of a

4. Ancient letters and epistles. letter is, strictly speaking, non-normal and exceptional. The true letter is from its very nature ephemeral — ephemeral as the hand which wrote it or the eye for which it was meant. It is to piety or to chance that we owe the preservation of such letters. The practice of collecting the written remains of great men after their death is indeed an old one.

In Greek literature, the earliest instance of publication of such a collection is held to be that of the letters of Aristotle (*ob.* 322 B.C.), which was made soon after his death. Whether the still extant ***Letters of Aristotle***[2] contain any fragments of the genuine collection is indeed a question. On the other hand the letters of Isocrates (*ob.* 338 B.C.) which have come down[3] to us are probably genuine in part; and we have also genuine letters of Epicurus (*ob.* 270 B.C.), among them the fragment of a perfectly charming little note to his child,[4] worthy to be compared with Luther's letter to his little boy Hänschen.[5] Among the Romans it will be enough to refer to the multitude of letters

[1] EV's rendering 'encountered him' is to, he preferred to Ramsay's 'engaged in discussions with him. Cp Acts 20 14 ; Jos. *Ant.* i. 12 3. Would not 'discussed with him' be συνέβαλλον πρὸς αὐτόν (see Acts 4 15)?

[2] Cp Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus **Papyri***, pt. i., p. 62 *ff.*, no. xxxiii. verso ['98], with Deissmann's observations in *TLZ* 23 602 *ff.* ('98).

[1] See Deissmann *Bibelstudien*, 190.

[2] Published by Hercher (*Epistolographi Græci*, 172-174 ['73]).

[3] *See* Hercher, *op. cit.* 319-336.

[4] See Usener, *Epicurea*, 154 ('87); also Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 219 *f.*

[5] See *Luther-Briefe in Auswahl und Uebersetzung*, herausg. on C. A. Hase, 224 *f.* ('67).

of Cicero (*ob.* 43 B.C.) of which four collections, brought together and published after his death, have come down to us.

As compared with such letters of famous men a value in some respects still greater attaches to the numerous letters of obscure men and women, dating from the third century B.C. to the eighth A.D., which have become known to us through recent papyrus finds in Egypt.[1] They have, to begin with, the inestimable advantage that the originals themselves have reached us. Nor is this all. The writers had absolutely no thought of publication, so we may take it that their self-portraiture is wholly unconscious and sincere. The light they throw upon the essence and the form of the letter in ancient times[2] is important, and is of value in the investigation of the letters found in the OT or the NT.

That ancient epistles have survived in large numbers is not surprising. The literary epistle is not intended to be ephemeral. From the outset it is published in several copies and so has less chance of disappearing than the private letter. The epistle, moreover, is a comparatively easy form of literary effort. It is subject to no severe laws of style or strict rules of prosody; all that the essay needs is to be fitted with the requisite formulæ of the letter and to be provided with an address. Any dabbler could write an epistle, and thus the epistle became one of the favourite forms of literature, and remains so even at the present day.

Among ancient 'Epistolographers' we have, for example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch in Greek, and L. Annaeus Seneca and the younger Pliny in Roman, literature, not to speak of the poetical epistles of a Lucilius, a Horace, or an Ovid.

Specially common was the epistle in the literature of magic and religion.

Another fact of literary history requires notice here: the rise of pseudonymous epistolography. In the early period of the empire, especially, epistles under names other than those of the real authors were written in great numbers, not by impostors, but by unknown *literati* who for various honest reasons did not care to give their own names.[3] They wrote 'Epistles' of Plato and Demosthenes, Aristotle and Alexander, Cicero and Brutus; it would be perverse to brand offhand as frauds such products of a certainly not very original literary activity. Absolute forgeries undoubtedly there were; but it is equally certain that the majority of the 'pseudonymous' epistles of antiquity are products of a widely spread, and in itself inoffensive, literary custom.[4]

We now come to the question whether the biblical 'epistles' admit of being separated into the two distinct classes just mentioned.

5. OT terms.

The immense masses of cuneiform writing which have recently been brought to light abundantly show that epistolary correspondence was extensively practised by the people using that script from very early times. It is not surprising, therefore, to find frequent mention of letters in the OT.

The Hebrew terms so rendered are (1): סֵפֶר, *sēpher*, 2 S. 11 14 2 K. 5 5 Jer. 29 1; in Is. 37 14 39 1, where MT gives ספרים, the text is corrupt (see *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb.); 'letters'=סְפָרִים, *sephārīm*, 1 K. 21 8 Esth. 1 22, etc.

(2) פִּתְגָם, *pithgām*, Esth. 1 20 (see Meyer, *Entst.* 23); in Bibl. Aram. Ezra 4 17 5 7 Dan. 4 74 [17], etc.

(3) נִשְׁתְּוָן, *ništĕwān*, Ezra 4 7 7 11 (see Meyer, *op. cit.* 22); in Bibl. Aram. Ezra 4 18, etc.

(4) אִגֶּרֶת, *'iggéreth*, Neh. 2 7 Esth. 9 26, etc. (see Meyer, *op. cit.* 22); in Bibl. Aram. אִגְּרָא, Ezra 4 8 11 5 6.

The Ass. terms for 'letter' are *duppu* (tablet; cp Syr. *dappā*), whence *dupšarru* (Heb. טִפְסַר), 'scribe,' and *egirtu* (cp no. 4 above). In *Am. Tab.* 50 rev. 30 *šupâru* 'message' or 'missive' is virtually *duppu* 'letter' (rev. 17). This suggests that *sēpher* (see 1) may be a loan-word: cp SCRIBE. In 𝔊, besides ἐπιστολή, we find βιβλίον (2 S. 11 14), βίβλος (Jer. 29 1), ῥῆσις (Ezra 5 7), διάταγμα (Ezra 7 11), φορολόγος (Ezra 4 18), and γράμμα; cp Acts 28 21 (pl.).

6. OT letters.

Special interest attaches to the cases in which the actual text of the letters is professedly given, as in 2 S. 11 15 (David's letter to Joab about Uriah), 1 K. 21 9 3 (Jezebel to the elders about Naboth), 2 K. 5 5 *f.* (king of Aram to king of Israel), 2 K. 10 2 *f.* 6 (Jehu to the authorities of Samaria).

On the letter of Jeremiah in Jer. 29, see JEREMIAH ii.; on that of Elijah in 2 Chr. 21 12-15, see JEHORAM, 2; on the official letters in Ezra 4 9 *ff.* 17 *ff.* 5 7 *ff.*, see EZRA, ii., § 6; and on the letter of Nebuchadrezzar in Dan. 4 see DANIEL ii.

Many instances occur also in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books of the OT, especially in Maccabees. In the last-named books in particular, we find, exactly as in Greek and Roman literature,[1] letters, mostly official, embodied word for word in the historical narrative. It would be wrong to cast doubt on the genuineness of such insertions on this ground alone. In many cases, it is true, they are in all likelihood spurious (cp MACCABEES, FIRST, § 10); but in some instances we are constrained to accept them. The decision must rest in each case on internal evidence alone.

7. NT letters.

Turning now to the NT, we find in Acts two letters which, like those in Maccabees, are introduced into a professedly historical narrative: the letter of the apostles and elders to the Gentile Christian brethren in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (15 23-29), and that of Claudius Lysias to Felix (23 26-30). The question of their genuineness must be decided by the same rules of criticism as apply to the cases mentioned in the preceding section (see, for example, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 16 *f.*). In both cases the documents, at any rate, claim to be true letters.

Turning next to the other writings which frankly bear the designation *epistolæ* in the NT, we must again bear in mind the distinction already established between 'letters' and 'epistles.' It is accordingly not enough if we are able merely to establish the existence of a group of *epistolæ*; the question as to their definite character remains. The answer must be supplied in each case by the writing itself. In some cases not much reading between the lines is necessary for this; and even in those cases where the answer is not quite obvious, it is, for the most part, possible to arrive at something more than a mere *non liquet*.

(*a*) To begin with, the Epistle to PHILEMON stands out unmistakably as a letter, and it is as a self-revelation of the great apostle that it possesses a unique value for all time. If (as seems very probable) Rom. 16 is to be taken as being in reality a separate letter, addressed by Paul to Ephesus, it also is an unmistakable example of that class of writing. (*b*) PHILIPPIANS also is a true letter; it becomes intelligible only when referred to a perfectly definite and unique epistolary situation. The same remark applies to THESSALONIANS, GALATIANS, COLOSSIANS (and EPHESIANS). They are indeed more didactic and general than those previously mentioned; but they too are missives occasioned by perfectly definite needs of the Pauline churches, not fugitive pieces composed for Christendom at large, or even for publicity in a still larger sense of the word. To the same class in like manner belong the first and the second extant epistles to the CORINTHIANS. What is it in fact that makes 2 Corinthians everywhere so difficult? It is that it is throughout a true letter, full of allusions to which we, for the most part, have not the key. Paul wrote it with all his personality; in deep emotion and thankfulness, and yet full of reforming passion, of irony, and of

[1] A selection of such papyrus-letters will be found in Deissmann, *Bib.-stud.*, 209-216.

[2] There is thus a promise of good results in the theme proposed for its prize essay by the Heidelberg Faculty of Philosophy in 1898-99: 'On the basis of a chronological survey of the Greek private letters which have been brought to light in recent papyrus finds, to characterise and set forth historically the forms of the Greek epistolary style.'

[3] Cp Deissmann, *Bib.-stud.* 199 *ff.*

[4] A well-known modern instance is that of the famous 'Letters of Junius.'

[1] Cp Deissmann, *op. cit.* 220.

stinging frankness. 1 Corinthians is quieter in tone; but it too is a real letter, being in part, at least, an answer to one from the Church of Corinth.[1]

(*c*) In the case of ROMANS, one might perhaps at first hesitate to pronounce. Its character as a letter is undeniably much less conspicuously marked, much less palpable, than in the case of 2 Corinthians. Still, neither is it an epistle written for the public, nor for Christendom at large, designed to set forth in compendious form the apostle's dogmatic and ethical system. In it Paul has a definite object—to prepare the way for his visit to the church in Rome; such is his aim in writing, and it is that of an individual letter-writer. He does not yet know the church to which he writes, and he himself is known to it only by hearsay. The letter, therefore, from the nature of the case, cannot be so full of personal detail as those he wrote to communities with which he had long been familiar, such as Corinth and Philippi. Our first impression of Romans, perhaps, may be that it is an epistle; but this judgment will not stand scrutiny.

We need not hesitate longer then, to lay down the broad thesis that all the Pauline epistles hitherto enumerated (the genuineness of none of them is doubted by the present writer) are real letters.[2] Paul is a true letter-writer, not an 'epistolographer.' Nor yet is he a man of letters. His letters became literary products only after the piety of the churches had made a collection of them and had multiplied copies indefinitely till they had become accessible to all Christendom. At a later date still they became Holy Scripture when they were received into the 'New' Testament, then in process of formation. As an integral part of the New Testament they have exercised a literary influence that is incalculable. All these later vicissitudes, however, cannot alter their original and essential character. Paul, who with ardent longings expected the coming of the Lord, and with it the final judgment and the life of the coming age—Paul, who reckoned the future of this present world, not by millennia or centuries, but by a few short years, had not the faintest surmise of the part his letters were destined to play in the providential ordering of the world. It is precisely in this untrammelled freedom that the chief value of his letters consists; their absolute trustworthiness and supremely authoritative character as historical records, are guaranteed thereby. The letters of Paul are the (alas, only too fragmentary) remains of what would have been the immediate records of his mission. Each one of them is a piece of his biography; in many passages we feel that the writer has dipped his pen in his own heart's blood.

(*d*) Two other real letters in the NT remain to be mentioned—the SECOND and the THIRD EPISTLE OF JOHN.[3] Of 3 John we may say with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'It was a quite private note, and must have been preserved from the papers of Gains as a relic of the great presbyter.' 2 John does not present so many of the features of a letter in detail; but it also has a particular object in view just as a letter has, even if we do not find ourselves able to say with complete confidence who the 'lady' addressed may have been—whether a church or some distinguished individual Christian. That the letter was addressed to the Church at large seems hardly admissible. Both writings are in point of form interesting, as in many respects clearly exhibiting the ancient epistolary style of their period.

No instance of an epistle is met with in the canonical books of the OT; but we have several in the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. i. The most instructive example is undoubtedly the (Greek) Epistle of Jeremiah, appended to Lamentations (so in 𝔊),[1] or to Baruch (in Vg. as Baruch 6).

8. Apocryphal Epistles.

This short composition, which certainly was originally written in Greek,[2] contains a warning against idolatry, which is held up to scorn and refuted by every kind of argument. A comparison of this epistle with the genuine letter of Jeremiah (Jer. 29) to the Jews in Babylon furnishes an excellent illustration of the difference between a letter and an epistle.

In the Greek epistle we observe that the address is adventitious, and that 'Jeremiah' has been chosen as a covering name merely at the pleasure of the undoubtedly Alexandrian author. This by no means constitutes a 'forgery', the author is simply availing himself of a generally current literary artifice. His intention is to put his co-religionists on their guard against idolatry and he therefore makes Jeremiah the speaker. Five hundred years after the lifetime of Jeremiah[3] it could not occur to any one to suppose that the writer was seeking to represent himself as editor of a newly discovered writing of the ancient prophet.

ii. Another epistle in the category now under consideration is the (Greek) Epistle of Aristeas, which contains the well-known legend as to the origin of the LXX version; it also was the work of an Alexandrian of the time of the Ptolemies.[4] iii. The Epistle of Baruch to the nine and a half tribes in exile (appended to the Apocalypse of Baruch) also ought to be mentioned here—unless indeed we are to regard it (which is quite possible) as a Christian writing.[5] iv. Finally, that epistolography was a favourite form of literary activity with Grecian Jews is shown perhaps by the 28th 'Epistle of Diogenes,'[6] and by some of the epistles that pass current under the name of Heraclitus.[7]

We can define certain writings in the NT as epistles with just as great security as we have been able to call the writings of Paul real letters. Most clearly of all do the so-called 'catholic' epistles of JAMES, PETER, and JUDE belong to this category.

9. NT Epistles.

That they cannot be real letters is evident from the outset by their addresses; a letter to the 'twelve tribes scattered abroad' could not he forwarded as a letter. The author of the epistle of James writes after the manner of the Epistle of Baruch (see above, § 8, iii.) addressed 'to the nine and a half tribes, which were across the Euphrates.' In both cases it is an ideal 'catholic' circle of readers that the authors have in view; each dispatched his ἐπιστολή not, as we may presume Paul to have dispatched the letter to the Philippians, in a single copy, hut in many.

The Epistle of James is essentially a piece of literature, an occasional writing intended for all Christendom—an epistle. In accord with this are its entire contents: nothing of that detail of unique situations which meets us in the letters of Paul; nothing but purely general questions such as, for the most part, might be still conceivable in the ecclesiastical problems of the present day. So with the Epistles of Peter and Jude. They too bear purely ideal addresses; all that they have of the nature of a letter is the form.

At this point we find ourselves standing at the very beginning of Christian literature in the strict sense of that word. The problem of the 'genuineness' of these epistles becomes from this point of view much less important than it would undoubtedly be on the assumption of their being letters. In them the personality of the writer falls entirely into the background. It is a great cause that addresses itself to us, not a clearly distinguishable personality as in the letters of Paul.

[1] Cp. Joh. Weiss, 'Der Eingang des ersten Korintherbriefs, *St. Kr.* 1900, pp. 125-130.
[2] The Pastoral Epistles, also, may perhaps contain fragments from genuine letters of Paul.
[3] Cp U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Lesefrüchte' in *Hermes*, 33 529 *ff.* ('98), (specially instructive on the question of form).

[1] Swete, 3 379-384.
[2] Schürer, *GVI* (3) 3 344 (ᴮ).
[3] The epistle most probably belongs to the second or to the last century B.C.
[4] Latest edition by M. Schmidt in Merx's *Archiv*, 1 ('69). A new edition, founded on material collected by L. Mendelssohn, is in preparation by P. Wendland, for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana. A German translation of this has already appeared in Kau. *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr.* 2 1-31.
[5] Greek text in Fritzsche *Libri VT pseudepigraphi selecti* ('71), 122 *ff.*; for Syriac text,' with ET, see Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 124 *ff.* ('96).
[6] Cp J. Bernays, *Lucian u. die Kyniker*, 96 *ff.* ('79).
[7] J. Bernays, *Die heraklitischen Briefe*, 61 *ff.* ('69).

Whether we know with certainty the name of the author of each of these epistles is of no decisive importance for our understanding of them. In this connection it deserves to be noticed that the longest of all the NT epistles, that to the Hebrews, has come down to us without any name at all, and even its address has disappeared. Indeed, were it not for the word ἐπέστειλα ('I have written a letter') in 13 22 and a few slight touches of epistolary detail in 13 23 *f.*, it would never occur to us to call the writing an epistle at all. It might equally well be a discourse or an essay; its own designation of itself is λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως ('a word of exhortafion,' 13 22); all that seems epistolary in its character is manifestly only ornament, and the essential nature of the whole is not changed though part of the ornament may have fallen away.

The so-called First Epistle of JOHN has none of the specific character of an epistle, and still less is it a letter. Though classified among the epistles it would be more appropriately described as a religious tract in which a series of religious meditations designed for publicity are somewhat loosely strung together.

The so-called pastoral epistles to TIMOTHY and TITUS are in their present form certainly epistles. It is probable, however, as already indicated (above, col. 1327, n. 2), that some portions of them are derived from genuine letters of Paul. As we now have them they are manifestly designed to lay down principles of law for the Church in process of consolidation, and thus they mark the beginnings of a literature of ecclesiastical law.

To speak strictly, the APOCALYPSE of John also is an epistle; the address and salutation are obvious in 14, and 2221 constitutes a fitting close for an epistle. This epistle in turn contains at the beginning seven smaller missives addressed to seven churches of Asia—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea. These also are no real letters such as we might suppose to have been actually sent to each of the churches named and to have been afterwards brought together into a single collection. On the contrary, they are all of them constructed with great art on a uniform plan, and are' intended to he read and laid to heart by all the churches, not only by that named in the address of each. They seem to the present writer to represent a somewhat different kind of epistle from any we have been considering. Their writer has definite ends in view as regards each of the individual churches; but he wishes at the same time to produce an effect in the Christian world as a whole, or at any rate on that of Asia. In spite of the intimate character they formally possess, they serve a public literary purpose, and therefore ought to be classed among the epistles, rather than among the letters, of ancient Christianity.

Injudging the numerous *epistolæ* which have been handed down in the Christian church outside of, or later in date than, the NT canon, it is equally necessary to settle in each case the question whether the writing ought to he classed as an epistleor a letter; but this investigation lies beyond the limits of the present work.

10. Literature. G. A. Deissmann, ***Bibelstudien* : *Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri u. Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums u. der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums u. des Urchristentums*** ('95); *Abh.* 5: ***Prolegomena zu den biblischen Briefen u. Episteln***; K. Dziatzko, art. 'Brief' in Pauly's ***Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft***, ed. Wissowa; F. Zimmer in *ZKWL*, 7 ('86), 443 *ff.*; J. Rendel Harris, 'A Study in Letter-Writing,' *Exp.* '98*b*, 161 *ff.*; *see* also Christ. Johnston, ***The Epistolary Lit. of the Ass. and Bab.*** ('98).

G. A. D.

ER (עֵר, ηρ [BADEFL]). I. A Judahite subdivision of Canaanite (*i.e.*, non-Israelite) origin, which at a later time became merged in the more important brother-clan SHELAH [1] (the genealogical details in Gen. 38 3-7 [J], Gen. 46 12 Nu. 26 19 [P], 1 Ch. 2 3 [in the second occurrence αυηρ (A)] 4 21); see JUDAH.

2. A name in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. 3 28; ηρ [Ti. WH]); see GENEALOGIES ii. § 3.

ERAN (עֵרָן, § 77), the Eranites (הָעֵרָנִי), an Ephraimite clan, in the one case individualised, in the other regarded as a tribal group, Nu. 26 36. The name reminds us of the Judahite ER (see above); but in the parallel Ephraimite list, 1 Ch. 7 20-27, it is ELADAH (אֶלְעָדָה, *v.* 20), of which another form is LADAN (לַעְדָּן, *v.* 26). Probably the list in Nu. 26 originally had neither 'Erān nor El'ādāh, but La'dān, and we should read לעדן and הלעדני. See further, EPHRAIM, § 12.

The initial ל in לעדן may have been mistaken for a preposition, just as in 1 Ch. 23 7-9, 𝔊B has εδαν for לעדן throughout. The ד is vouched for by Sam. Pesh. עדן, and also by 𝔊 (εδεν, ὁ εδεν[ε]ι [BAFL]), cp Gen. 46 20 (εδεμ [AD], -ωμ [L]; om. MT).

Ladan is doubtless shortened from Elad(d)an (אֶלְעָדָן; cp יְהוֹעַדָּן).

S. A. C.

ERASTUS (ερaστος [Ti. WH]), 'the treasurer (οικονομος) of the city [of Corinth]'[1] (Rom. 16 23; cp 2 Tim. 4 20), is probably mentioned as one of those that 'ministered' to Paul (Acts 19 22) and as having been sent by him with Timothy from Ephesus on some errand into Macedonia. This combination of passages, however, is plausible only if Rom. 16 was originally a letter to the church of Ephesus.

ERECH (אֶרֶךְ, ορεχ [ADEL], *ARACH*, classical Ὀρχοη, Ass. *Arku*, *Uruk*) is named in Gen. 10 10 as one of the four cities originally founded by Nimrod in Babylonia. The explorations of Loftus (*Travels in Chaldea and Susiana*, 162 *ff.*) established its site at the mod. *Warka*, halfway between Ḥilla and Ḳorna. The enormous mounds and ruins scattered over an area six miles in circuit testified to a large population in ancient times; but the discoveries did little to restore the history of the city. The earliest inscriptions recovered were those of Dungi, Ur-Bau, and Gudea, kings of Ur (which lay 30 m. SW.). The next in date were those of Sin-gašid and another, kings of Erech as an independent state. Erech was then capital of the kingdom of Aninanu. The later kings of Babylon (Merodach-baladan) also left traces of their buildings and restorations. Many commercial documents of all periods down to 200 B.C. attest the continuous prosperity of the city. As if to make up for the lack of historical documents furnished by the site itself, we have perpetual reference to the place in the Assyrian and Babylonian literature. No place had a greater hold on the affection and imagination of the literati. The author of the Creation Tablets (non-Semitic version) ascribes its foundation to the god Marduk. It is the theatre of the Gilgameš or Nimrod epic (see DELUGE, § 2). Its poetical names (3 R. 41 15 *ff.*) show how often it was the theme of story and legend. Some of them—*e.g.*, the 'enclosure' (*suburu*), 'the seven districts'—seem justified by its ruins. Surrounded completely by a wall, intersected by many canals, flanked by two large streams, and probably then, as now, almost inaccessible for most of the year, it was a secure refuge. Later in its history—perhaps in Assyrian times, certainly in the Parthian period—it became a sort of national necropolis.

The city deity was the goddess Nanā, whose statue had such strange vicissitudes (see NANEA). During her absence a goddess, Ištar, whose temple was Ē-ulmaš, seems to have taken her place. Continual reference is made to Uruk even by Assyrian kings (*KB* i. and ii., *passim*). Their correspondence (Harper, *ABL passim*), when fully published, will throw much light on the city life of Uruk during the Sargonid period. At present it would be premature to attempt to write its municipal history.

C. H. W. J.

ERI (עֵרִי, surely not 'watcher,' αδδ(ε)ι [BAFL, cp Samar. Pent.]), a subdivision of GAD (§ 13), Gen. 46 16 (αηδ(ε)ις ADL]), Nu. 26 16 [𝔊 25]); ethnic Erites (הָעֵרִי, Nu. *l.c.*; ο αδδ(ε)ι [BAFL]).

ESAIAS (ησαιας, ISAIAS), 4 Esd. 2 18 EV; Mt. 3 3, etc., AV, RV ISAIAH (*q.v.*, I.).

[1] Notice that Cenchreæ is mentioned in *v.* 2.

ESARHADDON (אֵסַר־חַדֹּן, ασορδαν [BA], αχο. [L]; ασαραχοδδας, Jos.; σαχερδονος, Ptol.; ασαριδινος; Ass. Ašur-aḫ-iddina,—*i.e.*, 'Ašur has given a brother'), son and successor of Sennacherib on the throne of Assyria (2 K. 19 37; Is. 37 38, αχορδαν [O], ναχ. [א*Q^mg.], ασορ. [א^c.b Q*]).

1. Early History.

His brother Ašur-nādin-šum, who had been made king of Babylon by Sennacherib, was carried away captive after a reign of **six** years by Ḫallušu king of Elam 694 B.C. (*KB* 2 278). Ardi-Bēlit was then regarded as crown-prince (*mār šarri*) in Nineveh, as appears from a contract tablet dated Sept.-Oct. 694 B.C. For another son, Ašur-munik, Sennacherib built a palace in the suburbsof Nineveh (see ADRAMMELECH, 2). The so-called 'Will of Sennacherib'[1] (3R. 16, No. 3) records some rich gifts to Esarhaddon and the wish that his name should be changed to Ašur-edil-ukīn-apla (Ašur-the-hero has established the son). In the Hebrew notice of Sennacherib's murder, two sons of Sennacherib, named ADRAMMELECH (2, *q.v.*) and SHAREZER (1, *q.v.*), are referred to, occasioning a historical difficulty, which is dealt with elsewhere. The expressions of the Babylonian Chronicle have led some to think that Esarhaddon himself was the parricide[2] (Edwards, ***The** Witness of Assyria*, 149). It **is** certainly singular that in no inscription set **up** in Assyria (yet published) does Esarhaddon refer to the event. On the stele found at Samalla, however, he distinctly calls himself the 'avenger of the father who begat him' (*mutīr gimilli abi alidišu*).[3]

Sennacherib died on the 20th of Ṭebētu, B.C. 682, and Esarhaddon was crowned on the 28th of Adar, B.C. 682-1.

The chief sources for the history of Esarhaddon's reign are his cylinders (*KB* 2 120 *ff.*). The opening paragraph of the broken prism (*KB* 2 141 *f.*) has usually been taken ***to*** refer to his struggle with his brother for the throne. It is a very fragmentary account, as remarkable for its gaps and omissions as for its information. From it we learn that, presumably early in his reign, Esarhaddon, who was evidently away from Nineveh, was called to face a formidable foe. He could not take all his troops with him. The march was made 'hastily and under difficulty' in the winter-month of Šabāṭu. His enemy met him at Hanirabbat and was signally defeated. That it was a fight for the throne is clear from the fact that the enemy said of their leader, 'This is our king.'

On **a** more or less plausible combination of this account with the biblical data it has been asserted that Esarhaddon was in command of an expedition to Armenia. The time of year is against this supposition. Hanirabbat was near Malaṭya, and therefore a great distance from both Nineveh and Armenia (see map in *KB* 2 and in vol. i. of this work between cols. 352 and 353). If Esarhaddon had left the hulk of his forces behind on the confines of Armenia it **is** not easy to see how the rebels could have escaped thither. Winckler (*GBA* 259) argues better that Esarhaddon was in Babylon at'the time of his father's death.[4] The Babylonian Chronicle states that on the 2nd of Adar the revolt in Nineveh was at an end. This gives *six* weeks for Esarhaddon's receipt of the news and march to Nineveh. On his arrival the regicides and their party must have retreated and, doubtless with reinforcements, he pursued them at once. They made their stand at Ḫanirabbat, and on their defeat escaped to Armenia. Esarhaddon seems then to have returned to Nineveh and ascended the throne on the 28th of Adar (**682-1 B.C.**), about eight months after the murder of his father.

Esarhaddon's residence in Babylon before his accession may account for his friendly treatment of the fallen capital.

2. Administration.

He made good the damage caused by SENNACHERIB [*q.v.*], brought back the gods, and repeopled the city. During the reign of Merodach-baladan Chaldean supporters of that king had dispossessed the native Babylonians; after Babylon had been rendered helpless, the Chaldeans continued to encroach. Esarhaddon expelled the Chaldeans from the neighbourhood of Babylon and Borsippa, and crippled their power.

This policy of restoration extended to Erech. At Nineveh too, the king built **a** great palace (cp Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* **634**); also palaces at Kalaḫ and Tarbiṣi, the last for his son Ašur-bāni-pal (1 R. 48, Nos. *4* and 5; *KB* 2 150; cp Lay. *op. cit.* **19**). Throughout Assyria and Mesopotamia he rebuilt some thirty temples.

It was perhaps due to this antiquarian taste, so strongly developed in his son Ašur-bāni-pal, that Esarhaddon, first of the Sargonids, lays claim to ancient royal lineage. He calls himself the descendant of Bēl-bani, son of Adasi, king of Assyria, and offspring of Ašur (*KB* 2 120, n. 1).

As a fighting king Esarhaddon was not behind any of his race. At the very beginning of his reign he was threatened by the Gimirrai (see GOMER, 1). His oft-sent requests to the sun-god Šamaš (Knudtzon, *Gebete*, 72-264) mention his fears of Kastarit of Karkassi, Mamiti-arsu the Mede, the Mannai (see MINNI), and other branches or forerunners of the great Manda horde. The peril culminated in an actual invasion of Assyria by the Gimirrai, who were, however, defeated before the fourth year of this reign (*KB* 2 282). The next year was a busy one. An expedition penetrated the Arabian desert, conquering eight rulers in the districts of Bazū and Ḫazū (cp BUZ, 1; HAZO). Sidon having revolted was taken and destroyed, a new city Kar-Esarhaddon being built to overshadow it. The king of Sidon, Abdi-Milknti, and Sanduarri a Cilician prince who had sided with him, were captured and beheaded.

Following up this success, the Assyrian king received the submission of all Syria and Palestine. Of the vassal kings who then paid him homage Esarhaddon has left us a very important list (*KB* 2 148). Among them are Baal king of Tyre, and MANASSEH [*q.v.*], king of the *city* of Judah. The terms of the agreement between Esarhaddon and Baal king of Tyre are recorded on the tablet K. 3500 from which Hommel gives some extracts (*AHT* 196; the full text is now given by Winclrler, *AOF* 2 10). These events occurred in 677-6 B.C. The Chronicler also tells us of a colonisation of Samaria by Esarhaddon, Ezra **42** (ασαρεαθων [B], -ραδδων [A], ναχορδαν [L]); but the accuracy of this statement has been questioned (see SAMARIA, SAMARITANS). Being now in full possession of the route to Egypt, Esarhaddon made a reconnaissance of it in 675 B.*C.* He returned next year to the attack. In 672 B.*C.* he lost his queen and seems to have remained a year or more at home. In 670 B.C., leaving the government in the hands of his mother,[1] he departed for a supreme struggle with Egypt, in which he was completely victorious (see EGYPT, § 66). As a 'hard lord' he ruled over the Egyptians,[2] garrisoning some cities with Assyrian troops, and in others installing native dependent rulers. He returned home by way of Samalla, where he set np the stele mentioned above.

Esarhaddon was not allowed to rest long. A revolt broke ont in Egypt, and he set ont to repress it. However, he never saw Egypt again. On the way he fell ill and died; it was on Araḫsamna (November; see MONTH, §§ *3* 5) the 10th, 669 B.C. (not, as usually stated, 668). He divided his kingdom, giving ASur-bāni-pal Assyria and the Empire, but making Šamaš-šum-ukīn king of Babylon under him. A third son, Ašur-mukin-palīa, was raised to the high-priesthood; the youngest, Ašur-edil-šamē-u-erṣitim, was made priest of Sin at Harran. Another son, Sin-iddin-aplu, seems to have died before his father. We find the names of a daughter, Šerūa-eṭirat, and a sister, Matti.

The name of Esarhaddon's mother is best read Naḳia,

1 This document is not dated, but has been used to support the contention that Esarhaddon was the favuurite son.

2 Cp the Hebrew version of Tobit (*PSBA* 18 260), which ascribes the murder to 'Esarhaddon and Sharezer.'

3 *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, 36.

4 He was appointed regent there by his father in **681** B.C.

1 To this lady Nakia are addressed many letters from the provincial governors '(Harper, *ABL*). During her regency occurred the Elamite invasion of 675 B.C. which threatened Sippara. The gods of Agadè were carried dff by the Elamites.

2 See **Is.** 19 2, according to one interpretation (see Che. *Intr. Is.* 114 *f.*).

which is rendered in Assyrian by Zakutu, and seems to be Hebrew, 'the pure one.' She survived her son, and on his death issued a proclamation to the Empire, demanding its allegiance to the princes Ašur-bāni-pal and Samaš-šum-ukīn.[1] C. H. W. J.

ESAU (עֵשָׂו; ΗCΑΥ [BAL]).

1. A popular etymology, which may, however, be correct, is suggested in Gen. 25 25 (J): 'And the first came out tawny, all over like a hairy mantle; and his name was called Esau.'

1. Name.

As Budde (*Urgesch.* 217, n. 2, incorrectly reported by Di.) has pointed out, 'tawny' (אַדְמוֹנִי, *admōnī*)[2] cannot have been the original word. Budde's own conjecture, however (that it displaced some rare word meaning 'hairy') is not probable. It may have arisen out of תאומים, 'twins,' which intruded from the margin where it stood as a correction of תומים (*v.* 24). Miswritten as אתומים, it would he easily changed into ארמוני (ם and ני are frequently confounded); cp *v.* 30.

We must assume a root עשׂה, 'to have thick hair,'[3] and regard עשו 'the shaggy,' as the equivalent of Seir 'the hairy' (שֵׂעִיר=שָׂעִיר, Gen. 27 11), which appears to have been regarded by J as a synonym for hunter (Gen. 25 25, cp *v.* 27). In this, as in the former case, J really appears to have hit upon a sound interpretation. It seems impossible to show that the mountain district of Seir (whether E. or even W. of the Arābāh) was 'hairy' in the sense of 'wooded,' nor would the sense 'wooded' accord with the gloomy oracle of Isaac. The probability is that Esau and Seir are names of a hunter-god;[4] and though the hero Usoos in Philo of Byblus (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* i. 107) may conceivably be simply the personification of Ušu (Palætyrus),[5] it seems more probable, since his brother Samemrumos is a divine hero of culture, that Usoos represents a hunter-god,[6] after whom the city of Ušu was named. Certainly Philo of Byblus describes Usoos as entering into conflict with wild beasts, though also as the first who ventured on the sea (as if a personification of Old Tyre). However this may be, Esan never displaced Edom as the Hebrew name for the people of Mount Seir. The phrase 'sons of Esau' is found only in late writers (Ut. 24 Obad. 18); 'Esau the father of Edom' (Gen. 36 9 43) also is late (see Holzinger's analysis).

The early traditions on Esau are given in Gen. 25 21-34 27 1-45 31 4-22 33 1-17; these belong to JE.

2. Traditions.

The editor has done his best to cull the finest Darts from both J and E. At the beginning he depends solely on J, unless we may assume with Dillmann and Bacon (*Genesis*, 152) that the *admōnī* ('tawny') of Gen. 25 25 (see above) was taken by the editor from E, who, however, surely knew and had to account for the name Esau. The foreshadowing which JE gives of the differences of national fortunes (cp Mal. 1 2*f.*) and national character in the story of the two tribal ancestors is most effective. That the two brothers strove in the womb is a purely etymological myth (see JACOB, § 1); Edom is an independent people when tradition first brings it into contact with Israel. That the older people was gradually eclipsed by the younger, however, and that nevertheless the older people at length achieved its liberation, are facts which agree exactly with the legend. How naturally, too, and with what regard to primitive sentiment, that legend (cp ISAAC, § 5) is told! Of conscious purpose on the narrator's part there is not a trace. It seems as if by a kind of fate the course of future history were prescribed by the forefathers, who in their blessings and cursings discharged divine functions.[1]

That writers like J and E, who have infused so much of the pure prophetic religion into the traditional material should not he without traces of primitive superstition, will startlk only those who are fettered by an abstract supernaturalism. J and E unhesitatingly believe that by his blessing or his curse a father may determine the fate of his children; at any rate the forefathers of Israel could do this. These writers certainly mean us to regard the oracles in Gen. 27 28*f.* and 39*f.* (which are imaginative reproductions of what Isaac would be likely to have said) as creating history. The latter oracle has often been misunderstood. It should run thus, 'Surely, far from fruitful ground shall be thy dwelling, and untouched by the dew of the heaven above; by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother; hut when thou shalt revolt,[2] thou shalt shake off his yoke from thy neck.' For another view of the blessing (shared by Vg. and AV) see EDOM, § 5.

Most readers sympathise more with Esau than with Jacob. This may perhaps be to some extent in accordance with the wishes of the narrators. Surely J and E must have condemned the fraud practised by Jacob at his mother's bidding upon his aged father. Whether they would have condemned Jacob's shiftiness (apart from the special circumstances) as immoral, may, however, be doubted. The later prophets, it is true, denounce shiftiness in no measured terms;[3] but the contemporaries of J and E were not so far from the old nomadic period, and not so open to new moral ideas, as to do the same (see Che. *Aids*, 35). To them the quiet, cautious, calculating character of Jacob seemed to be more praiseworthy than the careless, unaspiring, good-natured, passionate character of Esau; Jacob, they said, 'was a blameless[4] man (תָּם), dwelling in tents' (Gen. 25 27 [J]). What P thought of these stories does not appear; he confines his attention to Esau's marriages (Gen. 26 34*f.* [cp 27 46 (R)], 28 6-9), and to geographical and statistical information respecting the Edomites (chap. 36; but how much is P's, is uncertain).

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews presents Esau as the type of a 'profane' person, on the ground that he sacrificed his birthright 'for one mess of food' (Heh. 12 16). He addresses Hebrews who were tempted to barter their privileges in the church for the external satisfactions of the temple services. As a matter of fact, however, it is only J who makes Esau willingly resign his birthright; E apparently knows only the second of the two accounts of the loss of the πρωτοτόκια. It is obvious that J despises Esau for his conduct (see 25 34 in the Hebrew). To him Esau represents Edom. To the later Jews Esau becomes the symbol of the heathen world (see a striking Haggada in Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 401).

2. 1 Esd. 5 29 (ησαυ [BA]). See ZIHA, 1. T. K. C.

1 See Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, vol. 2.

2 This verse gives J's explanation of the name Edom. 'Let me quickly eat some of that *ĕdōm*, for I am faint; therefore his name was called *Ĕdōm*. For הָאָדֹם הָאָדֹם read הָאֱדֹם; cp Ar. *'idām*, 'a by-dish, as vegetables, etc.' So T. D. Anderson, with the assent of Dillmann.

3 It is difficult not to compare Ar. *'athiya*, 'to have thick or matted hair,' *a'thā*, 'having thick hair' (Lane), though Fleischer (in Levy, *NHWB* 3 732) points out that this comparison violates the ordinary laws of phonetic changes.

4 Prášek assents to this view (*Forsch. z. Gesch. d. Alt.* ['98] 2 33).

5 See HOSAH, and cp note in *ZATW*, 1897, p. 189. The present article, including the above view, is of older date than that note. The writer has since found that the identification of Ušu belongs to Prášek, and that Halévy has already connected Usöos and Ušu, though in conjunction with the improbable theory that Ušu = the אושא of the Talmud, which he identifies with Umm el 'Awāmīd (see HAMMON, 1). Enough remains to justify the writer's claim to have advanced the investigation by a new suggestion.

6 Whether the Syrian desert goddess 'Asīt, whose name is connected by W. M. Miiller with that of Esau (cp EDOM, § 2) is a female form of this hunter god, we can hardly venture to say. Nor can we make any use of the divine name Esu, apparently of foreign origin, found in a cuneiform text (Pinches, *PSBA* 18 255).

1 See BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS. Robertson Smith points ont that Jacob, when seeking the paternal benediction, wears the skins of sacrificial animals. His father is a quasi-divine being. So the priests in Egypt wore the skins of sacred animals (cp LEOPARD), and several examples of this can he indicated within the Semitic field (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 437; cp 467). The antique flavonr of the narrative in Genesis now becomes much more perceptible. (Sayce has already connected the dress of Jacob with the 'robe of goat's skin, the sacred dress of the Babylonian priests,' *Hibb. Lect.* '87, p. 285). See DRESS, § 8.

2 For the impossible תריד read תָמֹרד, of which another corruption is תאדר ('Rook of Jubilees,' *JQR* 6734). It may he added that רָד in Hos. 12 1, רָדְנוּ in Jer. 2 31, and אָרִיד in Ps. 55 3 are also demonstrably due to corruption.

3 Hosea does not indeed mention this action, hut he accuses the Israelites of a deceitfulness which he traces back to Jacob's overreaching of his brother in the womb (Hos. 12 [3] 4; cp JACOB, § 2).

4 Or, harmless (innocent of acts of violence). It was said of Esau, 'By thy sword shalt thou live.' תָּם may have begun to acquire a specialized sense in popular use. In Job 9 22 תָּם and רָשָׁע are opposed.

ESCHATOLOGY

CONTENTS.

(Short Subject Index at End of Article.)

A. HEBREW OLD TESTAMENT.

1. Primitive Eschatology. In studying a great religion the inquirer naturally seeks to trace an organic connection between its central conceptions and the most remote portions of its system. He expects to find a certain degree of logical coherence between all its parts. In dealing with such religions as Christianity, Mohammedanism, or Buddhism, his expectations are not disappointed. In these religions the eschatology or teaching on the final condition of man and of the world follows in the main from the fundamental doctrines. The early religion of Israel, however, must not be approached with such an expectation. There is an organic connection between its theology and that portion of its eschatology which deals with the nation as a whole; but this connection does not extend to the eschatology concerning the individual.

I. THE INDIVIDUAL.—The ideas about the future life which prevailed in the earliest times and were current indeed in some degree down to the second century B.C., were in many respects common to Israel and to some other Semitic nations. They were not the outcome of any revelation. They were survivals. With these antique elements advancing thought was at strife centuries before it succeeded in completely expelling them and in furnishing in their stead a doctrine of the future life in harmony with its own character. Such a doctrine, though foreshadowed in the earlier literature, was not definitely taught till the fourth century B.C.

The antique elements belong in all probability to the system of belief and practice known as ancestor worship.

2. Ancestor worship. At first this phase of religion dominated to a great degree the life of the Israelite. The religion of Yahwè, however, as it developed, engaged with it in irreconcilable strife. Still, for several centuries, many of those primitive tenets and usages were left unaffected. Early Yahwism had no distinctive eschatology regarding the problem of the individual; it concerned itself only with the nation. The individual, accordingly, was left to his hereditary beliefs, which, as we have said, were connected with ancestor worship.[1]

In this system the departed were not regarded as in a full sense dead. They shared in all the vicissitudes of their posterity, and possessed superhuman powers to benefit or injure. With a view to propitiating these powers the living offered sacrifices. The vitality of the dead was thus preserved, and their honour in the next world upheld. A man made sacrifice naturally only to his own ancestors; these with their living descendants formed one family.

3. Proved by mourning customs. That such beliefs prevailed in Israel is shown by customs observed with regard to the dead.[2] The mourning usages have a religious, not merely a psychological significance. They indicate reverence for the dead and a confession of dependence upon them.

1. The mourner girt himself with sackcloth (2 S. 3 31 1 K. 20 31 Is. 3 24 15 3 22 12 Jer. 6 26), or laid it on his loins (Gen. 37 34 Jer. 48 37). This practice expresses submission to a superior; it is thus that the servants of Benhadad go forth from Aphek to Ahab (1 K. 20 31 *f.*).

2. The mourner put off his shoes (2 S. 15 30 Ezek. 24 17). This is explained by the removal of the shoes required in approaching holy places (Ex. 3 5 *f.* Josh. 5 15).

3. Mourners cut off the hair (Is. 22 12 Jer. 7 29 Am. 8 10 Mic. 1 16 Ezek. 7 18 27 31), or the beard (Jer. 41 5), or both (Is. 15 2 Jer. 48 37); and made baldnesses between the eyes (Dt. 14 1 *f.*). The hair was designed as an offering to the dead (*see* CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 3, and SACRIFICE). These rites are condemned as idolatrous in Dt. 14 1 *f.*; but they are mentioned by the prophets of the eighth century without any consciousness of their impropriety (cp Am. 8 10 Mic. 1 16 Is. 15 2 22 12). They appear still to have been the universal custom (Jer. 41 5).

4. Mourners made cuttings in their flesh for the dead. Such incisions were regarded as making 'an enduring covenant with the dead' (WKS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 322 *f.*). They were made by the priests of Baal (1 K. 18 28). They were forbidden by the Hebrew law (Dt. 14 1 Lev. 19 28) on the same grounds as in the case of 3.

1 Cp Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, chap. 1, 'Der alte Glaube'; Stade, *GVI* 1 387 *ff.*; Marti, *Gesch. d. israel. Rel.*(3) 22-26, 30, 40-43, 48, 193. The conclusions of these scholars are attacked by Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelencult im alten Israel* 1898, but on the whole without success.

2 See Stade, *GVI* 1 387 *ff.*; Schwally, *op. cit.* 9-16.

5. The covering of the head by the mourners (2 S. 15 30 Esth. 6 12 Jer. 14 3) is probnhly to be regarded as a substitute for cutting off the hair ; similarly the covering of *the* beard represents its removal (Ezek. 24 17). This practice expresser reverence for the dead. The saine custom was observed by the worshipper in approaching God (cp the case of Elijah at Horeb), and is universal in the synagogue and the mosque at the present day.

6. The mourner offered sacrifices to the dead (Ezek. 24 17 22 2 Ch. 16 14 21 19). They are probably implied in Is. 8 19 19 3 ; for when a man wished to consult the dead, he would naturally present an offering. Their object is clear from *Dt.* 26 14 Jer. 16 7 (?) ; it was to give sustenance to the dead and to win their favour. In later times they came to be regarded as mere funeral feasts. This had not come about in the second century B C., however, for sacrifices to the dead appear to be commended in Ecclus. 7 33 ('For a dead man withhold not a gift' [*ἐπὶ νεκρῷ μὴ ἀποκωλύσῃς χάριν*]) and in Tob. 4 17 ('Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just'), though they are derided in Ecclus. 30 18 *f.* Ep. Jer. 31 *f.* Wisd. 14 15 19 3 Or. Sibyl. 8 382 *ff.* In Jubilees 22 17 they are referred to as prevailing among the Gentiles.

The tĕrāphim mentioned in Gen. **35** were household gods.[1] They are called 'strange gods,' and their worship is regarded as incompatible with that of Yahwè. Their sacred character appears from their being buried under a sacred tree, the terebinth. An earlier mention is in Gen. 31 19 30-35, where Rachel steals the tĕrāphim of her father. In Ex. 21 2-6 we have another pnssage attesting their worship. According to this section there was in private houses a god close to the door, to which the slave who desired enrolment in his master's family had to be brought. Originally this meant admission to the family cult with all its obligations and privileges (see statement of Eliezer's position below, § 5). Later the tĕrāphim, which were of human form (1 S. 19 13), were regarded as images of Yahwè (cp Judg. 17 5, and 18 17 *ff.* ; see also 1 S. 19 13-16) ; for it is difficult to believe that David, the champion of the religion of Yahwè, would have worshipped the tĕrāphim in their original character as household gods. In Hos. 3 4 and Zech. 10 2, however, they seem to retain their original character as images of ancestors (cp TERAPHIM).

4. By the worship of Tĕrāphim.

In Dt. 15 12-18 the rite of initiation mentioned in Ex. 21 is, by the omission of the term 'god,' robbed of all its primitive religious significance, and given a wholly secular character.

It is ancestor worship that explains the importance of male offspring. The honour and wellbeing of the dead depended on the worship rendered and the sacrifices offered by their male descendants. Even in the after life, therefore, men could be punished by Yahwè by the destruction of their posterity (Ex. 20 5 34 7 Nu. 14 18 Dt. 5 9); for the sacrifices then ceased to be made.[2] If a man failed to have male offspring, the difficulty could be surmounted by adoption. The adopted man passed from his own clan to that of his adopted father, and thereby took upon himself all the obligations attaching to the latter. Even a slave could be so adopted (see FAMILY, § 2). Eliezer is regarded as Abraham's heir in default of male issue (Gen. 15 2 *f.*). It is to be presumed that he had already been adopted into the family cult. The right of inheritance is thus derived in principle from ancestor worship; only the son and heir could fulfil its rites (see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18). Illegitimate sons, therefore, could not inherit (Stade, *GVI* 1 391) ; their mother had not been admitted by marriage into the cult (cp Judg. 11 2).

5. By importance of male offspring.

In Nu. 36 the law has already undergone a change. A daughter is allowed to inherit if she has married a man belonging to her father's family or tribe. In Athens, on the other hand, the property descended to the next male heir, but he was obliged to marry the daughter of the deceased (Stade, *ib.*).

[1] On Stade's and Schwally's identification of the tĕrāphim with an ancestor image (accepted by Budde on Judg. 17 5, Holzinger on Gen. 31 19, Nowack on Hos. 3 4, etc.), see TERAPHIM.

[2] On the same principle a man destroyed his enemy and all his sons with the object of depriving him of respect and worship in the lower world.

It is thus clear that the living and the dead formed one family, and the departed participated in all the vicissitudes of their living descendants. Rachel in her grave shared in the troubles of her children in northern Israel (Jer. 31 15).

The necessity of a son who should perform the family ancestor worship gave birth to the levirate law. A man must marry the childless widow of his deceased brother. Where the deceased had no brother, the duty fell on the nearest male relation. The firstborn son of such a marriage was registered as the son of the deceased, who was thus secured the respect and the sacrifices which could be rendered only by a son legitimately begotten or adopted. This law appears to be assumed as in force in Gen. 38 26 ; but its significance is forgotten in Dt. 25 5-10. According to old Israelitish views, Tamar fulfilled a duty of piety towards her dead husband (Stade 1 394) ; similarly Ruth. Even the daughters of Lot may have had the same end in view.

6. By levirate law and nature of clan.

The fact that, even in David's time, the clan constituted a sacramentally united corporation (1 S. 20 29) points back to an earlier worship of ancestors.

The customs just considered (§§ 3-6) regulate the conduct of the living. We have now to consider more directly the beliefs regarding the dead themselves, their place of abode and the nature of their existence there. These beliefs are no less essentially connected with ancestor worship ; but they had a much more extended lease of life. Long after the practices we have described had become unintelligible or sunk into complete abeyance, the beliefs flourished in the high places of Judaism ; they claimed the adherence of no small portion of the priesthood down to the destruction of the temple by Titus.

7. Beliefs about the dead.

As in the religions of Greece and Rome, burial was held to be indispensable to the comfort of the departed. It was hardly ever withheld.

8. Importance of burial.

Criminals who were hanged (Dt. 21 2 *f.*) or stoned (Josh. 7 24-26), and suicides (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* iii. 8 5), were accorded burial ; as were even the most hostile of foes (Ezek. 39 12).

Of the calamities that could befall a man the lack of burial was one of the most grievous.

Such was the sentence of punishment pronounced on Jezebel (2 K. 9 10). It was the fate that awaited the enemies of Yahwè (Jer. 25 33). Even the materialistic writer of Ecclesiastes (6 3), if the text is correct, regards such a misfortune as outweighing a whole lifetime of material blessings.[1]

This horror at the thought of being unburied cannot be explained in the same way as in the religions of Greece and Rome, where it involved exclusion from Hades : according to Hebrew views all without exception descended to Shĕōl. It may be explained on two grounds. (1) In earlier times unless the dead had received burial no sacrifice could be offered to them. The grave, in ancestor worship, was in some measure the temple. (2) In later times, when such conceptions were forgotten, to be deprived of burial entailed a lasting dishonour and subjected the dead in Shĕōl to unending reproach (Ezek. 28 10 32 21).

Not simply burial, however, but also burial in the family grave, was the desire of every Israelite. Hence the frequent statement that a man was gathered to his fathers (Gen. 15 15 Judg. 2 10) or to his people (Gen. 49 29-33 Nu. 27 13). The departed must be introduced into the society of his ancestors. In the earliest times the abode of this society was conceived to be the family grave or its immediate neighbourhood. Everyone wished to be buried with his father and mother

9. In the family grave.

[1] [The context is against this reference to the loss of burial. We must perhaps either strike out the entire phrase 'and moreover he have no burial' (with Hitzig), or else the negative (with Wildeboer).]

(2 S. 17 23 19 37 [38]). Jacob and Joseph are said to have directed that their bodies should be carried back to Canaan to be buried in the family grave (Gen. 47 30 50 25 Ex. 13 19). This was originally in the house. It was there, *e.g.*, that Samuel was buried (1 S. 25 1); similarly Joab (1 K. 2 34). As no family stood in isolation, however, but was closely united with others, and as these together made up the clan or tribe, and these tribes in due time were consolidated into the nation, a new conception arose; all the graves of the tribe or nation were regarded as united in one. It was this new conception that received the designation of Shĕōl.

10. Origin of Shĕōl. In all probability, therefore, the Hebrew Shĕōl was originally conceived as a combination of the graves of the clan or nation, and thus as its final abode. In due course this conception was naturally extended till it embraced the departed of all nations, and became the final abode of all mankind. It has already reached this stage in Ezek. 32 Is. 14 Job 30 23. Strictly regarded, the conceptions of an abode of the dead in the grave and of one in Shĕōl are mutually exclusive. Being popular notions, however, they do not admit of scientific definition, and their characteristics are treated at times as interchangeable. The family grave, with its associations of ancestor worship, is of course the older conception. As burial in the family grave enabled a man to join the circle of his ancestors, so burial with honour was a condition of his attaining an honourable place in Shĕōl—*i.e.*, joining his people there. Otherwise he is thrust into the lowest and outermost parts of the pit (Ezek. 32 23). When, however, Shĕōl is said to have distinct divisions (Prov. 7 27), the statement may be merely poetical.

Regarding the condition of the dead in Shĕōl (on which see below, §§ 15-18) it will here be sufficient to point out two main characteristics.

11. Two characteristics. (*a*) In early times (and down to the fourth century B.C. there was little change[1]) Shĕōl was quite independent of Yahwè and outside the sphere of his rule.

Yahwè was originally the god of the tribe or nation, and his sway for long after the settlement in Canaan was conceived to extend, not to the whole upper world, much less to the lower (Shĕōl), but only to his own people and land. The persistence of this conception of Shĕōl for several centuries side by side with the monotheistic conception of Yahwè as creator and ruler of the world is, for the Western mind, hard to understand, the conceptions being mutually exclusive. It is clear, however, that Israel believed that when a man died he was removed from the jurisdiction of Yahwè (Ps. 88 5 [6] 31 22 [23]), and relations between them ceased (Is. 38 18).

(*b*) As independent of Yahwè, Shĕōl knew nothing of the moral distinctions that prevailed on earth.

12. 'Soul,' 'blood.' According to the OT death means an end of the earthly life, not the cessation of all existence: the person still subsists. As the nature of this continued existence depends on the OT theory of man's composite personality, it will be necessary at this point to make a study of that theory. In its most primitive form it regards man as consisting of two elements, 'soul' (*nephesh*) and 'body' (*bāśār*). What was thought of the body does not concern us here (see, however, § 18).

Regarding the soul we may note four points.

1. The soul is identified with the blood.

As the shedding of blood caused death, the 'soul' was conceived to be in the blood (Lev. 17 11 *a*), or it was actually identified with it (Dt. 12 23 Gen. 9 4 *f.*). Hence men avoided eating blood; they offered it to God. Hence, too, blood unjustly spilt on the earth—the 'soul'—cried to heaven for vengeance (Gen. 4 10).

Again, since the 'soul' was the blood and the central seat of the blood was the heart, the heart was regarded as the organ of thought. A man without intelligence was a 'heartless' man (Hos. 7 11); when a man thought, he was said to 'speak in his heart.' Thought is not ascribed directly to the 'soul,' however, though a certain limited intelligence is.

13. Feeling. 2. To the 'soul' are attributed not only purely animal functions, such as hunger (Prov. 10 3), thirst (Prov. 25 25), sexual desire (Jer. 2 24), but also psychical affections such as love (Is. 42 1), joy (Ps. 86 4), fear (Is. 15 4), trust (Ps. 57 1 [2]), hate (Is. 1 14), contempt (Ezek. 36 5).[1] To it are ascribed also wish and desire (Gen. 23 8 2 K. 9 15 1 Ch. 28 9), and likewise, but very rarely, memory (Lam. 3 20 Dt. 4 9) and knowledge (Ps. 139 14). As the seat of feeling and desire (and, in a limited degree, of intelligence) it becomes an expression for the individual conscious life. Thus 'my soul' (נפשי) means 'I,' 'thy soul' means 'thou,' etc. (Hos. 9 4 Ps. 3 2 [3] 7 2 [3] 11 1).

So 'many souls' means so many 'persons' (Gen. 46 18 Ex. 1 5). This designation of the personality by 'soul' (*nephesh*) shows how meagre a conception of personality prevailed in Israel. רוחי ('my spirit') was never so used in the OT.

14. Soul departs. 3. The soul leaves the body in death (Gen. 35 18 1 K. 17 21 2 S. 1 9 Jn. 4 3), not necessarily immediately, but (apparently) at least on the appearance of corruption. In certain cases, after outward death the soul was regarded as still in some sense either in or near the body; a dead person was called a *nephesh* (Lev. 19 28 21 1 22 4 Nu. 9 6 7 10 Hag. 2 13) or a dead *nephesh* (נפש מת; Nu. 6 6 Lev. 21 11).

15. Its condition in death. 4. The soul therefore also dies. Its death, however, is not absolute. Moreover, we must note the prevalence in Israel of two inconsistent views—a fact (not hitherto fully brought to light)[2] that has forced its recognition on the present writer in the course of the present study—(*a*) an older view, which attributes to the departed a certain degree of knowledge and power in reference to the living and their affairs; (*b*) a later view, which denies this.[3]

16. Earlier view of death. (*a*) According to the older view the departed possessed a certain degree of self-consciousness and the power of speech and movement (Is. 14); a large measure of knowledge—hence their name, ידעונים, 'the knowing ones' (Lev. 19 31 20 6 Is. 19 3; cp DIVINATION, § 4, iii.); acquaintance with the affairs of their living descendants and a keen interest in their fortunes—thus Rachel mourns from her grave for her captive children (Jer. 31 15);—ability to forecast the future (whence they were consulted about it by the living; 1 S. 28 13-20 [where observe that the dead person invoked is called Elōhīm] Is. 8 19 29 4); whence the practice of incubation[4] (Is. 65 4). As we have already seen that the departed were believed to have the power of helping or injuring their descendants (see § 2), we need only observe here that it follows from Is. 63 16 that Abraham and Israel were conceived as protectors (see Cheyne and Duhm, etc., *in loc.*).

The relations and customs of earth were reproduced in Shĕōl.

The prophet was distinguished by his mantle (1 S. 28 14), kings by their crowns and thrones (Is. 14), the uncircumcised by his foreskin (Ezek. 32). Each nation preserved its individuality and no doubt its national garb and customs (Ezek. 32). Those slain with the sword bore for ever the tokens of a violent death (Ezek. 32 25), as likewise those who died from grief (Gen. 42 38). Indeed the departed were regarded as possessing exactly the same features as marked them at the moment of death. We can appreciate, accordingly, the terrible significance of David's

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1 Though God's power is conceived from the eighth century onward (cp Am. 9 2 Job 26 6 Prov. 15 11 Ps. 139 7 *f.*) to extend to Shĕōl, yet Shĕōl maintains its primitive character. In the earlier centuries the powers that bore sway in Shĕōl were the ancestors of the living.

1 These are so essentially affections of the 'soul' that they are hardly ever attributed to the 'spirit' (רוח); yet see § 19.

2 Only Stade appears to have apprehended the fact, and that but partially—as far as we may judge from his published works.

3 It follows logically from the doctrine of man's nature, unknown in pre-prophetic times, which is set forth in Gen. 2 *f.*; see below, § 16.

4 *i.e.*, the practice of sleeping in a temple in the hope of receiving a communication or a visit from the god.

departing counsel to Solomon touching Joab; 'Let not his hoar head go down to Shĕōl in peace' (1 K. 2 6).

In many respects the view just sketched is identical with that which underlies ancestor worship. This worship had withdrawn entirely into the background before the prophetic period; but, as we have said (§ 7), many of its presuppositions maintained themselves in the popular belief till late in the post-exilic period. The most significant fact to observe is the comparatively large measure of life, movement, knowledge, and power attributed to the departed in Shĕōl. How important this is becomes obvious when the earlier view is contrasted with the later and antagonistic view.

17. Later view of death. (6) The later view follows logically from the account in Gen. 2 4*b*-3, according to which it was when animated by the 'spirit' that the material form became a living 'soul': the life of the 'soul' is due to the presence of the 'spirit,' death ensues on its removal.[1] Death, however, even here does not imply annihilation, though it logically should imply it: the soul' still subsists in some sense. The subsistence, however, is purely shadowy and negative: all the faculties are suspended.

Shĕōl, the abode of the shades, is thus almost a synonym for abaddon or destruction (Job 26 6 Prov. 15 11). In opposition to the older view that in Shĕōl there is a certain degree of life, movement, and remembrance, the later view teaches that it is the land of forgetfulness (Ps. 88 12) of silence (Ps. 94 17 115 17), of destruction (Job 26 6 28 22); in opposition to the belief that the dead return to counsel the living, the later teaches that the dead cannot return (Job 7 9 14 12); in opposition to the belief that they are acquainted with the affairs of their living descendant; the later teaches that they no longer know what befalls on earth (Job 14 21); in opposition to the belief in their superhuman knowledge of the future—as the 'knowing ones'—the later teaches that all knowledge has forsaken them (Eccles. 9 5), that they have neither device nor knowledge nor wisdom (Eccles. 9 10). Whereas the older view permitted their being invoked as 'Elōhīm, the later view regards them as 'dead ones' (מתים) (Is. 26 14 Ps. 88 10 [11]).[2] See DEAD, § 2.

Finally the relations of the upper world appear to be reproduced, if at all, more faintly; the inhabitants of Shĕōl, king and slave, oppressor and oppressed, good and bad, are all buried in a profound sleep (Job 3 14-19). All existence seems to be at an end.

Thus we read in Ps. 39 13, 'O spare me, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more'; and in Job 14 7 10, 'There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again—but—man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?'[3]

18. Shadowy body. 5. Though in death the 'soul' leaves the body and departs, the departed in Shĕōl are never designated simply 'souls.'[4] The early Israelites were metaphysically unable to conceive the body without psychical functions, or the soul without a certain corporeity. The departed were conceived, accordingly, as possessing not only a soul but also a shadowy body. This appears in the use of the term 'shades' (*rĕphāīm*), which was current in all ages (see REPHAIM i.). Elōhīm, the title by which in earlier times the shades were addressed, passed out of use. In later times, when such a doctrine of man's being as that underlying Gen. 2 4*b*-3, became current, the epithet 'dead ones' was employed. To designate 'the dead' simply 'souls' without any qualification would hardly have been possible; according to the later view, souls in Sheol were bereft of all their natural psychical functions.

The Hebrew writers speak, however, of a 'spirit' as well as of a 'soul,' and we must consider briefly the relation of the terms to each other.

19. Spirit: earlier view: man a dichotomy. Originally they were synonyms meaning 'breath' or 'wind.' The primitive conception was arrived at by observation. When the breath—*i.e.*, the *néphesh* or *rūăḥ*—left the body, the body died. The *néphesh* or *rūăḥ* was, therefore, regarded as the principle of life. As Stade has remarked (*GVI*(2) 1 419), *rūăḥ* probably designated specially the stronger and stormier emotions: the custom of personifying the psychical affections generally as *néphesh*, once introduced, led to the practice of naming the stronger expressions of this personification *rūăḥ*. Thus anger is an affection of the *rūăḥ* (Judg. 8 3, see below). So long as a man was wholly master of his powers, he possessed his *rūăḥ*; but when he became lost in amazement (1 K. 10 5) or despair (Josh. 2 11), or when he fainted (1 S. 30 12 Judg. 15 19), his *rūăḥ* left him. On his reviving it returned (Gen. 45 27).

In keeping with this view of the 'spirit' (*rūăḥ*) it is said to be the subject of trouble (Gen. 41 8), anguish (Job 7 11), grief (Gen. 26 35 Is. 54 6) contrition (Ps. 51 17 [19] Is. 66 2) heaviness (Is. 61 3). It is the seat of energetic volition and action—the 'haughty spirit' (Prov. 16 18), the 'lowly spirit' (29 23), the impatient spirit (Prov. 14 29), etc.

As its departure entails a paralysis of voluntary power (see above) the *rūăḥ* expresses the impulse of the will (Ex. 35 21). The purposes of man are '... of the rūăḥ' מעלות רוח (Ezek. 11 5); the false prophets follow their own 'spirit' rather, than that of Yahwè (Ezek. 13 3); God tries men's 'spirits' (Prov. 16 2). '*Rūăḥ*' seems also to express character,—the result of will—in Nu. 14 24, 'Caleb . . . had another "spirit" with him.' By this development in the application of the term *rūăḥ* it has become the seat of man's highest spiritual functions.

To sum up: 'soul' and 'spirit' are at this early stage identical in essence and origin; the distinction is one of function.

(6) This primitive view was in part superseded by a later doctrine (later from the point of view of the genesis of ideas), taught in Gen. 2 4*b*-3.[1]

20. Spirit: later view: man a trichotomy. The most complete story of the creation of man[2] represents that Yahwè Elōhīm formed man of earth from the ground, and blew into his nostrils 'breath' (*nĕshāmā*) of life (נשמת חיים) so that man became a living 'soul' (*néphesh*), Gen. 2 7. The *nĕshāmā* of 2 7 is called *rūăḥ* (רוח חיים) in 6 17 7 15. There are therefore in man three elements: 'soul' (*néphesh*), 'body' (*bāśār*), and 'spirit' or *rūăḥ* (רוח), which last, in the later theory, is simply that which gives life to the 'soul.'[3] This 'spirit' of life (רוח חיים) is in the lower creation as well (Gen. 6 17 7 15 22 Ps. 104 30), and by virtue of it they too become living 'souls.'

According to the story worked up by a late priestly writer (Gen. 1 24) the brute creation is only indirectly the product of divine creation; whereas man is so directly. Angels, however, are never, either in the canonical or in the apocryphal books, said to have 'souls,' though occasionally the term is used in regard to God: he swears by his 'soul' (Am. 6 8; cp Is. 42 1 Lev. 26 11 30 cp below, § 63). In the account of the relation of 'soul' to 'body' and 'spirit,' in Gen. 2,*f* the 'spirit' has become quite distinct from the 'soul' in essence and origin. It is the divine element in man. According to the older view the difference was one of

1 This view strikes at the root of the worship of ancestors. The deceased can have no vitality or power; for the 'spirit' is the spring of life, and the departed are only 'souls' that are dead—*i.e.*, 'souls' in which every faculty is dormant. Gen. 2 4*b*-3, which did not originate till the prophetic period, is the outcome of monotheism, whether we regard it as being of Hebrew or of foreign origin. It is needless to add that, when monotheism emerged, for various reasons ancestor worship became impossible.

2 The term 'shades' רפאים (used also in the Phœnician religion) was applied to the departed in both systems; but possibly with a difference (contrast Is. 14 9 *f.* 26 14 19 with Ps. 88 10 [11] Prov. 2 18 9 18 etc., where it is synonymous with the dead).

3 It will be observed that the currency of the later view is attested by the second Isaiah, by Ezekiel, Job, and Ecclesiastes. In these books the teaching in Gen. 2 4*b*-3 has reached its logical consequence. That teaching is implied in Is. 42 5 Ezek. 37 8 *ff.* Job 27 3 33 4 Eccles. 12 7 'the spirit shall return to God who gave it' (yet it is doubtful if this verse belongs to the text: cp 3 21).

4 We seem to find in Job 14 22 Ps. 16 10 such a use, or at all events the preparation for it.

1 [Into the historical relation of this doctrine to the Hebrew conceptions of CREATION [*q.v.*] we cannot here enter at length. It cannot be denied that the statement in Gen. 2 7 is of early origin. That remains a fact, even if the narrative in Gen. 2 4*b*-3 has passed through more than one literary phase. Critics are of opinion, however, that the myth of creation utilized for didactic purposes in that narrative was not very widely spread among the Israelites, and that the religious ideas attached to the myth but slowly became operative in the popular mind.]

2 [On the references to creation, whether in narratives or in other forms, see CREATION; on the question as to the early or late date of the ideas in Gen. 2 7 3 see preceding note.]

3 Cp below, § 81 (1).

function, hardly of essence, certainly not of origin. Now 'spirit' is the life-giving power in the body. When it enters the material form the man becomes a living soul. Without *rūăḥ* there is no life (Hab. 2 19). In death the 'soul,' robbed of every vital function, descends into Shĕōl and practically ceases to exist. The 'spirit' (*rūăḥ*) never dies; it merely leaves the body and returns to God who gave it (Ps. 146 4 Eccles. 12 7).[1] Of this view the logical result is the scepticism of Ecclesiastes and of the Sadducees.

21. Résumé. We have found that the Israelite derived from the circle of ideas underlying ancestor worship his views as to the nature of 'soul' and 'spirit,' and of Shĕōl and the condition of the departed there. On these questions no light was thrown for many centuries by anything distinctive of the religion of YahwB, which had originally no eschatology of its own relating to the individual. Looking back, however, on the far-off days of the origins of the religion of YahwB, we can see that the beliefs connected with ancestor worship were doomed to extinction by their inconsistency with that religion, though centuries had to elapse before the doom was fully accomplished.

22. No individual retribution. The preparation for a higher doctrine of the future life was made essentially when a new value came to be set on the individual. The early Israelite was not alarmed by the prosperity of the wicked man or the calamities of the righteous: YahwB was supposed to concern himself only with the well-being of the people as a whole, not with that of its individual members. It seemed natural and reasonable that he should visit the virtues and vices of the fathers on the children (Ex. 20 5 Lev. 20 5 Josh. 7 24 1 S. 3 13), of an individual on his community or tribe (Gen. 12 17 20 18 Ex. 12 29). Indeed, in postponing the punishment of the sinner till after death and allowing it to fall on his son,[2] Yahwè showed his mercy (1 K. 11 12 21 29).

Towards the close of the kingdom of Judah, the popular sentiment expressed itself in the proverb, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge' (Jer. 31 29). Explicitly this denied the responsibility of the people for the overthrow of the nation—a view that naturally paralysed all personal effort after righteousness and made men the victims of despair. Implicitly it expressed, not a humble submission to the divine judgments, but rather an arraignment of the divine method of government.

23. Jeremiah's individualism. In opposition to this popular statement Jeremiah answered as follows:—'In those days they shall no more say, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge; but every one shall die for his own iniquity' (Jer. 31 29 *f.*). At an earlier date the same prophet had delivered a divine oracle of a very different import, 'I will cause them to be tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth, because of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah' (Jer. 15 4). The new departure in his teaching recorded in the later passage is to be explained by the 'new covenant' described in Jer. 31 31-34 (see COVENANT, § 6 (v.)). Jeremiah foresaw a new relation between YahwB and his worshippers—a relation determined by two great facts: man's incapacity to reform himself, and God's repugnance to any but a spiritual worship (see JEREMIAH i., § 4).

24. Individual retribution: Ezekiel and others. Jeremiah's idea was further developed by Ezekiel. Every soul is God's and is in direct and immediate relation to him (Ezek. 18 4). If the individual is faithful in this relation, he is unaffected by his own past (18 21-28), or by the sins or the righteousness of his fathers (18 20 14 12-20). Righteousness raises him above the sweep of the dooms that befall the sinful individual or the sinful nation.[1] Since the achievement of this righteousness is possible for him, he possesses moral freedom, and his destiny is the shaping of his own will (18 30 *ff.*). There is, therefore, a strictly individual retribution, and the outward lot of the individual is exactly proportioned to his moral deserts.

This doctrine rooted itself firmly in the national consciousness. It is taught and applied in detail in those great popular handbooks, the Psalter and the Book of Proverbs. Though the righteous may have many afflictions, YahwB delivers him out of them all; all his bones are kept, not one of them is broken; but evil slays the wicked (Ps. 34 18 [19] *ff.*, see also 37 28 etc.). The righteous and the wicked are to he recompensed on earth (Prov. 11 31). Life is the outcome of righteousness; death, of wickedness (Prov. 2 21 *f.* 10 2 11 19 15 24 *f.* 19 16 etc.).

25. Criticism. Such a doctrine was, naturally, a continual stumbling-block to the righteous when trouble came. Doubts as to its truth were freely expressed, notably in the Psalms. Nor was it to the sufferer alone that this difficult view was an impediment. The doctrine of an adequate retribution in this life blocked the way that led to a true solution of the problem of prosperity and adversity. Indeed it denied the existence of any problem to solve; the righteous as such could not suffer. As long as this was regarded as the orthodox doctrine, the doctrine of a future life could not emerge, and progress was impossible.

It was only some of the elements in Ezekiel's teaching that were sanctioned by subsequent religious thought; others were opposed. It is his undying merit that he asserted the independent worth of the individual; but he fell into two errors. He taught (*a*) that the individual suffers not for the sins of his fathers, but for his own, and (*b*) that the individual's experiences are in perfect keeping with his deserts. In other words, sin and suffering, righteousness and wellbeing are, according to Ezekiel, always connected; the outward lot of the individual is God's judgment in concrete form.[2]

Now as regards *a*, the experience of the nation must have run counter to this statement. It was evident that the elements in a man's lot *which lie outside the sphere of his volition* are shaped for better or for worse in accordance with the merits or demerits of his father and people. The older view accordingly continues to be attested in Jewish literature (see Ps. 109 13 Ecclus. 23 25 40 15 41 6, and especially Dan. 9 7 *f.*, Judith 7 28, Tob. 3 3, Ass. Mos. 3 5, Baruch 1 18-21 2 26 3 8, Apoc. Bar. 77 3 4 10): it is freely acknowledged that men are punished for the sins of their fathers and brethren.

Ezekiel's second error (*b*), that the individual's experience agrees with his deserts, is the corollary of *a*. It gave birth to a long controversy, of which two notable memorials have come down to us in Job and Ecclesiastes. Eccles. is much the later; but we will for convenience sake deal with it first.

26. Protest of Eccles. Against the statement (*b*) that the experience of the individual is in perfect keeping with his deserts, the writer of Ecclesiastes enters a decided negative. He declares, in fact, that there is no retribution at all.[3]

He asserts that sometimes evil prolongs a man's days, and righteousness curtails them (7 15); that the destinies of the wise man and of the fool (2 14), of the righteous and the wicked (9 2) are identical, that the wicked attain to the honour of burial, whilst this is often denied to the righteous (8 10). If any one

[1] Cp below, § 102 (1) *b* note.

[2] Rewards and punishments were necessarily conceived as limited to the earthly life; for Shĕōl was regarded as outside Yahwè's jurisdiction.

[1] That there is an inconsistency between Ezek. 9 3-6 and 21 3 *f.* cannot, however, be denied.

[2] Both *a* and *b* seemed to Ezekiel to follow logically from God's righteousness, and rightly, if there was no retribution beyond the grave.

[3] The passages where judgment is threatened (3 17 11 9 8 12 14) are, according to an increasing number of critics, intrusions in the text, being at variance with the entire thought of the writer. 8 12 is no longer in its original form.

complains of the shallowness of Ecclesiastes,[1] is not Ezekiel on the opposite side equally shallow?

In the book of Job the principal elements of Ezekiel's teaching reappear. The doctrines of man's individual worth and of a strictly individual retribution, however, are shown to be really irreconcilable (see JOB, BOOK OF, §§ 5-8). Conscious in the highest degree of his own worth and rectitude, Job claims that God should deal with him in accordance with his deserts. Like his contemporaries his belief is (for Job and the author of the dialogues may be identified) that every event that befalls a man reflects God's disposition towards him; misfortune betokens God's anger, prosperity his favour. This belief, however, is not confirmed by the fortunes of other men (21 1-15), and, with the added insight derived from a sad personal experience, Job concludes that, as the world is governed, righteousness may even be awarded the meed of wickedness. Faith, in order to be sure of its own reality, claims its attestation by the outward judgments of God, and Job's faith receives no such attestation. Still it does not entirely give way; from the God of circumstance, of outer providence, Job appeals to the God of faith (by Job, as we have said, we mean the author).

27. Of Job.

The fact that Job does not seek to solve the problem by taking into his argument the idea of a future life, shows that this idea or belief had not yet won acceptance among the religious thinkers of Israel. The main views and conclusions of Job, however, point in that direction. The emphasis laid on man's individual worth, with his consequent claims upon a righteous God—claims which are during life entirely unsatisfied—should lead to the conclusion that at some future time all these wrongs will be righted by the God of faith. Such a conclusion, however, is never explicitly drawn.

28. Gleams of future life.

The poem of Job cannot be said to teach the doctrine of a future life. Still, the idea seems for a moment to have gleamed on Job's mind, and the fancy expressed in 14 13 *f.* became the accepted doctrine of later times. If the Hebrew text of 19 25-29 is sound, perhaps there also Shĕōl is conceived as only an intermediate place. At any rate Job declares in this great passage that God will appear for his vindication, and that at some time after his death he will enjoy the divine vision face to face. It is not indeed stated that this vision will endure beyond the moment of Job's justification by God. Nevertheless the importance of the spiritual advance here made cannot be exaggerated. The soul is no longer regarded as cut off from God and shorn of all its powers by death, but as still capable of the highest spiritual activities *though without the body.* A belief in the continuance of this higher life is certainly in the line of many of Job's reasonings. On the other hand, if Job had not merely *wished* but also been *convinced* that this idea was sound, would it have been possible for him to ignore such an all-important conviction throughout the rest of the book? There are likewise textual difficulties. which recent critics have considered to justify a very radical treatment of the text.

The words rendered in RV 'And after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God,'[2] are specially doubted. RVmg. gives two alternative marginal renderings for the first part of this passage, and for 'from my flesh' suggests the widely different rendering 'without my flesh,' which is that generally adopted by those scholars who adhere to MT. Cp Dillmann *ad loc.*, and, on the other side, JOB, § 6.

[Siegfried (Job, *SBOT*, Heb.) looks upon *v.* 25 *f.* as 'a later gloss, in which the resurrection of the just is regarded as a possibility, contrary to the opinion put forth in the Book of Job with regard to Shĕōl (*ib.* 8 etc.).' The result, however, is not satisfactory. Siegfried appeals to 𝔊; but we have a right to suspect theological glosses in the Alexandrian Jewish version.

Something different must have stoud where our present *v.* 25 *f.* stands, and it is the work of the textual critic to trace its relics. *See* also Budde, *ad loc.*, and Che.'s criticism, ***Expos.***, 1897*a*, p. 410 *ff.*]

In spite of this criticism it is true to say that this great poem *suggests* the doctrine of a future life. Later students may or may not have found it in 14 13-15 19 25-29; but in any case the rest of the book presents the antinomies of the present so forcibly that thinkers who assimilated its contents could not avoid taking up a definite attitude towards the 'higher theology.' Some made **a** venture of faith, and postulated the doctrine of a future life; others, like the writer of Ecclesiastes, made the 'great refusal' and fell back on unbelief and materialism. We have arrived at the parting of the ways.[1]

It remains to consider whether there is evidence of a belief in the immortality of the individual in the Psalter. It is unfortunate that the text of this book should be so far from accurate as (from textual criticism) it appears to be. The psalms that chiefly have to be considered are 16, 17, 49, and 73. Here we find one of the most recent critics receding from his original conclusion (in favour of the existence of the hope of immortality), on the ground that 'a searching textual revision' is adverse to it. As regards the first two, at any rate, of the psalms just referred to, the evidence, even if we assume the trustworthiness of all that the nnemended text contains, is inadequate to prove the point.

29. In the Psalms.

In Ps. 16 there is nothing that necessarily relates to an individual future life. The psalm appears to express the fears and hopes, not of the individual, but of the community. In Ps. 17 likewise the Psalmist speaks not as an individual (cp the plurals, *vv.* 7 11), hut as the mouthpiece of the Jewish people, who are to Yahwb as the apple of the eye (*v.* 8); in fear of a foreign invader ***(vu.*** 9 13) the Psalmist prays for help. This being so, however, instead of 'I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness,' we should expect some reference to God's help. In any case the context does not admit of a reference to a future life.[2]

30. In Pss. 16-17.

In Ps. 49 the present text admits of two interpretations. In *v.* 14 [15] *f.* the speaker announces speedy destruction for the wicked but complete redemption from death for himself; hut who is the speaker? Does the 'I' here denote the Psalmist as a representative pious Israelite, or the righteous community? In favour of the collective meaning it is argued that those for whom the Psalmist speaks are the righteous poor who are oppressed by the wicked rich; that ***v.*** 10 [11] states that 'all die, alike the wise man (*i.e.*, the righteous) and the fool'; and that when the individual is undoubtedly intended (*v.* 16 [17]) he is addressed as 'thou.' The escape from death is therefore, on this interpretation, that of the righteous community.[3] On the other hand, it seems to be in favour of a reference to immortality that, as Cheyne has pointed out, Shĕōl appears in *v.* 14 [15] as **a** place of *punishment* for the wicked rich.[4] As such it could never become the abode of the righteous. It is reasonable therefore to expect that the speaker should somewhere state his own consciousness (as a representative pious Israelite) of exemption from this fate. This seems to give us the key to the words, 'Surely my soul God will set free; for from the hand of Shĕōl will he take me.'[5]

31. In Ps. 49.

We must, therefore, lay stress on the naturalness

1 Cp ECCLESIASTES.

2 ואחר עורי נקפו־זאת
ומבשרי אחזה אלוה

1 On the belief in retribution in early Judaism, see especially Che. *OPs.* 381-452; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 229-247. For translations from the psalms, cp Wellh.'s and Driver's recent works. A complete translation from a critical text of Job is still **a** desideratum.

2 So Smend, *ZATW* 8 95 ['88]; Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 240 *f.*

3 So Smend, Schwally, and now Cheyne.

4 This is one of the results reached in *OPs.* by Cheyne, who (going much beyond previous writers) regards Ps. 49 as incidentally a protest against the old Hebrew notion of Shĕōl, with its disregard of moral distinctions, and confirms this view by the parallelisms between Ps. 49 and chap. 102 *f.* of Enoch (written probably between 134 and 94 B.C.). The rich man holds that neither in life nor in death has he to fear a judgment; hut all the details of this pleasant dream the psalmist contradicts. The moral significance of the descent of the rich into Shĕōl is still more visible in Cheyne's attractively emended text (*Jew. Rel. Life*, 238). This conception of the penal character of Shĕōl is all the more credible from the reference made in the OT to two other places of punishment for special offenders—the so-called 'pit' (Is. 24 21 *f.*), and **a** place strikingly resembling Gehenna for Jewish apostates (Is. 66 24).

5 The present writer is of opinion that to the authors of Pss. 49 and 73 Shĕōl is the future abode of the wicked alone, heaven that of the righteous.

of our own interpretation, that there is in Ps. **49** a reference to immortality, an interpretation which is in fact that maintained, with fulness of argument, by Cheyne himself in his *Origin of the Psalter.*

In Ps. 73, as in Ps. **49,** the wicked enjoy prosperity ; but they are speedily to meet with unexpected retribution (18-20). As for the righteous, their highest good and blessedness consist in communion with God. In comparison with God the whole world is to them as nothing (22-25). He is their portion. Despite deadly perils they can safely trust in him (25), and all the more assuredly that he destroys the wicked (27). **A** new thought, however, emerges in *v. 24.* God, we are told, 'will guide the righteous with his counsel, and afterwards take him to (or, with) glory.'[1] In the latter phrase, if we may acquiesce in the received text, there must be a reference to the story of Enoch (Gen. 5 24), which was very popular in post-exilic times (see ENOCH, 1), and the whole passage is an assertion of individual immortality (so Delitzsch, Davidson, Baethgen, and originally Cheyne), for the text would be unfairly treated if we restricted the reference to this present life. On grounds which he has not yet fully stated, but which, from the note of Wellhausen on the passage,[2] we may assume to be partly grammatical, Cheyne now regards *v.* **24** 6 as corrupt, and reads, 'And wilt make known to me the path of glory.'[3] Assuming, however, with König[4] that the grammatical difficulties can be overcome, can we show that the new thought of which we have spoken is thoroughly consistent with what follows[5] To the present writer no incongruity is visible. He would venture to rest his case on the impassioned words of *V.* 25*a*, which prove that the speaker felt assured of the continuance of his union with God not only on earth but also in heaven. For themselves the righteous make no claim to material prosperity either here or hereafter ; they look for and indeed possess something far higher. As a corollary of the truth of the justice of God, however, they do expect retribution for the wicked, both here (*vv.* **18-21** 27) and (apparently) hereafter (*n.* 19 *f.*).

32. In Ps. 73.

We have now done with the question of individual immortality so far as it is dealt with in the OT. In Job it emerges merely as an aspiration. Only in Pss. **49** and **73** (if our interpretation is valid) does it rise to the stage of conviction. The evidence, therefore, in favour of an origin not later than 400 B.C. is far from strong. Even were it wholly wanting, however, we should be obliged, by the logical necessities of thought, to postulate the doctrine. The doctrine of an individual immortality of the righteous, and the doctrine of the Messianic kingdom are presupposed as the chief factors of the complex doctrine of the Resurrection which was developed towards the close of the fourth century or at latest early in the third century. With the evolution of this resurrection hope, however, the entire doctrine of individual immortality falls absolutely into the background, and is not again attested, till the growing dualism of the times leads to the disintegration of the resurrection hope into its original elements about 100 B.C. (see **§ 64).** Indeed, never in Palestinian Judaism down to the Christian era did the doctrine of a merely individual immortality appeal to any but a few isolated thinkers. The faithful looked forward to a blessed future only as members of a holy people, as citizens of a righteous kingdom that should embrace their brethren.

33. Result as to individual immortality.

II. THE NATION.—When we turn to the eschatological ideas that concern the nation as a whole we ccn hardly venture to go beyond the facts and hopes contained in the prophecies. In the main these cluster at the outset round the familiar conception of 'the day of Yahwè.' The day of Yahwè in itself, however, constitutes not the blessed future, but only the divine act of judgment which inaugurates it. Hence the eschatology of the nation centres in *the future national blessedness introduced by the day of Yahwè.*

34. Eschatology regarding the nation.

This future was variously conceived. According to the popular conception down to the eighth century, it was merely a period of material and unbroken prosperity which the nation should enjoy through Yahwè's overthrow of Israel's national foes. This conception gave place, however, in the eighth century, to the prophetic doctrine of the coming kingdom, for the realisation of which two factors, and only two, were indispensable. This kingdom was to be *a community of Israelites* first and chiefly, and in the next place a community in which *Gods will should be fulfilled.* Whether this kingdom was constituted under monarchical, hierarchical, or purely theocratic forms was in itself a matter of indifference. Since the Messiah formed no organic part of the conception, he was sometimes conceived as present at its head, sometimes as absent. How far the eighth century prophets foretold this kingdom is still an unsettled question. As regards the day of Yahwè there is no such critical difficulty. Our study of the eschatology of the nation will begin with this unquestioned element in Israel's expectations. It is with a development of some complexity that we shall have to deal—a complexity most marked in exilic and post-exilic times, where, as we have seen, the individual no less than the nation began to maintain his claims to righteous treatment. Ezekiel's attempt to satisfy these claims will demand our attention afterwards. Some centuries later what he had essayed to do was achieved in a true synthesis of the eschatologies relating to the nation and to the individual respectively (see § 49).

The day of Yahwè concerns the people as a whole, not the individual. It is essentially the day on which Yahwè manifests himself in victory over his foes. Amongst the Hebrews, as sometimes among the Arabs, 'day' had the definite signification of 'day of battle' (*e.g.*, Is. 9 3 [4] 'the day of Midian'; see WRS *Prophets*(2), **397).** The belief in this 'day' was older than any written prophecy. In the time of Amos it was a popular expectation. Unethical and nationalistic, it was adopted by the prophets and transformed into a conception of thoroughly ethical and universal significance. It assumed the following forms.

35. Day of Yahwè ; popular idea.

(i.) *Popular conception;* a judgment on Israel's enemies. This conception originated, no doubt, in the old limited view of Yahwè as merely the national god of Israel. We can distinguish two stages.

(*a*) In its earlier form it was held by the contemporaries of Amos (8th century B.C.). The relation of Yahwè to Israel in their minds was not ethical; to a large extent it was *national* (Am. 3 2). Israel's duty was to worship Yahwè and Yahwè's was to protect Israel. As the Israelites were punctual in the performance of ceremonial duties (*4 5* 5 21 *f.*), they not only confidently looked forward to, but also earnestly prayed for, 'the day of Yahwè' as the time of his vindication of them against their enemies.[1] Not so, says the prophet. It is a day in which, not the claims of Israel, but the righteousness of Yahwè, will be vindicated against wrong-doing whether in Israel or in its enemies.

(*b*) The primitive conception of the day of Yahwè was revived by Nahum and Habakkuk : there was to be a judgment of Israel's enemies —*i.e.*, the Gentiles

36. Revived by Nah. Hab.

1 H. Schultz (*AT Theol.* 760) rejects these translations. 'With glory' is that adopted by Driver (*Par. Ps.* 211) and formerly by Che. (*Psalms*). 2 *Psalms*, *SBOT* (Heb.) 88.
3 *i.e.*, the glory of God and of Israel and its members in the Messianic age (*Jew. Rel. Life*, 240).
4 *Syntax*, 319 (pointed out to the writer by Prof. Cheyne).
5 Schwally (*Das Leben*, etc., 128 *f.*) denies this. For a much fuller statement of the present writer's view see his *Doctrine of a Future Life*, 73-77.

1 This belief that Yahwè must save his people survived, despite the prophets, till the captivity of Judah in 586 B.C.

(650-600 B.C.). It was the bitterness and resentment engendered by the sufferings of the Israelites at the hands of their oppressors that led to this revival. The grounds, however, on which the expectation of the intervention of Yahwb was based were somewhat different. According to the primitive view Yahwe was bound to intervene on behalf of his people because of the natural affinities between them. According to Nahum and Habakkuk,[1] the affinities are ethical. In fact, such was the self-righteousness generated by Josiah's reforms that neither Nahum nor Habakkuk makes any mention of Israel's sin. In this they represent their people, who felt themselves, in contrast with the wickedness of the Gentiles, relatively righteous (see Hab. 1 4 13). Hence the impending judgment will strike not righteous Israel, but the godless Gentiles. Here we have the beginnings of the thought that Israel is right, regarded as over against the world—the beginning, for in Nahum and Habakkuk this view is applied only to a single nation, not, as in later times, to all Gentiles. The later usage of designating the Gentiles absolutely as the godless (רשעים) and Judah as the righteous (צדיקם) is only the legitimate fruit of Habakkuk's example. Cp Is. 26 10 Pss. 9 5[6] 16 [17] *f.* 10 2-4 58 10 [11] 68 2 [3] *f.* 125 3. In most subsequent representations of the future the destruction of the Gentiles stands as a central thought.

(ii.) ***Prophetic pre-exilic conception.***—The prophetic conception also passed through several stages.

37. Early prophetic ideas.

(a) A day of judgment directed *mainly* ***against*** *Israel.* For Amos, as we have seen, the day of Yahwè[2] is the day in which Yahwh intervenes to vindicate himself and his righteous purposes. It appears in this prophet only in its darker side (cp 5 18). Other nations will feel it in proportion to their unrighteousness; but unrighteous Israel, being specially related to Yahwè, will experience the severest judgments (3 2). Hosea is of one mind with Amos.[3] He does not use the phrase 'the day of Yahwè'; but he describes in awful terms the irreversibleness of the judgment (Hos. 13 12-14 [11-13]). (AMOS, § 18 *f.*, HOSEA, § 7 *f.*).

38. Later; Isa. etc.

(b) Mainly against Judah.—In Isaiah[4] and Micah the day of Yahwh receives a new application; it is directed against Judah. Not that warnings of judgment against Israel are neglected (2 6-21 8 1-4 9 8 [7] *ff.* 17 6-11 28 1-4). The prophet takes all the chief surrounding nations within his range; but he does so only in relation to the judgment on his own people. Although he declares that Yahwè's purpose of 'breaking Assyria' concerns all the nations (14 25 *f.*), there is no evidence to show that he arrived at the conception of a universal or world judgment. In 3 13, where there appears to be a reference to it, the text is corrupt.[5] The idea of its universality seems to be given in 2 11-21; but the language is poetical.

Isaiah had now and then gleams of hope, and at all times believed in a remnant, however minute. In 1 24-26 he even anticipates a second and happier Jewish state. Micah, on the other hand, as far as the evidence goes, was persistently hopeless. Jerusalem was to become a ruin, and the temple-hill like 'a height crowned with brushwood' (Mic. 3 12; see Nowack). Cp ISAIAH i., MICAH ii.

(c) Against the whole work—resulting in a survival of a righteous remnant of Israel, *the Messianic kingdom.*

39. Later; Zeph.

In the prophets with whom we have dealt (except Nah. and Hab.) the judgment of the Gentiles is never conceived independently of the judgment on Israel or Judah. In Zephaniah for the first time it appears to be universal. It deals with the whole earth, including the brute creation (1 2 *f.*): with Jerusalem (1 8-13); with Philistia, Ethiopia, and Assyria. (2 1-6);[1] with all nations (3 8); with all the inhabitants of the earth (1 16). There is, however, a certain inconsistency in the picture. The instruments of judgment are a mysterious people, called 'the guests' of Yahwè (1 7; probably the Scythians), who do not themselves come within the scope of the judgment.

The conception is thus wanting in definiteness and clearness. Zephaniah moves in the footsteps of Isaiah in the account of the impending judgment; but whereas, in Isaiah, judgment on Israel and the nations stands in inner connection with the prophet's conception of the divine character and purposes, in Zephaniah it is without definite aim;[2] its various constituents appear to represent eschatological expectations already current, while its wide sweep shows the operation of the prevailing monotheism. One point in the description is that, in order that Yahwè's anger may destroy them, the nations are to be assembled (3 2). We meet with this idea here for the first time.

Later prophets make it very prominent (Ezek. 38 *f.* Is. 45 20 63 6 66 16 34 1-3 Zech. 12 3 *f.* 14 2 *f.*); earlier prophets are want to mention definite and present foes (*e.g.*, the Assyrians in Is. 17 12 *f.*). In later prophets, the scene of this judgment on the Gentiles is Jerusalem (Zech. 14 2 12-18; Joel 3 [4] 2 Is. 66 15). A small righteous remnant will be left in Israel (3 11-14).

40. At the Exile.

(iii.) *Exilic* ***conception;*** judgment of Israel, man by man, and of the Gentiles collectively; restoration of a new Israel in the Messianic kingdom and destruction of Gentiles.[3] The individualising of religion in Jeremiah and Ezekiel (see above, § 23 *f.*) was the precondition of the restoration of Israel after the fall of Jerusalem. According to Ezekiel, in God's visitations only the wicked in Israel should be destroyed. When a new Israel was thus created, Yahwb would further intervene to vindicate his honour and his sole sovereignty over the world, Israel should be restored to its own land, and the Gentiles be destroyed.

A synthesis of the eschatologies of the nation and the individual was in this way attempted wholly within the sphere of this life. We are thus entering on a new period in the development of eschatological thought. Israel is already in exile or on the eve of exile; but Yahwb's thoughts are thoughts of peace, not of evil (Jer. 29 11): the exile will he temporary. The day of Yahwb assumes a favourable aspect almost unrecognised in pre-exilic prophecy. Israel shall be converted and brought back to its own land and an everlasting Messianic kingdom established. This kingdom will lie ruled over by Yahwè or by his servant the Messiah, who is apparently mentioned here for the first time.

1 On the interpolations in these prophets, see NAHUM, HAHAKKUK.

2 This day of Yahwè, in its double character as a day of punishment and a day of blessing, is also spoken of as 'that day' (Is. 17 7 30 23 28 5 29 18 Hos. 2 18 Mic. 2 4 4 6 5 10 [9] Zech. 9 16 14 4 6 9), 'that time' (Jer. 31 1 33 15 50 4 Zeph. 3 19 *f.* Joel 3 [4] 1), 'the day' (Ezek. 7 10 Mic. 3 6), 'the time' (Ezek. 7 12).

3 On the interpolated passages, see AMOS, § 8 *ff.*, HOSEA, § 4.

4 The present article builds on the critical results of the article ISAIAH [the book]; see also ISAIAH [the prophet]. Hence the following passages which deal with the Messianic age and the Messiah are rejected as interpolations (they are assigned to the exilic or post-exilic period by Cheyne; generally also by Duhm, Hackmann, Marti, and Volz); Is. 2 2-4 4 2-6 7 14-16 9 1-7 [8 23-9 6] 11 IF; 19 18-25 25 6-9 26 16 29 17-24 35 1-10. On the ape of the conception of world-judgment, cp Che. *Intr. Is.*, 53 246.

5 For עמים read, with 𝔊, עמו (see ***SBOT***, Heb., *ad loc.*).

1 This idea of the destruction of the nations hostile to Judah thus appears first in the prophets of the Chaldean age; cp Jer. 25 15-24. In the earlier prophets it is the destruction of definite present or past foes that is announced. In the later it is that of the nations generally: cp the Jewish reviser's addition in Jer. 25 32 *f.* Ezek. 38 *f.*, fifth-century passages in Is. 34 63 1-6 Zech. 12 1-3, and the much later writings Is. 66 16 18-24 Zech. 14 1-3 12-15.

2 Interpolations must be carefully separated (see ZEPHANIAH. BOOK OF).

3 This is true only of Ezekiel. There is nothing in the genuine Jeremiah about the destruction of the Gentiles as a whole, and there is probably in 16 19 (but not in 3 17) a genuine prophecy of the ultimate conversion of the nations. See also 12 12 15. Only the impenitent Gentiles will bedestroyed (12 17). Jeremiah and Ezekiel are here fundamentally at issue. It is their agreement on other points that led to their joint treatment here.

Although the judgment of Israel is not strictly individualistic in Jeremiah as it is in Ezekiel, we shall give the eschatological views of the two together; they can hardly be considered apart; Ezekiel's are built on Jeremiah's. In Jeremiah [1] the day of Yahwi: is directed first and chiefly against Judah—the enemy will come upon it from the north (1 11-16); the city and temple shall be destroyed (37 6-10)—although account is taken also of other nations (25 15-24; cp 118). There is, however, a hopeful outlook; Israel shall be restored (23 7 *f.* 24 5 *f.*). The restoration is to be preceded by repentance (3 13 19-25), and accompanied by a change of heart (31 33 *f.*). Restored to its own land, Israel shall receive from Yahwi: a king, a righteous Branch of the house of David, who shall deal wisely and execute judgment and justice (23 5 *f.*).[2]

41. In Jeremiah.

The individualism appearing in Jeremiah is developed in Ezekiel to an extreme degree. Judgment on Israel shall proceed individually (only on the Gentiles is it to be collective). Yahwè will give Israel a new heart (11 17-21 36 25-32) and restore Israel and Judah to their own land, where, in the Messianic kingdom (17 22-24), they shall be ruled by the Messiah (21 27), by one 'king, namely 'David'[3] (34 23-31 37 21-28). As for the Gentiles, referred to as Gog, they shall be stirred up to march against Jerusalem and shall there be destroyed (38). On the surviving Gentiles no gleam of divine compassion shall ever light.[4] Monotheism has become a barren dogma. Particularism and Jewish hatred of the Gentiles are allowed free scope.

42. In Ezekiel.

(iv.) ***Universalistic Conception of the Kingdom*** (550-275 B.C.); redemption and earthly Messianic blessedness for Israel and thus for the Gentiles.[5] We are now to consider (*a*) the second Isaiah and (6) later writers.

43. Second Isaiah.

(*a*) According to the second Isaiah (Is. 40-48) and his expander (Is. 49-55) there is in store for Israel not punishment but mercy.

Already she has received double for all her sins (402). Cyrus shall overthrow Babylon (41 25 43 14 45-47 48 14 *f.*), and the exiles shall return (40 3-5 43 2-7 48 20-22 498). Jerusalem shall be gloriously rebuilt (54 11 *f.*), and its inhabitants become (like the prophetic writer, 504) disciples of the divine teacher (54 13). Never more shall it be assailed (49 24-26 54 8-10 14-17).

Further, the salvation of Israel does not end in itself. The author of the Songs of the Servant[6] reaches the great conception of Israel as the Servant of Yahwè (42 3 *f.* 49 1-6 50 4-9 52 13-53 12), through whom all nations shall come to know the true religion. In these writers the legitimate consequences of monotheism in relation to the Gentiles are acceptcd.

(6) A somewhat similar representation of the future appears in the Dost-exilic passage Mic. 4 1-3 (=Is. 2 2-4) and the later additions in Jer. 3 17 *f.*, according to which all nations, laying aside wars and enmities. are to be converted and to form under Yahwè one grear spiritual empire with Jerusalem as its centre.'

44. Other later writers.

1 See JEREMIAH [Book of], and JEREMIAH [the prophet]. Interpolations must be separated, before Jeremiah can be properly understood.

2 On this passage, as well as on other late Messianic prophecies, see Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, Lect. iii. Cp also MESSIAH.

3 The Messiah is not conceived here as an individual but as a series of successive kings; cp 458 46 16.

4 Some scholars find in 17 23 a promise that the Gentiles will seek refuge under the rule of the Messiah; but 17 24 shows that this interpretation is unsound. The Gentiles are symbolized, not by the 'birds of various wings' in 17 23, but by 'the trees of the field' (17 24). As 'the cedar' (17 23) represents the kingdom of Israel so the trees of the field' represent the Gentile kingdom;. The only object with which the latter seem to be spared is that they may recognise the omnipotence of Yahwit.

5 See Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, lect. iii. and vi.

6 A like conception is probably at the base of the post-exilic Is. 11 9=Hab. 2 14 (both editorial additions?), which declare that the earth shall he filled with the true religion.

7 See ISAIAH ii., § 5, and cp Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, lect. iii.

ESCHATOLOGY

The same thought [1] is set forth in the Psalms.

See 22 27-31 [28-32] 867 and note the fine expressions 'thou confidence of all the ends of the earth'[2] (65 5 [6]), and 'to thee doth all flesh come' as to one who hears prayer (65 2 [3]).[3] In Ps. 87 we have a noble conception which sums up in itself all the noblest thought of the past in this direction. Jerusalem is to be the mother city of all nations, 'the metropolis of an ideally Catholic Church '(Che.). Whole nations shall enter the Jewish Church (874). So shall also individuals (*v.* 5).

Only two more passages, Is. 19 16-25 and Mal. 1 11 call for attention; but these are beyond measure remarkable. In Is. 19 16-25 (275 B.C.; Che.) the hopes of Ps. 87 reappear but are far surpassed in universality. Jerusalem, though the source of spiritual blessedness to Egypt and Assyria (Syria), is neither nationally nor spiritually paramount; rather do these nations form a spiritual and national confederacy in which Israel holds not the first but the third place.

The widest universalism of all, however, is found in Mal. 1 11, where in regard to the surrounding nations the prophet declares 'From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering.' Here, as most critics recognise. we have a testimony to the working of the one divine spirit in non-Jewish religions (cp MALACHI, § 3). Similar universalism had already, it appears, been expressed by Zoroastrianism.[4]

(v.) *Narrow Nationalistic* ***Conception*** *of the Kingdom* (about 520 to 300 B.C.); deliverance and Messianic blessedness for Israel:[5] (*a*) ministry or bondage, or (*b*) destruction (partial or complete) for the Gentiles.[6]—Concurrently with the large-hearted universalism (of the post-exilic writers) just described, there were narrow one-sided views, which held more or less closely to the particularism that originated with Ezekiel. Such were the views most widely current in Judaism. According to these the future world, the Messianic age, belonged to Israel—to Judah and Israel reunited (Hos. 3 5 Mic. 5 3 [2] *b* post-exilic)—under the Messianic descendant of David (Is. 9 1-6 [8 23-9 5] 11 1-8 Mic. 5 2-4 [1-3]; all exilic or later); the Gentiles had either no share at all, or only a subordinate share as dependents or servants of Israel. Their destiny was subjection or destruction—generally the latter, always so in the case of those that had been hostile to Israel.

45. Nationalistic Conception.

(*a*) The Gentiles are to escort the returning Israelites to Jerusalem and become their servants and handmaids, Is. 14 1-3[7] (cp 66 12-20). They shall build up the city walls (60 10), how and he subject to Israel, 60 14 (or perish, 60 12), becoming Israel's herdsmen and ploughmen and vinedressers (61 5).[8]

(*b*) Still more frequently what is predicted for the Gentiles is destruction. In 34 *f.* (450-430 B.C.; Che.) there is described a universal judgment in which all of them are thus involved (34 1-3).[9] In the fifth-century fragment 59 15*b*-20 those hostile to Yahwit and Israel[10] are singled out, whilst those that fear the name of Yahwi: are spared 59 18 *f.* 66 16 19 *f.* (66 6-16 18*b*-22 belong to the age of Nehemiah and Ezra);[11] but in another

1 Cp also the addition in Zeph. 3 9 *f.*

2 Cp also 256 in the small apocalypse in Is. 24 25 6-8 26 20 *f.* 27 1 12 *f.* This Che. assigns to the fourth century, Duhm to the second. The later date would help to explain the very advanced eschatology appearing in 24 21-23, which speaks of a preliminary judgment and then after a long interval of the final judgment. On the latter judgment follows the theocratic kingdom (24 23).

3 On the expectation of proselytes see also Is. 14 1 25 6 6536 and cp STRANGERS, PROSELYTE.

4 Che. *OPs.* 292, 305 *f.*

5 There are many passages in the post-exilic additions to Is. which speak of Israel only in relation to the Messianic age; cp 4 2-6 29 16-24 35 1-10.

6 The only exception is Malachi.

7 Cheyne regards these verses as alien to 13 2-14 21.

8 These passages are post-exilic; 60 and 61 about 432 B.C. (Che.).

9 We have a world-judgment described in 13 6-13, though the judgment is there directed primarily against Babylon (cp 13 5 11) just as in 34 it is specially directed against Edom.

10 Id the post-exilic (?)passage 9 1-7 it is the Messiah who destroys the oppressors of Israel (*v.* 4). This active rôle of the Messiah is rare in the OT.

11 Cp the world-judgment in the fourth-century apocalypse in Is. 24 25 6-8, where, after the judgment (24 18-23), the surviving

fragment of the same date (63 1-6), which closely resembles the preceding passage in subject and phraseology, only destruction is announced for all.

In Haggai and Zechariah, where the establishment of the Messianic kingdom is expected on the completion of the temple[1] (Zech. 8 15), to be rebuilt by the Messiah,[2] a pre-condition is the destruction of the Gentile powers. We have, thus, a further development of that opposition between the kingdom of God and the world-kingdoms which appears in Ezekiel and is presented in its sharpest features in Daniel., See, *e.g.*, Zech. 1 19-21 [2 2-4] 6 1-8, Hag. 2 21 *f.*

46. In Joel, etc. In Joel (4th Cent.; cp JOEL, § 4) the enemies of Judah who are not present foes but the *nations generally*, are to be gathered together in order to be annihilated (3 [4] 1-6). Even the place of judgment is mentioned—the valley of Jehoshaphat, the choice being obviously determined by the etymological meaning of the name. Yahwè will sit in judgment (3 [4] 12) and all the Gentiles shall be destroyed. This is a nearer approximation to the idea of a final world-judgment than there is elsewhere in the OT save in Dan. 7 9 *f.* Still the judgment is one-sided. The 'day of Yahwè' does not, as in the pre-exilic and some exilic prophets and the exceptional post-exilic Mal. 3 2-5 4 1-3 5 [3 19-21 23], morally sift Israel; it serves to justify Israel (2 25-27 3 16 *f.*) against the world (cp the interpolation in the Second Isaiah,—Le., 45 25). See JOEL, § 6.

With Joel and his successors prophecy is beginning to change into apocalypse. The forecasts do not, as a rule, stand in a living relation with the present; frequently they are the results of literary reflection on earlier prophecies. This lack of organic relation with the present, such as we find in the earlier prophets, is specially clear in Joel's 'day of Yahwè.'

According to the late post-exilic fragment Zech. 12 1-13 6,[3] all the Gentiles while making an attack on Jerusalem shall be destroyed before it (12 3 *f.* 9), whereas in the still later fragment, chap. 14, it is only the hostile nations that are to be annihilated (Zech. 14 12 *f.*), the remnant being converted to Judaism and led to attend the yearly feast of Tabernacles (Zech. 14 16-21). This fragment is peculiar also in postponing divine intervention till Jerusalem is in the hands of the Gentiles (14 *f.*).

47. In Daniel. In the apocalypse of Daniel there is a great advance on the eschatological ideas of its predecessors. When the need of the saints is greatest (7 21 *f.* 12 1 in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes) the Ancient of Days will intervene; his tribunal shall be set up (7 9); the powers of this world shall be overthrown (7 11 *f.*), and everlasting dominion given to his holy ones (7 14 22 27). These will destroy all rival powers (2 44), and become lords of all the surviving nations (7 14). To the contrasted fates of the faithful and the unfaithful in Israel who have deceased (12 1-3) we shall return (§ 59).

48. In Is. 65 *f.* In defiance of historical sequence we have reserved to the last the consideration of the composite chapters Is. 65 *f.* They call for special treatment because they seem to present a new development as regards the scene of the Messianic kingdom—there are to be new heavens and a new earth.[4] We must not be misled by appearances, however. When, in chap. 65, Jerusalem is to be especially blessed —it is to be transformed into a blessing (65 18)—the reference is apparently not to a New Jerusalem. It is the same material Jerusalem as before, but supernaturally blessed; men still build houses and plant vineyards (65 21 *f.*), sinners are still found (65 20),[1] and death still prevails. 65 17, therefore, where the creation of new heavens and a new earth is proclaimed, seems out of place. In the Messianic times here foreshadowed men live to a patriarchal age, and the animal world, as in an earlier prophecy (11 6-9), loses its ferocity and shares in the prevailing peace and blessedness (65 25). In 66 6-16 18*b f.* we have a fragmentary apocalypse (see Che. *Intr. Is.* 374-385) which describes the judgment of the hostile nations (66 16 18*b f.*).

Those of the Gentiles who escape are to go to the more distant peoples and declare the divine glory (66 19). Thereupon the latter are to go up to Jerusalem, escorting the returning exiles.

This apocalypse concludes with a remarkable reference to the new heavens and the new earth, which is all but unintelligible. Does the new creation take place at the beginning of the Messianic kingdom? or at its close? By neither supposition can we overcome the inherent difficulties of the text. If the new creation is to be taken literally, it can only be supposed to be carried out at the close of the Messianic kingdom; but this kingdom has apparently no close. Either, then, the expression is used loosely and vaguely, or—and the present writer inclines to this view—66 22 is a later intrusion.[2]

49. Synthesis. III. SYNTHESIS.—Concurrently with the establishment if the Messianic hope in the national consciousness (see § 34) the claims of the individual had, as we have seen, pressed themselves irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers—so irresistibly in fact that no representation of the future which failed to render them adequate satisfaction could hope for ultimate acceptance. The two questions naturally came to be regarded as essentially related. The righteous individual and the righteous nation must be blessed together—or rather the righteous man must ultimately be recompensed, not with a solitary immortality in heaven or elsewhere but with a blessed resurrection life with his brethren in the coming Messianic kingdom. If, as we have seen, the doctrine of an individual immortality failed to establish itself in the OT, the grounds of such a failure were not far to seek, and the very objections against the belief in a blessed immortality of the righteous man apart from the righteous community are actual arguments in favour of the resurrection of the righteous to a share in the Messianic kingdom.

The doctrine of a resurrection is clearly enunciated in two passages of great interest, (*a*) as a spiritual conception in Is. 26 1-19, and (*b*) as a mechanical conception in Dan. 12.

50. Resurrection in Is. 26 Dan. 12. (*a*) Is. 26 1-19 forms an independent writing composed, according to Cheyne, about 334 B.C. The writer, who speaks in the name of the people, looks forward to the setting up of the kingdom, with a strong city, whose walls and bulwarks are salvation, and whose gates will be entered by 'the righteous nation' (26 1 *f.*); and since the nation is but few, the righteous dead shall rise and share the blessedness of the regenerate nation (26 19). This notable verse should, with Duhm and Cheyne, be read as follows:—'Thy dead men (Israel) shall arise: the inhabitants of the dust shall

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Gentiles shall be admitted to the worship of Yahwè 25 6. It is very remarkable that in 24 21 *f.* we read of *an intermediate place of punishment*. The judgment, therefore, appears to be conceived as consisting of two distinct acts. The clause 25 8*a* declaring the annihilation of death appears to be an interpolation. It is against the general drift of the content, and wholly alien to the thought-development of the period.

[1] For Yahwè the temple is indispensable as his dwelling-place. This thought is apocalyptic. It is not through moral reformation but through divine intervention that the kingdom is to be introduced.

[2] After the example of Jer. 23 5 33 15 Zechariah names him 'the Branch' (6 12 3 8 *f.*). He identifies him with Zerubbabel (cp Hag. 2 6-9 23).

[3] See ZECHARIAH ii., § 3 *ff.*

[4] Cp Che. *OPs.* 404 *ff.*

[1] Unless 65 20*b* is a gloss, as Haupt thinks (*SBOT*, Heb. *ad loc.*).

[2] Is. 51 16 and 60 19 can hardly be quoted in support of 65 17 66 22, for in the last two passages the language is obviously meant to be literal, whereas in the former it is metaphorical.

A synthesis of these two eschatologies, of the individual and of the nation, was attempted by Ezekiel wholly within the sphere of this life. The reconciliation, however, was achieved only through a misconception and misrepresentation of the facts of the problem. Still this doctrine of retribution gave such general satisfaction that the need of a theory that would do justice to the facts of the problem was not experienced save by isolated thinkers till the close of the fourth century B.C.

awake[1] and shout for joy;[2] for a dew of lights is thy dew, and the earth shall bring to life the shades.'[3]

This positive belief in the resurrection of the righteous did not win its way into acceptance, however, till over a century later. Still, that it gained some currency and underwent some development in the interval is obvious from the next and only remaining passage which attests it in the OT.

(6) In Dan. 122 (168 B.C.), which seems to be based on Is. 26 19,[4] there is an extension of the statement. The resurrection here is not only of the righteous but also of the wicked,[5] who are to rise in order to receive their due reward—shame and everlasting contempt.[6] The resurrection moreover ushers in the Messianic kingdom (12 1). This spiritual form of the resurrection doctrine is the genuine product of Jewish inspiration; for all its factors are indigenous to Jewish thought.

Between the rise of the doctrine enunciated in Is. 26 and Dan. 12 a considerable period must have elapsed, sufficiently long to account for the loss of the original significance of the resurrection as a restoration, in the next world, of the life of communion with God which had been broken off by death. During this interval the spiritual doctrine passed into a lifeless dogma. In Is. 26 it was the sole prerogative of the righteous Israelite, now it is extended to the pre-eminently good and the pre-eminently bad in Israel. Without any consciousness of impropriety the writer of Daniel can speak of the resurrection of the wicked. Thus severed from the spiritual root from which it grew the resurrection is transformed into a sort of eschatological property, a device by means of which the members of the nation are presented before God to receive their final award. The doctrine must therefore have been familiar to the Jews for several generations before Daniel.

B. APOCRYPHAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (200 B.C.–100 A.D.)

Before entering on the further development of Jewish eschatology, it will be helpful to sum up shortly the results arrived at by the writers whom we have already considered. We find in them an eschatology that *to a large extent* takes its character from the conception of Yahwè. As long as his jurisdiction was conceived as limited to this life, there could be no such eschatology with reference to the individual. When at last, however, Israel reached real monotheism, the way was prepared for the moralisation of the future no less than of the present. The exile contributed to this development by making possible a truer conception of the individual. The individual, not the nation, became the religious unit. Step by step through the slow processes of the religious life, the

51. Review.

[1] The designation of death as a 'sleep' did not arise from the resurrection hope. It is found in books that are unacquainted with that hope. Death is described as 'sleep' in Gen. 4730 Dt. 31 16 Job 7 21 14 12, as 'the eternal sleep' in Jer. 51 39 57. In the later period, therefore in which the belief in the resurrection was finally established, 'when the state of the departed is described as a 'sleep,' the word must in no case be taken in its literal meaning.

[2] יחיו and נבלתי are omitted hv these scholars as interpolations, and instead of הָקִיצוּ וְרַנְּנוּ they read וְהֵקִיצוּ וְרִנְּנוּ.

[3] See Che. *Intr. Is.* 158, and cp *OPs.* 403 *f.*

[4] Cp 'the inhabitants of the dust shall awake' and 'many that sleep in the land of dust shall awake.

[5] This resurrection to punishment, or a belief perfectly akin, is found in contemporary work; 24 25 6-8 26 20 *f.* 271 12 *f.*, a frngmentary apocalypse of 334 B.C. (Che.). Thus in 24 21 *f.*, the 'host of heaven'—*i.e.*, angelic rulers of the nation and the kings of the earth—are to he imprisoned in the 'pit' and, 'after many days,' to be visited with punishment. Cp Eth. En. 54 90 25. According to later views God does not punish a nation until he has first humiliated its angelic patron (*Shīr-rabbā* 276). Moreover the future judgment of the Gentile nations will be preceded by the judgment of their angelic chiefs (Beshallach 13 [see Weber, *L. d. Talmud*, 165]).

[6] The 'many' who are condemned here are Jewish apostates. The place into which they are cast is evidently Gehenna, though the term does not appear in OT with this special penal sense. The place is referred to also in Is. 6624 and probably in 5011.

religious thinkers of Israel were led to a moral conception of the future life and to the certainty of their share therein. These beliefs were reached, not through deductions of reason, as in Greece, but through spiritual crises deep as the human personality and wide as human life.

52. Comparative Eschatology.

[At this point a caution must be offered to the student. The study of the religious content of eschatological ideas is to some extent distinct from that of its form, nor can either religious or literary criticism (to the latter of which special attention is given here) enable us to dispense with the help of the comparative historical study of the religious ideas of those peoples which came most into contact with the Jewish. Some excellent introductions to 'Biblical Theology' are based, consciously or unconsciously, on the principle that the movement of religious thought in Israel was completely independent of external stimulus. There can be no greater mistake. Students of Jewish religion can no longer avoid acquainting themselves with Babylonio-Assyrian, Egyptian, Zoroastrian, and Greek religion, and using any further collateral information that they can get.[1] The abundance of fresh literary material for the study of eschatology as it took form in Jewish minds is our excuse for not, in this article, bringing Jewish eschatology into relation to other eschatologies, more especially Babylonian and Persian. The article would have become disproportionately long if we had adopted the course which is theoretically the only right one. It must also be remembered that the 'spiritual crises' referred to above were conditioned by crises in the history of the nation. We are far from denying that 'the spirit' as well as the wind, 'breatheth where it listeth.' Even the spirit of revelation, however, cannot work on unprepared minds. Jewish eschatology therefore can be fully sketched only on a canvas larger than is here at our disposal, and this article must be supplemented by reference to a group of other articles, including especially ANTICHRIST and PERSIA (the part dealing with religion). On the narrative in Gen. 2 4*b*-3 which influenced directly or indirectly so many later writers, reference should be made, for the mythic form of the ideas, to CREATION, § 20 (*c*).—ED.]

53. Outline of Method.

In the writings (Apocryphal, Apocalyptic, etc.) that we are now to consider, the eschatological ideas of the later prophets are reproduced and further developed. We shall find it convenient to deal with this literature in three chronological periods; I. 200-100 (§§ 51-63), II. 100-1 B.C. (§§ 64-70), III. 1-100 A.D. (§§ 71-81). In treating each of these periods, after (*a*) a general account of its thought and (6) an account of the various works it produced, we shall show in detail (c) the development of certain special conceptions—viz. (1) Soul and spirit, (2) Judgment, (3) Places of abode for the departed, (4) Resurrection, (5) Messianic kingdom, Messiah, Gentiles.

54. Ecclus. and Tobit.

Unlike the rest of the apocalyptic and apocryphal books, Ecclus. and Tobit, instead of reproducing and developing the ideas we have just summarised, represent the older and more conservative views. As lying off the main path of religious development and witnessing to still surviving primitive elements in Judaism, we shall consider them together at the outset.

55. Ecclus.

In Ecclus. the problem of retribution takes a peculiar form. On the one hand it is purely conservative. All retribution without exception is confined to this life: there is 'no inquisition of life'

[1] See Charles, *Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 24-25 n., 33 n., 34 n., 57 n., on the relation of the religion of Babylonia to that of ancient Israel; pp. 116 n., 134-136, on the relation of Zoroastrianism to Judaism; pp. 24 n., 26-27 n., 34 n., 40 n., 57 n., on the analogies between the primitive religion of Israel and that of Greece; and pp. 79 n., 137-151, on the development of the doctrine of immortality in Greece as contrasted with that in Palestine.

in Shĕōl (41 4). On the other hand it supplements Ezekiel's theory of exact individual retribution with the older view which he attacked, and seeks to cover its obvious defects with the doctrine of the solidarity of the family.

A man's conduct must receive its recompense in this life (see especially **2 10 *f.*** and cp 2 3-9 **9 12 12 2 *f.*** also **11 26**). Obviously, however, all men do not meet with their deserts. Hence **a** man's sins are visited through the evil remembrance of his name and in the misfortunes of his children after him (**11 28 23 24-26 40 15 41 5-8**). Similarly the posterity of the righteous is blessed (**44 7-15**). Shĕōl is the abode of the shades and the region **of** death[1] (9 12 14 12 16 41 4 485) where is no delight (**14 16**), no praise of God (**17 17-28**): man 'is plunged in an eternal sleep (46 19 2211 30 17 38 23).[2] **As** regards the future of the nation, the writer looks forward to the Messianic kingdom of which Elijah is to be the forerunner (**48 10**), when Israel shall be delivered from evil (50 23 *f.*), the scattered tribes restored (**33 13 = AV 36 11**), the heathen nations duly punished (**32 22-24 = AV** 35 18 *f.*). This kingdom of Israel will last for ever (**37 25** [so Gk. and Eth. hut wanting in Syr.]) **44 13** [so Gk. and Eth.; Heb. and Syr. read 'memorial' instead of 'seed']).

The eschatology of Tobit is very slight. Like the earlier books, it entertains high hopes for the Jewish people.

56. Tobit. Jerusalem and the temple shall be rebuilt with gold and precious stones, the scattered tribes shall be restored, and the heathen, forsaking their idols, shall worship the God of Israel (13 10-18 14 4-6). Shĕōl is taken in the traditional sense 'eternal place,' *ὁ αἰώνιος τόπος*, **3 6**. As in Job and in Ecclesiastes, Hades (cp 3 10 13 2) is **a** place where existence is practically at an end.

Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, prays: 'Command my spirit *to* be taken from me, that I may . . . become earth . . . and go to the everlasting place' (**36**). This description is accounted far by the writer's acceptance of the later doctrine of the spirit (§ 17).

We now pass to the writings of the Ḥāsīds or Assideans, a small but imuortant bodv of zealous Tews. first

57. Assideans. referred to as a religious organisation in Eth. En. 906 (see note in Charles's ed.). Its rise may be placed at about *zoo* B.C.[3] The Ḥāsīds first appear as the champions of the law against the Hellenizing Sadducees; but they were still more the representatives of advanced forms of doctrine about the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection. The arrangement we shall adopt has been explained already (§ **53**).

***68.* Second Cent. B.C.** I. SECOND CENTURY B.C.

Authorities.

Ethiopic Enoch **1-36** (APOCALYPTIC, § 27).	Sibylline Oracles — Prooemium and **3 97-818**.[4]
Daniel (§ 59).	Test. xii. Patriarchs — Some of its apocalyptic sections ($ 61).
Ethiopic Enoch **83-90** (§ 60).	Judith (?) (§ 62).

(a) General *eschatological development.*—It was under the pressure of one of the most merciless persecutions recorded in history that much of the eschatological thought of this century was built up. In order to encourage the faithful, various religious thinkers consolidated and developed into more or less consistent theodicies the scattered statements and intimations of an eschatological nature in the OT. In these theodicies there is no vagueness or doubt as to the ultimate destinies of the righteous and the wicked. Faith rests in the reasonable axiom that the essential distinctions between these classes must one day be realised outwardly. The certainty of judgment on the advent of the Messianic kingdom, accordingly, is preached in the most emphatic tones, and the doctrine is taught that at death men enter immediately in Shĕōl on a state of bliss or woe which is but the prelude **of** their final destiny. The righteous, both living and dead, shall be recompensed to the full in the eternal Messianic kingdom established on earth with its centre at Jerusalem. Within the sphere of Judaism it is in this second century B.C. that the eschatologies of the individual and of the nation attain their most complete synthesis (cp below, § 82). The firm lines in which these eschatological hopes are delineated mark the great advance achieved in this period by religious thought.

(b) ***The*** theodicies *of the several writers.*—Eth. En. **1-36** has been described in detail elsewhere (see APOCALYPTIC, § 27). With regard to Daniel,

59. Eth. En. 1-36; Daniel. as the right point of view for studying it has been given elsewhere (DANIEL ii.), and we have already noticed its main eschatological conceptions (above, § 47), we need only observe that in it, as in Eth. En. **1-36,** the Messianic kingdom is eternal, its scene is the earth, and all the Gentiles are subject (7 14). There is no Messiah. Those Jews who are 'found written in the book'[1] [of life] shall be 'delivered' during the period of the Messianic woes. At the resurrection only those Jews who are pre-eminently righteous and wicked shall rise from the 'land of dust'[2] (*i.e.*, Shĕōl) to receive their deserts: the righteous to inherit 'aeonian life,' the wicked to be cast into Gehenna[3] (12 2). For the pre-eminently righteous in Israel, therefore, Shĕōl has become an intermediate abode, though for the Gentiles it continues to be final. The risen body seems to possess its natural appetites (as in Eth. En. 1-36). The Messianic kingdom of which the righteous are members is one that bears sway over peoples.

The writer of Daniel makes **a** very special use of the belief in angelic patrons of nations, of which another application will he found in the almost contemporaneous work to which we turn **next—viz.,** Eth. En. **33-90.**

The author of Ethiopic Enoch 83-90, which was written a few years later than Eth. En. **1-36** (on which see APOCALYPTIC, § 27), was a Ḥāsīd

60. Eth. En. 83-90 (B.C. 166-161). and a supporter of the Maccabean movement. His eschatology is developed at greater length than that of the Daniel apocalypse, to which in many respects it is so closely allied. The belief in angelic patrons of nations is common, as we have seen, to both writings; but our author applies it in a peculiar way.

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1 In **21 10** thoughts of the penal character of Shĕōl do not seem to be quite absent.

2 The reference to Gehenna in 7 17 (*ἐκδίκησις ἀσεβοῦς πῦρ καὶ σκώληξ*) is probably corrupt (om. Syr. Eth. [best MSS]). The Hebrew has כי תקות אנוש רמה.

3 On the earlier association of pious Jews called עניים (the humbled or humiliated), ענוים (the humble), חסידים (the pious, covenant-keepers) cp PSALMS; and on the Ἀσιδαῖοι of Macc. cp ASSIDEANS; ISRAEL, § 73.

4 This, the oldest, portion of the Sibylline oracles dates from the latter half of the second century B.C. Since, however, it belongs to Hellenistic Judaism, its evidence is not of primary interest in the story of Palestinian eschatology, and may advantageously be relegated to **a** note. Broadly speaking, we may say that it combines, though not always consistently, various earlier descriptions of the future. It shows no trace of original thought. Its rschatological forecasts are confined to this world. Though so limited, it gives a vivid account of the Messianic kingdom. Very soon the people of the Mighty God will grow strong (**3 194-198**), and God will send from the east the Messiah, who will put an end *to* evil war, slaying some and fulfilling the promises in behalf of others, and he will be guided in all things by God. The temple shall be resplendent with glory, and the earth teem with fruitfulness (3 652-660) [cp Che. *OPs.* 23]. Then the nations shall miister their forces and attack Palestine (3 660-668); but God will destroy them, and their judgment shall be accompanied by fearful portents (3 669-697). Israel, however, shall dwell safely under the divine protection (3 702-709): and the rest of the cities and the islands shall be converted, and unite with Israel in praising God (3 710-731). The blessings of the Messianic age are recounted (**3 744-754**; cp also **3 367-380**, 691-723). The kinas of the earth shall he at peace with one another (**3 755-759**).

In the later section of this book the forecast is somewhat different. Though in the earlier part, as we have seen above, it was the Messiah that conducted the war against the hostile nations **in** this it is the prophets of God. Thus God will establish **a** universal kingdom over all mankind, with Jerusalem as centre (3 767-771), and the prophets of God shall lay down the sword and become judges and kings of the earth (**3 781 *f.***), and men shall bring offerings to the temple from all parts of the earth (3 772 *f.*).

1 On this eschatological term see Charles, *Enoch* 131-133. In the earlier passages in which it occurs it stands in connection with temporal blessings only.

2 We assume that the reading אַדְמַת עָפָר is correct. For this description of Shĕōl cp Job **17 16**, Ps. **22 15**, with Cheyne's note referring to a similar Assyrian phrase. If this interpretation **is** correct, Shĕōl though it has become a temporary abode for the righteous, stili retains its traditional character.

3 Cp Che. *OPs.* **406.**

The undue severities that have befallen Israel are not from God's hand ; they are the doing of the seventy shepherds (*i.e.*, angels) into whose care God bad committed Israel (89 59) for the destruction of its faithless members. These angels have not wronged Israel with impunity, however; for judgment is at hand. When their oppression is at its worst there shall be formed a righteous league (*i.e.*, the Ḥăsīdim ; 90 6), out of one of the families of which shall come forth Judas the Maccabee (90 7-16), who shall war victoriously against all the enemies of Israel.

While the struggle is still raging, God will intervene in person.

The earth shall swallow the adversaries of the righteous (90 18). The wicked shepherds and the fallen watchers shall then be cast into an abyss of fire (*i.e.*, Tartarus ; 90 20-25), and the blinded sheep—*i.e.*, the apostate (Jews)—into Gehenna (90 26). Whether the apostate Jews already dead are to be transferred from Shĕōl does not appear.

Then God himself will set up the new Jerusalem (90 28 *f.*). The surviving Gentiles shall be converted and serve Israel (90 30), the dispersion be brought back, and the *righteous* Israelites be raised to take part in the kingdom (90 33). When all is accomplished, the Messiah, whose rôle is a passive one, shall appear (90 37), and all shall be transformed into his likeness.

Until a critical edition of the XII. Patriarchs is published, that composite work cannot be quoted as an

61. Test. xii. Patr. authority. It belongs to very different periods. It contains apocalyptic sections that appear to belong to the second century B.C. ; but the body of the work seems to have been written about the beginning of the Christian era. There are, moreover, numerous (Christian) interpolations. Many of the apocalyptic sections appear to have constituted originally a defence of the warlike Maccabean high priests of the latter half of the second century B.C., whilst others' seem to attack the later chiefs of that family, in the last century B.C.

It is hardly possible to interpret otherwise such a statement regarding Levi as that in Reub. 6 *ad fin.* : 'He shall die for us in wars visible and invisible' ; cp Sim. 5.

Whilst one or more of these sections may be of an earlier date, many of them may belong to the last century B.C. Since, however, their eschatological thought in some respects belongs to the second century B.C., we shall for the sake of convenience deal with it here, though in no case shall we build upon it as a foundation.[2]

Levi has been chosen by God to rule all the Gentiles with supreme sovereignty (Reub. 6). The Messiah of the tribe of Levi, who will appear at the close of the seventh jubilee, will possess an eternal priesthood[3] (Levi 18; apoc. sections of Levi = 2-5 8 10 14-18). This will endure till God comes and restores Jerusalem and dwells in Israel (Levi 5). This Messiah will judge as a king ; he will hind Beliar, open the gates of Paradise and give his saints to eat of the tree of life (Levi 18 cp Eth. En. 25 4-6). To the Messianic kingdom on earth, all the righteous patriarchs shall rise (Sim. 6 Zeb. 10 Jud. 25). Then the spirits of deceit shall be trodden under foot (Sim. 6 Zeb. 9) and Beliar destroyed (Levi 18 Jud. 25). There shall be only one people and one tongue (Jud. 25). The surviving Gentiles are in all cases to be converted, save in Sim. 6 where they are doomed to annihilation. According to Benj. 10 there is to he a resurrection, first of the OT heroes and patriarchs, and next of the righteous and of the wicked. Thereupon is to follow judgment, first of Israel and then of the Gentiles. It is doubtful whether we are to regard this resurrection as embracing Israel only or all mankind.

The designation of Michael in Dan. 6 (cp Lev. 5 Judith 25) as 'a mediator between God and man' is noteworthy.

It may be permitted in conclusion to refer to the book of Judith. The words in which the Gentile

62. Judith. enemies of Israel are threatened (16 17) obviously refer to Gehenna, and remind us of the very late appendix to Is. 66 (*v.* 23 *f.*), which however refers to unfaithful Jews. The view of Gehenna as the final abode of the Gentiles is not again attested till the first century of the Christian era (in Ass.

1 Cp Levi 14 16 (beg.). These passages resemble the Psalms of Solomon that assail the Sadducean priesthood.

2 In the references here made we shall use the better readings of the *Armenian* Version.

3 Sometimes a Messiah of the tribe of Judah is spoken of. There is nothing against the Jewish origin of such passages ; but others which combine the two ideas are Christian.

ESCHATOLOGY

Mos. 10 10 4 Ezra 7 36). In so far, the date (*circa* 63 B.C.) given elsewhere for this book (see JUDITH, § 5) seems preferable to the earlier one advocated by Schurer.

(c) ***Development of special conceptions in second century B.C.*** *1. Soul and* Spirit.—The later view of the 'spirit'

63. Special conceptions. (see § 20) as the divine breath of life probably underlies Ecclus. 38 23 Bar. 2 17 ('the dead also who are in Hades, whose spirit is taken from their bodies') ; see also Tob. 3 6[1] Judith 10 13. Elsewhere in the second century we can trace only the older Semitic view (above, § 19), according to which 'soul' and 'spirit' are practically identical. The apocalyptic use, however, diverges from the more primitive ; what is predicated of 'soul' can be predicated also of 'spirit.' In Daniel indeed we always find, not 'soul' but 'spirit,' even where 'soul' could have been used with perfect propriety.[2]

In Enoch 1-36 the inhabitants of Shĕōl are spoken of as 'souls' in 22 3 (cp 9 3), but generally as 'spirits' (22 5-7 9 11-13). We even find the strange expression 'spirits of the souls of the dead'[3] (9 10). Here also, therefore, 'soul' and 'spirit' are practically identical. Fallen angels and demons are always spoken of as 'spirits' (the former in 13 6 15 4 6 *f.*, the latter in 15 9 11 16 1). Indeed 'soul' is never in Jewish literature used of angels, fallen or otherwise (cp above, § 20).

2. *Judgment.*—The judgment, which is preliminary and final, involves all men living and dead, the faithless angelic rulers, and the impure angels. It will be on the advent of the Messianic kingdom. These points mark the development of the second century B.C. upon the past. There is the further development that the judgment is sometimes (?) conceived as setting in, immediately after death, in an intermediate abode of the soul. In Eth. En. 1-36 there is a preliminary judgment on the angels who married the daughters of men, and likewise on all men who were alive at the deluge (10 1-12). The final judgment before the advent of the Messiah s kingdom will involve the impure angels (10 12 *f.*), the demons who have hitherto gone unpunished (16 1), and all Israel with the exception of a certain class of sinners. In Daniel there is a preliminary judgment of the sword executed by the saints (2 44 7 22), as well as the final world-judgment (7 9 11 *f.*), which will introduce the Messianic kingdom by God himself. There is no mention of judgment of angels ; but judgment of the angelic patrons of Persia and Greece may be assumed., In Eth. En. 83-90 there is the first world-judgment of the deluge (89), the judgment of the sword executed under Judas the Maccabee (90 19 16), and the final judgment on the impure angels and on the faithless angelic patrons (90 20-25). The last serves to introduce the Messianic kingdom *on the present earth.*

3. *Places of abode for the departed.*—i. Shed. Shĕōl undergoes complete transformation in the second century B.C. and becomes an intermediate place of moral retribution for the righteous and the wicked. (The traditional sense probably survives in Dan. 12 2, but not in Eth. En. 22.) All the dead who die before the final judgment have to go to Shed. It has four divisions ; two for the righteous and two for the wicked. From three of them there is a resurrection to final judgment ; but from the fourth, where are the wicked who met with violent death, there is no rising. Shĕōl has in this last case become hell.

ii. Paradise. In the second century only two men, Enoch and Elijah, were conceived as having been

1 How thoroughly life was identified with the presence of the spirit appears from this verse ; 'Command my spirit, to be taken from me, that I may be released, and become earth.

2 In Dan. 7 15 it has generally been thought that the spirit is spoken of as enclosed in the 'sheath' (נדנה) of the body ; but we should no doubt with Buhl and Marti. read בְּגִין דְּנָה 'because of this.' 𝔊87 which gives ἐν τούτοις and Vg., imply בגו דנה.

3 In these references the Gizeh Greek text has been followed. In the Ethiopic text the term 'soul' is used instead of 'spirit' in 22 3 9 11 *ff.*, but corruptly.

admitted to Paradise on leaving this world (Eth. En. 87 3 *f.* 89 52).[1] The cause is manifest. See ENOCH, I.

iii. Gehenna. Gehenna is definitely conceived in Dan. 122 Eth. En. 27 1 *f.* and 90 26 *f.* (?) as the final, not the immediate, abode of apostates in the next world.

iv. The abyss of fire.[2] This is the final place of punishment for the faithless angelic rulers and for the impure angels (Eth. En. 18 11-19 21 90 21-25). In Eth. En. 18 11-16 21 1-6 the fiery abyss for the impure angels is distinguished from another fiery abyss mentioned in 21 7-10. This latter may be for the faithless angelic rulers.

4. Resurrection. — In Eth. En. 83-90 (see 90 33) there is a resurrection only of the righteous ; in Dan. 12 2 *f.*, of those who are righteous and wicked in a pre-eminent degree; and in Eth. En. 22 of the righteous and of such of the wicked as had not met with retribution in life. Thus in Eth. En. 83-90 the older and spiritual form of the doctrine is preserved. In all cases the righteous rise to participate in the Messianic kingdom.

5. *Messianic kingdom.*—In Dan. and Eth. En. 1-36 the scene of the Messianic kingdom is the earth. In Eth. En. 83-90 its centre is to be, not the earthly Jerusalem, but the new Jerusalem brought down from heaven. This is the first trace in the second century B.C. of a sense of the unfitness of the present world for Messianic glory. The kingdom is to be eternal. Its members are to enjoy a life of patriarchal length (Eth. En. 5 9 25 6), or to live for ever (90 33). In Dan. 12 2 *f.* the point is left doubtful. Besides the Messiah in Sibyll. Or. 3 652-654 there is no mention of the Messiah in the second century B.C. except in Eth. En. 83-90 (see 90 37), where, however, his introduction seems due merely to literary reminiscence.

6. Gentiles. — According to Eth. En. 10 21, all the Gentiles are to become righteons and worship God. Only the hostile Gentiles are to be destroyed (Dan. 2 244 7 11 *f.* Eth. En. 90 9-16 18). The rest will be converted (I) and serve Israel (Dan-714 Eth. En. 90 30).

64. Last Cent. B.C.

II. LAST CENTURY B.C.

Authorities for 104-1 B.C.

Ethiopic Enoch 91-104 (§ 65).	Psalms of Solomon (§ 67).
Ethiopic Enoch 37-70 (§ 66).	Sibylline Oracles 3 1-62 (§ 68).
1 Maccabees (§ 66, end).	2 Maccabees (§ 69).

(a) General *eschatological development.* — A great gulf divides the eschatology of the last century B.C. as a whole from that of its predecessor. The hope of an eternal Messianic kingdom on the present earth is all but universally abandoned.[3] The earth as it is, is manifestly regarded as wholly unfit for the manifestation of the kingdom. The dualism which had begun to assert itself in the preceding century is therefore now the preponderating dogma. This new attitude compels writers to advance to new conceptions concerning the kingdom.

(i.) Some boldly declare (Eth. En. 91-104), or else imply (Pss. Sol. 1-16 2 Macc. [?]), that the Messianic kingdom is only temporary, and that the goal of the risen righteous is not this transitory kingdom but heaven itself. In the thoughts of these writers the belief in *a* personal immortality *has* disassociated *itself* from the doctrine *of the* Messianic kingdom, and the synthesis *of* the *two* eschatologies achieved in *the preceding century* (see § *58)* is anew *resolved* into its *elements.*[4] This is a natural consequence, as we have said, of the growing dualism of the times.

[1] Cp Che. *OPs.* 414.
[2] Cp PERSIA (the part dealing with religion).
[3] Only in Pss. Sol. 17 *f.* of this century does the Messianic kingdom seem to he of eternal duration on the present earth (cp 174). Since the Messiah himself, however, is only a man, his kingdom is probably of only temporary duration (see below, § 67 [i.], and APOCALYPTIC, § 85).
[4] On the synthesis effected in the NT, see § 82; on the exceptional anticipation of this in Eth. En. 27-70, see § 66.

(ii.) Quite another line of thought, however, was possible. The present earth could not, it is true, be regarded as the scene of an eternal Messianic kingdom ; but a renewed and transformed earth could. The scene of the eternal Messianic kingdom would be such a new earth, and a new heaven, and to share in this eternal kingdom the righteous should rise (Eth. En. 37-70). Here the idea of a new heaven and a new earth, which appeared illogically in Is. 65 *f.* (§ 48), is applied with reasonable consistency.

It is further to be observed that writers of the former class (i.) anticipated a resurrection only of the righteous, a resurrection of the spirit not of the body (Eth. En. 91-104 Pss. Sol.); but writers of the latter class (ii.) looked forward to a resurrection of all Israel (Eth. En. 37-70) at the close of the temporary, and the beginning of the eternal, Messianic kingdom. In 2 Macc., which diverges in some respects from both classes, a bodily resurrection of the righteous, and possibly of all Israel, is expected.

Again, in contradistinction to the preceding century there is now developed a vigorous, indeed a unique. doctrine of the Messiah, the doctrine of the supernatural Son of Man (Eth. En. 37-70).

Finally, the present sufferings of Israel at the hands of the Gentiles are explained as disciplinary (2 Macc. 6 12-17 cp Jud. 827 Wisd. 12 22).

Israel is chastened for its sins lest they should come to a head ; but the Gentiles are allowed to fill up the cup of their iniquity (cp Gen. 15 16 Dan. 8 23 9 26).

(6) *Eschatologies of the several writers.* — We have said that the eschatology of the last century B.C. introduces us into a world of new conceptions (§ 70).

65. Eth. En. 91-104.

Whilst in the writings of the preceding century the resurrection and the final judgment were the prelude to an everlasting Messianic kingdom, in Ethiopic Enoch 91-104 they are adjourned to the close. The Messianic kingdom is thus, for the first time, conceived as temporary. It is therefore no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Their soul finds its satisfaction only in a Messed immortality in heaven. The author acknowledges that the wicked seem to sin with impunity ; but he believes that this is not so in truth ; their evil deeds are recorded every day (104 7), and they will suffer endless retribution in Shĕōl (99 11), a place of darkness and flame (for Shĕōl is here conceived as hell), from which there is no escape (98 3 10 103 7 *f.*).

In the eighth week the Messianic kingdom (but without a Messiah) shall be established, and the righteous shall slay the wicked with the sword (91 12 957 96 1 98 12 9946). To this kingdom the righteous who have departed this life shall not rise. At its close, in the tenth week, shall be held the final judgment; the former heaven and earth shall be destroyed, and a new heaven created (91 14-16). The righteous dead, who have hitherto been guarded by angels (100 5), in a department of Shĕōl (? cp 4 Ezra 4 41), shall be raised, 91 10 92 3 (not, however, in the body, but as spirits; 103 3 *f.*), and the portals of heaven shall be opened to them (104 2); they shall joy as the angels (104 4), becoming companions of the heavenly host 104 6), and shining as the stars for ever (104 2).

The interest of the author of Eth. En. 37-70 is in the sphere of the moral and spiritual. This is manifest even in his usual name for God, 'the Lord of Spirits,' and in the peculiar turn that he gives to the trisagion in 3912 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of spirits : he filleth the earth with spirits.'

66. Eth. En. 37-70 and 1 Macc.

His views are strongly apocalyptic and follow closely in the wake of Daniel. Unlike the writer of chaps. 91-104 (§ 65), however, he clings fast to a future kingdom of (righteous) Israel, destined to endure for ever, to which the righteous shall rise. The righteous individual will thus find his consummation in the righteous communitv.

In addition to the eschatological details given elsewhere (APOCALYPTIC, § *30)* we should observe the following points :— The Son of Man is to judge all angels, unfallen and fallen (61 8 55 4), and men—righteous and sinners (62 2 *f.*), kings and mighty (62 3-11 63 1-4 11). The Messiah is for the first time represented as a supernatural being, Judge of men and angels. The fallen

angels are to be cast into a fiery furnace (54 6), the kings and the mighty to he tortured in Gehenna by the angel of punishment (53 35 54 1 *f.*), and the remaining sinners and godless to be driven from the face of the earth (38 3 41 2 45 6); the Son of Man shall slay them by the word of his mouth (62 2). Heaven and earth shall be transformed (45 4 *f.*), the righteous shall have their mansions therein (39 6 41 2), and live in the light of eternal life (58 3). The elect one shall dwell amongst them (45 4), and they shall eat and lie down and rise up with him for ever (62 14). They shall he clad in garments of life (62 15 *f.*), and become angels in heaven (51 4); and they shall seek after light and find righteousness (58 3 *f.*), and grow in knowledge and righteousness (58 5).

1 Macc. is quite without eschatological teaching, if we except the writer's expectation of a prophet in 4 46 14 41.[1]

In considering the Psalms of Solomon the eschatological system of the last two psalms (17 *f.*), which differs in many important respects from that of Pss. 1-16, may be taken first.

i. The eschatology of Ps. Sol. 17 *f.* is marked by a singular want of originality.

67. Psalms of Solomon. B.C. 70-40. There is hardly a statement relative to the hopes of Israel that could not be explained as a literary reminiscence. Where these psalms are at all original their influence is distinctly hurtful; the proof that the popular aspirations with which they connect the Messiah were injurious to the best interests of the nation was 'written in fire and blood' (see MESSIAH).

The following is the account of the Messiah (who is specifically so called in 17 36 18 6 8).

He is to he descended from David (17 23), a righteous king (17 35), pure from sin (17 41). He will gather the dispersed tribes together and make Jerusalem holy as in the days of old. No Gentile shall he suffered to sojourn there, nor any one that knows wickedness. The ungodly nations he shall destroy with the word of his month (17 27 cp 17 39 41). The remaining Gentiles shall become subject to him (17 31 *f.*); he will have mercy on all the nations that come before him in fear (17 38). The; shall come from the ends of the world to see his glory, and bring their sons as gifts to Zion (17 34).

The Messianic kingdom is apparently of temporary duration. There is no hint of the rising of the righteous who have died; only the surviving righteous are to share in it (cp 17 50). We might infer the transitory nature of the Messianic kingdom from the fact that the Messiah is a single person, not a series of kings. The duration of his kingdom is to be regarded as conterminous with that of its ruler.

ii. In Pss. Sol. 1-16 there is hardly a single reference to the future kingdom and none to the Messiah. Since, however, they paint in glowing colours the restoration of the tribes (8 34 11 3-8), they look for a Messianic kingdom—at all events a period of prosperity, when God's help should be enjoyed (7 9). Beyond prophesying vengeance on the hostile nations and on sinners, however, the psalmists do not dwell on this coming time. For them the real recompense of the righteous is not bound up with an earthly kingdom. The righteous rise, not to any kingdom of temporal prosperity, but to eternal life (3 16 13 9); they inherit life in gladness (14 6), and live in the righteousness of their God (15 15). There seems to be no resurrection of the body. As for the wicked, 'their inheritance is Hades (here = hell), and darkness and destruction' (14 6 cp 15 11), whither they go immediately on dying (16 2). The eschatology of Pss. 1-16 thus agrees in nearly every point with that of Eth. En. 91-104 (§ 65).[2]

68. Sibylline Oracles. 3 1-62. In Sibylline Oracles 31-62, written before 31 B.C. (see APOCALYPTIC, § 85), Gods kingdom is expected and the advent of a holy king who shall sway the sceptre of every land[3] (3 49). This Messianic king is to reign 'for all the ages' (3 50). These words must not be pressed, however; for, a few lines later, a universal judgment on all men is foretold (353-56 60 *f.*). For a similar limitation cp Apoc. Bar. 40 3 73 1.

[1] Cp Che. *OPs.* 40 n.

[2] Cp APOCALYPTIC, § 85. The sketch there given is merely to justify dividing Pss. 1-16 from 17 *f.*

[3] ἥξει δ' ἁγνὸς ἄναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσων.

69. 2 Macc. There is in 2 Macc. only one direct reference to a Messianic kingdom: the youngest of the seven brethren prays that 'God may speedily be gracious to the nation' (7 37). The hope of it is implied, however, in the expectation of the restoration of the tribes (2 18). The righteous rise *in the body* to share in the kingdom where they will renew the common life with their brethren (7 29). The kingdom is to be eternal; for God has established his people for ever (14 15). There is certainly no hint of a Messiah. Thus the eschatology is really that of the second century B.C. (§ 58 *ff.*).

Since the Messianic kingdom here implied is to be of a material character and therefore presumably on earth—for the righteous rise to an eternal life (7 9 36), in a body constituted as the present earthly body (7 11 22 *f.* 14 46)—we may reasonably infer that the eternal kingdom thus expected was to he upon the present earth, as in Eth. En. 83-90 (§ 60). Thus the eschatology of this hook belongs really to the second century B.C. as the epitomizer claims.

On the other hand the doctrine of retribution, present and future, plays a significant rôle. Present retribution follows sin, for Israel and for the Gentiles. In the case of Israel its purpose is corrective; but in that of the Gentiles it is vindictive (6 13 *ff.*). To enforce his doctrine the writer reconstructs history, and corrects the imperfect assignment of destiny to the heathen oppressors, Epiphanes (7 17 9 5-12) and Nicanor (15 32-35), and to the Hellenising Jews, Jason (5 7-10) and Menelaus (13 8).

Even the martyrs confess their sufferings to he due to sin (7 18 33 37), and pray that their sufferings may 'stay the wrath of the Almighty' (7 38). Immediate retribution is a token of God's goodness (6 13). Our present concern however, is mainly with retribution beyond the grave. The righteous and the wicked in Israel enter after death the intermediate state (Hades) (6 23), where they have a foretaste of their final doom (6 26), which takes effect after the resurrection. There is to he a resurrection of the righteous (7 9 11 14 23 29 36). perhaps even of all Jews (12 43 *f.*), but not of the Gentiles. These remain in Shĕōl. Possibly its torments are referred to in 7 17. When the heathen die they enter at once on their eternal doom (7 14).

(c) Development of special conceptions in the last century B.C.

70. Special Conceptions. 1. *Soul and Spirit.*—As in the preceding century, so also in this, the doctrine of soul and spirit follows, almost without exception, the older Semitic view (above, § 19). The exceptions are in 2 Macc. 7 22 *f.*

In *v.* 22 the mother of the seven martyred brethren declares: 'I did not give you spirit and life' (τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ζωήν). Here as in Gen. 2 4*b*-3 (above, § 20) the πνεῦμα is the life-giving principle of which the ζωή is the product. The same phrase recurs in *v.* 23 and in 14 46. The withdrawal of this spirit, however, does not lead to unconsciousness in Shĕōl; the departed are still conscious (6 26). The writer is, thus, inconsistent; for the ordinary dichotomy of soul and body is found in 6 30 7 37 14 38 15 30.

In all the remaining literature of this century there is only a dichotomy—either spirit[1] and body, or soul and body. Some writers use one of these pairs, some use both; in none is the spirit conceived as in Gen. 2 4*b*-3.

In the oldest writing of the century the departed in Shĕōl are spoken of as 'spirits' (Eth. En. 98 10 103 3 4 8) or as 'souls' (102 5 11 103 7). On the other hand, in the Similitudes and the Pss. Sol. (nearly contemporaneous works), the term 'spirit' is not used of man at all, only 'soul'; see Eth. En. 45 3 63 10, Pss. Sol. *passim* but particularly 9 7 and 9 9 where the highest spiritual functions are ascribed to the 'soul.' Finally in the Noachic interpolations (see APOCALYPTIC, § 24) only the term 'spirit' is used of man (cp 41 8 60 4 67 8 *f.* 71 1), and likewise in the Essenic appendix to this book, where we read of 'the spirits of the wicked' (108 3 6) and 'of the righteous' (*vv.* 7 9 11).

2. *Judgment.*—The judgment is final and involves all rational beings, human and angelic. It will be either at the advent of the Messianic kingdom, or (and this is the common view) at its close.

It is only in Eth. En. 37-70 that it is regarded as introducing the Messianic kingdom, and here it differs from the conception which prevailed in the second century, in that it ushers in the Messianic kingdom, not on the present earth, but in a new heaven and a new earth.

The main difference, however, between the judgment in the eschatologies of the last century and in those of the second is that all (?) other writers of the last century, except Eth. En.

[1] In Eth. En. 15 4 the antithesis between the spiritual and the fleshly is strongly emphasized; but the contrast is not between two parts of man but between the nature of angels and of men.

37-70, conceived it as forming the close of the temporary Messianic kingdom (so clearly in Eth. En. 91-104 and Pss. Sol. 1-16, probably also in Ps. Sol. 17 *f.* and 2 Macc.; see above, §§ 65 67). There is, however, in Eth. En. 91 12 95 7 96 1 98 12, etc., a preliminary judgment of the sword which (as in Dan. 2 44) is executed by the saints. In Ps. Sol. 17 *f.* this Messianic judgment is executed forensically by the Messiah.

3. *Places of abode of the departed.*—i. Paradise. Paradise, which in the preceding century had been regarded as the abode of only two men (§ 63 [3] ii.), has come to be regarded as the intermediate abode of all the righteous and elect; Eth. En. 61 12 70 2 *ff.* (Noachic Fragment, 60 8). In the Similitudes the righteous pass from Paradise to the Messianic kingdom.

ii. Heaven. For the first time in apocalyptic literature heaven becomes, after the final judgment, the abode of the righteous as spirits (Eth. En. 104 2 4 103 3 *f.*).

iii. Shĕōl. There is a considerable variety in the views entertained about Shĕōl; but most of them have been met with earlier.

(*a*) It is the intermediate abode of the departed whence all Israel (?) rises to judgment (Eth. En. 51 1).[1]

In 2 Macc. this is the only sense (6 23). It is noteworthy that the writer regards a moral change as possible in Shĕōl (see 12 42-45). According to Eth. En. 100 5 the souls of the righteous are preserved in a special part of Shĕōl (? cp 4 Ezra 4 41).

(*b*) Shĕōl is Hell.

Eth. En. 63 10 56 8 99 11 103 7 and always in Pss. Sol. [14 6 15 11 16 2]. Note how in Pss. Sol. Shĕōl is associated with fire and *darkness*, it has drawn to itself attributes of Gehenna. In the Similitudes Shĕōl is an intermediate abode for all that die before the advent of the Messianic kingdom (51 1). The wicked that are living on its advent shall be cast into Shĕōl; but Shĕōl then becomes a final abode of fire (63 10).

(*c*) Shĕōl is Gehenna in the interpolated passage, Eth. En. 56 8.

iv. Gehenna. Two new developments of this idea appear in the last century B.C.

(*a*) The first is referred to in Eth. En. 48 9 54 1 *f.* 62 12 *f.* According to the prevailing view of the second century B.C., Gehenna was to be the final abode of Jewish apostates whose sufferings were to form an *ever present* spectacle to the righteous; but in the Similitudes (37-70) Gehenna is specially designed for kings and the mighty, and it is forthwith to vanish for ever with its victims from the sight of the righteous. This latter idea is due to the fact that in the Similitudes there were to be, after the judgment, new heavens and a new earth.

(*b*) The second development is attested in Eth. En. 91-104, where Gehenua is a place only of spiritual punishment, whereas hitherto it had been a place of spiritual and also of corporal punishment; in 98 3 we read of 'spirits' being 'cast into the furnace of fire' (cp also 103 8). In this writer Shĕōl and Gehenna have become equivalent terms (see 99 11 103 7, also 100 9). The same conception is found in the Essene writing Eth. En. 108 6.

v. Burning furnace. In Eth. En. 54 6 (cp 18 11-16 21 1-6) the final abode of the fallen angels is a burning furnace.

4. *Resurrection.*—The views of the last century B.C. on the resurrection show a great development on those of the preceding century. In Eth. En. 91-104 (§ 65) and the Pss. Sol. (§ 67) the resurrection is still only spiritual: but 2 Macc. puts forward a very definite resurrection of the body (7 11 14 46), as does also Eth. En. 37-70. Only, the body is a garment of light (62 15 *f.*), and those who possess it are angelic (51 4). Similarly Eth. En. 91-104 and Pss. Sol. agree in representing the resurrection as involving only the righteous, and Eth. En. 37-70 and 2 Macc. (?) in extending it to all Israel.

5. (*a*) Messianic *Kingdom.* See § 64.

(*b*) *Messiah.*—In the preceding century the Messianic hope was practically non-existent. Under Judas and Simon the need of a Messiah was hardly felt. In the first half of the last century B.C. it was very different. Subject to ruthless oppressions, the righteous were in sore need of help. As their princes were the leaders in this oppression, the pious were forced to look for aid to God. The bold and original thinker to whom we owe the Similitudes conceived the Messiah as the supernatural Son of Man, who should enjoy universal dominion and execute judgment on men and angels (cp MESSIAH, SON OF MAN). Other religious thinkers, returning afresh to the study of the earlier literature, revived (as in Pss. Sol.) the expectation of the prophetic Messiah, sprung from the house and lineage of David (17 23). See above (§ 67); also APOCALYPTIC, § 32. These very divergent conceptions took such a firm hold of the national consciousness that henceforth the Messiah becomes generally, but not universally, the chief figure in the Messianic kingdom.

6. Gentiles.—The favourable view of the second century B.C., as to the future of the Gentiles, has all but disappeared. In Eth. En. 37-70 annihilation appears to await them. In Ps. Sol. 17 32 they are to be spared to serve Israel in the temporary Messianic kingdom. This may have been the view of the other writers of this centnry who looked forward to a merely temporary Messianic kingdom.

71. First Cent. A.D. III. THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Authorities.

Book of Jubilees (§ 72).	Apocalypse of Baruch (§ 78).
Assumption of Moses (§ 73).	Book of Baruch[1] (see APOCRYPHA, § 6).
Philo (§ 74).	
Slavonic Enoch (§ 75).	4 Esdras (§ 79).
Book of Wisdom (§ 76).	Josephus (§ 80).
4 Maccabees (§ 77).	

(*a*) *General eschatological development.*—The growth of dualism which was so vigorous in the last century B.C. now attains its final development. The Messianic kingdom is not to be everlasting; in one work it is to last 1000 years (see below, § 75); in some writings it is even wholly despaired of (Apoc. Bar. 13 2 4, Salathiel Apoc. [§ 79, e], 4 Macc.). According to another work some of the saints will rise to share in it ('the first resurrection'). The breach between the eschatologies of the individual and of the nation which had begun to appear in the last century B.C. (§ 64) has been widened, and the differences of the two eschatologies have been developed to their utmost limits. The nation has no blessed future at all, or, at best, one of only temporary duration. This, however, is a matter with which the individual has no essential concern. His interest centres round his own soul and his own lot in the after-life. The great thought of the divine kingdom has been surrendered in despair.

The transcendent view of the risen righteous which was sometimes entertained in the preceding century (§ 65) becomes more generally prevalent. The resurrection involves the 'spirit' alone (Jubilees, Ass. Mos., Philo, Wisd., 4 Macc.); or, the righteous are to rise vestured with the glory of God (Slav. En.), or with their former body, which is forthwith to be transformed and made like that of the angels (Apoc. Bar., 4 Esdras; see also the Pharisaic doctrine in Jos. *BJ* 8 14).

Several writers reveal a new development in regard to the resurrection of the 'spirit.' Instead of being preceded by a stay in Shĕōl till after the final judgment, the entrance of the righteous spirit on a blessed immortality is to follow on death immediately. This view, however, is held only by Alexandrian writers (Philo, Wisdom 3 1-4 4 2 7 10, etc., 4 Macc.) or by the Essenes (see Jos. *BJ* 2 8 11, cp ESSENES, § 7). The only exception is Jubilees (see chap. 23). The older view survives in the first century A.D. in Ass. Moses 10 9, in Slav. En. and (partly) in Eth. En. 108.

Finally, the scope of the resurrection, which in the past

[1] Eth. En. 51 1 is difficult. Both Shĕōl and hell (*i.e.*, *haguel* = destruction) are said to give up their inhabitants for judgment. Are we therefore to regard Shĕōl and hell as mere parallels here, or is Shĕōl the temporary abode of the righteous and hell that of the wicked? The fact that Paradise is the intermediate abode of the righteous in the Similitudes (see above, i.) would favour the former alternative. Shĕōl would then in all cases be a place of punishment intermediate or final in the Similitudes. The connotation of Shĕōl, however, in this section may not be fixed. The second alternative, therefore, seems the true one; for Shĕōl and hell appear to hold both good and evil souls.

[1] The earlier part of this work may be as old as the second century B.C.

was limited to Israel, is extended in some books to all mankind (Apoc. Bar. **31** 2 4 Ezra 7 32 37). For the Gentiles, however, this is hut a sorry boon. They are raised only to be condemned for ever with a condemnation severer than that which they had endured before.'

(6) *Eschatologies of the several writers.*—In the Book

72. Jubilees.

of Jubilees there is not much eschatological thought. Levi is given a special blessing; from him are to proceed 'princes and judges and chiefs' (31 15). From Judah there seems to be expected a Messiah.

Isaac blesses Judah thus: 'Be thou a prince—thou and ***one of thy sons*** over the sons of Jacob . . . in thee shall there be the help of Jacob,' etc. (**31** 18 *f.*). There is a detailed description of the Messianic woes (**23** 13 19 22). These will be followed by an invasion of Palestine by the Gentiles (**23** 23 *f.*). Then Israel will 'begin to study the laws,' and repent (**23** 26). **As** the nation becomes faithful, human life will gradually be lengthened till it approaches one thousand years (**23** 27; cp **23** 28). This period is the 'great day of peace' (25 10). Whether the blessings granted to the Gentiles through Israel (IS 16 **20** 10 **27** 23), however, are to be referred to the Messianic age, is doubtful. Finally, when the righteous die, their spirits will enter into a blessed immortality (**23** 31). 'And their bones shall rest in the earth and their spirits shall have much joy, and they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgment,' etc.

The 'day of the great judgment' (23 11) seems to follow on the close of the Messianic kingdom.

Mastema and the demons subject to him shall be judged (10 8). On the restriction of the resurrection to the spirit (**23** 31), see above (§ 71, *a*). The question arises, Where do the spirits of the righteous who die before the final judgment go? *It* cannot be to Shĕōl, for Shĕōl is ordinarily conceived in this book as 'the place of condemnation' into which are cast eaters of blood and idolaters (7 29 22 22). It must be either, as in the Similitudes, to an intermediate abode of the righteous, such as Paradise, or else to heaven. All Palestinian Jewish tradition favours an intermediate abode.

The Assumption of Moses (7-29 A.D.) is closely allied

73. Assumption of Moses (7-29 A.D.).

to Jubilees in many respects. Whereas Jubilees, however, is a manifesto in favour of the priesthood, the Assumption, proceeding from a Pharisaic quietist, contains a bitter attack on them (7).

The preparation for the advent of the theocratic or Messianic kingdom will he a period of repentance (**116**). 1750 years after the death of Moses (**10** 12) God will intervene in behalf of Israel (10 7) and the ten tribes shall return. There is no Messiah'; 'the eternal God alone . . . will punish the Gentiles' (10 7). In this respect the Assumption differs from Jubilees. The idealisation of Moses leaves no room for a Messiah. During the temporary Messianic kingdom Israel shall destroy its national enemies (**10** 8), and finally he exalted to heaven (10 9), whence it shall see its enemies in Gehenna (10 10).

It is noteworthy that the conception of Gehenna, which was originally the specific place of punishment for apostate Jews, is here extended, so that it becomes the final abode of the wicked generally. Finally, there seems to be no resurrection of the body, only of the spirit.

Philo.—We shall only touch on the main points of

74. Philo, 25 B.C.-50 A.D.

the eschatology of Philo. He looked forward to the return of the tribes from captivity, to the establishment of **a** Messianic kingdom of temporal prosperity, and even to a Messiah.

The *loci classici* on this subject are ***De*** *Execrat.* 8 *f.* (ed. Mang. 2 435 *f.*) and *De Proem.* ***et*** *Poen.* 15-20 (rd. Mang. 2 421-428). The former passage foretells the restoration of a converted Israel to the Holy Land. The latter describes the Messianic kingdom. The Messiah is a man of war—*ἐξελεύσεται γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, φησὶν ὁ χρησμός* (Nu. **24** 17), *καταστραταρχῶν καὶ πολεμῶν ἔθνη.*

The inclusion of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom, though really foreign to his system, in Philo's eschatology, is strong evidence as to the prevalence of these expectations even in Hellenistic Judaism. Apparently Philo did not look forward to a general and final judgment. All enter after death into their final abode. The punishment of the wicked is everlasting ***(De*** *Cherub.* 1); even the wicked Jews are committed to Tartarus ***(De*** *Execrat.* 6). As matter is incurably evil, there can be no resurrection of the body. Our present life in the body is death, for the body is the sepulchre of the soul (*Quod Deus immut.* 32); our *σῶμα* is our *σῆμα* (*Leg. Alleg.* 1 33).

According to the Slavonic Enoch[1] (1-50 A.D.), as the earth was created in six days, its history will be

75. Slavonic Enoch, 1-50

accomplished in 6000 years; and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6000 years of the world's history will be followed by a rest of 1000 years—the Millennium or Messianic kingdom. Here for the first time the Messianic kingdom is limited to 1000 years (whence the later Christian view of the Millennium), at the expiration of which time will pass into eternity (32 2-33 2), and then will be the final judgment.

That event is variously called 'the day of judgment' (**39** 1 **51** 3), 'the great day of the Lord' (18 6), 'the great judgment' (52 15 **56** 5 66 7), 'the day of the great judgment' (50 4), 'the eternal judgment' (7 1), 'the great judgment for ever' (60 4), 'the terrible judgment' (48 8), 'the immeasurable judgment' (40 12).

Before the final judgment the souls of the departed are in intermediate places.

The rebellious angels awaiting judgment in torment are confined to the second heaven (7 1-3). The fallen lustful angels are kept in durance under the earth (18 7). Satan, hurled down from heaven, has as his habitation the air (**29** 4 *f.*). For the souls of men, which were created before the creation of the world (**23** 5), future places of abode have been separately prepared (**40** 2 58 5). The context of **56** 5 appears to imply that they are the intermediate place for human souls. In 32 1 Adam is sent to this receptacle of souls on his death, and is transferred from it to paradise in the third heaven after the great judgment (**42** 5). Even the souls of beasts are preserved till the final judgment in order to testify against the ill-usage of men (**56** 5 6).

The righteous shall escape the final jndgnient and enter paradise as their eternal inheritance (89 42 3 5 61 3 65 10). The wicked are cast into hell in the third heaven where their torment will be for everlasting (10 40 12 41 2 **42** 1 *f.* 61 3). There is apparently no resurrection of the body—the righteous are clothed with the garments ***of*** Gods glory (22 6; cp Eth. En. **62** 16 108 12). The seventh heaven is the final abode of Enoch (55 2 67 2); but this is an exception.

In the Alexandrian 'Wisdom of Solomon' there is no Messiah; but there is to be a theocratic kingdom, in

76. Wisdom.

which the surviving righteous shall judge the nations (3 7 8), forensically (cp 1 Cor. 6 2), not by the sword. Here's a mark of progress. The body does not rise again; it is a mere burden taken up for a time by the pre-existent soul (cp Slav. En.). It is the soul that is immortal (3 1-4 etc.). The wicked shall be (destroyed' (4 19), though not annihilated (4 19 **5** 1). The true judgment of the individual sets in at death (4 10 14). For further details see WISDOM OF SOLOMON, § **17**.

4 Maccabees is **a** philosophical treatise on the supremacy of reason.[2] The writer adopts, as far as possible,

77. 4 Macc.

the tenets of stoicism. He teaches the eternal existence of all souls, good and bad, but no resurrection of the body. The good shall enjoy eternal blessedness in heaven[3] (**9** 6 15 2 17 5); but the wicked shall be tormented in fire for ever (9 9, 10 15 12 12).

On the composite Book of Baruch see **BARUCH** ii., and cp **APOCRYPHA**, § 6, i. Here we only note that

78. Baruch and Apoc. of Baruch.

in 2 17 Hades still possesses its OT connotation. The *Apocalypse of Baruch* also (50-80 A.D.) is a composite work (APOCALYPTIC. § 10 *f.*; for a summary of contents see *ib.* § 8),[4] the six or more independent constituents of which may, when treated from the standpoint of their eschatology, be ranged in three classes.

i. The Messiah Apocalypses A,, A,, A, (27-30 1, 36-**40**, 53-74). This part differs from the rest of the book in being written before 70 A.D. and **in** teaching the

[1] So Eth. **En.** 22 19 **Apoc.** Bar. **30** 4 *f.* **36** 11 4 Esd. **7** 87.

[1] For further details see Morfill and Charles's *editio princeps* of this book; also APOCALYPTIC, §§ 33-41.
[2] See MACCABEES (FOURTH), §§ 2, 7, and cp Che. *OPs.* 29.
[3] Cp Che. *OPs.* 414, 443.
[4] For a fuller treatment see Charles, ***Apocalypse of Baruch.***

doctrine of a personal Messiah. In A,, however, his rôle is a passive one, whereas in A, and A, he is a warrior who slays the enemies of Israel with his own hand. In all three apocalypses the Messiah-kingdom is of temporary duration.

In A_2 the Messiah's 'principate will stand "for ever" until the world of corruption is at an end' (403); in A_3 his reign is described as 'the consummation of that which is corruptible and the beginning of that which is incorruptible' (74 2). During it there will he no sorrow nor anguish nor untimely death (73 2 *f.*). The animal world will change its nature and minister unto man (73 6). In A_2 and A_3 the kingdom is inaugurated with the judgment of the sword (39 7-40 2, 72 2-6). The Gentiles that have ruled or oppressed Israel shall be destroyed ; but those that have not done so shall be spared in order to be subject to Israel (72 2-6).

The final judgment and the resurrection follow on the close of these kingdoms.

ii. In B_1 (1-9 1 43-447 45-466 77-82 86 *f.*) the writer (who is optimistic) looks forward (69) to Jerusalem's being rebuilt (after it has been destroyed by angels) lest the enemy should boast (7 1), to the restoration of the exiles (77 6 78 7), and to a Messianic kingdom (15 466 77 12); but he does not expect a Messiah. Little consideration is shown for the Gentiles (82 2-7).

iii. In B_2 (13-25 30 2-35 41 *f.* 44 8-15 47-52 75 *f* 83), written after 70 A.D., the writer has relinquished all expectation of national restoration and all hope for the present corruptible world. He is mainly concerned with theological problems and the question of the incorruptible world that is to be.

The world shall be renewed (32 6): from being transitory (48 50 85 10) it shall become undying (51 3) and everlasting (48 50); from being a world of corruption (21 19 31 5 ; cp 40 3 74 2) it shall become incorruptible and invisible (51 8 44 12). Full of world-despair, the writer looks for no Messiah or Messianic kingdom, but only for the last day when he will testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel (13 3).

In the meantime, as men die they enter in some degree on their reward in Shĕōl, the intermediate abode of the departed (23 5 48 16 52 2; cp 56 6), in which there are already certain degrees of happiness or torment.

For the wicked Shĕōl is an abode of pain (30 5 36 11), still not to be compared with their torments after the final judgment. The righteous are preserved in certain 'chambers' or 'treasuries' in Shĕōl (4 Ezra 4 41), where they enjoy rest and peace, guarded by angels (Eth. En. 100 5 ; 4 Ezra 7 15).

At the final judgment the righteous issue forth to receive their everlasting reward (30 2).

As regards the resurrection B_2 teaches as follows :—

In answer to the question, Wilt thou perchance change these things [*i.e.*, man's material body] which have been in the world, as also the world? [49 3], he shows in chap. 50 that the dead shall be raised with bodies absolutely unchanged, with a view to their recognition by those who knew them. This completed, the bodies of the righteous shall be transformed, with a view to an unending spiritual existence (51 1 3 7-9). They shall he made like the angels and equal to the stars, and changed from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory (51 10); they shall even surpass the angels (51 12).

The Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. 15 35-50 is thus in some respects a developed and more spiritual expression of ideas already current in Judaism.

In B_3 (chap. 85) there is the same despair of a national restoration as in B_2, and only spiritual blessedness is looked for in the world of incorruption (85 4 *f.*).

79. 4 Esdras. In dealing with 4 Esd. we shall adopt provisionally some of the critical results attained by Kabisch (cp ESDRAS [FOURTH]). Of the five independent writings which he discovers in it. two were written before 70 A.D. and three after.

i. The two former he designates respectively an Ezra Apocalypse and a Son of Man Vision.

a. The *Ezra Apocalypse* consists of 4 52-5 13*a* 6 13-25 7 26-44 8 63-9 12 and is largely eschatological.

The signs of the last times are recounted at great length (5 1-12 6 21 *f.* 9 1-3 6), the destruction of Rome (5 3), and the advent of the Messiah the Son of God (56 7 26). Certain saints shall accompany the Messiah (7 28)[1]—here we seem to have the idea ot a first resurrection of the saints to the temporary Messianic kingdom, the general resurrection taking place at its close (7 31 *f.*)—and all the faithful who have survived the troubles that preceded the kingdom shall rejoice together with the Messiah 400 years.[1] Then the Messiah and all men shall die (7 29), and in the course of seven days the world shall return to its primeval silence, even as in the course of seven days it was created (7 30). Then the next world shall awake the corruptible perish (7 31), all mankind he raised from the head (7 32) and appear at the last judgment (7 33), and Paradise (the final abode of the righteous) and Gehenna be revealed (7 36). The judgment shall last seven years (7 43).

6. The *Son of Man Vision* (chap. 13) was composed probably before 70 A. D.

Many signs are to precede the advent of the Messiah (13 32), who will appear in the clouds of heaven (13 3 32). The nations, 'a multitude without number,' shall assemble from the four winds of heaven to attack him (13 5 34) ; but the Messiah will destroy them—not with spear or weapon of war (13 9 28), hut 'hy a flood of fire out of his mouth and a flaming breath out of his lips' (13 10 27), and 'by the law which is like fire' (13 38 49). The 'new Jerusalem' shall be set up (13 36). The Messiah shall restore the ten tribes (13 40 47) and preserve the residue of God's people that are in Palestine (13 48).

ii. The other three constituents of 4 Esd. were composed between 70 and 100 A. D.

c. **The** *Eagle Vision* (10 60-12 35). Here is predicted (12 33) the destruction of Rome through the agency of the Davidic Messiah (12 32 ; so Vv. except Lat.), who will save the remnant of God's people in Palestine, and fill them with joy to the end, the day of judgment (12 34).

***d.* An** *Ezra Fragment* (14 1-17a 18-27 36-47). Ezra is to be translated and to live with the Messiah till the twelve times are ended (14 9). Ten and a half have elapsed already (14 11). Great woes have befallen, but the worst are yet to come (14 16 *f.*). Does 14 9 imply that when 'the times are ended' there will be a Messianic kingdom like that in the Ezra Apocalypse discussed above (a)? This is not improbable if we compare 14 9 with 7 28. The parts of chap. 14 under consideration, therefore, may belong to that apocalypse.

e. **The** *Apocalypse of* **Salathiel** (3 1-31 4 1-51 5 13*b*-6 10 6 30-7 25 7 45-8 62 9 13-10 57 12 40-48 14 28-35). The world is nearly at an end (4 44-50). As it was created, *so* it is to be judged, by God alone (5 56 66). Very few shall be saved (7 47-61 8 2 *f.*). Judgment and all things relating to it were prepared before the creation (7 70). It will come when the number of the righteous is completed (4 36) · the sins of earth will not retard it (4 39-42). In the meantime, 'retribution sets in immediately after death (7 69 75 80 86 95 14 35). The souls of the righteous, who are allowed seven days to see what will befall them (7 100 *f.*), are guarded by angels in 'chambers '(7 75 85 95 121) till the final judgment, when glory and transfiguration await them (7 95 97). The souls of the wicked in torment roam to and fro in seven 'ways' (*vias*) which answer to the seven 'ways' of joy for the righteous (7 80-87 93). After the judgment their torments become still more grievous (7 84), and intercession, permissible now (7 106-111), can no longer he allowed (7 102-105), all things being then finally determined (7 113-115). This world now ends, and the next (7 113), which will be a new creation (7 75), begins. It is the time of the great reward of the righteous, who shall be bright as stars (7 97); yea, even brighter (7 125), for they shall shine as the sun, and be immortal (7 97). Paradise shall be their final abode (7 123).

The teaching of this book is closely allied to that of Apoc. Bar. B_2.

Josephus, a Pharisee, gives a fairly trustworthy Pharisaic eschatology in *Ant.* xviii. 1 3 (cp SCRIBES)., **80. Josephus, 37-101 A.D.** The account in *BJ* iii. 8 5 is in a high degree misleading. In reality, Josephus believed in an intermediate state for the righteous, and (see *Ant.* iv. 6 5) in a future Messianic age.[3]

(*c*) *Development of special conceptions in first* century *A.D.*

81. Special conceptions. 1. *Soul and* Spirit.—There is hardly a trace of what we have called (§ 20) the later doctrine of the soul and the spirit in the Jewish literature of the first century A.D.[4]

[1] The same idea is probably to be found in 13 52.

[1] This number has originated as follows:—According to Gen. 15 13 Israel was to be oppressed 400 years in Egypt. Ps. 90 15 contains the prayer, 'Give us joy . . . for as many years of misfortune as we have lived through' (We. *SKIZ*). From a combination of these passages it was inferred that the Messianic kingdom would last 400 years. Compare this view with that of the 1000 years broached in Slav. En. ; see § 75.

[2] A treatment of this passage of Josephus with regard to its eschatological contents will be found also in Cheyne's *OPs.* 416 *ff.* 445 *ff.*

[3] It is Josephus the courtier who speaks in *BJ* vi. 5 4.

[4] In Baruch 1-38, which belongs in eschatological character to the OT, this teaching appears, and the term 'spirit' is used in its later sense in 2 17 'The dead that are in Hades whose spirit is taken from their bodies.' Still in 3 1 'spirit' and 'soul' are treated as synonymous according to the popular and older view. This part of Baruch may belong to the second or the last century B.C.

In Jubilees 23 31 the departed are spoken of as 'spirits.' So likewise in Ass. Mos. *(see* Origen, *In Jos. homil.* 2 1). On the other hand Slav. En. speaks only of 'souls'; see 23 5 58 5. Again, whereas Apoc. Bar. uses in reference to the departed only the term 'soul'—cp 30 3 4 (51 15)—the sister work 4 Esd. uses both 'soul' (7 75 93 99 *f.*) and 'spirit' (7 78 80).

The author of Wisdom was clearly influenced by Gen. **2 46-3**; but his psychology is independent, and more nearly agrees with the popular dichotomy (14 8 19 *f.* 9 15). In the next life the soul constitutes the entire personality (**3 1**; 'spirit' is clearly a synonym (cp 15 8 and **15 16**; also **16 14**). There is, therefore, no trichotomy in 15 11. The difference between 'an active soul' (ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν) and 'a vital spirit' (πνεῦμα ζωτικόν) lies not in the substantives but in the epithets.[1] The soul here is not the result of the inbreathing of the divine breath into the body but an independent entity, synonymous with the spirit derived directly from God.

2. *Judgment.*—This century witnesses but little change in the current beliefs on this head. There is to be **a** preliminary judgment in all cases where a Messianic kingdom is expected (in Jub., Ass. Mos., Wisdom, and all the different constituents of Apoc. Bar. and **4** Esdras save B_2 and B_3 of the former and the Apoc. Salathiel of the latter). The final judgment is to be executed on men and angels (Jub., Slav. En. and Apoc. Bar.) at the close of the Messianic kingdom, or, where no such kingdom is expected, at the close of the age (Apoc. Bar., B_2 B_3), or when the number of the righteous is completed *(4* Esdras, Apoc. Sal.). In **2** Macc. and Philo, however, no final judgment is spoken of. Each soul apparently enters at death on its final destiny. In this last respect alone is there a definite divergence from the beliefs of the last century B.C.

3. Places **of** abode *of the departed.*—There are many; but they have, for the most part, their roots in the past.

i. Heaven (or Paradise). The final abode of the righteous (Jub. 23 31, Ass. Mos. 10 9, Apoc. Bar. **51**).

ii. Paradise. *(a)* The final abode of the righteous (Slav. En. 8 *f.* **42 3 5** etc.: **4** Ezra 7 **36** 123). (*b*) The intermediate abode of the righteous (Jub.?).

iii. Shĕōl or Hades. (*a*) The abode of **all** departed souls till the final judgment (Apoc. Bar. 23 5 43 16 **52** 2; **4** Ezra 4 **47**; Josephus [see above]). Shĕōl thus conceived, however, had two divisions—a place of pain for the wicked (Apoc. **Bar.** 30 5 36 11), and a place of rest and blessedness for the righteous (cp **4** Ezra 4 41).[2] This was called the 'treasuries' (cp Apoc. Bar. 30 2; 4 Ezra 7 75 85 95). **(6)** Hell (Jub. 7 29 22 22; 4 Ezra 8 53).

iv. Gehenna. This is now generally conceived **as** the final place of punishment for all the wicked, not for apostate Jews as heretofore (Ass. Mos. 10 10; **4** Ezra 7 **36**). It seems to be referred to in Wisdom (cp 4 19). In Slav. En. it is in the third heaven (cp **10** 40 12 41 2).[3]

4. *Resurrection.*—(*a*) Resurrection of the saints to the Messianic kingdom. This is apparently the teaching of *4* Esdras 7 28. (*b*) General resurrection. According to all the authorities of this century as enumerated above (except Apoc. Bar. and *4* Esdras), there is to be a resurrection of the righteous alone. In B_3 of Apoc. Bar. (**30 2-5** 50 *f.*) and in the Ezra Apoc. in **4** Esd. (7 32-37) the resurrection involves all men. A resurrection or an immortality only of the soul is found in Jubilees, **Ass.** Mos., Philo, Wisdom and *4* Macc.

5. *(a)* Messianic *kingdom.*—See above (§ 71).

(b) *Messiah.*—We remarked above (§ 70 5) that from about 50 B.C. the Messianic hope rooted itself *so* firmly that henceforth the Messiah became, on the whole, the central figure in the theocratic kingdom. It may startle some to find that onlv five of the books we have dealt with express this hope (cp MESSIAH). The explanation, however, is not far to seek. Against the secularisation of the hope of the Messiah, favoured (see APOCALYPTIC, § 85) by the Psalms of Solomon, an emphatic protest was raised by a strong body of Pharisees, Quietists like the ancient Ḥăsīds (above, § 57), who felt it to be their sole duty to observe the law, leaving it to God to intervene and defend them. This standpoint is represented by Ass. Mos., and later by the Salathiel Apoc. in *4* Esdras. Among the Jews of the dispersion, too, this view naturally gained large acceptance. Hence we find no hint of the ideas it protested against in the Slav. En., the Book of Wisdom, and *4* Macc. This opposition to the hope of the Messiah from the severely legal wing of Pharisaism at length gave way, however, and in Apoc. Bar. **53-74** (*i.e.*, A_1) we have literary evidence of the fusion of early Rabbinism and the popular Messianic expectation. How widespread was the hope of the Messiah in the first century of the Christian era may be seen not only from Jubilees (?), Philo, Josephus and the various independent writings in the Apoc. Bar. and *4* Esdras, but also from the NT and the notice taken of this expectation in Tacitus (*Hist.* **5 13**) and Snetonius (*Vesp. 4)*.

Since in all cases only a transitory Messianic kingdom is expected in this century, the Messiah's reign is naturally conceived as likewise transitory.

The Messiah is to be of the tribe of Judah (Jub. **31** 18 *f.*, **4** Esd. **12 32**). According **to** Apoc. Bar. 27-30 1 and **4** Esd. 7 28 (*i.e.*, Ezra Apoc., see above § 79, *a*) he is to play *a* passive part. In the former passage he is to appear **at** the close of the Messianic woes; in the latter, at the time of the first resurrection. He is not usually passive, however; in Apoc. Bar. 36-40 53-70 and **4** Esd. **10** 60-12 **35** he **is a** warrior who slays his enemies with the sword. Other writers, more loftily, substitute for **a** sword the invisible word of his mouth (**4** Erd. 13 10; cp Ps. Sol. 17).

6. Gentiles.—In most works written before the fall of Jerusalem only the hostile nations are destroyed (see *e.g.*, Apoc. Bar. **40 1** *f.* 72 4-6); but in later works (see **4** Esd. **13**) this fate is suffered by all Gentiles. In no case have they any hope of a future life. They descend for ever either into Shĕōl or into Gehenna. If, anywhere, they are represented as having part in the resurrection, it is only that they may be committed to severer and never-ending torment *(4* Esd. 7 36-38).

C. NEW TESTAMENT

In entering the field of the NT we find at once a distinguishing peculiarity. The ideas inherited from the past are not in a state of constant flux in which each idea in turn appeals for acceptance, and enjoys through the system which it generates a brief career. The ideas are subordinated **to** the central force of the Christian movement.

82. NT writers.

In the next place we have to note that the teaching of Christ and of Christianity at last furnished a synthesis of the eschatologies of the race and the individual.

The true Messianic kingdom begun on earth is to be consummated in heaven; it is not temporary but eternal; it is not limited to one people but embraces the righteous of all nations and of **all** times. It forms a divine society[1] in which the position and significance of each member is determined by his endowments and his blessedness conditioned by the blessedness of the whole. Religious individualism becomes an impossibility. The individual can have no part in the kingdom except through **a** living relation to its head; hut this relation cannot be maintained and developed save through life in and for the brethren, and so closely is the individual life hound to that of the brethren that no soul can reach its consummation apart.

Of the large body of Jewish ideas retained in the system of Christian thonght many undergo a partial or complete transformation, and it is important at the outset to place this relation in a clear light. We cannot expect Christianity to be free from inherited conceptions of a mechanical and highly unethical character,[2] when we remember that in the Hebrew religion there were for centuries large survivals of primitive Semitic religion.

[1] Thus the resemblance to Gen. **2 7** is merely verbal.

[2] The statement that "the treasuries" are **a** department of Shĕōl is based on the Latin version of 4 Esdras 4 41. The present writer, however, is now inclined to regard this statement as false on various grounds, one reason being the fact that the Syr. and Eth. versions of the passage agree against the Latin.

[3] In the fragmentary Christian apocalypse in the Ascension of Isaiah (3 13-4 32) Gehenna is regarded as the final abode of Beliar. See 4 14 and cp ANTICHRIST, § 13.

[1] The joyous nature of the fellowship of this kingdom is set forth in the gospels in the figurative terms of *a* feast; but all idea of the satisfaction of sensuous needs in the consummated kingdom of God is excluded by the only account of the risen life of the righteous which comes from the triple tradition.

[2] Among those in Christianity which historical criticism compels us to assign to this class are the generally accepted doctrine of Hades, and the doctrine **of** eternal damnation.

Nor can we be surprised to find ideas which belong to different stages of development, not only in the NT as a whole, but also in the mind of the same NT writer. The fundamental teaching of Jesus, assimilated (it may be) more by one writer than by another, could not all at once transform the body of inherited eschatological ideas. The development of Paul will, if our results are correct, supply an instructive commentary on this axiomatic truth.

In what follows we shall deal first (§§ 83-101) with the books and groups of books in the order that will best bring to light the eschatological development. We shall then (§ 102 *f.*), as before, deal with the development of special conceptions.

I. THE BOOKS AND GROUPS OF BOOKS.—1. The eschatology of the Synoptic Gospels deals with the consummation of the kingdom of God. This kingdom is represented under two aspects, now as present, now as future; now as inward and spiritual, now as external and manifest.

83. The Synoptic Gospels.

Thus in Mt. 633 7 13 11 12 12 28 21 31 Lk. 17 21 it is already present, whereas in Mt. 6 10 8 11 26 29 Mk. 9 1 Lk. 9 27 13 28 *f.* 14 1 j it is expressly conceived as still to be realised.

The two views are organically related, and are combined in a well-known saying of Jesus (Mk. 10 15), which declares that entrance into the kingdom as it shall be is dependent on a man's right attitude to the kingdom as it now is.

We shall deal next with the three great events which are to bring about the consummation of the kingdom: (*a*) the parusia (§ 84 *f.*), (6) the final judgment (§ 86), and (*c*) the resurrection (§ 87).

a. The parusia[1] or second advent introduces the consummation of the divine kingdom founded by the Messiah. It is certainly to take place at the 'close of the age' (συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος), Mt. 13 39 *f.* 49 24 3 28 20. When we seek a more precise definition **of** time, however, we find in the Gospels two apparently conflicting accounts.

84. The parusia at hand.

(i.) The parusia is within the current generation and preceded by certain signs. This was very natural, because in the OT the foundation and the consummation of the kingdom are closely connected. Hence Jesus declared that 'this generation' (ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη) should not 'pass away' till the prophetic description had been realised (Mt. 24 34). The description referred to (see Mt. 24 and Mk. 13; Lk. 21 5-35) is no doubt full; but these chapters appear to be derived in part from Jesus and in part from a Judaistic source. They identify two distinct occurrences, the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world.[2]

This is sometimes explained by the well-known theory of prophetic perspective (see PROPHECY), but the explanation is unsatisfactory. Illusions of the bodily eye are gradually corrected by experience until at last they cease to mislead; but it is not so with prophecy as regards either the prophet or those who accept his prophecy: both are deceived. That Jesus did expect to return during the existing generation (Mt. 10 23 16 27 *f.* Mk. 9 1 Lk. 9 26 *f.*) is proved beyond question by the universal hopes of the apostolic age. To speak of error in this regard, however, is to misconceive the essence of prophecy. So far as relates to fulfilment, it is always conditioned by the course of human development. OT prophecy and Jesus' own inner consciousness as God's Messiah pointed to the immediate consummation of the kingdom; but there was still possibility that it might be long delayed (Mt. 24 48 Lk. 12 45, also Mk. 13 35 Lk. 12 38 Mt. 25 5), and he expressly declared that the day and the hour of his return was known only to God (Mk. 13 32). This determination God had withheld from him because it was dependent not on the divine will alone but also on the course of human development. He could indicate, however, the 'signs of his coming,' such as the appearance of many false Messiahs (Mt. 24 5 Mk. 13 22), 'deceived' by whom the nation would finally arise in arms against Rome, complete the national guilt, and entail on themselves destruction (see also ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION) (Mt. 23 36). These things would be as certainly prophetic as the growing greenness of the fig-tree (Mt. 24 32). The return of the Son of Man to judgment would he imminent (24 29-31). It should be noted, however, that documents from two very different sources appear to be combined here. See note 2 below.

The same expectation is attested in Mt. 10 23, where Jesus declares to his disciples that they will not have gone through the cities of Israel before the coming of the Son of Man, and likewise in Mt. 16 27 *f.* Mk. 8 38 9 1 Lk. 9 26 *f.*, where it is said that some shall not taste of death before that time. It must be abundantly clear from the evidence that the expectation **of** the nearness of the end formed a real factor in Jesus' views of the future. There are, on the other hand, many passages ahich just as clearly present us with a different forecast of the future, and this view demands as careful attention.

(ii.) The parusia will not take place till the process of human development has run its course, and the Gospel has been preached to Jew and Gentile.

86. *At* the end.

The kingdom must spread extensively and intensively: extensively, till its final expansion is out of all proportion to its original smallness (cp the parable of the mustard seed); intensively, till it transforms and regenerates the life of the nation, or rather of the world (cp the parable of the leaven Mt. 13 31-33). This process has its parallel in the gradual growth of **a** grain of corn; the ripe fruit is the sign for harvest (Mk. 4 26 *ff.*). The preaching of the Gospel too must extend to the non-Israelites (Mt. 22 8 *f.*). *To* the Jews, who were on their last trial it would appeal in vain (Lk. 13 3 *ff.*). In the coming days the kingdom of God should be taken from them and given tu others who would bear appropriate fruits (Mk. 12 9 Mt. 21 41 43 Lk. 20 16); their city should be destroyed (Mt. 22 7), the 'times of the nations' should come in (Lk. 21 24 only), and the glad tidings of the kingdom should be carried to all nations before the end should come (Mk. 13 10 and Mt. 24 14[1] [cp 24 9] Mt. 28 19).

This representation of the future obviously presupposes *a* long period of development. No less than that of the near parusia, it goes back to Jesus. The contingency that the more sanguine view, which is derived from OT prophecy, might not be realised, is acknowledged in Mt. 24 48 Lk. 12 45,[2] also in Mk. 13 35 where the possibility of an indefinitely long night of history preceding the final advent is clearly contemplated. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that discourses relating to different events and from absolutely different sources are confused together in Mk. 13 = Mt. 24 = Lk. 21 (see § *84*, n.).

[1] The idea of the parusia could not hut arise in the mind of Jesus when he saw clearly the approaching violent end of his ministry. As a fact, it is first expressed in connection with Christ's first prophecy of this great event (Mk. 8 38 Mt. 16 27 Lk. 9 26).

[2] Among attempts to analyse the chapters that of Wendt (*Die Lehre Jesu*, 10-21) deserves attention. He traces Mt. 24 1-5 23-25 9-13 32 *f.* 36-42 (*i.e.*, Mk. 13 1-6 21-23 9-13 28 *f.* 32-37) to Jesus, and the rest of this chapter to a Jewish Christian apocalypse written before 70 A.D. Cp also ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION. The present writer is of opinion that the solution of the difficulty must be found in some such theory as that of Wendt, which is a modification of that of Colani (*Jésus Christ et les Croyances Messianiques de son Temps*, p. 201 *ff.* ['64]). According to the Jewish apocalypse just referred to, the parusia was to he heralded by unmistakeable signs, but this view is irreconcilable with another which teaches that the parusia will take the world by surprise (Mk. 13 33-36 Mt. 24 42-44 Lk. 12 35-40). This latter doctrine goes hack undoubtedly *to* Jesus; the former is derived from traditional Judaism.

[1] It is possible, as Weiss (*Marcus-ev.*, 417) thinks, that the original form of this statement is to be found in Mt. 10 18 and that its present form is due to Mk.

[2] Beyschlag (*NT Theology*, ET 1 197 *f.*) points out that the words 'of that day or that hour knoweth no man, etc.' (Mk. 13 32 Mt. 24 36) cannot be reconciled with the words that precede them, 'This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished.' Accordingly he refers the latter to the destruction of Jerusalem (cp Mt. 23 36) and the former to the final judgment of the world: An interesting discussion of these chapters is given by Briggs (*Messiah of the Gospels*, 132-165). Weiffenbach (*Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, 1873), like Colani, Pfleiderer, and Keim, seeks to show that in Mk. 13 (= Mt. 24 = Lk. 21) there is **a** Jewish-Christian apocalypse interwoven with the genuine words of Jesus. This apocalypse consisted of three parts—(1) Mk. 13 7 *f.* giving the beginning of woes, (2) Mk. 13 14-20 giving the tribulation, (3) Mk. 13 24-27 giving the parusia. Wendt's modification of this theory has been referred to already. He and other scholars think that this is the oracle referred to by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 5 3). It is impossible to treat seriously the statement of Weiss (*NT Theology*, 1 148) that there is no contradiction between Mk. 13 32 and 13 30 because 'the time of the current generation presented a very considerable margin for the determining of the day and hour.' This would be tantamount to saying, 'It will he within the next thirty or forty years; but I am not acquainted with the exact day or hour.'

b. The parusia was to be likewise the 'day of judgment' (Mt. 10 15 11 22 24 12 36), also called 'that day' (Mt. 7 22 24 36 Lk. 6 23 10 12 21 34).

86. The judgment. Christ himself will be judge;[1] for all things have been delivered by the Father into his hand (Mt. 11 27). All nations shall be gathered before him (Mt. 25 32). He will reward every man according to his works (Mt. 13 41-43 49 *f.* 16 27 22 11-14).

Amongst the judged appear his own servants (Lk. 19 22 *f.* Mt. 25 14-30), the Israelites (Mt. 19 28), the 'nations' (Mt. 25 32), not only the contemporaries of Jesus, hut also all the nations of the past, Nineveh, the Queen of Sheba (Mt. 12 41 *f.* Lk. 11 31 *f.*), Sodom and Gomorrah (Mt. 11 20 24). The demons probably are judged at the same time (Mt. 8 29).

c. The kingdom is consummated, 'comes with power' (Mk. 9 1), on the advent of Christ. The elect are

87. The resurrection. gathered in from the four winds (Mt. 24 31), and now, after being, we must assume, spiritually transformed, enter on their eternal inheritance (Mt. 25 34), equivalent to eternal life (Mk. 10 17). The kingdom, therefore, is of a heavenly, not of an earthly character: the present heaven and earth shall pass away on its coming (Mt. 5 18 24 35). The righteous rise to share in it; but only the righteous: the resurrection is only to life. Those who share in it are 'as angels in heaven' (Mt. 22 30 Mk. 12 25), 'are equal to the angels and sons of God, being sons of the resurrection' (Lk. 20 36). Only those, therefore, attain to the resurrection who 'are accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the resurrection from the dead' (Lk. 20 35). Elsewhere the third evangelist speaks of 'the resurrection of the just' (14 14). The entire context of Mt. 22 23-33 (= Mk. 12 18-27 Lk. 20 27-40) points clearly to the conclusion that the resurrection is conceived as springing from life in God. In such communion man is brought to the perfection to which he was destined. The righteous thus in an especial sense become 'sons of God,' inasmuch as they are 'sons of the resurrection' (Lk. 20 36).

In the resurrection, therefore, the wicked have no part. It has been said by some scholars that there must be a resurrection of all men in the body because all must appear at the final judgment; but the final judgment and the resurrection have no necessary connection.

In Jubilees there is a final judgment but no resurrection of the body, and in Eth. En. 91-104 there is a final judgment, hut a resurrection only of the spirits of the righteous (91 10 92 3 103 3-4). The fact that demons and other disembodied spirits (Mt. 8 29) are conceived as falling under the last judgment is further evidence in the same direction.

As the righteous are raised to the perfected kingdom of God, the wicked, on the other hand, are cast down into Gehenna (Mt. 5 29 *f.* 10 28 Mk. 9 43 45 47 *f.*). The fire spoken of in this connection (Mt. 5 22) is not to be conceived sensuously; it is a vivid symbol of the terrible wrath of God. The place or state of punishment is also described as 'the outer darkness' (Mt. 8 12), the place of those who are excluded from the light of the kingdom. The torment appears to be a torment of the soul or disembodied spirit. See above, § 70 (3 iv.).

Though in conformity with Jewish tradition the punishment is generally conceived in the Gospels as everlasting, there are not wanting passages which appear to fix a finite and limited punishment for certain offenders, and hence recognise the possibility of moral change in the intermediate state.

Thus some are to he beaten with few, others with many stripes (Lk. 12 46-48). It is not possible to conceive eternal torment under the figure of a few stripes. Again, with regard only to one sin is it said that 'neither in this world (αἰών) nor in that which is to come' can it be forgiven (Mt. 12 32). Such a statement would he not only meaningless, but also in the highest degree misleading, if forgiveness in the next life were regarded as a thing impossible. It may not be amiss to find signs of a belief in the possibility of moral improvement after death in the rich man in Hades who appeals to Abraham on behalf of his five brethren still on earth (Lk. 16 27-31).

[1] In the parables sometimes God himself is judge (Mt. 18 32 20 8 22 11 Lk. 18 7), sometimes the Messiah (Mt. 13 30 24 50 25 12 19).

2. In considering the Apocalypse, the whole of which (see APOCALYPSE) is eschatological, our attention must

88. The Apocalypse. be confined to a few of its characteristic doctrines, the obvious meaning of which is independent of the various conflicting methods of interpretation that have been applied to the book. The book is remarkable for the large survivals of traditional Judaism which it attests. Its main object appears to be to encourage the persecuted church to face martyrdom. With this purpose its editor draws freely on current Jewish eschatology, some elements of which we shall notice in the sequel. We shall deal with its teaching under four heads.

(*a*) *Parusia and Messianic judgment.*—Every visitation of the churches, every divine judgment in regard to them is regarded as a spiritual advent of the Messiah (2 5 16 3 3 20); but this invisible coming ends in a final advent, visible to all. Its date is not revealed; but it is close at hand (3 11 22 12 20).

At Messiah's coming all families of men shall wail (1 7). In chap. 14 his coming is in the clouds of heaven, and the judgment appears under various symbolical figures. Thus he reaps the great harvest with a sharp sickle (14 14-16); he treads the winepress of the wrath of God (14 17-20; cp 19 15). The judgment of the great day—'the great day of God' (16 14)—is presented under the image of illimitable slaughter, before the beginning of which the birds of prey are summoned to feast on the bodies and blood of men (19 17-19 21 cp 14 20). At ARMAGEDDON (*q.v.*) ANTICHRIST[1] [*q.v.*] and his allies are annihilated (16 16), the beast and the false prophet are cast into the lake of fire (19 20), and all their followers slain with the sword (19 21).

(*b*) *First Resurrection, Millennium, uprising and destruction of Gog and Magog* (cp GOG).

With the overthrow of the earthly powers, Satan—'the old dragon, the old serpent'—is stripped of all his might and cast in chains into the abyss where he is imprisoned for a thousand years[2] (20 1-3). Thereupon ensues the Millennium,[3] when the martyrs[4] (and the martyrs only) are raised in the first resurrection and become priests of God (cp Is. 61 6) and Christ, and reign with Christ personally on earth for a thousand years (20 4-6) with Jerusalem as the centre of the kingdom. At the close of this period Satan is loosed, and the nations Gog and Magog—the idea is, with certain changes, derived from Ezek. 38 2 39 16 (see GOG)—are set up to make a last assault on the kingdom of Christ. In this attack they are destroyed by God himself, who sends down fire from heaven (20 9). The devil is then (as in the fully developed Zoroastrian belief) finally cast into the lake of fire (20 10).

(*c*) *General resurrection and judgment.*—These follow the Millennium, the destruction of the heathen powers, and the final overthrow of Satan.

Contemporaneously the present heaven and earth pass away (20 11; cp 21 1). God is judge; but in some respects the Messiah also (22 12; cp also 6 16 *f.*). All are judged according to their works, which stand revealed in the heavenly books (20 12). The wicked are cast into the lake of fire (21 8; see also 19 20 20 10). So likewise are Death and Hades[5] (20 14). This is the second death[6] (20 14 21 8). (See also 2 11 20 6.)

[1] Observe that, whereas in the Johannine epistles Antichrist denotes the false teachers and prophets, in the Apocalypse it designates Rome. In 2 Thess., on the other hand, Rome is a beneficent power which hinders the manifestation of Antichrist.

[2] On the origin of the conquest of 'the dragon' (ANTICHRIST, § 14, PERSIA [Religion]), and on the older Jewish view (of mythical origin) that this and other sea monsters were overcome in primeval times by God (cp Prayer of Manasses, 2-4), see DRAGON, SERPENT, BEHEMOTH, with references there given.

[3] The idea of a temporary Messianic kingdom first emerged at the beginning of the last century B.C. (see above, § 64 *f.*). Its limitation to a thousand years is first found in Slav. En. 33 (see above, § 75).

[4] This idea also is mainly Jewish. In Is. 26 19 the reference may perhaps be to the hodies of Jews who had died for their religion in the troublous times of Artaxerxes (so Che. *Intr. Is.* 158; *Isaiah, SBOT*, ad *loc.*). In 4 Ezra 7 28 the saints who accompany the Messiah on his advent probably include the martyrs. In Rev. 20 4 it is said with reference to these saints, '(I saw) the *souls* of them that had been beheaded.'

[5] Hades seems to be the intermediate abode of the wicked only; for it is always combined with death (see 1 18 6 8 20 13 *f.*). The souls of the martyrs have as their immediate abode the place beneath the altar (6 9-11). The rest of the righteous were probably conceived as in Paradise or in the Treasuries of the righteous (see 4 Ezra).

[6] The second death is the death of the soul, as the first is the death of the body. It is the endless torment, not the annihilation, of the wicked that is here meant. The expression is a familiar Rabbinic one; see Tg. Jer. on Dt. 33 6. The occupation of the martyred souls in the intermediate state reminds one

(d) Final consummation of the righteous. — The scene of this consummation is the new world—the new heaven and the new earth (21 1 5), the heavenly Jerusalem (21 10-21).[1]

The ideal kingdom of God becomes actual. The city needs no temple; God and Christ (the Lamb) dwell in it (21 22). The citizens dwell in perfect fellowship with God (22 4), and are as kings unto God (285). The Messiah does not resign his mediatorial functions as in the Pauline eschatology. See 7 17 21 22 *f.*).

3. 2 Peter and Jude.—2 Peter is closely related to Jude—in fact presupposes it.

89. 2 Peter.

Like Jude, 2 Peter recounts various temporal judgments which the author treats as warnings to the godless of his own day. Thus he adduces the condemnation of the fallen angels to TARTARUS [*q.v.*] (where they were to be *reserved* till the judgment) (2 4), the Deluge (2 5 3 6), the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (2 6). These, however, were hut preliminary acts of judgment. The final 'day of judgment' (2 9 3 7) is impending. Meantime the unrighteous are kept under punishment (κολαζομένους)—*i.e.*, in Hades (2 9). The ultimate doom of the wicked false teachers and their followers will he destruction (ἀπώλεια, 3 7); it is coming speedily upon them (2 3); they have brought it on themselves (2 1); they shall assuredly be destroyed (2 12). At the final judgment the world as it is shall perish by fire (3 7 10), as formerly by water (2 5 3 6), and new heavens and a new earth shall arise (3 12 *f.*). All this, however, shall not be till Christ's parusia (1 16 3 4 12). The last days are already come (3 4), and the parusia is postponed only through the longsuffering of God with a view to the repentance of the faithless (3 9), and their salvation (3 12). By holy living and godliness Christians could prevent any further postponement of the parusia (3 12). With the parusia the eternal kingdom of Christ (1 11) begins in the new heavens and the new earth, wherein the perfect life of righteousness shall be realised (3 13).

90. Jude.

In Jude, the divine judgments in the history of the past are but types of the final judgment (*e.g.*, Israelites in the desert, Sodom, Korah, and the angels who were guilty of unnatural crime).

'Everlasting bonds under darkness' (*v.* 6), 'punishment of eternal fire' (*v.* 7) are the terms employed for the preliminary punishments of signers. The 'judgment of the great day' (*v.* 6) is described in the well-known quotation from the patriarch Enoch. The extension of it to the angels is found also in 2 Pet. and in 1 Cor. 6 3; but for at least 300 years it had already been an accepted doctrine of Judaism. At this final judgment with which Jude menaces the godless libertines of his own day the faithful will obtain eternal life, through the mercy of Christ (*v.* 21).

91. James.

4. James.—James is a production of primitive Jewish Christianity in which Christ's religion is conceived as the fulfilment of the perfect law, prominence being given to the doctrine of recompense.

Hence, whilst the fulfilment of the law under testing afflictions (πειρασμοί) led to a recompense of blessing (1 12 5 11), failure for those who are subjects of 'the perfect law, the law of liberty,' entails an aggravated punishment (2 12; cp 1 25). None, however, can fulfil the law perfectly (3 2), and so claim 'the crown of life' as their reward. Men who need forgiveness now (5 15) must need a merciful judge hereafter. By the law of recompense only the merciful will find God to be such (2 13; cp Ps. 18 25). Moreover the judgment is close at hand. It is a day of slaughter for the godless rich (5 5). The advent of the Messiah who will judge the world is close at hand (5 8 *f.*). He alone can save or destroy (4 12). As faithful endurance receives life (1 12), so the issue of sin is death (1 15). A fire will consume the wicked, 5 3 (does this mean Gehenna?). Nor is it only to a death of the body that they will be delivered; it is a death of the soul (5 20). The faithful will enter into the promised kingdom (2 5).

92. Hebrews.

5. There is a large eschatological element in Hebrews. The final judgment ('the day') is nigh at hand (10 25). It is introduced by the final shaking of heaven and earth (12 26 compared with 12 25 29) and by the parusia. God is judge (10 30 *f.*), the judge of all (12 23). The second coming of Christ is coincident with this judgment; but he does not judge (9 27 *f.* 10 37).

Retribution is reserved unto this judgment (10 30), which will he terrible (10 31) and inevitable (12 25). The righteous expect Christ to appear not for judgment but for salvation (9 28). Their recompense is to he in heaven (6 19 *f.*), where they have an eternal inheritance (9 15), a better country (11 16), a city which is to come (13 14), whose builder and maker is God (11 9 *f.*). Then the present visible world (11 3), which is already growing old (1 10-12), will be removed, and the kingdom which cannot be shaken will remain (12 26-28). Into this new world the righteous will pass through the resurrection. There is apparently to be a resurrection of the righteous only.[1] This follows from 11 35: 'that they might obtain a better resurrection.' These words, which refer to the Maccabean martyrs (2 Macc. 7), set the resurrection in contrast with a merely temporary deliverance from death, and represent it as a prize to be striven for, not as the common lot of all. The blessedness of the righteous is described as a participation in the glory of God (2 10) and in the divine vision (12 14).

As regards the wicked, their doom is 'destruction' (10 39). This is something far worse than mere bodily death (9 27). It is represented as a consuming fire (10 27 12 29; cp 68). The destiny of the wicked[2] seems to he annihilation.

93. The Johannine Eschatology.

6. The sources for the Johannine eschatology are the Fourth Gospel and the epistles. The Apocalypse (§§ 14-17) springs from a different author, and belongs to a different school of eschatological thought.

Though these writings do not present us with any fresh teaching about hades and hell, their author furnishes us with principles which in themselves necessitate a transformation of the inherited views regarding the immediate and the final abodes of the departed. Thus when he teaches that God so loved the world as to give his only son to redeem it (Jn. 3 16), that 'God is love' (1 Jn. 4 8), that he is light, and in him is no darkness at all, hades, which is wholly under his sway, must surely he a place where moral growth is possible. The conception of a final *eternal* abode of the damned seems to find no place in a cosmos ruled by such a God as this writer conceives.

Whilst in a certain sense in the Johannine teaching the kingdom has already come, the Christ is already present, the faithful already risen, and the judgment already in fulfilment, we have to deal here not with these present aspects, but with their future consummation.

The salient points of the Johannine eschatology may be shortly put as follows. (*a*) The parusia is close at hand. (*b*) It ushers in the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment. (*c*) Thereupon believers enter into the perfect life of heavenly blessedness and through the vision of God are transformed into his likeness.

(*a*) The parusia is foretold in Jn. 14 3, where Jesus promises that he will return from heaven and take the disciples unto himself that they may be with him where he is—*i.e.*, in heaven.[3]

That 14 2 *f.* cannot be interpreted of his coming to receive his disciples individually on death is shown by 21 22. According to the NT writers death translates believers to Christ (2 Cor. 5 8 Phil. 1 23 Acts 7 59); he is nowhere said to come and fetch them. This parusia is at hand; for some of his disciples are expected to survive till it appears (21 22), though Peter must first be martyred (21 18 *f.*). Even in extreme old age the apostle still hopes to witness it together with his disciples, whom he exhorts to abide in Christ that they may not he ashamed before him at his coming (1 Jn. 2 28). The close approach of the parusia is likewise shown by the appearance of false prophets and teachers who deny the fundamental truths of Christianity. In these the Antichrist manifests himself. Such a manifestation must precede the parusia (1 Jn. 2 18 22 4 1 3). Hence this is the 'last hour' (1 Jn. 2 18).

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of the departed spirits in Eth. En. 91-104: their whole prayer is for the destruction of their persecutors.

1 Quite inconsistently with the idea of a new heaven and a new earth the writer represents Gentile nations as dwelling outside the gates: cp 22 15.

1 In 6 2 we have set forth the alternatives awaiting all men—on the one hand resurrection for the righteous, on the other eternal judgment (κρίμα αἰώνιον) for the wicked.

2 In the above the traditional views of scholars have in the main been followed; hut this has not been done without some hesitation. The eschatology might be differently construed. Judgment sets in immediately after death in the case of each individual (9 27). In 6 2 11 35, as in Pss. Sol. and elsewhere, the resurrection may he not only confined to the righteous hut also confined to the spirits of the righteous. Observe that God is spoken of as 'the Father of spirits' (12 9). An Alexandrian origin for the epistle would favour this view. The expression 'spirits of just men made perfect' (12 23) points in the same direction; for if the perfection meant is moral, these spirits must have already reached their consummation. If they have reached their consummation as spirits, however, the writer (as an Alexandrian) seems to teach only a spiritual resurrection. The chief obstacle in the way of this interpretation is the meaning of the words 'to perfect' and 'perfection.' See Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT* 123.

3 In a spiritual sense Christ has come already (1 Jn. 5 12): 'he that hath the Son hath the life.'

(*b*) On the last day Jesus himself, as the resurrection and the life (Jn. 11 25), raises his own to the resurrection-life (6 39 *f.* 44 54 11 25), a life that believers indeed already possess[1] (5 24 *f.* 8 51 ; cp 3 15 *f.*). Resurrection of all the dead is taught in 5 28 *f.*

It is clear, however, from the leading thoughts of the Fourth Gospel that a resurrection of the wicked—*i.e.*, 'a resurrection of judgment'—can be nothing more than a deliverance of the wicked to eternal death at the last day. 5 28 *f.* which teach a general resurrection of the dead are most probably interpolated (see Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, 1 249-251 ; Charles, ***Doctrine of a Future Life***, 370-372). In the Fourth Gospel the resurrection is synonymous with life. Hence in some form the resurrection life follows immediately on death, though its perfect consummation cannot be attained till the final consummation of all things. It is Jesus **also** who executes the final judgment. This is the result of his unique mediatorial significance. The Father judgeth **no** man but has committed all judgment to the Son (*5* 22 27).[2] In **a** certain sense believers do not incur judgment (3 18 5 24) ; but this judgment is that which is present and subjective,[3] and in this respect the world is judged already (3 18 12 31). The final result of this daily secret judgment must however one day become manifest ; believers must appear at the final judgment. They shall, however, have boldness there (1 Jn. 2 28 4 17). A man's attitude to Christ determines now, and will determine finally, his relation to God and his destiny (Jn. 3 18 *f.* 9 39).

(c) The final consummation is one of heavenly blessedness.

After the resurrection and the final judgment the present world shall pass away (1 Jn. 2 17), and Christ will take his own to heaven (Jn. 14 2 *f.*) ; for they are to be with him where he is (12 26 17 24). Eternal life is then truly consummated. Begun essentially on earth, it is now realised in its fulness and perfected. The faithful now obtain their 'full reward' (2 Jn. 8). **As** 'children of God' they shall, through enjoyment of the divine vision, be transformed into the divine likeness (1 Jn. 3 2 *f.*).

7. Acts *3* 12-26 may be accepted provisionally as representing the teaching of Peter (cp, however, ACTS, § 14) ; nor do we see any reason at all for hesitating to receive 1 Peter as fully Petrine (cp, however, PETER [EPISTLES], § 5).

94. The Petrine Eschatology.

The passage in Acts is, at any rate, of great historical value as embodying a highly Judaistic view, and as showing how much in this view had eventually to yield in the Christian church to distinctively Christian principles. The speech ascribed to Petrr anticipates that the kingdom of God will be realised in the forms of the Jewish theocracy (cp Acts 1 6), and that the non-Israelites will participate in its blessings only through conversion to Judaism (3 26). Hence also Jesus is conceived, not as the world-Messiah, but as the predestined Messiah of the Jews, 3 20 (τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν). We now see clearly what the much-tortured phrase 'the times of the restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) of all things' in 3 21 cannot be. It has nothing to do with such a speculative question as the ultimate and universal destiny of man. Acts 10, if it proves anything, proves this—that Peter was unacquainted with the destination of the Gospel to the Gentiles. 'The restoration' must mean either the renewal of the world, or else, much more probably, the moral regeneration of Israel (see Mal. 4 6, and Jesus' application of the passage in Mt. 17 11).

Jewish hearers are urged to repent that they may he forgiven, and so hasten the parusia. The parusia and 'the seasons of refreshing' (3 19) are connected. Either the ἀποκατάστασις is preparatory to the parusia or else it is synonymous with 'the seasons of refreshing,' and if *so* it would appear to belong to an earthly Messianic kingdom.[4]

In 1 Peter, as in Acts *3*, believing Israelites still form the real substance of the Christian church ; but—here note the step in advance—this church embraces all who come to believe in Christ, non-Israelites equally with Israelites, in this world or the next (3 19 46). Further, it is not an earthly consummation of the theocracy, but one reserved in heaven, that is looked for (1 4). The goal, then, of the Christian hope is this 'salvation ready to be revealed at the last time' (1 5), which salvation or consummation is initiated by the revelation of Jesns Christ and the judgment of the world. Though God is declared in general terms to be the judge (1 17 2 23), this final judgment is expressly assigned to Christ (4 5). Still the 'end of all things' is near (4 7), for judgment has already begun with the 'house of God'—*i.e.*, the church of believing Israel (4 17).

95. 1 Peter.

Persecution is sifting the true from the false members of the Church. Such afflictions, however, will last but 'a little while' (1 6 5 10). Then Christ will be revealed (1 7 5 4), to judge both the living and the dead (4 5), both the righteous and the wicked (4 17 *f.* ?). The approved disciples will share with their lord in 'eternal glory' (*5* 10), they will 'receive the crown of glory' (*5* 4), and live such **a** life as that of God (4 6).

The question of chief importance in the Petrine eschatology has still to be discussed. It centres in the two difficult passages which describe the preaching to the spirits in prison (3 19-21), and the preaching of the gospel to the dead (4 5 *f.*).[1] The interpretations are multitudinous. The majority attribute a false sense to the phrase 'the spirits in prison.' This phrase can be interpreted only in two ways. The spirits in question are either those of men in Shĕōl, or the fallen angels mentioned in 2 Pet. 2 4 Jude 6. In the next place the words 'in prison' denote the local condition of the spirits at the time of preaching. Hence, according to the text, Christ 'in the spirit' (*i.e.*, between his death and his resurrection) preached the gospel of redemption (for so only can we render ἐκήρυξεν) to human or angelic spirits in the underworld.

96. 'Spirits in prison,' etc.

With the more exact determination of the objects of this mission we are not here concerned ; for, however it be decided, we have here **a** clear statement that, in the case of certain individuals human or angelic, the scope of redemption is not limited to this life.

We have now to deal with 4 5 *f.*, '. . . who will have to give account to him that is ready to judge the living and the dead. For with this purpose was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh (body), but live according to God in the spirit.' The doctrine we found stated above in 3 19-21 is here substantiated, as being part of the larger truth now enunciated. Christ is ready to judge the living and the dead—the latter no less than the former; for even to the dead was the gospel preached[2] in order that though they were judged in the body they might live the life of God in the spirit. Thus it is taught that when the last judgment takes place the *evangelium* will already have been preached to all. As to how far this preaching of redemption succeeds, there is no hint in the Petrine teaching.

[1] Eternal life is at times described as a ***present possession*** :'he that believeth hath eternal life,' Jn. 6 47, cp 5 24 *f.* This divine life cannot be affected by death. He that possesses it can never truly die, 8 51 11 25 *f.* This phrase is used of the future heavenly life in 4 14 6 27 12 25. Cp ETERNAL, § 4.

[2] In 8 50 there is **a** reference to God as executing judgment ; but in 5 22 it is said that the Father judgeth no man. Wendt (***Teaching of Jesus***, 2 305 *f.*) rejects **as** interpolations in an original Johannine source 5 28 *f.* as **well** as portions of 6 39 *f.* 44 54. and 12 48 relating tn the Messianic judgment.

[3] The judgment besides being future and objective is also present and subjective. It is no arbitrary process, but the working out of an absolute law, whereby the unbelieving world is self-condemned. Cp 3 17-19 5 24 12 47 *f.*

[4] The phrase καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως is hardly intelligible on any other theory ; but the word ἀνάψυξις should probably here be rendered 'rest' or 'relief'; for it is 𝔊's rendering of רְוָחָה in Ex. 8 15. If it is taken so, it finds **a** perfect parallel in 2 Thess. 1 7 where Paul uses ἄνεσις in the same connection. This 'rest' is promised also in Asc. Is. 4 15.

[1] For the various conflicting interpretations that have been assigned to these passages from the earliest times, see Dietelmaier, *Historia Dogmatis de Descensu Christi ad Inferos litteraria* (1741 and 1762) ; Güder, ***Die Lehre von d. Erscheinung Christi unter den Toten*** ('53); Zeyschwitz, *De Christi ad Inferos Descensu* ('57) ; Usteri, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle* ; Schweitzer, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle* ; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, 2 335-341 ; Salmond, *Christian Doctr. of Immort.* 450-486 ('96) ; Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister* ; Bruston, *La Descente du Christ aux Enfers* ('97), as well **as** the Commentators *in loc.*

[2] The tense of εὐηγγελίσθη creates no difficulty here. This preaching is regarded as a completed act in the past, because, as 4 7 declares 'the end of all things is at hand.' Even if this were not *so*, the aorist can be used **of a** continuous practice (cp 1 Cor. 9 20 Jas. 2 6).

These passages in 1 Peter are of extreme value. They attest the achievement of the final stage in the moralisation of Shĕōl. The first step in this moralisation was taken early in the second century B.C., when it was transformed into a place of moral distinctions (§ 3 [3]) having been originally one of merely social or national distinctions (§§ 10-18). This moralisation, however, was very inadequately carried out. According to the Judaistic conception souls in Shĕōl were conceived as insusceptible of ethical progress. What they were on entering Shĕōl, that they continued to be till the final judgment. From the standpoint of a true theism can we avoid pronouncing this conception mechanical and unethical? It precludes moral change in moral beings who are under the rule of a perfectly moral being.

97. The Pauline Eschatology.

8. In the writings of Paul we find no single eschatological system. His ideas in this respect were in a state of development. He began with an expectation of the future inherited largely from traditional Judaism: but under the influence of great fundamental Christian conceptions he parted gradually from this and entered on a process of development in the course of which the heterogeneous elements were silently dropped.

Four stages are marked out. Even in the last Paul does not seem to have attained finality, though he was still working towards it. It is permissible, therefore, for his readers to develop his thoughts in symmetrical completeness and carry to its conclusion his chain of reasoning.

The various stages are attested by (i.) 1 and 2 Thess. (§ 98); (ii.) 1 Cor. (§ 99); (iii.) 2 Cor. and Rom. (§ 100); (iv.) Phil., Col., Eph. (§ 101).

98. 1 and 2 Thess.

(i.) The Epistles to the Thessalonians (on the criticism and contents of which cp THESSALONIANS) present us with the earliest form of the Pauline teaching and eschatology. They constitute, in fact, the Pauline apocalypse. In this apocalypse the salient points are (*a*) the great apostasy and the antichrist; (*b*) the parusia and final judgment; (*c*) the resurrection and blessed consummation of the faithful. In his teaching on these questions Paul appeals to the authority of Christ. What he puts before his readers in 1 Thess. 4 15-17 is derived from the Lord (see *v.* 15). There is, however, a fixity and rigidity in the teaching of the apostle which is not to be found in that of Jesus.

(*a*) *The apostasy and the antichrist.*—Paul starts from the fundamental thought of Jewish apocalyptic. When the forces of good and evil in the world have reached their limit of development, God will intervene. There will therefore be nothing sudden, nothing unethical in this. The conditions of the crisis are moral, and those who, morally speaking, can, and those who cannot be saved, will be distinguished gradually and surely. The day of the Lord cannot come till the antichrist (a figure found only in the early Paulinism) and the ἀποστασία have become facts.

The antichrist is described as 'the man of sin, the son of perdition, whose coming is according to the working of Satan —or, as is also said 'with all unrighteous (untruthful) deceit for those who are perishing' (2 Thess. 2 3 9 *f.*). The ἀνομία which 'already works' (2 Thess. 2 7) must reach its climax in a person —in the antichrist whose manifestation or parusia (2 Thess. 2 9) is the satanic counterfeit of the true Messiah's. This person is also described as the antithesis of every known divine form, because he places his throne in the temple in Jerusalem, 'setting himself forth as God' (2 Thess. 2 4). Now, the time of the end is come; the Lord will at once descend and 'slay him with the breath of his mouth, and consume him with the manifestation of his parusia' (2 Thess. 2 8).

Whence antichrist was to proceed—whether from Judaism or heathenism[1]—it is difficult to determine, That the apostle did not conceive him as proceeding from Rome is clear; for ὁ κατέχων is none other than Rome[1] (see ANTICHRIST, § 7).

(*b*) *Parusia and final judgment.*—We have seen when Christ's parusia (1 Thess. 3 13 2 Thess. 2 1) is to come. The precise day is uncertain: it 'comes as a thief in the night' (1 Thess. 5 2; cp Mt. 24 43); but the apostle expects it in his own time (1 Thess. 4 15 17).

With what vividness and emphasis he must have preached the impending advent of Christ is clear from 1 Thess. 5 1-3, as well as from 2 Thess., where he has to quiet an excitement almost hordering on fanaticism. When Christ descends from heaven (1 Thess. 1 10 4 16 2 Thess. 1 7), angels will accompany him as his ministers (2 Thess. 1 7), and his glory will then first be fully revealed.

The parusia is likewise the *day of judgment*, as the designations applied to it show. It is beyond doubt meant by the phrases the 'day of the Lord,' 'the day,' 'that day' (1 Thess. 5 2 4 2 Thess. 1 10). This judgment deals with antichrist and all the wicked, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether simply careless or actively hostile. The doom of the wicked is 'eternal destruction' (ὄλεθρος αἰώνιος, 2 Thess. 1 9, cp 1 Thess. 5 3; cp ἀπώλεια, 2 Thess. 2 10).

We see here the intolerance of the inherited eschatology. Later it is not the consummation of human evil but the triumph of Christianity that ushers in the fulness of the times and the advent of Christ. To the apostle's maturer mind God so shapes the varying destinies of Jew and Gentile 'that he may extend his mercy unto all' (Rom. 11 32).

(*c*) *The resurrection and the blessed consummation of the faithful.*—There was an apprehension among Paul's young converts that those who died before the parusia would fail to share in its blessedness. Hence the apostle refers them to a special statement of Christ on this subject (1 Thess. 4 15). The dead in Christ are to rise first (1 Thess. 4 16; but the teaching on this point is not quite clear),[2] by which is meant a contrast, not between a first and a second resurrection, but rather between two classes of the righteous who share in the resurrection. The first are those who have died before the parusia; the second, those who survive to meet it. Both are 'caught up to meet the Lord in the air.' Thus the elect are gathered together to Christ (2 Thess. 2 1; cp Mt. 24 31). There is no reference to a resurrection of the wicked in these two epistles.[3] It is

[1] See ANTICHRIST. Weiss (*Theol. of NT*, ET 1 305-311) maintains the Jewish origin of antichrist. He argues that an apostasy, in strictness, was impossible in heathenism, The real obstacle to the spread of the teaching of Christ lay in fanatical Jews, the 'unreasonable and evil men' of 2 Thess. 3 2 (cp also 1 Thess. 2 18), who having mostly remained 'unbelieving' (Acts 18 6 2 Thess. 1 8), had always pursued Paul with persecution and calumny (Acts 9 23 *f.* 29 13 8 45) and stirred up the heathen against him (13 50 14 2 5 19 17 5 13). These men, who had slain Christ and the prophets, were now the relentless persecutors of his Church. When we further observe that the false Messiah or antichrist regards the temple at Jerusalem as the dwelling-place of God (2 Thess. 2 4), the Jewish origin of the antichristian principle seems in a very high degree probable. Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul* (ET 119-121), however, is now less confident than formerly of the correctness of this view. His present opinion reminds us somewhat of Beyschlag's (*NT Theology*, ET 2 257 *f.*).

[1] The power of Rome had repeatedly protected the apostle against the attacks of the Jews (Acts 17 5-9 18 12-16; cp ACTS, § 5). In Rom. 13 4 the Roman magistracy is 'God's minister.' Later, this distinction between the power of Rome and antichrist disappeared. Thus the emperor is the Beast, and Rome the 'mystery of ἀνομία' in Rev. 13 17.

[2] According to 1 Thess. 3 13 the dead are to accompany Christ at his parusia—that is if we take ἅγιοι here as 'the faithful' (usage suggests this) and not as 'the angels.' 2 Thess. 1 7 speaks of angels, hut purely as agents of the divine judgment. That we are to understand 1 Thess. 3 13 of men, not of angels, is clear from 1 Thess. 4 14. According to 3 13 4 14, therefore, the resurrection of the faithful dead is coincident with the advent; hut according to 4 16 it is subsequent to the advent.

[3] Indeed there could not be a resurrection of the wicked according to Paul's views (see § 99 [*b*]). The statement attributed to Paul in Acts 24 15 that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and of the unjust cannot therefore he regarded as an accurate report. To share in the resurrection according to the all but universal teaching of the NT writers is the privilege only of those who are spiritually one with Christ and draw their life from the Holy Spirit. There are two passages—Jn. 5 28 *f.* and Rev. 20 12—that attest the opposite view; but the latter is hardly here admissible as evidence of distinctively Christian doctrine, and the former contradicts the entire drift of the Fourth Gospel in this respect. In all Jewish books that teach a resurrection of the wicked, the resurrection is conceived not as a result of spiritual oneness with God but merely as an eschatological arrangement for the furtherance of divine justice or some other divine end.

to be inferred that after the resurrection the world, from which the righteous have been removed, is given over to destruction, whilst, for the righteous, there is now the final boon of 'being for ever with the Lord' (1 Thess. 4 17). Christ's people, who are organically connected with him, will be raised even as he (1 Thess. 4 14), and therefore not to an earthly life, but to 'the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Thess. 2 14) in the completed kingdom of God (1 Thess. 2 12 2 Thess. 1 5).

(ii.) The second stage in the development of the Pauline eschatology is to be found in 1 Corinthians.

99. 1 Cor. In many respects the teaching of this epistle is in harmony with that of the epistles to the Thessalonians; but it is without antichrist. Other divergencies will appear in the sequel. Three subjects are prominent: (*a*) the parusia and the final judgment; (*b*) the resurrection; and (*c*) the consummation of the blessed.

(*a*) *The parusia and final judgment.*—Paul looks forward to the parusia of Christ[1] (1 Cor. 4 5 11 26 15 51 16 22), which will be preceded by severe trials (7 26 28).[2] The interval preceding the parusia will be shortened in order that the faithful may keep themselves free from the entanglements of this life (7 29, cp Mt. 24 22). This second coming will immediately manifest Christ's glory and bring the world to a close (1 7 *f.*, cp 2 Cor. 1 13 *f.*). With it is connected the final judgment, at which the judge will be Christ (4 4 *f.*).[3]

That the second coming is conceived as one of judgment is seen also in the designations elsewhere applied to it ('the day of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 8; 'the day,' 3 13; 'the day of the Lord,' 5 5). From the above facts it follows that Paul did not expect the intervention of a millennial period between the parusia and the final judgment, as some have inferred from 1 Cor. 15 22-24. According to this passage every power hostile to God in the world is stripped of its influence by the time of the parusia. With the resurrection which ensues thereupon is involved the destruction of the last enemy, death (15 26). Thus the parusia, accompanied by the final judgment and the resurrection, marks the end of the present age and the beginning of the new. The angels are to be judged; hut their judges are the righteous (1 Cor. 6 3; see, on Bk. of Wisd., above, § 76).

(*b*) *The* resurrection. —The resurrection of man is connected organically with that of Christ. As God has raised up Christ, so also he will raise us (1 Cor. 6 14, cp 2 Cor. 4 14).

The doctrine of man's resurrection had been denied by certain members of the church of Corinth, who did not question the resurrection of Jesus. To these the apostle rejoined that both were indissolubly united and stood or fell together. The ground of man's resurrection-hope was his living fellowship with Christ (15 22). The relation manifestly in each case is the same. As it cannot be natural and genealogical it must of necessity be ethical and spiritual. Furthermore, from the position of the words (ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν) the 'in Adam' must he connected with 'all.' Hence it is equivalent to 'all who are in Adam.' Similarly 'all in Christ'=all who are in Christ.[4] Thus the verse means: 'as all who are ethically in fellowship with Adam die, so all who are spiritually in fellowship with Christ shall be made alive.' This being made spiritually alive[5] (ζωοποιεῖσθαι) involves the 'being raised' (cp Rom. 8 11). There can he no resurrection but in Christ.

That the righteous alone are raised we shall be forced to conclude also from Paul's teaching on the origin of the resurrection body in 15 35-49.

In answer to the question how the dead are raised, Paul rejoins: 'thou witless one, that which thou sowest is not brought to life, except it die' (15 36). That is, a man's own experience should overturn the objection that is raised. The death of the seed consists in the decomposition of its material wrappings. By this process the living principle within it is set free and seizes hold of the matter around it wherewith it forms for itself a new body.[1] In like manner the resurrection is effected through death itself. What appears as the obstacle is actually the means. The spirit of man must free itself from the body which contains it before it fashions for itself a body that is incorruptible.

We are next instructed as to the glorious nature of the resurrection body (15 42-44). The sowing here cannot mean the burying of the body in the grave: such a meaning of 'sow' (σπείρειν) is wholly unattested: it is rather the placing the vital principle or spirit in its material environment here on earth, where the spirit of man, like a seed, gathers and fashions its body from the materials around it. The life of man in this world from its first appearance to the obsequies that attest its departing is analogous to the sowing of the seed in the earth.

That this is Paul's meaning will become clearer if we consider the opposing members in the various contrasts drawn in 15 42-44. Thus, it is sown in corruption (15 42). This description is no doubt applicable to the interment of the body; but the first members of the following antithesis are quite inapplicable. The phrase 'in corruption' is especially Pauline in reference to the present life of man. This life is in 'the bondage of corruption' (Rom. 8 21), and the living body is undergoing corruption (2 Cor. 4 16). Furthermore 'flesh and blood,' the constituents of the present living body, are declared in 1 Cor. 15 50 to be 'corruption.' 'In dishonour' denotes the miseries of this earthly life, which we experience in this 'body of our humiliation' (Phil. 3 21). 'Weakness' is another fitting description of the body as an agent of the spirit—'the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.' *See* also 1 Cor. 2 3 *f.* 2 Cor. 12 9 *f.* for the contrast 'weakness' and 'power' as here. To apply such a term as weakness to the dead body would be absurd. Finally, this present body is psychical as an organ of the psychè or 'soul,' just as the risen or spiritual body is an organ of the 'spirit.' Thus as the psychical body is corruptible, and clothed with humiliation and weakness, the spiritual body will enjoy incorruptibility, honour, and power. Hence between the bodies there is no exact continuity. The existence of the one depends on the death of the other. Nevertheless there is some essential likeness between them. The essential likeness proceeds from the fact that they are successive expressions of the same personality, though in different spheres. It is the same individual vital principle that organises both.

From this description of the resurrection body, it is obvious that only the righteous can share in the resurrection.

We have dealt with the characteristics of the risen body and its relation to the present body. The question now arises, When does this resurrection of the body occur? In conformity with the universal Jewish tradition Paul makes it to follow on the parusia. Such a time-determination, however, fails to establish an organic connection with the doctrine of the risen body stated above.

Unless our interpretation of that doctrine is wholly wrong, its entire trend points not to a period externally determined and at some possibly remote age, but to the hour of departure of the individual believer. The analogy of the seed points in this direction. Seeing that with the corruption of the material husk the vital principle is set free to form a new body or expression of itself, the analogy urged hy Paul ought to lead to the inference that with the death of the present body the energies of the human spirit are set free to organise from its new environment a spiritual body—a body adapted to that environment. Thus in a certain sense the resurrection of the faithful would follow immediately on death, and not be adjourned to the parusia. Of this variance between his living and growing thought and his inherited view, Paul does not seem conscious in 1 Cor.

In 2 Cor. we shall find that he has become conscious of the inherent inconsistencies in his former view, which he is deserting in favour of the doctrine of a resurrection of the righteous following immediately on death.

(*c*) *The final* consummation.—With the resurrection of the righteous dead and the transfiguration of the righteous living, death is finally overcome (1 Cor. 15 26 51-54). The end has come (15 24 1 8), when the Son 'will surrender to God, to the Father, the kingdom' which he has ruled since his exaltation. The resurrec-

[1] So also in Phil. 3 20 *f.*, yet he had always before him the possibility of meeting death. This is perhaps the case in 1 Cor. 15 31 *f.*

[2] This is the nearest approach to the terrible picture of the future troubles in Thess.

[3] As in Thessalonians (see above, § 98). This doctrine appears also in 2 Cor. 5 10 'the judgment seat of Christ.' The judgment is also spoken of as the judgment of God (Rom. 14 10). Cp also Rom. 2 5 *f.* 3 6 14 12. In Rom. 2 16 the two views are reconciled: God will judge the world through Jesus Christ.

[4] For similar constructions see 15 18 1 Thess. 4 16.

[5] That this is the meaning of ζωοποιεῖσθαι appears to follow from its use in 15 36, where, as in 15 22 the reference is to the fresh inward development of life, not to its outer manifestation.

[1] The Pauline way of stating this formation of the new body is noteworthy, 'God gives it a body.' We moderns say, the new body is the result of the vital principle in the grain acting on its environment in conformity with God's law in the natural world. Paul says in such a case, 'God gives it a body' (15 38). This is important to remember in connection with 2 Cor. 5 (§ 100, *c*).

tion' of the righteous dead will take place in a moment, at the last trump (15 52).

Then will follow the transfiguration of the righteous living, when the corruptible shall put on incorruption and the mortal immortality (15 53), and the institution of the perfected kingdom of God[2] in a new and glorious world that has taken the place of the present, which is already passing away (1 Cor. 7 31). That which is perfect has then come (13 10), and the blessed, in immediate communion, see God face to face (13 12).

In this perfected kingdom God has become 'all in all' (15 28). This statement is limited to the blessed. It does not apply to the powers in 15 25 28. These have been reduced to unwilling obedience.

(iii.) In 2 Corinthians and Romans we arrive at the third stage in the development of the Pauline eschatology. The development is apparent mainly in a change of view as to the time of the resurrection and in enlarged conceptions as to the universal spread and comprehensiveness of Christ's kingdom on earth. We shall range our evidence under four heads.

100. 2 Cor. and Rom.

(*a*) *Parusia and judgment.*—The parusia is 'the day of our Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. 1 14; cp Phil. 1 6 10 2 16). The judge will be Christ (2 Cor. 5 10)—likewise God (Rom. 14 10; see col. 1383, n. 3). All men must appear before the judgment seat (Rom. 14 10, cp 12). The judgment will proceed according to works (Rom. 2 6); for if faith is operative it can be only in the sphere of works.

The purpose of the mission of Christ is 'that the righteous demands of the law might he fulfilled in us who live according to the spirit, not the flesh' (Rom. 8 4). We are what we make ourselves. Destiny is related to character as harvest to seed-time (Gal. 6 7 *f.*). Every man hears in his character his own reward and his own punishment (2 Cor. 5 10). Hence, since character is the creation of will arises the all-importance of the principle that rules the will. Retribution, present and future, follows in the line of a man's works (2 Cor. 11 15).[3]

(*b*) *Universal spread of Christ's kingdom on earth.*—Between the writing of 1 and 2 Thessalonians and that of Romans we have to place a great crisis of thought. In the earlier epistles, as we have seen, Paul looks forward to a great apostasy and the revelation of the 'man of sin' as the immediate precursor of the parusia. In Rom. 11, on the other band, he proclaims the inner and progressive transformation of mankind through the Gospel; the conversion of the entire Jewish and non-Jewish worlds is the immediate prelude of the advent of Christ.

The 'unbelieving' Jews of to-day are indeed as 'vessels of wrath' (9 22), hastening to destruction. This temporary destruction of the race, however, has brought about the 'completion (πλήρωμα) of the nations,' and when the 'nations' have entered Christ's kingdom, then 'all Israel shall be saved' (11 25 *f.*). God has thus shaped the history of both Jew and Gentile 'in order that he might have mercy upon all' (Rom. 11 32).

(*c*) *The resurrection—the immediate sequel of departure from this life.*—We have discovered in the earlier epistles certain inconsistencies in regard to the time of the resurrection. Although Paul formally adjourns this event to the parusia, his teaching with regard to the resurrection body is implicitly at variance with such a belief (§ 99, 6). By the time when he wrote the second of the epistles to Corinth he had come to a conscious breach with the older view. The main evidence for this is found in 2 Cor. 5 1-8 (where a specially careful translation is required; see *e.g.*, Weizsacker's). In *v.* 4 Paul declares his wish to live till the parusia in order that he may escape the dissolution of the earthly body and be transformed alive. In other verses he faces the possibility of death, and comforts himself and his readers with the prospect before them. *When* we die we have (ἔχομεν)—we come into possession of—an immortal body in heaven.

That this is a real, not an ideal possession to be realised at the parusia, follows from the date assigned for our becoming possessed of it. Ideally, the faithful receive their immortal bodies at the time of their election (Rom. 8 29); actually, Paul now declares, at death. This idea of the future body being a divine gift in no way contradicts the teaching in 1 Cor. 15 35-49; it forms its complement and completion. We have already seen (§ 99, col. 1384, n.) that whereas, regarded from our usual standpoint, the new body is the result of a secret vital process, regarded from Paul's standpoint it may be called a divine gift. Similarly the glorified body is, in one aspect, the result of the action of the human spirit itself divinely quickened, in another an independent gift of God.

In 1 Cor. 15 35-49 the view that the resurrection follows immediately on the death of the faithful is implied; in 2 Cor. 5 1-8 it is categorically stated.

Of Paul's change of view we naturally expect to find further evidence in his references to the experiences of the faithful at the parusia, and such surely we find in Rom. 8 19: 'the earnest longing of the created world waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God.' At the second coming, just as there will be a revelation of Christ (1 Cor. 1 7 2 Thess. 1 7)—that is, a manifestation of the glory he already possesses—so there will be a manifestation of the glory already possessed by the faithful.

Thus Paul speaks no longer of a resurrection of the faithful to glory at the parusia, but of a manifestation of the glory they already possess. Glory (δόξα) is to be their clothing. In Col. 3 4 the manifestation of Christ and that of his people at his parusia are expressly connected.

(iv.) In Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians[1] we have the final stage in the development of the Pauline eschatology, that which deals with the cosmic significance of Christ. In the earlier epistles, whilst the creation of the world was effected through the Son (1 Cor. 8 6), its consummation was to be realised in the Father, when the Son had resigned to him his mediatorial kingdom (1 Cor. 15 24-28). In these epistles not only is the Son the creative agent and the principle of cohesion (συνέστηκεν, Col. 1 17) and unity in the cosmos; he is also the end to which it moves (εἰς αὐτόν, Col. 1 16), the head in which it is to be summed up (Eph. 1 10).

101. Phil. Col., and Eph.

From the above Christology follow two conclusions.

(*a*) *The everlasting duration of the Kingdom of Christ.* Whereas, according to 1 Cor. 15 28, God alone is 'all in all' in the final consummation, in the epistles we are now dealing with Christ also is conceived as 'all in all' (Eph. 1 23 Col. 3 11). Thus the goal of the universe is no longer, as in 1 Cor. 15 24-28, the completed kingdom of God in which God is 'all in all,' in contrast to the mediatorial kingdom of Christ; it is the 'kingdom of Christ and God' (Eph. 5 5).

(*b*) *The extension of Christ's redemption to the world of spiritual beings.* Since all things, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible (whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers), were created by Christ (Col. 1 16), and were (according to the same passage) to find their consummation in him (εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται), they must come within the sphere of his mediatorial activity; they must ultimately be summed up in him as their head (ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, Eph. 1 10). Hence, in the world of spiritual beings, since some have sinned or apostatised, they too must share in the atonement of the cross of Christ, and so obtain reconciliation[2] (Col. 1 20), and join in the universal worship of the Son (Phil. 2 10).

How successful this ministry of reconciliation in the spiritual world is, Paul does not inform us, nor yet whether it will embrace the entire world and therefore the angels of Satan. Since, however, all things must he reconciled and summed up in Christ, there can be no room finally in the universe for a wicked being whether human or angelic. Thus the Pauline eschatology points[3] obviously in its ultimate issues either to the

1 Since the resurrection is possible only through living fellowship with Christ, there can be no resurrection of the wicked.

2 The phrase 'kingdom of God' is used by Paul to denote the kingdom of the consummation. In a few cases, however, he applies it to the kingdom as it is at present being realised on earth (1 Cor. 4 20 Rom. 14 17). Even here Weiss argues that the passages refer to the kingdom not in its realisation but in its essence. In Col. 1 13 the present kingdom is called 'the kingdom of his dear son.'

3 The retributive character of the judgment is expressed in still sharper terms in the later epistles (see Col. 3 25 Eph. 6 8).

1 To justify the inclusion of both Colossians and Ephesians see COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS.

2 'Reconciliation' necessarily presupposes previous enmity; cp Eph. 2 16 and Sanday on Rom. 8 38.

3 In these later epistles, no less than in the earlier, Paul appears not to have arrived at final and consistent views on these questions. Though he speaks of the reconciliation of hostile spirits, he does not seem to have included Satan's angels amongst them. His leading principles, however, involve this.

final redemption of all created personal beings or to the destruction of the finally impenitent.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL CONCEPTIONS.—It is the conceptions 'soul' and 'spirit' that chiefly need consideration here.

102. Special conceptions: Soul and Spirit.

1. *Outside the Pauline Epistles.*—The meaning attached to the conceptions 'soul' and 'spirit' throughout the NT, except in the Pauline epistles, is in the main that which prevailed among the people.

(*a*) *The* Sod— The 'soul' is conceived as the bearer hoth of the bodily-sensuous life and of the higher spiritual life.

(i.) In the former capacity the 'sou!' is sustained by food (Mt. 6 25), is capable of sensuous impressions (**Mk.**14 34), of suffering (1 Pet. 4 1), of sensuality (1 Pet. 2 11 2 Pet. 2 14). It *is* from this conception of the soul that the adjective (ψυχικός, E V 'sensual') derives its bad signification in James 3 15 Jude 19. If the blood is shed the soul departs (**Mt.**2335 **Mk.** 1424 Acts 22 20) : ἐκψύχειν = 'to die' (Acts 5 5 10 12 23). Further as in the OT, the 'soul' is identified with the personality:' so many souls = so many persons (Acts **2 41** 7 14 **27** 37 1 Pet. 3 20).

(ii.) As in the Judaism of this time, the 'soul' is the seat also of the higher spiritual life : it is the subject of anxiety (Jn. 10 **24**), of grief (**Mt.**2638 **Mk.** 1434 **Lk. 2** 35), **of** trouble (Jn. 12 27), of pleasure (**Lk.12** 19 Heb. 10 38), of love (Mt. 22 37), of hate (Acts 14 2). In a spiritual sense it can become stronger (Acts 14 22), or suffer exhaustion (Heb. 12 3), can be subverted by heresy (Acts 15 24), protected (1 Pet. 4 19 Heb. 1317), cleansed (1 Pet. 1 22). As the bearer of the personality, it survives death (**Mt.** 10 39), and passes first to an intermediate abode of the departed, *to* Hades (Acts **2** 27 **Lk.** 16 23), or to Abraham's bosom (**Lk.** 16 23), or Paradise (**Lk.**2343). The departed are called 'souls' in Rev. **6** 9 20 **4**.

(*b*) ***The** Spirit.*—In the case of the 'spirit,' as in that ***of*** the 'soul,' we find—with possibly two or three exceptions—no fresh developments; only the acknowledged and popular conceptions of Judaism. The 'spirit' is the higher side ***of*** the soul.

Like the soul the 'spirit' is the subject of grief (**Mk.**8 12), of trouble (Jn. 13 21), of joy (**Lk.146** 10 21), of Indignation (Jn. 11 33 Acts 17 16), of zeal (Acts **18** 25), of meekness (1 Pet. 3 **4**). It is the seat of purpose and volition (Acts 19 21 2021). Again, **as** with the soul, if the spirit departs, death ensues (Mt. 27 50 **Lk.** 23 **46** Acts **7** 59); the body apart from it is dead (James 2 *25*); **hut** if it returns, so does life (**Lk.** 8 55). Thus ἐκπνεῖν in Mk. 1537 39 **Lk.** 23 **46** is synonymous with ἐκψύχειν.

The 'spirit' which so departs exists independently as the bearer of the personality. Hence, though the same **or** similar diction is found in the OT and in a few of the later books, the idea conveyed in either case is absolutely different. The NT usage is that of the current Judaism.[1] In the next life the departed are called 'spirits' (1 Pet. 3 19 **46** Heb. 12 23) as elsewhere they are called 'souls.'

The 'spirit' is the seat also of the higher spiritual life, and forms the antithesis of the flesh (σάρξ) ***Mk.*** 14 38.[2] 'Thus growth in the 'spirit' is set over against growth in the body (**Lk** 1 80 2 40). The 'spirit' which God has placed in man 'longs' for man's salvation (Jas. 45). It discerns that which is not manifest to the :senses (Mk. 28). In these cases we have approaches to the Pauline use. Thus in the NT there is no trichotomy except in the Pauline epistles—if such a term as trichotomy can be rightly used at all of the Pauline psychology. The only doubtful passage is Heb. **4** 12.

2. In the Pauline Epistles.—Paul breaks with the entire traditional use of the terms 'soul' and 'body' and gives them a connotation in keeping with his theological system. He appears to teach a trichotomy in 1 Thess. **523**; but the enumeration 'spirit, soul, and body' is no real expression of Pauline anthropology. At times indeed he describes man popularly as a synthesis of 'spirit and flesh' (Col. **2** 5), 'spirit and body' (1 Cor. 53). It is to be observed, however, that he never uses the quite as popular expression 'soul and body'; his view of the 'soul' precluded its employment.

1 According to Gen. 2 4*b*-3 the spirit is a breath of life from God, which on death returns to God the fount of life (Eccles. 12 7). **As** such it has no individual or personal existence. In Rev. **11** 11 **13** 15 the idea of Gen. 2 4*b*-3 is reproduced.

2 In Mt. 10 28 man is described **as a** synthesis of body and soul.

With him the 'soul' is the vital principle of the flesh[1] (σάρξ), and is never conceived, as it is in all the other NT writers, as the bearer of the higher spiritual life. It has thus a very low connotation. The 'soulish' man (ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος, 1 Cor. **2** 14) is incapable of receiving the things of the 'spirit.'

The Pauline doctrine of the 'spirit' is difficult. Only a brief treatment of the subject can be given here. The term spirit has, in the Pauline epistles, three distinct applications. The spiritual side of man may be regarded as (*a*) the intellectual and moral part of man ; (*b*) the immaterial personality which survives death ; (*c*) the immaterial part of man's nature which is capable of direct communion with the 'Spirit' of God—not, however, this faculty as it exists in itself, but as it is re-created by God.

In order to express (*a*) Paul has recourse both to Hellenistic and to Palestinian Judaism. From the former he borrows the phrase 'the inner man' (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, Rom. 7 22). From the same source he adopts fhe term 'mind' (νοῦς, Rom. 7 23 25), which belongs to 'the inner man' and signifies the higher nature of man as man. In the same sense he borrows from Palestinian Judaism the term 'spirit.' Thus we have the ordinary synthesis 'spirit and body' (1 Cor. **5** 3), 'spirit and flesh' (Col. **2** 5).[2] Compare also 1 Cor. 2 11, 2 Cor. 7 13. Now this higher side of man's nature may fall under the power of the flesh. Hence 'the mind' may become 'corrupt' (Rom. 1 28), 'the spirit' may be 'defiled' (2 Cor. 7 1).

To express (6) the immaterial personality which survives death Paul uses the term 'spirit' in 1 Cor. ***5*** 5.

In the third sense (*c*) the term 'spirit' has a distinctively Pauline use. In this sense the 'spirit' is no longer synonymous with the 'mind' as in ***(a)*** but is its suzerain. They are clearly distinguished in 1 Cor. **14** 14 ***f.*** The renewed spirit is 'our spirit,' and lives in communion with the Spirit of God (Rom. 8 16). By virtue of it man becomes spiritual (1 Cor. 2 15, 3 1), and 'a new creation' (Gal. 3 15), as opposed to the psychical creation in Gen. **2** 4*b*-3.[3] 'The mind' or 'the inner man' remains in the Christian as the sphere of human judgment (Rom. 14 5).[4]

Thus the Pauline psychology stands apart from that of the OT and the rest of the NT.

Judgment. — This has been dealt with separately under the different hooks.

Places of *abode* of the *departed.*—1. Paradise is (*a*) the abode of the blessed in Shĕōl (Lk. **2343** Acts 2 31).

103. Places of abode.

(*b*) A division of the third heaven—being likewise an intermediate abode of the righteous (2 Cor. 124). (c) Apparently a final abode of the righteous (Rev. 27).

2. Hades is ***(a)*** an intermediate abode of the departed containing two divisions, for the righteous (= 'Abraham's bosom') and for the wicked respectively (Lk. 16 23); (6) an intermediate abode of the wicked only (?) (Rev. **118 6** 8 20 13 *f.*); and (*c*) an intermediate abode of further moral probation (1 Pet. 3 19 **46**; see § 96).

3. Tartarus is the intermediate place of punishment, for the fallen angels (2 Pet. **2** 4).

1 The 'sou!' is the bearer of the bodily life in the Pauline epistles as in the rest of the NT. Cp Rorn. **164 2** Cor. 12 **15** Phil. **2** 30. It is menaced when a man's life is sought (Rom. 11 3). It is the bearer of the personality in a general sense (Rom. 13 1 2 9). Since the 'soul' is the vital principle of the 'flesh,' and the latter has no part in the next life, there does not seem to he any place in the next life for the soul, as that life is to be essentially spiritual. Here man bas a 'soulish body but there he is to have a 'spiritual.' According to the Pauline teaching the 'soul' seems to have its existence limited to this world.

2 Peculiar instances of the Pauline use of the 'spirit' are to be found in 2 Cor. **2** 13, where we find the same feeling ascribed to it as to the 'flesh' in 75. In Phil. 1 27 there seems to be little difference between the 'spirit' and the 'soul.'

3 Cp 1 Cor. 1546.

4 Observe that the 'spirit' of the Christian is expressly contrasted with the 'mind' (νοῦς) in 1 Cor. 14 14 *f.*

4. Gehenna *is* the final place of punishment for the wicked.

In Lk. 12 5 the punishment is clearly a punishment of the **soul**. the body is first destroyed on earth: 'Fear him who after he has killed has power to cast into Gehenna.' The passage has in Mt. 10 28 a different form: 'Fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna'; but Lk. 12 5 seems to be more original. Mt. 5 29 *f.* does not necessarily imply a punishment of the body: since 'eye' and 'hand' mean certain desires, the phrase 'the whole body' also must be symbolical.

From the above considerations Gehenna appears to be a place not of corporal but of spiritual punishment.

104. Bibliography.

Bibliography. i. *Hebrew Eschatology.* — For the older literature on this subject see Alger, *A Crit. Hist. of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, with a complete Bibliography, by Ezra Abbot, 783-970 (New York, '71); Schulze, *Voraussetzung der Christ. Lehre v. d. Unsterblichkeit* ('61); Stade, *Die ATliche Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode* ('77); *GVI*(2) 1 415-427 503-506 ('89); Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy* ('86); A. Jeremias, *Die Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode* ('87); Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* ('92) — original and most helpful; Che. *OPs.*, see 381-452 already referred to ('91); *Intr Is.* ('95) — invaluable both on critical and exegetical grounds, *Jew. Rel. Life after the Exile* ('98); WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) ('94); Salmond, *Christ. Doctr. of Immortality*(3) ('97); Davidson, *s.v.* 'Eschatology' in Hastings' *DB* 1 734-741. See also the relative sections in the Biblical Theologies of Oehler, Schultz, Dillmann, and particularly Smend's *ATliche Rel.-gesch.* ('93), and Marti's *Gesch. der isr. Rel.*(3) ('97).

ii. The literature of Jewish eschatology during *the period extending from 200 B.C. to 100 A.D.* has been grievously neglected. The study of it has been advanced chiefly by Lücke (*Einl. in die Offenb. des Johannes*, vol. 1 ['52]), Hilgenfeld (*Die jüd. Apokalyptik*, '57), Langen (*Das Judenthum in Palästina*, 461-519 ['66]); Drummond (*The Jewish Messiah* '77), and Schürer (*Hist.* ii. 2 126-187). For further aids to study see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, §§ 7, 23, 34, 47, 58, 67, etc. (on editions of the books); also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, '92); Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, 1-40 ('94); *Messiah of the Apostles*, 1-20 ('95); Marti, *Gesch. der isr. Rel.* 270-310 ('97); Charles, *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* ('99), where the whole subject of this article is treated at some length.

iii. *The New Testament.* — In addition to the relative sections in works on NT Theology by Baur, Neander, Reuss, Schmid, Oosterzee, Immer, Weiss, Beyschlag, and Holtzmann, the following books will be found helpful in various degrees: — White, *Life in Christ* ('46); Gilder, *Die Lehre von der Erscheinung Christi unter den Todten in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Lehre von den letzten Dingen* ('53); Luthardt, *Die Lehre von den letzten Dingen* ('61); Gerlach, *Die letzten Dingen* ('69); Davidson, *Doctrine of last Things* (1900); Biedermann, *Christliche Dogmatic*, 2 155-169 384-394 ('84); Petavel, *Problem of Immortality* ('92); Toy, *Judaism and Christianity* 372-414 ('92); Kabisch, *Eschatologie des Paulus* ('93); Wendt: *Teaching of Jesus* (ET) 1 364-408 2 340-374 ('93-'96); Salmond, *Christian Doctr. of Immort.*(3) ('97); Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, 135-165 ('94); *Messiah of the Apostles*, 58-66 85-96 341-367 554-562 ('95); Beet, *Last Things* ('97). R. H. C.

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ESDRAELON, or, rather, as RV, **Esdrelon,** or **Esrelon,**[1] a place 'nigh unto Dotæa [Dothan], which is over against the great ridge[2] of Judæa' (Judith 3 9), and 'over against' which was Cyamon[3] (7 3 RV). Esrelon is the Græcised form of 'Jezreel,' the name of the well-known city at the E. end of the great central plain of Palestine. In modern hooks 'Esdraelon' is sometimes used for the 'plain of Esdraelon,' a phrase which is not exactly accurate (see JEZREEL i., § *2)*, but can hardly now be set aside.

The phrases 'the great plain' (τὸ μέγα πεδίον E., Judith 1 8; τὸ πεδίον τὸ μέγα, 1 Macc. 12 49) and 'the great plain of E.' occur in the Apocrypha for the region called elsewhere 'the *biḳ'ā* of Megiddo' (בִּקְעַת מְגִדּוֹ, 2 Ch. 35 22 ; מגדון '3, Zech. 12 11). A בקעה *biḳ'ā* (from בקע 'to cleave') is a level tract surrounded by hills (*see* VALE, 2); the term accurately describes this central plain, which is like a great gap 'cleft asunder' among the bills.

Esdraelon (now called *Merj ibn* '***Amir***, or 'meadow of the son of 'Amir') is, in form, triangular ; the base on the east extending fifteen miles, from Jenin to Tabor; one side, formed by the hills of Galilee, is 12 m. long, and the other, formed by the mountains of Samaria, **18** m. The apex is a narrow pass opening into the plain of Acre. (On the five gateways of Esdraelon, see GASm. *HG* 390 *f.*). This broad plain has for centuries attracted, as if by a spell, both nomad tribes and civilized hosts, who have coveted the rich lands of Palestine. See GALILEE (map of Galilee and Esdraelon).

Three eloquent pages are devoted by G. **A.** Smith[4] to the historic scenes of Esdraelon, with the object of conveying, not so much the dry historic facts, as the impression which this pageant of embattled hosts is fitted to produce. To the biblical student, however, two memories dwarf **all** the others.

It was in this plain that Baralc won his famous victory (Judg. 4 *f.*); here, too, that Josiah received his mortal wound (*2*K. 23 *29*). Whether the apocalyptic seer expected the kings of the earth to assemble in the latter days on the mountains of Megiddo, is a difficult problem. See ARMAGEDDON. Let it be also noticed that one whose conquests were moral, not material, was no stranger to Esdraelon ; the 'city called NAIN' (Lk. 7 11) was situated to the NE. of the great plain.

Esdraelon lies 250 feet below the sea-level, and is extremely fertile. The rich, coarse grass gives a pleasing aspect to the plain in spring-time, and yet the land is for the most part untouched by husbandry. What it might yield under better agricultural conditions is shown by the tall stalks of grain which spring up wherever corn is cultivated (W. Ewing, in Hastings, *DB* 1757 *b*.).

The only important stream is the Kishon, the southern affluents of which come from near Jenin, whilst the northern branch rises near el-Mezra'a, SW of Mt. Tabor (cp 'the torrent-course of Kishon,' Judg. 4 13). This drains the Great Plain, and falls into the sea at Haifa. There are numerous springs on the NE and W. The most noteworthy is that of Jenin (see EN-GANNIM, 2), those at and near Jezreel (cp HAROD, *2)*, and those of Lejjūn. Among the places on the borders of the plain were Jokneam (the CYAMON of Judith 7 3), Megiddo, En-gannim, Jezreel (the city of Ahab), Shunem, Nain, and Endor (the last three on the slopes of the Little Herman). No important town was situated on the plain itself. Cp PALESTINE.

[1] 𝔊 εσδρηλων ; but in Judith 1 8 εσρ[ρ]ημ [B], εσδρημ [A], in 3 9 εσδραηλων [B], -δηρλ. [א*], in 4 6 εσρηλων [B], εσερηχω̄ [A], in 7 3 εσδρηλωμ [A]; Vg. Esdrelon (Hesdrahelon, -ahelom, -aelon).

[2] τοῦ πρίονος τοῦ μεγάλου ; πρίων, a *sierra*, or serrated ridge? So at any rate Grotius.

[3] The expression is accurate; see GALILEE (map of Galilee and Esdraelon).

[4] *HG* 406-408

ESDRAS, FOURTH BOOK OF (or **Second Book of).** This important apocalypse is included in the Apocrypha of the EV. For this reason it is better known, by name at least, to the English-reading public than any similar book; although it is not now, and never has been, read in church. The Roman Church does not regard it as Scripture ; but it is printed as an appendix to the authorised edition of the Vulgate, along with 1 Esdras (= 3 Esdras) and the Prayer of Manasses.

1. Name, Language, Versions.

Probably the Greek text bore some such name as Ἀποκάλυψις Ἔσδρα (Westcott), Ἔσδρας ὁ προφήτης (Hilgenfeld) or Βίβλος Ἔσδρα τοῦ προφήτου. In almost all the versions in which we have it a number forms part of the title, in order that it may be distinguished from the canonical Ezra or from the Greek form of that book known to us as 1 Esdras. These numbers range from 'First' *to* 'Fourth' Book. The title 'Second Book' is found only in some late Latin MSS, and in the Genevan Bible, whence the AV took it. It is now commonly referred to as **4** Esdras.

All the versions of the book are derived from a Greek text which has been lost. Of late years the view has begun to find favour (*e.g.* with Wellhausen, Gunkel, and Charles) that the original text was in Hebrew. We have the following versions :—(1) Latin : from this the EV is made. *(2)* Syriac: extant only in the great Peshitta MS in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. (3) Arabic : two independent versions from the Greek (Ar.$^{(1)}$ Ar.$^{(2)}$). **(4)** Ethiopic. *(5)* Armenian: perhaps made from the Syriac.

Latin translations of nos. 2-5 (except Ar.$^{(2)}$ are given in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Judæorum*, Leipsic, **1869.** Ar.$^{(2)}$ was edited separately by Gildemeister in 1877. (See APOCRYPHA, § 22 [13].) Hilgenfeld has made a retranslation into Greek (in *Mess. Jud.*) which is of great value.

2. Contents.

The fullest form of the hook is given in the Latin version, which alone contains four additional chapters (1 *f.* 15 *f.*) which formed no part of the original work. They may be treated separately. The real apocalypse thus consists of chapters 3-14 of the book found in our Apocrypha. The general complexion and arrangement remind the reader of the apocalyptic portion of Daniel, to which indeed reference is made in 12 11. The apocalypse falls into seven sections containing separate revelations or visions.

First Vision: ***3*** **1-5 13.** In the thirtieth year of the spoiling of the city, Esdras, 'who is also Salathiel,' is disturbed by the thought of the desolation of Sion and the prosperity of Babylon. In a long prayer he reminds God of his special choosing of Israel, and of their present misery, and **asks** where **is** the justice of this dealing? The angel Uriel is sent to him and sets forth the unsearchahleness of God's ways and the inability of man to judge them. Esdras **asks** how much time remains before the filling up of the number of the righteous. **A** vision shews him that a very short time remains. **He asks,** and is told, what will be the'signs of the end.

Second ***Vision:*** **5 14-6 34.** In a kind of interlude (*5* **14-19**).

Phaltiel the chief of the people comes to reproach Esdras for forsaking his flock. Esdras after fasting seven days (as Uriel had bidden him) addresses God again on his dealings with Israel. Uriel consoles him with thoughts which are very much like those of the First Vision: the weakness of man's judgment, the nearness of the end, and the signs of its approach.

Third Vision: 6 35-9 25. A fast of seven days is followed by an address of the seer to God, and a return of Uriel. This time the main discussion is on the fewness of the saved, and the main revelation is a long description of the final judgment and the future state of the righteous and the wicked.[1] The intercession of Esdras for the human race is carried on at great length, and he is promised further visions after a period of seven days.

Fourth Vision: 9 26-10 59. The interval is spent in the 'plain of Ardat' (see AKDATH), and after it Esdras as usual pleads with God. He sees a mourning woman, who tells him how she has lost her only son. He tries to comfort her by reminding her of the greater desolation of Sion. When he has ended, she suddenly becomes transfigured and vanishes, and in the place where she was he beholds a city. Uriel now comes to him and explains that this woman represented Sion; and further visions are promised.

Fifth Vision: 11 1-12 39. Two nights afterwards, Esdras dreams of a monstrous eagle with three heads, twelve wings, and certain supplementary winglets. This creature is rebuked and destroyed by a lion. The eagle is explained to be the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel, and the lion is the Messiah. Esdras is hidden to wait seven days more.

Sixth Vision: 12 40-13 58. In a second interlude (12 40-51) the people come *en masse* and beg Esdras to return. He sends them away. He sees a vision of a wondrous man who first annihilates all his enemies and then welcomes to himself a peaceful multitude. The man is the Messiah. In the peaceful multitude whom he receives we recognise the 'Lost Ten Tribes,' whose history is shortly given. Esdras is commanded to wait three days more.

Seventh Vision: 14 1-48. After the three days Esdras, sitting under an oak (Abraham's oak is no doubt meant), is addressed out of a bush by the voice of God, which warns him that he is shortly to be translated from the earth, and that the end is near. He pleads for the people who are left without teacher or law. God bids him procure writing materials and five scribes (who are named), and bid the people not approach for forty days. Next day he receives a wonderful drink in a cup, and thereafter he dictates continuously for forty days. Thus are written ninety-four books, of which seventy are to be hidden and twenty-four (*i.e.*, the Books of the Hebrew canon) published. According to the Oriental Versions Esdras is then 'taken up' or translated.

In the Latin Version the words describing the 'translation' of Esdras have been cut out because two other chapters (15 *f.*) have been added (*see* above).

In the episode just described Ezra appears as the second Moses; like the lawgiver he is addressed by God out of a hush, like him he writes the law, and like him he disappears in a mysterious manner from among men. On this famous legend of the restoration of the law by Ezra *see*, further, CANON, §§ 14, 17.

3. Date, Place, History. In considering the origin of Fourth Esdras the chief passage that comes into question is the Fifth or Eagle Vision. That Rome is represented by the eagle is not doubtful; but what particular persons are signified by the various heads, wings, and feathers it is much harder to say. The vision has been held by several critics either to be wholly an interpolation (an untenable view) or to have been altered in order to make it fit in with the events of later times. On the whole, the theory that the heads stand for Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian has been most widely accepted. It is also generally held that the destruction of Jerusalem, to which such constant reference is made, can be none other than that by Titus in 70 A.D., though Hilgenfeld pleads strongly for a date nearer 30 B.C. On the whole, a majority of critics are in favour of placing the book between 81 and 96 A.D.

The book is possibly quoted in the Epistle of Barnabas (end of 1st cent.), certainly by Clement of Alexandria and by Hippolytus (περὶ τοῦ παντός). In Latin, perhaps by Cyprian, and very copiously by Ambrose.

A theory that Fourth Esdras is a composite work, made out of several earlier apocalypses, has been set

[1] Of this a great part—7 36-105—was missing in the Latin Version (and consequently in the AV) until Professor R. L. Bensly discovered at Amiens a MS which contained the complete text.

4. Integrity of chaps. 3-14. brth with great ingenuity by R. Kabisch (*Das 4te Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht*, Gottingen, '89). He postulates five documents ranging in date from 20 B.C. to 100 A.D., and a redactor of 120 A.D.: see Charles (*Apoc. of Baruch*, pp. xxxix.-xli.; ESCHATOLOGY, § 79), who has carried the analysis still farther. Dillmann has advanced the proposition that the Eagle Vision has been manipulated by a Christian editor. His hypothesis has found more support than Kabisch's; but neither can yet be regarded as proved.

5. Additions in Latin Versions. The additions in the Latin versions (1 f: 15 *f.*) are translated from a Greek original; but they have no connection with the original book of Esdras.

(*a*) Chaps. 1 f: are Christian. Their principal topic is the rejection of the Jewish people in favour of Gentile Christians. They probably date from the second century, and seem to be connected with the apocalypse of Zephaniah (APOCRYPHA, § 21), of which we have fragments in Coptic.

The only Greek quotation from them as yet known is in the Acts of St. Silvester. It is from 2 34 *f.* that the name *Requiem* [requiem æternitatis dabit vobis . . . lux perpetua lucebit vobis) as applied to the Office for the Dead is derived. The Latin text is preserved in two forms, of which the best is that contained in a group of Spanish MSS.

(6) Chaps. 15 *f.* are Jewish. They consist of a long monotonous invective against sinners, with predictions of wars and tribulations modelled principally on the prophecies of Jeremiah. They refer probably to the conquests of Sapor I., and the rebellion of Zenobia and Odenathus (242-273 A.D.). See CARMANIANS. The first certain quotation is in the works of Ambrose. Gildas, the first of British writers, quotes from them copiously.

6. Character of Book. The Fourth Book of Esdras (**3-14**) is one of the most interesting of all apocalypses. Unsuccessful as its attempted solutions of the problems of life are, it is marked by a noble confidence in God's iustice. The writer shows himself in his best light whkn he addresses God and dwells upon his power and mercy. The thought which is present to him throughout in this connection is well put in 8 47. 'Thou lackest much before thou canst love my creature more than I.' On the other hand it is impossible to deny that the book is exceedingly prolix in form and exclusive in spirit, and that the apocalyptic portion, the Eagle Vision and the like, are tedious and obscure, not possessing in any way the imaginative power of the Johannine Apocalypse.

The general complexion of the book so nearly resembles the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, that an identity of authorship has been asserted; though it is allowed that as a whole *Baruch* is somewhat later than Esdras (see APOCALYPTIC, § 13 *ff.*).

The relation of 4 Esdras to Christianity is a principal point of interest. Its Messianic ideas (see MESSIAH) are highly developed; and its eschatology has much in common with conceptions early current in the church (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 79). Hilgenfeld has collected a number of passages which, on his hypothesis of the date, are quotations of 4 Esdras by NT writers; but the greater part of them do not suffice to show anything like a literary connection. One passage, however (4 35 *f.*), so closely resembles Rev. 6 9 *f.* that we must suppose either a borrowing by Esdras from the Johannine Apocalypse or the use of a common source.

7. Literature. Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judæorum* (Versions and Greek re-translation); Bensly and James, ***Fourth Book of Esdras in Texts and Studies***, 3 2 (Latin text); Lupton in *Speaker's Comm.* (English text and commentary); Schiirer, *GJV*(3) 3 232 *ff.* (**ET**, 5 95 *ff.*) and literature there referred to. **Also** Rendel Harris, ***Rest of the Words of Baruch;*** Carl Clemen, ***St. Kr.***, '98, ii. **A** critical and annotated German version by Gunkel in Kautzsch's *Apokr.* has recently (1899) been published. **M.** R. J.

ESDRIS (εcΔpιc [AV], *esdrin* [Vg.], ܐܣܕܪܝܢ [Syr.]; cp **EZRI**), a corrupt name in the account of a fight

between Judas the Maccabee and GORGIAS (2 Macc. 1236 RV). It is natural to think that [οἱ] περὶ τὸν ἐσδριν at the beginning of the long sentence corresponds to [οἱ] περὶ τὸν γοργίαν at the end, and to change ἐσδριν into γοργίαν. This is in fact the reading of Ald. and of some MSS, followed by AV, and, even if only a copyist's conjecture, is possibly correct.

ESEBON (εcεβων [HA]), Judith 5 15 AV, RV HESHBON (*q.v.*).

ESEK (עֵשֶׂק; 𝔊 translates : αδικια [ADEL], cykoφαντια [Aq.]), the name of one of the contested wells in the story of ISAAC, *q.v.*, § 5, and Abimelech, Gen. 26 20.

ESEREBIAS (εcερεβιαc [BA]), 1 Esd. 854 RV (AV **Esebrias**)= Ezra 8 18 SHEREBIAH.

ESHAN (אֶשְׁעָן), Josh. 15 52 RV, AV ESHEAN.

ESH-BAAL (אֶשְׁבַּעַל), 1 Ch. 833 939†. See ISH-BAAL.

ESHBAN (אֶשְׁבָּן, § 45, in formation analogous to אַחְבָּן, a Jerahmeelite name), a Horite clan-name; Gen. 36 26 (αcβαν [ADEL]); 1 Ch. 1 41 (αcεβων [B], εcεβαν [AL]). Cp DISHON.

ESHCOL (אֶשְׁכּוֹל, 'cluster **of** grapes,' § *69*, cp § 103 ; εcχωλ [ADL]).

1. A wady near Hebron, so called from the unrivalled fruit of its vineyards; Nu. 13 23 25 32 9; Dt. 1 24† (φάραγξ βότρυος [BAFL]). NW. of HEBRON (*q.v.*) is a wady called Bet Iskāhil (Baed.[(3)] 137), if the name may be trusted. But we can hardly expect to find such a name preserved (Conder does not recognise it). The vine still flourishes there (see HEBRON i., § *3*, and cp Thomson, *LB* ['94], 596 *f.*). Cp, however, NEGEB, § *7*.

2. The brother of ANER (1) and MAMRE, Abram's Amorite allies (Gen. **14** 13 24 ; in 24 εισχωλ [A]). Note that in *v.* 24 Eschol is placed first by 𝔊 (cp Jos. *Ant.* i. 10 2) but second in MT.

ESHEAN, RV better ESHAN (אֶשְׁעָן ; εcαν [AL], coμα [B]), a site in the hill country of Judah, to the *S.* or SW. of Hebron (Josh. 15 52). Perhaps a corruption of Beer-sheba (cp 𝔊[B], and IR-NAHASH).

ESHEK (עֵשֶׁק), **a** name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*) (1 Ch. 8 39† ; αcηλ [B], εcελεκ [A], αcεκ [L]). See *JQR* 11 110 112 *f.*, §§ 9, 12.

ESHKALONITES (הָאֶשְׁקְלוֹנִי), Josh. 13 3 AV. See ASHKELON.

ESHTAOL (אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל ; for form cp ESHTEMOA, n.).

In 𝔊 εσθαολ [BA], -ολ or -ωλ [L]; Josh. 19 41 ασα [B], Judg 13 25 εθαελ [A], Judg. 16 31 18 2 εσθαθα [B[b]]. The ethnic **Eshtaulites** (הָאֶשְׁתָּאֻלִי, 1 Ch. 2 53, RV **Eshtaolites** ; υἱοὶ εσθααμ [B] οἱ εσθαωλαῖοι [A], ὁ εσθαολι [L]) presupposes a form Eshtāūl (sed Kö. *Lehrgeb.* 2 1, § 131 *β*).

A town in the lowland of Judah, Josh. 15 33 (αcταωλ [B], . . . ea. [L], εcθαολι [A]), or more strictly in the northern hill-country immediately under the Judæan plateau (cp GASm. *HG,* 218 *f.*). It stands first in the first group of cities, and is followed by ZORAH (*q.v.*), with which indeed it is usually mentioned. In Josh. 19 41 it is Danite ; cp Judg. 13 25 18 2 8 11, and see SAMSON, § 1.[1] Eusebius and Jerome describe it as εσθαολ of the tribe of Dan, 10 R. m. N. of Eleutheropolis towards Nicopolis (OS 25587 119 32), and distinguish from it an ασθαωλ of the tribe of Judah (OS 22099 92 26), between Ashdod and Ascalon, which was called in their time ασθω (*asto*). The former description agrees accurately with the position of the small village of *Eshū*ʿ, which, Guérin says, was, according to tradition, originally called *Eshuʿal* or *Eshthuʿal* (*Judée,* 2 12-14). The latter statement needs confirmation.

1 **Cp** also Bu. *Ri.* **Sa.** 138 *ff.*; **GASm.** *HG* 220, n. 4.

Eshū' is **878** feet above sea-level, and 2½ m. NE. from Zorah (*Ṣarʿa*) in the **W.** Ṣarār. It has some Roman remains. *Eshuʿal,* without the characteristic *t* of Eshtaol, would he like *es-Semūʿ* for ESHTEMOA (*q.v.*). **T. K. C.**

ESHTEMOA[1] (אֶשְׁתְּמוֹעַ ; εcθεμω [A]; Josh. 21 14 1 S. 30 28 1 Ch. 4 17 19 642 [57]) or Eshtemoh (אֶשְׁתְּמֹה, Josh. 15 50).

𝔊's readings are : Josh. 15 50, εσκαιμαν [B], ασθεμω [L], Josh. 21 14, τεμα [B], ισθιμωε [L] ; 1 S. 30 28, εσθειε [B], εσθεμα [A], νοθωμ [?L] ; 1 Ch. 4 17, εσθαιμων [B], -θεν. [A], εσθαμα [L] ; 1 Ch. 4 19, εσθαιμωνη [B], ιεσθεμωη [A], εσθαμα (L) ; 1 Ch. 6 57 [42], εσθαμω [BA, ? om. L].

A city in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 50), Levitical according to the priestly theory (Josh. 21 14 [P]), now *es-Semūʿ*, a large village W. of Ma'in, W. by S. of Yuṭṭā, and about *9* m. in a direct line W. by S. of Hebron. It is 'situated on a low hill with broad valleys round about, not susceptible of much tillage, but full of flocks and herds all in fine order' (Rob. ***BR*** 2 626). In several places there are remains of walls built of very large bevelled stones, marking it as the site of an important and very ancient town (cp Guérin, *Judée*, 3 173). The ruins of its castle are most likely of Saracenic or Turkish origin. The place is mentioned as a 'very large village' by Eusebius and Jerome (OS 254 70 93 16).

ESHTON (אֶשְׁתּוֹן, scarcely 'effeminate'[2] [BDB doubtfully]; αccαθων [BA, but om. B, *v.* 12], εcc. [L]), b. Mehir, a Calibbite (1 Ch. 4 11 *f.*).

Most probably a corruption of אֶשְׁתְּמוֹן, Eshtemon, another form of the name אֶשְׁתְּמֹה, ESHTEMOH (see above). Cp IR-NAHASH.

ESLI (εcλει [Ti. WH]), father of Naum, in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. 3 25). See GENEALOGIES ii. § *3*.

ESORA, RV ÆSORA (αιcωρα [ℵ[c.a?]A], αρacoycια [ℵ*], αιcωρα, -ραα [ℵ[c.a?]], ܒܝܬ ܚܘܪܘܢ [Syr.]) is mentioned between CHOBA and the Valley of SALEM in connection with the preparations of the Jews against Holofernes (Judith 4 4†). Tell ʿAṣūr, NE. of Bethel (see HAZOR, 2) lies perhaps too much to the S. ; a more probable identification would be ʿAṣīreh, a little to the N. of Shechem (*PEF Map*). On the strength of the reading ασσαρων, found in some MSS, Zockler has suggested הַשָּׁרוֹן, the plain of Sharon.

ESPOUSALS. 1. Used of the bridegroom, חֲתֻנָּה, *ḥăthunnah* (Cant. 3 11). See MARRIAGE, § 3, also CROWN, § *3*.

2. Used of the bride, כְּלוּלֹת, *kĕlūlōth*, Jer. 2 2. See as above. In 2 S. 3 14 and Mt. 1 18 Lk. 127 25, RV rightly has 'betroth.'

ESRIL (εzρ(ε)ιλ [BA]), 1 Esdr. 9 34 = Ezra 10 41, AZAREEL, 5.

ESROM (εcρωμ [Ti. WH] Mt. 1 3; εcρωμ [Ti.] -ν [WH] Lk. 333). RV HEZRON, *q.v.* (ii., 1).

ESSENES. It has been customary to follow Josephus in regarding the Essenes as forming a third Jewish party, the Pharisees and the Sadducees being the other two ; so far as we know, however, they were not a party in any sense, but a Jewish brotherhood, a kind of monastic order.[3]

1. Meagre accounts.

Our only authorities who speak of them from personal knowledge are the Roman Pliny (*HN* 5 17), and (with greater detail) his Jewish contemporary Josephus (*BJ* ii. 8 2-13; *Ant.* xviii. 1 5), who, in the second passage cited, plainly depends on the most important witness of all, the Alexandrian Philo, who flourished

1 The name, with which compare ESHTAOL, is of importance. In form it resembles the inf. of the eighth conj. in Arabic; *istimāʿ* would mean 'attention, obedience.' Is this a vestige of the influence of Arabic-speaking tribes in S. Judah? Cp Olshausen, *Lehrb.* 367; Kampffmeyer, articles in ***ZDPY*** 15 *f.*

2 For the form cp ESHTEMOA, ESHTAOL (so-called Iftaʿal forms), or אֶשְׁקְלוֹן, אַשְׁרוּר. See NAMES, § 107, end.

3 For a Jewish view of the Essenes, see § 2, n.

some fifty years earlier. Philo discourses of the Essenes in two passages; in his *Quod omnis probus liber*, 12 *f.* and in a no longer extant *Apology* from which all that is important in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* VIII. ii. is doubtless derived.

They are nowhere mentioned, either in the Bible or in Rabbinical literature. It may safely be taken for granted that their origin does not go further back than the second century B.C. Josephus first mentions them (*Ant.* xiii. 5 9) in Maccabean times; the earliest incident in connection with which an Essene is spoken of by name belongs to the year 105 B.C. In the second century A.D. they disappear from history, though J. B. Lightfoot's attractive conjecture makes it probable that certain later Christian sects in the East, such as the Sampszeans, were somehow connected with Essenism.

The derivation of the name is obscure; most probably it means 'the pious.'[1] Philo estimates their number at 4000. They are not met with outside Palestine; the Egyptian Therapeutæ, described by Philo in his *De Vita Contemplativa*, are certainly not to be regarded as merely an Alexandrian variety of Essenes. The 'Essenes' who—so many interpreters infer from the Pauline epistles—were to be found in Colossæ and Rome, can be much more simply explained if it is remembered that certain tendencies and views, strongly represented in Essenism, were characteristic of the whole religion of that time and hence make their appearance in many directions in a great variety of shades and combinations.

2. Confined to Palestine.

What most struck the outside observer in the Essenes was the strictness of their organisation and their thoroughgoing asceticism. In villages and towns—as, for example, in Jerusalem—they settled around a central house of their order, in which they followed their religious observances together, of which one was the common meal. There was no such thing as private property; whatever any one earned by rigorously regulated labour in the field or at a handicraft came into the common purse, out of which the common expenses were defrayed and doles of charity—not confined to members of the order—could be dispensed. Elected 'stewards' managed the funds and took the general oversight of affairs; the proper preparation of foods had to be attended to by priests. A three years' novitiate was necessary before admission to the order; the entrant was pledged by oaths of the most solemn kind to obedience and reticence.

3. Organisation.

All that we have described, however, constituted a means to an end—the attainment of holiness. This was sought in the highest possible purity; abstinence from all sexual intercourse, exclusion of women, countless washings, avoidance even of that degree of impurity which resulted to members of the brotherhood from contact with a novice, and elaborate scrupulosity in reference to all bodily secretions and excretions were prescribed. Every object of sense (*das Sinnliche*) they held to be ungodly, and yet, on the other hand, every sin they regarded as a transgression of nature's law. In their view of nature the soul of man formed no part of the present world, in which falsehood, egoism, greed and lust bear sway. When a man has freed himself betimes from these evil inclinations, his soul will at death pass into a bright paradise in the farthest west; the souls of the wicked, on the other hand, fall into a dark and dreary abode of never-ending punishment. As the Essenes lived entirely for the life hereafter, their interest largely centred in the attempt to penetrate the secrets of the future in every detail; angelology and eschatology, doubtless, formed the main themes of their esoteric writings; as foretellers of the future they were held in high repute, and when Josephus tells to their credit that they had investigated to good purpose, in the interests of medicine, the healing virtues of roots and stones, we may be sure that this was done by them, not with a view to the good of the body, but as a special department of their apocalyptic gnosis.

4. Tenets.

The relation of Essenism to the religion of the OT seems difficult to determine. Hitherto scholars have reached no unanimity on the subject. On the one hand, some—notably Ritschl and Lucius—regard it as a purely internal development of Judaism, Lucius in particular calling attention to its close kinship with Pharisaism. Others, on the other hand, find it impossible to explain it except by assuming the introduction into Judaism of foreign elements from Parseeism, Buddhism, or Greek Philosophy—the Orphic-Pythagorean in particular. M. Friedlander,' in fact, see's in Essenism the fruit of an anti-Pharisaic movement, a reaction against the post-Maccabean anti-Hellenic Judaism of Palestine. Exaggeration in either direction is to be guarded against,

5. Relation to Judaism.

Beyond question the Essenes represented a purely Jewish piety.

The members were recruited from Jews alone, nowhere were the law and the lawgiver held in higher reverence than with them, their Sabbath observance and their rites of purification had their origin in an ultra-Pharisaic legalism, and if they repudiated bloody sacrifice they did not on that account sever their connection with the temple; probably their action was determined by an allegorising interpretation of the laws relating to animal sacrifice.[2] The foreign element in their system cannot have been conspicuous when they so powerfully impressed a Pharisaic contemporary like Josephus. In their ascetic practices and prescriptions, as well as in their sincerity and hospitality, it was possible for the best people in Israel to see simply a fulfilment of what the law indeed points to, but does not venture to impose on every one as obligatory. Details, such as their worship of the sun,[3] are not handed down with sufficient clearness to warrant us in drawing deductions relating to the history of religion; their communistic ideal carrying with it the prohibition of marriage and of slave-holding) could quite well have been set up by Jews without external suggestion.

The anthropology of the Essenes, their doctrine of the life beyond the grave, their effort after a life emancipated as far as possible from all needs, and lived in conformity to nature, have no analogies on Jewish soil, but are, on the other hand, conspicuous in the Pythagoreanising

6. Foreign influence.

[1] [From חסא, 'pious' (Ewald, Hitz., Scbiirer). Another plausible derivation is from אָסֵי, חֲסָא, אָסְיָא, 'physician' (θεραπευτής?) a designation applied in the Talmud to certain men who have been supposed to be true Essenes. Lightfoot derives from חשאים, 'silent ones,'—*i.e.*, those who would not reveal their secrets. Both these names, according to Hamburger, belonged to classes of persons who formed part of the large brotherhood or order (?) of Essenes. This scholar mentions ten other groups of probable Essenes, including the *Văthīkīn*, the morally strong, who said the morning prayer at the first streak of dawn, the *Tōblē Shaḥrīth*, or morning bathers, the *Bannāīm*, or builders, who dwelt much on the construction of the world and on the cleanness of their garments, and the *Zĕnū'īm*, or secretly pious ones, who kept their books secret, and had other striking points of affinity to the Essenes. See 'Essaer' in Hamburger, *RE*, Abtheil. 2 ('96).]

[1] *Zur Entstehungsgesch. des Christenthums* ('94), pp. 98-142.

[2] [It is difficult to consider the non-sacrificial system of the Essenes apart from the non-sacrificial religion of certain psalmists of the school of Jeremiah (Jer. 7 22 *f.*; cp 8 8). 'The Essener did not, it is true, reject the principle of a single national sanctuary, for they sent ἀναθήματα to the temple. But they do appear to have gone beyond those psalmists whose spirit (cp Ps. 15 with the oath of the Essenes, Jos. *BJ* ii. 87) they had so thoroughly imbibed, in giving practical expression to their dislike of animal sacrifices. No such were offered by them (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1 5) "by reason of the" superiority of their own "purifications" (ἁγνεῖαι). The "sacrifices" which they performed "by themselves" (ἐφ' αὑτῶν) were probably these purifications which were symbolic (cp Ps. 26 4-7) of the psalmists' favourite sacrifice of obedience and praise' (Cbe. *OPs.* 375).]

[3] πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων, πατρίους δέ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχὰς ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι (*BJ* ii. 85). [This passage Lightfoot compares with *BJ* ii. 8 9, where the Essenes are said to bury polluting substances, ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγὰς ὑβρίζοιεν τοῦ θεοῦ. Cheyne, however (*OPs.* 447) criticises at some length Lightfoot's use of the passages: Josephus is not to be held responsible for every detail of Greek phraseology. No genuinely Jewish sect could have worshipped the sun; in any case, there would have been some indignant reference to this in the Gospels and the Talmud. Later heretical sects should not be adduced here (see Epiphanius). It is very possible, however, that the Essenes adopted the custom of saying the first prayer at daybreak with special zest, the dawn being to them symbolic of the expected appearance of the divine judge.]

philosophy,[1] the form which the religion of the Greek world at that time was so ready to take; and if the kinship is admitted at one point it becomes natural and easy to regard a dualistic—and thus thoroughly anti-Jewish—view of the world as having powerfully influenced both their ethics and their religious principles. Essenisni may have been a gradual development, much that was foreign may have come into it in course of time, and the Hellenistic colouring may here and there be due simply to our informants; Pliny may possibly not have been wrong when he represents 'dissatisfaction with life' (*vitæ pœnitentia*) as having been the principle which had brought and kept them together; this dissatisfaction with life, or rather enmity to the world, is as un-Jewish as it is un-Christian. Essenism, then, may be described as having been a religious growth within the Judaism of the last century B. C. which arose under the influence of certain tendencies and ideas that lay outside of Judaism, or, perhaps rather, at an early date admitted such influences. This is why Essenism disappeared; of Judaism the only form capable of retaining life was Pharisaism; no mediating forms were able to survive the catastrophe which overthrew the popular religion.

7. Traces of Zoroastrianism.

[In spite of the favour with which the theory of Pythagorean influence has been received. some scholars donbt whether it is correct. The fact that Josephus compares the Essenian mode of life with the Pythagorean is, at any rate, not in its favour; Josephus had an object in throwing a Greek colouring over the views of Jewish 'sects.' Besides, neo-Pythagoreanism has itself too foreign an air to be fitly appealed to as the source of any Oriental system. There is much in Josephus's account of the Essenes which can be explained either from native Jewish or from Oriental (Zoroastrian) ideas. He says, for instance, that the Essenes, or rather some of them, neglect marriage (*BJ* ii. 8 2; cp 13). There is no occasion to ascribe this to Pythagorean influence; it is a part of the asceticism which naturally sprang from the belief in secret communications from the Deity (see Enoch 83 2, and cp 1 Cor. 7 5). Nor is it at all necessary to explain the Essenian doctrine of the soul from neo-Pythagoreanism. Lightfoot (*Colossians*) and Hilgenfeld (*Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*) have done well to suggest the possibility of Zoroastrian influences. Lightfoot's remarks deserve special attention, even though he ascribes to Essenism some things (*e.g.*, sun-worship) which can hardly have belonged to it.[2] The truth probably is that the Essenian doctrine of the soul (if Josephus may be trusted) combined two elements—a Babylonian and a Persian—both Hebraized.

The happy island is a part of the tradition of the Assyrio-Babylonian poets. The description of Hades, on the other hand, is distinctly Zoroastrian, and so too is the second description in Josephus of the lot of good souls according to Essenism. 'We have, in fact, in the first sentence of Jos. *BJ* ii. 8 11 a reflexion of the Zoroastrian view respecting the *fravashis*, those "guardian angels" which were so linked to men as to form virtually a part of human nature, and which were practicably indistinguishable from souls' (Che. *OPs.* 420; see the whole passage for a full examination of theaffinities between Essenism and Zoroastrianism).

Essenism, therefore, if at all correctly described by Josephus, is not a purely Jewish product, and yet need not be ascribed in any degree to neo-Pythagorean influence. Persian and Babylonian influence, on the other hand, may reasonably be admitted. Unless we go further in critical andacity than Lucius,[3] and reject the accounts of Essenism in our text of Josephus as spurious, we can hardly venture to maintain that Essenism is of purely indigenous origin. From a conservative text-critical point of view, Lightfoot is right against Fränkel. Ohle,[1] however, repairs the omission of Lucius; he leaves nothing to Josephus but a few scattered notices of a very simple Essenism. which may be sufficiently explained as an exaggeration of Pharisaism. It must be confessed that Ohle's result would be historically convenient. In particular, it would explain why there is no reference to such a remarkable organization as that of the Essenes of Josephus, either in the Gospels or in the Talmud. It is more probable, however, that the text of Josephus has not, so far as the beliefs of the Essenes are concerned, been interpolated; that, at any rate in the main, Josephus's account of the Essenes is based on facts. Oriental influences were, so to speak, in the air, and it is not probable that the belief in the resurrection was the only great debt which Jewish religionists owed to Zoroastrians.—T. K. C.]

8. Was John the Baptist an Essene?

We sometimes find John the Baptist, and even Jesus and his disciples, claimed for Essenism. Jesus, however, little concerned as he was about ceremonial observances, the Sabbath, and the like, who ate and drank with sinners, may have been quite as well a Pharisee as an Essene, and if Philo (*Quod omnis probus liber*, 13) is able to affirm so emphatically as he does that, in spite of the variety of rulers who governed Palestine, the Essenes never came into conflict with any of them, but, on the contrary, were held in high regard by all, the movement associated with the name of John, ending as it did so tragically, cannot be regarded as a chapter from the history of the order of the Essenes. It is only among the number of those who prepared the way for the new world-religion that we can reckon these Jewish monastic brotherhoods. They not only placed love to God, to goodness, and to man, as articles in their programme, but also sought with wonderful energy according to their lights to realise them in their life. This was the very reason of their disappearance—Christianity dissolved them, reconciling Judaism and Hellenism in a form of knowledge and ethics that was accessible to all, not to a few aristocrats merely.

9. Literature.

The literature is immense. More immediately important are: J. B. Lightfoot, *Epistles to Colossians* and *to Philemon*(2), 82-98, 349-419 ('76); Zeller, Die *Phil.* der *Griechen*, iii. 2 277-338 ('81); E. Schürer, *GVI*(3), § 30; Wellhausen, *IJG*(3) ('97), ch. 19. See also PERSIA.

A. J.

ESTHER

The Book of Esther (אֶסְתֵּר, 'Ištār,' see below, § 6; εσθηρ [BℵAL], αις. [A in 2113) relates how, in the time of the Persian king Ahasuerus, the Jews were doomed to destruction in consequence of the intrigues of Haman, how they were delivered by the Jewish queen Esther and her uncle Mordecai, how they avenged themselves by a massacre of their enemies, and finally how the Feast of Purim was instituted among the Jews in order to perpetuate the memory of the aforesaid events.

1. Impossibility of story.

The book opens with the phrase וַיְהִי, 'And it came to pass,' thereby claiming to he a continuation of the historical books of the OT. The precise dates and the numerous proper names give the narrative an air of historical accuracy, and at the close we actually find a reference made to 'the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia.' Unfortunately all these pretensions to veracity are belied by the nature of the contents:

1 [The essentially neo-Pythagorean character of many parts of Essenism has been widely accepted on the authority of Zeller (see reference below).]

2 See Che. *OPs.* 447 *f.* That the Essenes showed special zeal in saying the first prayer at dawn is probable. Cp col. 1397 n. with reference to the *Vāthīkīn*.

3 See especially his *Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältniss zum Judenthum* ('81).

1 See his "Die Essener; eine kritische Untersuchung der Angaben des Josephus" in *JPT* 14 ('88).

the story is, in fact, a tissue of improbabilities and impossibilities.

It is now generally admitted that in Esther, as also in Ezra 46 and Dan. 91, Ahasuerus (אחשורוש, *Akhashwērōsh*) must be identical with the king who is called *Khshayārsha* in the Persian inscriptions, חשיארש in an Aramaic inscription from Egypt, and Ξέρξης by the Greeks (see AHASUERUS). In former days it was usual to identify Esther with Amastris (or, in the Ionic form, Amēstris), who was the wife of Xerxes at the very time when Esther, according to 216, became the queen of Ahasuerus (*i.e.* in December 479 B.C. or January 478 B.C.). It is true that the coarseness and cruelty of Amāstris (see Herod. 7114 9110 *ff.*) answer in some measure to the vindictive character of Esther; but, not to mention the difficulty of explaining the disappearance of the syllable *Am*, Amāstris was the daughter of a Persian grandee, not a Jewess (see Herod. 761 and Ktesias excerpted by Photius [Bekker] 38*b*).

One of the main points in the narrative, namely the decree for the massacre of all the Jews in the Persian Empire on a day fixed eleven months beforehand, would alone suffice to invalidate the historical character of the book.

Still more extravagant is the contrary edict, issued by the king soon afterwards, whereby the Jews are authorized to butcher, on the same day, vast numbers of their fellow-subjects. Nor is it possible to believe in the two days' slaughter which the king sanctions in his own capital. What meaning can we attach to the solemn decree that every man is to be master in his own house and speak the language of his own nation?

Further, notwithstanding the dates which he gives us, the author had in reality no notion of chronology.

He represents Mordecai as having been transported to Babylon with king Jeconiah—*i.e.*, in the year 597 B.C.—and as becoming prime minister in the 12th year of Xerxes—*i.e.*, in 474 B.C. That Xerxes had already returned to Susa by the tenth month of the seventh year of his reign (*i.e.*, by December 479 B.C. or January 478 B.C.), when Esther became his consort (216), is not altogether impossible; if such were the case, he must have quitted Sardis after the battle of Mykale (early in the autumn of 479 B.C.) and marched to Susa without delay. However, the author of Esther betrays no knowledge of the fact that the king had visited Greece in the interval.

Further, it is contrary to all that we know of those times for an Achæmenian sovereign to choose a Jewess for his queen, an Amalekite (Haman) and afterwards a Jew for his chief minister.—measures which would never have been tolerated by the proud aristocracy of Persia.

It is still harder to believe that royal edicts were issued in the language and writing of each one of the numerous peoples who inhabited the empire (122 312). That Mordecai is able to communicate freely with his niece in the harem must he pronounced altogether contrary to the usage of Oriental courts. On the other hand the queen is represented as unable to send even a message to her husband, in order that the writer may have an opportunity of magnifying the courage of his heroine; such restrictions, it is needless to say, there can never have been in reality. A similar attempt to exalt the character of Esther appears in the fact that her petition on behalf of the Jews is brought forward not at the first banquet but at the second although Mordecai, who had meanwhile become prime minister: might naturally have intervened for the purpose. Mordecai, while openly professing to he a Jew, forbids his niece to reveal her origin, for no reason except that the plot of the hook requires it. Yet those who observed Mordecai's communications with Esther could not fail, one might think, to have some suspicion of her nationality. It is not often that an Oriental minister has been so wretchedly served by his spies as was the case with Haman, who never discovered the near relationship between Mordecai and the queen.

The fabulous character of the work shows itself likewise in a fondness for pomp and high figures. Note for example the feast of 180 days, supplemented by another of seven days (14*f.*), the twelve months which the maidens spend in adorning and perfuming themselves before they enter the king's presence, the 127 provinces of the Empire (an idea suggested rather by the smaller provinces of the Hellenistic period than by the great satrapies of the Achæmenidæ),[1] the gallows 50 cubits in height, the ten sons of Haman, the 10,000 talents (39).[2]

There is something fantastic, but not altogether unskilful, in the touch whereby Mordecai and Haman, as has long ago been observed, are made to inherit an ancient feud, the former being a member of the family of king Saul, the latter a descendant of Agag, king of Amalek (see AGAGITE). However, though some of the details are undoubtedly effective, the book, as a whole, cannot be pronounced a well-written romance. As a work of art it is inferior even to the Book of Judith, which, like Esther, contains a profusion of dates and names.

That the Book of Esther cannot be regarded as a genuine historical work is avowed even by many adherents of ecclesiastical tradition.

2. No historical kernel.

Since, however, the most essential parts of the story, namely the deliverance of the Jews from complete extermination and their murderous reprisals by means of the Jewish queen and the Jewish minister, are altogether unhistorical, it is impossible to treat the book as an embellished version of some real event—a 'historical romance' like the Persian tale of Bahrām Chōbīn and the novels of Scott or Manzoni—and we are forced to the conclusion that the whole narrative is fictitious.

This would still be the case even if it were discovered (a thing scarcely probable) that a few historical facts are interwoven with the story. For it is obvious that the mere name of the king of the Persians and Medes, and similar details, must not he taken to prove a historical foundation, or we might pronounce many of the stories in the *Arabian Nights* to be founded on fact simply because the Caliph Hārūn and other historical persons are mentioned in them.

Nor would those who believe in the authenticity of the book greatly strengthen their cause if they could demonstrate that all the proper names

3. Proper names.

which appear in the story were really current among the Persians, since even in the Hellenistic period a native of Palestine or of any other country inhabited by Jews might without difficulty have collected a large number of Persian names. As a matter of fact, however. most of the names in Esther do not by any means present the appearance of genuine Persian formations.

This has been made only clearer by Oppert's recent attempt to explain many of them from Persian.[1] In spite of the great liberties with respect to the sounds allowed himself by this ingenious decipherer he finds in Esther scarcely one of the Persian names known to us—which are by no means few—and from these the names which he professes to have discovered differ, for the most part, very essentially. Moreover, when, to cite one example, he interprets מהומן as equivalent to *Wahuman* (the modern Persian *Bahman*) he fails to consider that the practice of naming human beings after *Izedhs*—a class of heavenly spirits to which Wahuman belongs—did not arise till several centuries after the fall of the Achæmenian Empire.

Nor is it legitimate to suppose that the names in Esther have suffered to any great extent through errors of transcription, for the Hebrew (as contrasted with the Greek) text of this book is on the whole well preserved, and hence there is a reasonable presumption that the forms of the names have been accurately transmitted.

It may be added that several of the subordinate persons are mentioned more than once and that the spelling, in such cases, remains constant or undergoes merely some insignificant change—proof that there has been no artificial assimilation of the forms. Thus we find חרבונא 110 and חרבונה 79 (HARBONA); ממוכן 17421 and מומכן 116 Kt. (MEMUCAN); בגתן ותרש 221 and בגתנא ותרש 62 (BIGTHAN, TERESH); הגא 23 and הגי 28 15 (HEGAI); התך 45 *f.* 9 *f.* (HATHACH); זרש 510 14 613 (ZERESH). In the lists of seven names (110 14) and in the list of ten (97-9) some of the forms are suspiciously like one another. This, however, is probably due not to the copyist hut to the author, who exercised no great care in the invention of the names.[2]

It is certain that everyone would long ago have rejected the book as unhistorical hut for its position in the Jewish and therefore in the Christian canon.

4. Moral tone.

Under no other circumstances could the moral tone of the work have escaped general

1 Marq. *Fund.* 68, compares Dan. 61 [2].

2 This sum is perhaps based upon a definite calculation. If, in accordance with the statements in the Pentateuch, the total of the adult males in Israel be estimated as 600,000 in round numbers, and if a single drachm, the ordinary unit of value, be reckoned for each man, we reach the sum of 10,000 talents. This thoroughly Rabbinical calculation, which is found in the (second) Targ. (39 41), quite suits the character of the book.

1 See his *Recherches bibliques* (Versailles, '94), reprinted from *REJ* 28.

2 [On these names see Marq. *Fund.* 68-73. After noticing the connection between Esther and Daniel he reduces the seven princes in Esther 114 to three (as in Dan. 63)—viz., (*a*) Carshena, (*b*) Sarsathai (?)(in Shethar, Tarshish), and (*c*) Manisara (in Meres, Marsena).]

condemnation. It has been well remarked by A. H. Niemeyer, a theologian of Halle, that the most respectable character in the book is Vashti, the queen, who declines to exhibit her charms before the crowd of revellers.' Esther, it is true, risks her life on behalf of her people; but the vindictive ferocity which both she and Mordecai display excites our aversion.

The craving for vengeance—natural enough in a people surrounded by enemies and exposed to cruel oppression—pervades the whole work, as it pervades the so-called Third Book of the Maccabees (cp MACCABEES, THIRD, § 2) which appears to have been written in imitation of Esther. Whilst other books of the OT, including even Judith, ascribe the deliverance of Israel to God, everything in Esther is done by men.

It was long ago observed that this book, though canonical, contains no mention of God. The omission is certainly not intentional. It is due to the coarse and worldly spirit of the author. The only reference to religion is the mention of fasting (4 16 9 31).

Moreover, it cannot be accidental that 'Israel,' the ideal name of the nation, is never employed—we read only of 'the Jews.' The author dwells with peculiar pleasure on the worldly splendour of his heroes, and he seems quite unconscious of the miserable character of the king. It is a curious fact that in this book, afterwards so highly esteemed, the word משתה, 'banquet,' occurs no less than twenty times.[2]

Mordecai's refusal to prostrate himself before Haman may possibly appear to Europeans a proof of manly self-respect; but among the Hebrews prostration implied no degradation, and had long been customary not only in the presence of sovereigns, but also in the presence of ordinary men (see SALUTATIONS). The behaviour of Mordecai is therefore mere wanton insolence, and accordingly Jewish interpreters, as well as some early Christian authorities, have spent much labour in the attempt to devise a justification for it (cp also § 10 *a*).

5. Date and authorship. In the Book of Esther the Persian empire is treated as a thing of the past, already invested with a halo of romance. The writer must therefore have lived some considerable time after Alexander the Great, not earlier than the third, probably in the second, century before Christ. The book presupposes moreover that the Jews had long been 'scattered abroad and dispersed' among the nations (3 8); this idea of a 'dispersion' (διασπορά) points to the time when large Jewish settlements were to be found within the domain of Greek civilisation (see DISPERSION, § 12 *f.*). The same period is indicated by the passage about the conversion of vast multitudes to Judaism (9 27), for such a conception would have been impossible even in a romance, until Jewish proselytes had become numerous. The most important point, however, is that the Gentile hatred towards the Jews of the dispersion in consequence of their religious and social exclusiveness—a hatred which the Jews fully reciprocated—was especially a product of the Hellenistic period; this mutual enmity, which is not to be confounded with the older feud between the Palestinian Jews and the neighbouring peoples, forms in Esther the basis of the whole narrative. Whether it be necessary on this account to place the composition of the book later than the time of Antiochus Epiphanes is a question which we may leave open.

The language of the work also favours a late date. The fact that it contains many Aramaic words, several of which were borrowed by the Aramæans from the Persians, might be compatible with a somewhat earlier origin: but the whole nature of the style, which is characterised by a certain lack of ease, seems to show that the author spoke and thought in Aramaic, and had learned Hebrew merely as a literary language.

If, for example, we compare his diction with the pure and simple Hebrew style of the Book of Ruth, the enormous difference cannot fail to strike us, and is such as to suggest that these writings must be separated by an interval of three centuries or more.

The author of Esther was, of course, acquainted with the older sacred literature. In particular, as has been shown by L. A. Rosenthal (*ZATW* 15 278 *ff.* ['95]), he made use of the story of Joseph who, like Haman, was chief minister of an ancient empire, and borrowed from it not only many isolated expressions but sometimes even half a sentence.

From the fact that Mordecai and Esther are of the family of Saul, who was not a favonrite with the later Jews, we may perhaps infer that the author belonged to the tribe of Benjamin; a member of the tribe of Judah would have been more inclined to represent his hero and heroine as descendants of David.

6. Purpose. It has long ago been recognised that the purpose of the book is to encourage the observance of the feast of Purim among the Jews. The fabulous narrative is merely a means to this end; since the end was attained and the story was, at the same time, extremely flattering to the national vanity, the Book of Esther, in the capacity of a ἱερὸς λόγος authorising the feast in question, found a place in the Jewish canon.

In reality the origin of the feast is not explained by the book and remains altogether obscure. That it was primitively not a Jewish feast is shown by the name Purim (פורים), a word unknown in Hebrew. Unfortunately the meaning is a matter of conjecture.

According to Esther 3 7 *pūr* signifies 'lot,' in favour of which interpretation it may be urged that, considered as an element in the story, it is of no importance whatever. No such word, however, with the meaning required, has yet been found in any of the languages from which the name is likely to have been borrowed; nor has any other explanation been offered that is at all satisfactory. With respect to this point even the investigations of Lagarde have led to no definite result[1] (see PURIM).

7. Purim. On the other hand Prof. Jensen's essay 'Elamitische Eigennamen'[2] seems to throw some light upon the story of Esther. This ingenious scholar clearly proves that *Hamman* (or *Humman*, not to mention other variations of spelling) was the principal deity of the Elamites, in whose capital (Susa) the scene of the Rook of Esther is laid, and that *Marduk* occupied a similar position among the deities of Babylon. As the Elamite Hamman is represented by Haman, the Babylonian Marduk is represented by Mordecai, a name unquestionably derived from Marduk. In Ezra 2 2 (=Neh. 7 7) we find the name actually borne by a Babylonian Jew.[3] In close contrast with the god Marduk stood the great goddess *Ištar*, who was worshipped by other Semitic peoples under the name of *'Athtar*, *'Attar* or *'Aštart*, and is often identified with Aphroditè. The later Babylonian form אסתרא, *Estrā*, (with the Aramaic termination) was used by the Syrians and Mandaites as a synonym of Aphroditè or of the planet Venus; here we have the exact counterpart of אסתר, *Esther*.[4] HADASSAH, the other name of Esther (2 7), which is mentioned quite incidentally and therefore seems to be no mere invention of the writer, corresponds to the older Babylonian form *Hadašatu*, signifying 'myrtle' and also 'bride,' as Jensen has shown. Since another word for 'bride' is commonly used as the title of another Babylonian goddess, we may hazard the conjecture that Ištar was also called Hadašatu. Furthermore *Vashti* is an Elamite deity, probably a goddess. Thus Vashti and Haman on the one side, Mordecai and Esther-Hadassah on the other, represent, it would seem,

1 *Characteristiken der Bibel* (2) (Halle, '31) 5 165.

2 Exactly as often as it happens to occur in all the other books of the *OT* put together—if we exclude five passages where it signifies 'drink.

1 Art. 'Purim' in the *Abhandlungen d. Ges. d. Wiss.* Göttingen ('87). Jensen in a letter suggests to the writer of this article that *pūr* or *būr* seems to be an old Assyrian word for 'stone' and that therefore it is possible that the word was also used to signify 'lot' like the Hebrew גּוֹרָל, 'lot,' which originally, no doubt, meant 'little stone.'

2 *WZKM* 6 47 *f.*, 209 *f.* The writer of the present article has moreover made use of some private information from Prof. Jensen, but wishes to state explicitly that he has himself no independent knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions.

3 The Greek form, *Mardochæus* (Μαρδοχαῖος), probably comes nearer to the original pronunciation than the Massoretic מָרְדְּכַי or מָרְדֳּכַי. See MORDECAI.

4 In the Thousand and One Nights the famous Shahrazād—a Jewess according to Mas'ūdi—is, according to De Goeje (*EB* (9) 23 316 *f.*), no other than Esther.

the antagonism between the gods of Elam and the gods of Babylon.

Whether Jensen be justified in identifying Haman's wife Zeresh (ורש) with Kiriša, who appears in connection with Hamman and is presumably his female partner, seems open to doubt ; the difference of the initial consonants would not be easy to explain. It should be remembered, however, that Zeresh is, after all, only a subordinate figure. The other names mentioned above agree *so* closely that the resemblances can hardly be accidental.

It is therefore possible that we here have to do with a feast whereby the Babylonians commemorated a victory gained by their gods over the gods of their neighhours the Elamites, against whom they had *so* often waged war.[1] The Jewish feast of Purim is an annual merrymaking of a wholly secular kind, and it is known that there were similar feasts among the Babylonians. That the Jews in Babylonia should have adopted a festival of this sort cannot be deemed improbable, since in modern Germany, to cite an analogous case, many Jews celebrate Christmas after the manner of their Christian fellow-countrymen, in so far at least as it is a secular institution. It is true that hitherto no Babylonian feast coinciding, like Purim, with the full moon of the twellth month has been discovered; but our knowledge of the Babylonian feasts is derived from documents of an earlier period. Possibly the calendar may have undergone some change by the time when the Jewish feast of Purim was established. Or it may be that the Jews intentionally shifted the date of the festival which they had borrowed from the heathen (see **PURIM**). We may hope that future discoveries will throw further light upon this obscure subject.[2]

Hitherto we have treated the book as a literary unity. Certain scholars however—*e.g.*, Bertheau and Ryssel—

8. Unity. hold that the two epistles in the last chapter but one, as well as the verses connected with them (that is to say, 9 20-28 29-32) are additions by a later hand. This view the writer of the present article is unable to accept.

The former piece contains, it is true, **a** short recapitulation of the story; but this is sufficiently explained by the author's desire to inculcate the observance of Purim in the strongest terms possible ; a later scribe would have had no object to serve by the repetition. Nor is it likely that an interpolator would have contented himself, in 9 26, with an implicit allusion to *3 7*. Similarly in **9 25** the phrase בבאה 'when *she* came'—for no other interpretation is possible—sekms natural enough, if the author of the book is referring to his heroine; but another writer would, surely, in this case, have written the name. Had these two pieces been originally independent of the book the name Purim would surely not have occurred in them (see *vv.* **26** 31 *f.*) ; that it does occur must appear decisive. When isolated from the context, the pieces in question become meaningless, and to suppose that they are borrowed from another Book of Esther verges on the extravagant. In vocabulary and style they so closely resemble the rest of the book that the insignificant deviations which occur (*e.g.*, in *v.* 28) must be ascribed to a difference in the subject matter. The mode of expression is doubtless somewhat awkward ; but the same may be said of the strange verse, *3 7*, which is nevertheless indispensable and forms, so to speak, the nucleus of the whole work.

As early as the year **114** *B.C.* the Book of Esther reached Egypt in a Greek translation. This fact is

9. Greek version. attested by the concluding sentence in the best MSS of the Greek test; nor have we any reason to doubt the truth of the statement, as has been done for example by B. Jacob.[3] It is impossible to see for what purpose such a story could have been invented.

The chief objection brought forward by Jacob, namely that the passage above mentioned represents the translation as having come from Jerusalem, has no real force; it is indeed said to have been made *at* Jerusalem: but the name of the translator (Λυσίμαχος Πτολεμαίου) at once suggests an Egyptian Jew. That the translator was an Egyptian Jew bas been elaborately proved by Jacob himself, though his arguments are not all equally conclusive.

[1] [Cp Toy, 'Esther as a Babylonian goddess,' ***New World,*** 6 130-145.]

[2] Cp Br. Meissner in *ZDMG* 50 296 *ff.* Hāmān the chief, the father of the gods worshipped by the heathen of Ḥarrān on the 27th of the month Tammiiz (Fihrist, 323, *l.* 1) has hardly any connection with the Haman of Esther.

[3] *Das Buch* ***Esther bei den*** *LXX.* (Giessen, *'go),* p. 43 *ff.* (= *ZATW* **10** 279 *ff.*).

The Greek test is found in two forms which we shall here call A and B (the *β* and *a* respectively of Lagarde); they diverge considerably from one another, but the text of B ***[a]*** is, as a rule, derived from that of **A** [*β*], the changes being due to careless and arbitrary copyists.

Only in a few cases does B [*α*] appear to have preserved older readings than the existing MSS of **A [β].** Here, as in other books of 𝔊 we occasionally find corrections in accordance with the Hebrew text, which were introduced by scribes at an early period, *e.g.*, 'Ασ[σ]ύηρος (B) from אחשורוש, instead of the doubtless inexact 'Αρταξέρξης of the translator, and Οὐαστίν (B) from ושתי, instead of 'Αστίν.

The tendency, so common at the present day, to overestimate the importance of 𝔊 for purposes of textual criticism is nowhere more to be deprecated than in the Book of Esther. It may be doubted whether even in a single passage of the book the Greek MSS enable us to emend the Hebrew text, which, as has been mentioned above, is singularly well preserved.

A very small number of such passages might perhaps **be** adduced, if the Greek translation had come down to us in its original form ; but, as a matter of fact, the text underwent early and extensive corruption, *so* that now it is possibly worse than that of any other canonical book in the OT.

Of great importance are the additions. They fall into two classes—(a) Hebraistic pieces, intended to

10. Its additions. supply the lack of religious sentiment (a lack which must have been felt at an early period ; cp above, § 4) or to explain difficulties—*e.g.*, Mordecai's refusal to prostrate himself before Haman.

Thus we read, in glaring contrast to the original sense of the book, that Esther consented with great reluctance to become the wife of the uncircumcised king. To this class belong the following pieces—the prayer of Mordecai (3[1]), the prayer of Esther (4), the expansion of the first interview between Esther and the king (5), the dream of Mordecai (1) and its interpretation (7). **All** this may once have been in Hebrew ; but the hypothesis is not probable.

(*b*) Pieces written in the Greek rhetorical style—viz., the two epistles of the king (2 and 6).

Here it is stated, among other things, that Haman was a Macedonian and desired to transfer the supremacy from the Persians to the Macedonians (**6** 13 ; cp 6 9). From this passage the term 'Macedonians' has found its way into other parts of the book ; the allusion doubtless is to the hitter enmity which there was between the Jews and their Graeco-Macedonian neighbours, especially **at** Alexandria.

In addition to these, we find a few shorter interpolations.

The form of the book which lay before Josephus (about go *A.D.*) was mainly identical with A [*β*]; but it

11. Josephus's text. contained a few older readings, some of which may be traced in B ***[a].*** All the longer interpolations except two were known to Josephus.

Had he heenncquainted with the two which refer to Mordecai's dream he would have had little difficulty in adapting them to the taste of his educated readers. However it would not of course be legitimate to conclude from their'absence from'the text used by Josephus that the two pieces were necessarily lacking in all other MSS of the same period. Moreover there are in Josephus's account some small additional details. **A** few of these he may himself have invented, in order to point the moral of the story; but since there is at least one (relating to Esther *2 22;* cp ***Ant.*** xi. **6 4** [Niese, **§** 207]) which does not appear in our texts of the **LXX.,** and yet can scarcely have originated with him, we may infer, with tolerable certainty, that the copy of Esther used by Josephus contained some passages which are found in no extant Greek MS.

All these materials Josephus treats with his usual freedom, softening down or omitting whatever was calculated to give offence to educated Greeks and Romans.

Such arbitrary transformations were quite in keeping with the unhistorical character of the book. Very

12. Additions in Targums. similar tendencies showed themselves among those Jews who spoke Semitic dialects : but as the original test of Esther was here preserved from alteration by reason of the place which it occupied in the sacred canon, the additions and embellishments were confined to the Aramaic translation, or else formed matter for separate

[1] Large Arabic numerals are here used to denote the chapters of the additional pieces, as distinguished from the original book.

works. The additions to the original and literal Targum sometimes refer to the same subjects that are treated in the additions to the Greek text, though neither work has borrowed anything from the other. Some of these pieces are of considerable interest, and they are all very characteristic of Rabbinical Judaism.

Not infrequently the interpolations violate our notions of good taste and contain much that is at variance with the original book. There are moreover lengthy digressions which have no real connection with the subject.

In the so-called Second Targum such digressions are especially common, but they occur in the First also.

The two Targums sometimes differ substantially from one another in matters of detail (thus ממוכן, 116, is, according to the one, the wicked Haman, according to the other, the wise Daniel, which latter view appears also in the Talmud, *Meg.* 12 *b*); but they have very much in common. The relation between them cannot be accurately determined until more is known of the MSS, which are said to offer great variations of text. Some interesting embellishments of the story of Esther, similar to those in the Targums and sometimes exactly agreeing with them, are tu be found in Bab. Talm. *Meg.* 10 *ff.*[1]

The reception of the **Book** of Esther into the canon occasioned so much discussion that a few words may

13. Canonicity. be allowed on the subject in addition to what has been said under CANON (§ 45 *f.*). So late as the second century after Christ a distinguished teacher, Rabbi Samuel, pronounced Esther apocryphal (*Meg.* 7 *a*). These theoretical objections had no practical effect; indeed among the mass of the Jews the story of the Jewish queen and the Jewish prime minister has always enjoyed a special reputation for sanctity. With respect to Greek-speaking Christians it may be mentioned that Melito of Sardis, for example, does not reckon Esther among the canonical books (see Eus. *HE* 4 26). The Latin Church, since the time of Jerome, has rejected at least the later additions. The majority of the Syrian Christians went further still. Jacob of Edessa (about 700 A.D.) treats Esther as apocryphal (Wright, *Catalogue of Syr. MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, 598 *b*). The lists drawn up by the Syrian Monophysites do not include it in the canon; hut. we have no right to infer that the book was never read or used by the Christians of Syria. Aphraates (about 350 A.D.) regards it as an authority, and it is also found in ancient MSS, such as the famous Codex Ambrosinnus (edited by Ceriani), which, however, includes several other books universally reckoned uncanonical.

The Nestorians alone appear to have had, down to modern times, no knowledge of the book whatsoever. (Luther formed a very just opinion of the Book of Esther; but whilst freely expressing his disapproval of it he retained it in the canon. Since that time it has been regarded as canonical by Protestant as well as Roman Catholic nations.) See Jaub. *op. cit.* 241 *ff.* ('90); Kuenen, *Ond.*(2), 551 *ff.*; Zimmern, *ZATW*, 10 241 *ff.* ('90); Wildeboer, *Esther*, in Nowack's *HK*; Toy, 'Esther as a Babyl. Goddess,' *New Would*, 6 130-145. See also references above, and cp PURIM. Th. N.

ESYELUS (ΗϹΥΗΛΟϹ [B*A]; Η ϹΥΝΟΛΟϹ [B^{ab}], ΙωΗΛ [L]), 1 Esd. 18 RV = 2 Ch. 358 JEHIEL, 7.

ETAM (עֵיטָם, ΑΙΤΑΝ [BA]-Μ [L]).

1. A town of Judah, mentioned by the Chronicler (2 Ch. 116; αιτανι [A] αιταν [B*]) as one of the cities of defence built by Rehoboam. In the order of enumeration it is placed between Bethlehem and Tekoa. It also occurs in 𝔊 of Josh. 15 59*a* (αιταμ [A]; cp Di. *in loc.*) with Tekoa, Ephrath or Bethlehem, and Phagor (mod. *Fāghūr* between Bethlehem and Hebron). According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7 3) it was at Etam (ηθαμ), two schoeni from Jerusalem, that Solomon had his well-watered gardens (cp BATH-RABBIM). This points to the neighbourhood of the modern village of *Arṭās*, half-an-hour S. from Bethlehem, where on the south side of the Wādy Arṭās there are some ruins. The lowest of the so-called Pools of Solomon, not far off, is fed from a source that is still known as 'Ain 'Aṭān. See CONDUITS, § 3; ETAM ii.

2. A Simeonite town, grouped with AIN (*q.v.*, 1), Rimmon, Tochen, and Ashan (1 Ch. 4 32), which Conder would identify with Khirbet 'Aiṭūn, 8 or 9 m. S. of Bēt Jibrīn. But is the name עיטם correct? It is not given in Josh. 19 7, and is probably a corruption of a partly effaced עין רמון; if so, En Rimmon, which follows, is an unintentional dittogram, inserted by a corrector (Che.). (Pesh. in Ch. gives ܥܝܛܡ ܘܪܡܘܢ ܘܬܘܟܢ) Bertheau takes a different view (see ETHER).

3. Etam is again mentioned in an obscure genealogy in 1 Ch. 43 (αιταμ [A], ητ. [L]; the name Jezreel alone is familiar) where post-exilic families living around the Judæan Etam (see above, 1) are apparently referred to.

For the MT אלה אבי עיטם (οὗτοι πατέρες ηταμ [L]) various emendations have been proposed: (*a*) to read בני instead of אבי (after 𝔊BA), (*b*) to read בני אבי (so RV), or (*c*) to restore אלה בני חור אבי עיטם (see Ki. *SBOT*). A simpler reading is שלה אבי עיטם; see SHELAH, 1. S. A. C.

[1] Sal. Posner, *Das Targum Rischon zu dem biblischen Buche Esther* ('96) gives no great results but (p. 5) a useful review of the midrashic literature. Cp W. Bacher, 'Eine siidarabische Midrasch compilation zu Esth.' (*MGWJ*, 41 450 *ff.*)

ETAM, ROCK OF (סֶלַע עֵיטָם, ΗΤΑΜ [BA],[1] ΙΤ. [L], ΑΙΤΑΝ [Jos. *Ant.* v. 8 8]). It was 'in the fissure of the rock of Etam' that Samson is said to have dwelt after burning the fields of the Philistines (Judg. *15* 8 11). The place was evidently in Judah, and was farther from the Philistine border than Lehi (*v.* 9). Since there was a Judahite town of the same name (see ETAM, 1) it is reasonable to suppose (with Stanley, Guérin, Wilson, etc.) that the narrator located Samson's rock there. It does not follow that more precipitous cliffs may not be found elsewhere. We have no right to begin with selecting the most striking rock, and then to identify this rock with Etam.

It is not likely that there were two Judahite places called Etam. We therefore reject the claims of the great rock near 'Artūf known as the 'Arāk Isma'īn (in a wādy which is the upper continuation of the Wādy eṣ-Ṣarār), though the physical conditions perfectly fit the requirements of the story (*PEFQ*, April 1896, pp. 162-164; Schick *ZDPV*, 1887, pp. 131 *ff.*). 'The cave is approached by descending through a crack or fissure in the very edge of the cliffs overhanging the chasm of Wādy Isma'īn. The crack is scarcely wide enough to allow one person to squeeze through at a time. It leads down to the topmost of a long series of rudimentary steps, or small artificial foot-ledges, cut in the face of the cliff, and descending to a narrow rock terrace running along the front of the cave, and between it and the fragments of massive wall (belonging to an ancient Christian cœnobium).' So writes Hanauer (*PEFQ*, April 1896, p. 163) who in October 1885 guided Schick, the well-known architect: to the spot. Such descriptions help us to understand how legends like that before us grew up.

See also Hanauer (*PEFQ* Jan. 1886, p. 25), and especially Schick, ***ZDPV***, 1887, p. 131 *ff.* Against Conder's identification of Etam with *Beit 'Aṭāb* (cp Baed.(2) 161) *see* Wilson, Smith's *DB*(2) 1 1004, and Schick, *op. cit.* Cp LEHI. T. K. C.

ETERNAL, ETERNITY. For the abstract term 'eternity' there is no word either in OT Hebrew or in NT Greek.[2] Four times, however, the word occurs in AV; and thrice in RV.

(*a*) 1 S. 15 29, 'Also the eternity (נֵצַח) of Israel will not lie' (AVmg.). The rendering of EV is 'strength'; on the renderings

1. OT References. of the Vss. see Driver's note. EV suggests 'victory,' to which RVmg. adds 'glory.' The Tg. suggests that the text is corrupt (see Che. *JQR* April *1899)*.

(*b*) Is. 57 15, 'the h$b and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity' (EV after 𝔊 [ὁ κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα] Vg.); שֹׁכֵן עַד. This vaguely grand idea lies outside the biblical conceptions. Most scholars (including Del. Di.) prefer 'that dwelleth for ever'—*i.e.*, who is not subject to change (cp Ps. 102 27).

(c) Jer. 10 10, 'he is the living God, king of eternity' (AVmg.); מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם (Theodot. βασιλεὺς αἰώνιος). Here the true sense is 'an everlasting king' (EV). Jer. 10 1-16 is a post-exilic insertion; the belief in the eternity of God's kingdom was the foundation of the belief in the eternity of the people of Israel.

[1] 𝔊A substitutes in *v.* 8 (for ἐν τρυμαλιᾷ τῆς πέτρας) παρὰ τῷ χειμάῤῥῳ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ; cp Eus. ηταμ παρὰ τῷ χειμάῤῥῳ (*OS* 259 83, cp 122 9).

[2] In MH there aye two terms worthy of mention:—נִצְחִיּוּת and קַדְמוּת (*e.g.*, קדמות העולם, the eternity of the world, a philosophical tenet rejected by the Jewish teachers).,

(*d*) Mi. 52 [1], 'whose goings forth have been frcm of old, from the days of eternity' (AVmg.; cp 𝔊 ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος); מִימֵי עוֹלָם. RV substitutes in the mg., 'from ancient days': both AV and RV give 'from everlasting' in the text. The old interpreters connected this with the 'eternal generation of the Son'; Keil, while rejecting this view, still sought to maintain the essentials of orthodox tradition, and found a reference to the pre-existence of Christ and the revelations of Christ to primitive men. Historical sense compels us to assent to RVmg.

(*e*) Is. 96 [5] 'Father of Eternity' (RVmg.), אֲבִי עַד. In the text RV (like AV) has 'Everlasting Father.' (ℵc.aA πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, Sym. πατὴρ αἰῶνος, Aq. πατὴρ ἔτι). If this is correct, it must mean not 'possessor of the quality of everlastingness' (an nn-Hebraic use of the term 'father'), but 'one who cares perpetually for his people, like a father' (cp Is. 2221). The reading may, however, be incorrect (cp FATHER, and see *SBOT* Is. 210; Heb. text, notes, 89, 195).

(*f*) Eccles. 311, 'he hath set eternity in their heart' (RVmg.). On this rendering, which is hardly natural, see EARTH i. § 2 (4).

2. OT Conceptions. Though, however, there is no abstract word for eternity, the conception of the endlessness of God and of persons or objects protected by him is not wanting. Earlier generations did not dwell on the thought;[1] the catastrophe of the exile forced men to ponder upon it; theyfound it not onlya source of comfort but also the basis of an eschatology. From the far-off past to the far-off future (מֵעוֹלָם עַד־עוֹלָם Ps. 902; cp. 4113 [14]), Yahwè was their God. So Dt. 3327 (אֱלֹהֵי קֶדֶם 'the ancient God'; in the ‖ line, זְרֹעֹת עוֹלָם 'everlasting arms'; cp Dr. *in loc.*). *So* too Is. 4028, אֱלֹהֵי עוֹלָם 'an everlasting God'—an instructive passage. because it shows how concrete the Jewish conception of eternity was,—'He faints not, neither is weary.' Eternity meant the most intense life. Hence later, 'life' and 'eternal life' came, in the mouth of Jesus, to be synonymous (see *e.g.*, Mt. 1916 *f.*). Thus, havihg Yahwè as a shepherd, the faithfulcommunity could look forward to a perpetual duration for itself; 'this God is our God for ever and ever' (Ps. 4814), to which, unfortunately enough, MT gives as a ‖ line, 'he will be our guide unto death' (עַל־מוּת).[2] Or, to put it in another form, God's loving-kindness (the bond between him and his people) would never fail (Ps. 1061 and often).

It is a poetical extravagance, however, when the mountains and hillsarecalled 'everlasting' (Gen. 49 26 where הוֹרַי עַד should be הַרְרֵי עַד [Di. etc.] ‖ to גִּבְעֹת עוֹלָם): so Dt. 3315, Hab. 36. Is. 5410 assures us that 'the mountains may depart, and the hills be removed' (cp Ps. 462[3]). So in Ps. 8928[29] *f.* Yahwè's covenant with David, and in Ecclus. 4515 his covenant with Aaron are said to be 'for ever,' and also '(as lasting) as the days of heaven.' It was no secret, however, that the heavens would pass away (Is. 344516, Ps. 10226[27]). It is only God whose years can absolutely 'have no end' (Ps. 10227[28]).

3. Heb. Terms. Thus we get two Heb. terms for endlessduration: (*a*) [לְ]עוֹלָם and (*b*) [לָ]עַד. The two terms are combined in עַד־עוֹלְמֵי עַד (Is. 4517), 'to ages of continuance'[3] = 'world without end' (EV). To these we must add (*c*) נֶצַח and (*d*) אֹרֶךְ יָמִים. (*a*) עוֹלָם, 'age,' can be used in a limited sense, as when a slave who refuses to leave his master is said to become his servant 'for ever,' לְעוֹלָם, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) or when a loyal subject says to the king, 'Let my lord live for ever.'[4] So, in strongly emotional passages, לְעוֹלָם 'for ever,' can he used of a state of things which may some day be altered (*e.g.*, Is. 3214 *f.*; cp 4214, where RV renders מֵעוֹלָם 'long time').

(*c*) לָנֶצַח or נֶצַח, too, *need* not mean 'for ever.' We can sometimes render 'uninterruptedly.' as when the psalmist, expostulating with Yahwè, says, 'How long wilt thou forget me (נֶצַח) uninterruptedly?' (Ps. 131 [2]).

(*d*) אֹרֶךְ יָמִים 'length of days,' is of course ambiguous. In Ps. 214 [5] 9116 the context shows that 'everlasting life' is really meant; whether for the pious community or for the pious individual is a question for exegesis. So in Ps. 236 the 'dwelling in the' house of Yahwè' spoken of is an endless one: where would he the happiness if death or the 'foot of pride' (Ps. 3611) could one day work a sad change?

(*e*) לְדוֹר וָדוֹר 'for successive generations or ages,' ‖ לְעוֹלָם (Ps. 891 [2] 4 [5] 10212 [13] 14610 etc.).

4. NT Terms and Ideas. In the NT we have *aidvros* (often), with which εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας are to be grouped,[1] and twice (Rom. 120 Jude 6) ἀΐδιος. RV prefers 'eternal' to 'everlasting' for αἰώνιος: for ἀΐδιος (AV 'eternal' in Rom., 'everlasting' in Jude) it gives 'everlasting.' This arises from a sense that ζωὴ *aidvros* in the NT is or may be more than 'endless life.' חַיֵּי עוֹלָם, EV 'everlasting life' (Dan. 122 𝔊 ζωὴ αἰώνιος), comes to mean 'life of (the Messianic) age,' and includes all Messianic blessings (so *e.g.*, Jn. 315; cp *vv.* 35). The later Jewish literature preferred the expression 'the life of the coming age' because of its clear-cut distinction between the עוֹלָם הַזֶּה—*i.e.*, the present dispensation—and the tan עוֹלָם—*i.e.*, the Messianic 'age' (cp Mk. 1030 Lk. 1830, Heb. 25 65). See ESCHATOLOGY, § 82 *ff.*, also EARTH i. § 3.

Among the notable phrases of NT are κόλασις αἰώνιος Mt. 2546, RV 'eternal punishment'; ὄλεθρος αἰώνιος, 2 Thess. 19, RV 'eternal destruction'; and διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου, Heb. 914, RV 'through the eternal Spirit.' On the first two compare ESCHATOLOGY, § 98. The phrase πνεῦμα αἰώνιον has to be taken in connection with the preceding phrase (*v.* 12) αἰωνία λύτρωσις. The high priest could, according to the Law, obtain for the Jewish people only a temporary 'redemption,' for the bulls and goats whose blood he offered had but a temporary life; but Christ 'entered in once for all by means of his own blood,' and his life is not temporary, but eternal, or, which is the same thing, his 'spirit'—his wan רוּחַ—is unlimited by time, is eternal. For Christ 'has been made (high priest) according to the power of an indissoluble life,' κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου (Heb. 716).

Thus the word commonly used for 'eternal' in NT means (1)endless (2) Messianic. In the Fourth Gospel and in the First Epistle of John, however, we find a noteworthy development in the sense of αἰώνιος. The word seems there to refuse to be limited by time-conditions altogether. ζωὴ αἰώνιος is represented, sometimes indeed as future (Jn. 627 1225 4r4 36), but more generally as already present (Jn. 173 and other passages; cp 1126 *f.* 851). This is akin to the view expressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, according to which the δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος may be 'tasted' even now (Heb. 65). 'Eternal life,' thus viewed, is indeed ἡ ὄντως ζωή 'the life which is [life] indeed' (1 Tim. 619 RV). It is one of the most noteworthy faults of TR that it substitutes for this fine reading the ordinary term αἰώνιος, 'everlasting,' 'eternal.'

T. K. C.

ETHAM (אֵתָם; Syr. *Āthām*, Ar. *Īthām*, Copt. ΟΘΟΗ and ΒΟΥΘΑΝ [var. ΒΟΥΘΑΙ]; *ETHAM*).

𝔊's readings are: in Ex. 1320, οθομ [BAFL], ηθαν [אֵיתָן], Aq. Sym. Theod., etc.; in Nu. 336 *f.* βουθαν [BAFL] for original

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[1] In Gen. 2133 (J2) we read that in Beersheba Abraham invoked Yahwè as אֵל עוֹלָם (𝔊 θεὸς αἰώνιος, EV 'the Everlasting God'). If the text is right, this should mean 'the ancient God' (Bä., von Gall) and the writer will imply a reproof to some of his contemporaries (cp Dt. 2926[25] 3217). 'Everlasting God' is inappropriate here. Most probably, however עוֹלָם *'ōlām* should be עֶלְיוֹן, *'elyōn* (Gen. 1418-20)—*i.e.*, 'Most High.' So Renan. [A similar emendation, פִּתְחֵי עֶלְיוֹן 'gates of the Most High, maybe suggested for Ps. 247 9. The phrase 'everlasting (or, eternal) God', however, is certainly right in Is. 4028 (אֱלֹהֵי עוֹלָם, θεὸς αἰώνιος), and Rom. 1626 (τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ, unique in NT)].

[2] See ALAMOTH.

[3] 𝔊, however, has simply ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. Perhaps we should read עַד־עוֹלָמִים.

[4] Probably, however, such a phrase includes a reference to the dynasty of the king. Not impossibly, too, it implies a popular belief that kings were privileged after death to join the company of the divine ones (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, lit. 'sons of Elohim'). Our knowledge of the popular Israelitish beliefs is too slight to permit us ever to dogmatize about them. The influence of the neighbouring nations must however, have tended to the production of a belief in the quasi-divinity of kings.

[1] Note also the deeply felt expression εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων (Eph. 321). See RVmg.

βουθαμ [cod. 58 in v. 6]; in Nu. 338 BAL om., but BabAF read αὐτοὶ (see below).

The second station of the Israelites at the Exodus, situated at the 'end (קָצֵה) of the wilderness' (Ex. 1320 Nu. 336). Thus it was the last city on properly Egyptian ground, and therefore (being also near the straight road to Philistia; Ex. 1317) to be sought at the E. end of the Wady Ṭūmilāt and near the (Northern?) shore of the Crocodile (*Timsāḥ*) Lake. There is no proof whatever of the various identifications with Bīr Abū-Rūk (Schleiden), Bir Maktal (Ebers; spelled Bīr Maḥdal, in Bæd.), Bīr Sues (Hengstenberg), places which are, besides, all situated in the desert, partly E. of the Red Sea. Why Daphnæ-Tahpanhes (Brugsch), cannot be Etham, is shown elsewhere (EXODUS i. § 13). The name אֵתָם reminds us strongly of פִּתֹם (see PITHOM), and if we follow 𝔊's text in Num. [* = פִּתֹם][1] the identity is very plausible (Sharpe, Wellh.). If Pithom is the same as modern Tell el-Mashūṭa, it was indeed the last city of Goshen, which has, at the E., room only for a few villages and fortifications (about 10 miles to Lake Timsāḥ).[2] This identification therefore is highly probable. Otherwise, we might suppose a neighbouring place called after the same local god, *Atūm, Ethōm.*[3] The name of this place might also have been abridged. This, however, is less probable, and unnecessary. Other Egyptological explanations cannot be upheld.[4] See EXODUS i. § 10 *ff.*, GOSHEN i. § 2, SUCCOTH, PITHOM.

W. M. M.

[1] The prefixed *p* would not be the Egyptian article (Knobel-Dillmann) but *p(ei)*, 'house, place' (cp PITHOM, PI-BESETH). 𝔊's transliteration β conforms to the rule that Egyptian *p*+*w* is rendered by Gk. β. This *p* ('house') is sometimes omitted, like the Hebrew equivalent *Beth*. [As another explanation of the β of βουθαν, H. A. Redpath suggests that perhaps it is a reproduction of the prep. ב on the first occurrence of the name repeated in the second verse.]

[2] No argument can be drawn from the fact that the adjoining desert is called 'desert of Etham' in Nu. 338 (P), but 'desert of Shur' in Ex. 1522 (E). The two frontier places are different. Note especially that the strange 'of Etham' is omitted by 𝔊B (but BabAFL read αὐτοί—i.e., הֵם).

[3] Pap. Anast. vi. 415 speaks of the fort (*ḥtmu*) of king *Merneptaḥ* which is (at?) *T(u)-ku*, 'E. of Petom of *Merneptaḥ* which is (at?) *Tuku*.' It is not, however, clear whether this would be another Pithom, or, as is more natural, that built by Rameses II. (see WMM. *As. u. Eur.* 135) which would, as a royal city, change its name. On the Thou (?) of the *Itin. Ant.*, see PITHOM.

[4] The comparison with Egyptian *ḥtm* (closing) 'fortress, fort,' from the root which in Coptic becomes *šotem* 'to shut,' is quite impossible. Anast. v. 201 mentions a 'fortress' (*ḥtmu*) near *T(u)-ku* (cp preceding note); but no city with this name can be found. We are equally precluded from comparing the Coptic *tōm*, 'to close'; with the article this would be *p-tōm*, 'the closing.' Naville (*Pithom*, 28 *ff.*) compares the name *A-du-ma* of the 'Bedawi-tribes' mentioned in Anast. vi. 414, in which all recent writers have rightly seen the name Edom. The dental forbids the identification with Etham. (The alleged name *Adima* reads *Kad-ma*; see KEDEMAH.) Besides, Etham must be an Egyptian place,—not several journeys E. in the wilderness.

ETHAN (אֵיתָן; 'lasting, strong'; αιθαμ [BL], αιθαν [A]).

1. An Ezrahite, whose wisdom was excelled by Solomon's, 1 K. 431 [511] (γαιθαν [BA], 427; so also in 𝔊B of Jer. 50 (27) 44). The true reading of the passage, which of course determines the explanation, is considered elsewhere (see MAHOL, HEMAN). 𝔊B, which calls Ethan τὸν ζαρείτην (𝔊A εζραηλιτην, cp Pss. 88 *f.*), very possibly considered him to be an Edomite (cp Job 4217*c*, 𝔊BℵC), Edom being renowned for its wise men (Jer. 497). To the Chronicler, however, this view was unacceptable. Ethan (and not only he, but also the wise men who in 1 K. 431 [511] are mentioned with him) must be of an Israelitish stock. The question of his age, too, must be cleared up. Hence in 1 Ch. 26 not only Zimri (or Zabdi), but also Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara are sons of Zerah, the son of Judah. Thus 1 K. 431 [511] receives a thoroughly new interpretation. To this Judahite Ethan it is possible—possible but hardly probable—that the author of the heading of Ps. 89 (αιθαν [Bℵ], αιμαν [R], αιθαμ [T]), ascribed the composition of that psalm. It is much more natural to assume that he meant the eponym of the post-exilic Ethan-guild of temple-singers (see 2).

Jastrow (*Beit. z. Ass.* 3, Heft 2; cp *Rel. Bab. and Ass.* 519) identifies the Ethan of 1 K. 431 [511] with the mythic Babylonian Etana (the hero with whom the mythic eagle allied itself, and who took flight for heaven clinging to the eagle's breast, but fell to earth with the eagle and died—unlike the Elijah of the noble Hebrew legend).[1] He assumes this largely on the ground that the names of Ethan's companions in 1 K. 431 [511]—viz., Heman, Calcol, and Darda—appear to be non-Hebraic, and suspects that Babylonian references may also be found to these three names. It is a part of this theory that Etana, like Ethan, means 'strong.' Etana is not, however, renowned for his wisdom, and 'Ethan' in 1 K. *l.c.* may be due to corruption (see MAHOL).

2. (αιθαμ [ℵ in 1 Ch. 1517], αιθαν [B in 1 Ch. 1517 19, and ℵ in 1 Ch. 1519]), son of Kishi or KUSHAIAH (*q.v.*), the head of one of the 'families' which had the hereditary office of temple musicians and singers (1 Ch. 644 [29] 1517 19) also called JEDUTHUN (*q.v.*). In appearance this is an altogether different Ethan from the preceding; but the appearance is illusory. From a critical inspection of the narratives the truth appears to be this. On a re-organisation of the guilds of singers in late post-exilic times the authorities of the temple looked out for nominal founders of those guilds belonging to Davidic and Solomonic times. One older name—that of ASAPH (*q.v.*, 3)—was retained; to this two fresh ones—viz. Heman and Ethan (or Jeduthun)—were added. These names were derived from 1 K. 431 [511].

A threefold assumption was made: (1) that the persons so called were Israelites, (2) that they were singers, and (3) that they were contemporaries of David. As to (1), אזרח has no doubt the meaning of 'native' (Lev. 1629), and in the headings of Pss. 88 and 89 𝔊BℵART renders 'Ezrahite' by ἰσραηλ[ε]ίτης (cp 𝔊A of 1 K. 427). As to (2) if Solomon sang to perfection, Heman and Ethan who vied with him must, it seemed, have been eminent singers. As to (3), a possible interpretation of 1 K., *l.c.*, no doubt favours the view that all three were contemporaries. We have seen already that it was one great object of the circle to which the Chronicler belonged to make the past a reflection of the present.

A little earlier it would have sufficed to make Heman and Ethan Israelites. In post-Nehemian times it was thought a matter of course that these two great singers should have been Levites. Hence Ethan is placed by the Chronicler among the Merarite Levites (1 Ch. 644). The one psalm,[2] however (89), which is ascribed to Ethan (or to the guild named after him) describes him simply as 'the Ezrahite.' Either this is a slip of the memory, or the old name was still regarded as the highest title (see 1). See GENEALOGIES i. § 7.

3. Son of ZIMMAH and father of Adaiah in the second genealogy of ASAPH, 3, 1 Ch. 642 [27] (αιθαν [B], ουρι [A], ηθαμ [L]). In the first genealogy the name is JOAH (3). It is noticeable that in the second pedigree a certain ETHNI (*q.v.*) b. Zerah is mentioned. This gives a new view of the relation between Ethan and Asaph. As Wellhausen remarks, the same elements occur again and again in these chapters of Chronicles in different connections; consistency would have been too great a hindrance to the idealism of the writer (*Prol.*(4), 220 *f.*).

4. See ECANUS.

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

ETHANIM (הָאֵתָנִים, *i.e.* '[month of] perennial streams'; cp ירח אתנם in Ph.; αθαμειν [B], -νειμ [A], -ν [L]), 1 K. 82. See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

ETHANUS (*ETHANUS*), 4 Esd. 1424 RV, AV ECANUS.

ETHBAAL (אֶתְבַּעַל, 'with Baal,' § 22; cp Itti-Bel, 'with Bel,' the name of the father of the first Sargon, and ειθωβαλος, below, = אתובעל, 'with him is Baal'; ιεθεβααλ [B], ιαβ. [A], ιεθβ. [L]), king of the Sidonians, and father of Jezebel the wife of Ahab (1 K. 1631†).

According to Josephus (*c. Ap.* 118; quoting Menander), Eithobal (Εἰθώβαλος), a priest of Astarte, placed himself on the throne of Tyre by murder, 50 or 60 years after the time of Εἴρωμος or HIRAM (*q.v.*, 1).

[1] See Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*, 698 *ff.*; Harper, *Beit. z. Ass.* 2 391 *ff.*; *Acad.*, Jan. 17, March 21 1891.

[2] 𝔊A ascribes Ps. 88[87] also to Ethan (αιθαμ).

With the same writer (*Ant.* viii. 13 2) we may safely identify this king with the Ethbaal of 1 K.

'Sidonians' is used in the wider sense for 'Phœnicians.' The name also occurs on the Taylor-cylinder as Tuba'lu (king of Sidon), *KB* 2 91 ; cp M'Curdy, *Hist., Proph., Mon.* 2276. See PHŒNICIA. T. K. C.

ETHER (עֶתֶר), a place in the Negeb of Judah, mentioned between Libnah and Ashan (Josh. 15 42, ιθακ [B, see below], αθερ [AL]), but also assigned to Simeon (19 7, ιεθερ [B], Βε. [A], εςερ [L]). It is evidently the Athach to which, according to MT of 1 S. 30 30, David sent a part of the spoil of Ziklag, and 𝔊[B] actually reads ιθακ = עתך in Josh. *l.c.*

In Josh. 197, however, 𝔊, like MT, supports 'Ether.' In ‖ list of Simeonite villages in 1 Ch. 4 32 Eertheau is of opinion that Ether (which he prefers to Athach) is represented by Etnm. This, however, is probably a mistake (see ETAM i., 2). Ether is a corruption of Athach, which is most certainly represented in 1 Ch. (*l.c.*) by Tochen, and Etam can be accounted for otherwise.

Possibly both Athach and Tochen are corruptions of a third word—Anaboth. See ANAB, ATHACH.

T. K. C.

ETHIOPIA in EV is the equivalent of כּוּשׁ, representing the Αἰθιοπία or Αἰθίοπες (originally 'burnt,' *i.e.*, 'dusky-faced ones') of 𝔊, and the *Æthiopia* of Vg. ; as rendering the name of the son of Ham (Gen. 10 6-8 1 Ch. 18-10), כוש is always transliterated (CUSH; χους, χουθ [E Gen. 10 7], *Chus*); כּוּשִׁי, 'Ethiopian,' Jer. 13 23, etc., RV 'Cushite' in Nu. 12 1 (𝔊 Αἰθιόπισσα), etc.; see CUSH i., § 2, CUSHI, 3.

1. Form of name.

The Hebrew name is found also in Ass. *Kūsu*;[1] in Persian trilingual inscriptions, Bab. *Kūšu* is rendered by Pers. *Kušiyā*, 'the Cushites.' The Semites, evidently, borrowed the name from Egypt. There the earliest form is in dyn. 12, *K'š* (like כאש)[2]; later the defective orthography *Kš*, *Kši*,[3] is common, but even the Coptic form εϭοοϣ, εϭωϣ (Boh. εθωϣ), written *'kš* in Demotic and later hieroglyphics (πεκυσις in Gk. transliteration as proper name), 'Ethiopian,' betrays the middle consonant by the euphonic Aleph protheticum, pointing to *Ek'ōš(i)*. The Semitic form comes from a late vulgar pronunciation *Kōš*, which omits the middle radical.[4]

2. Meaning of name in Egypt.

In the time of dynasty 12 the name Kush seems to have designated a tribe occupying southern Nubia. As far as we can determine the territory of the tribe in question,[5] it began somewhat N. of the second cataract. About 1500, the annals of Thotmes III. still retain the traditional distinction of N. and S. Nubia as *Wawat* (a name not much known after 1000 B.C.) and *K(ō)ši*; but *Kōš*, the larger part of the country, then commonly gives its name to Nubia in general.

Later, *Ek(')oši*, 'Kushite,' completely displaced the earlier term *nĕhĕsi* (*i.e.*, Eastern-African, including Hamites as well as Negroes, although used by preference of the most characteristic African race—*i.e.*, the Negro—exactly as the Gk. Αἰθίοψ).

3. In Palestine.

The Hebrew writers too knew that Kush was the country S. of Egypt (Judith 1 10), beginning at SYENE [*q.v.*], or, more exactly, above the island of Philæ. How far S. it extended in the vast regions on the White and the Blue Nile, they knew of course as little as the Egyptians. Whilst the Greeks, however (*e.g.*, Homer), had the most erroneous ideas on the position and extent of Ethiopia (sometimes they extended it as far as India !), the Palestinians, like the Egyptians, clearly distinguished Kush from the African coasts of the Red Sea (Punt or PUT, *q.v.*). The list' of provinces of Darius I. even distinguished *Kuš*, *Puṭ*, and the *Maṣiya* tribes (Egyptian *Mazoy*) named between these two. Kush, therefore, must be limited to the Nile valley and not be identified geographically with the vague Greek term Αἰθιοπία.[6]

[The meaning of 'beyond the rivers of Cush' (Is. 18 1 Zeph. 3 10) is not altogether clear. Both passages appear to be very late ; they cannot be used as authorities for the geographical views of Isaiah and Zephaniah. In Zeph., *l.c.*, we must render מֵעֵבֶר, '*from* beyond,' implying that the region beyond the streams of Cush was one of the most distant points from which the dispersed Jews would be restored to Palestine. We cannot however, say that Cush is always distinctly represented as one of the remotest countries. It is mentioned quite naturally in connection with Egypt in Ps. 68 31 [32] Is. 20 3 5 Ezek. 30 4 Nah. 3 9. (Whether Ps. 87 4 Is. 43 3 45 14 may be added, is matter for inquiry.) Great caution is necessary in discussing the references to Cush (see CUSH i., § 2, CUSHAN, CUSHI, 3). More than one ethnic name seems to have been written כוש ; hence the distressing confusions which have arisen. On the difficult prophecy in which the Ethiopian Cushites appear to be described (Is. 18) there is difference of opinion ; cp Che. *SBOT* (*Isaiah*, Heb.), who recognises the corruptness of the text and seeks to correct it ; see also CUSH i., § 2.]

4. History.

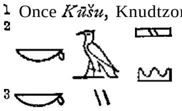
The Egyptians knew the country in earliest times under the name *Ḫnt*, 'the South' (also *Knst?*), using *Wawat* originally of a central district. It was not exactly tributary;[1] but the pharaohs sent trading expeditions thither—*e.g.*, one with 300 asses of burden to Ama(m), near, or S. of, Khartūm (EGYPT, § 47). They derived much of their timber for large ships from the forests of central or S. Nubia, or even had the ships built on the spot with the assistance

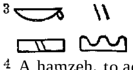


FIG. 1.—Head-dress of Ethiopian king. After Lepsius.

of the Nubian chiefs. In war-time these chiefs furnished thousands of archers to the pharaoh. This barbarous Negro country, therefore, seems to have been completely under Egyptian influence. Its conquest was undertaken by the kings of dyn. 12 (EGYPT, § 50). The *K'ōši* people, now first mentioned, seem to have been more warlike than the tribes of the N. (*Wawat*), so that Usertesen III. had to fix his strongly fortified frontier at Semneh (about 21° 32' N. lat.). Though apparently independent during the Hyksos period, Nubia was again made subject after 1600 B.C. by 'Aḥmose (Ahmes) I. and his successors, and remained so down to about 1100 B.C. The southernmost traces of an Egyptian military post have been found at Ben Naga (Naḳā), near the sixth cataract (see EGYPT, after col. 1208, map no. 1); and slave-hunting expeditions may have extended even more to the S. The Nile valley seems to have been content to remain tributary without giving Egypt trouble. The many wars in 'vile Nubia' (*Kš ḫst*) were probably merely slave-hunting expeditions in the S., or punitive raids upon the rapacious desert-tribes (the *Anti* or Trog(l)odytes[3] in the N., the Mazoy (or Maṣoy) near Sennār (see above)). The banks of the Nile, therefore, were covered not only with military forts but also with temples and Egyptian colonies. Although the Egyptian elements were absorbed without leaving many traces in the language or the racial type, the country became to a certain extent civilized. The government was in the hands of a viceroy (residing 'at the holy mountain' in

[1] Once *Kūšu*, Knudtzon, *Gebete an den Sonnengott*, no. 68.

[2]  *LD* 2 122, Petrie, *Season*, 340—*k'ši*, *Abyd.* 3 926, etc.

[3] 

[4] A hamzeh, to adopt the terminology of Arabic grammar.

[5] Cp Brugsch, *ÄZ* '82, p. 30.

[6] To apply the term to Abyssinia is strikingly erroneous, for Abyssinia was never subject—and hardly even known—to the kings of Egypt or of Napata-Kōš. The general Greek expression (rendered *Iteōppeyā*) was limited to Abyssinia by the scholars of Aksnm, a limitation that has caused very great confusion in modern literature.

[1] An official says, 'Never could any work be done (before me) in the region around Elephantine with only one war-vessel' (inscr. of 'Una,' 1.41). The earliest expedition recorded is that of king Snefru(i) of dyn. 4, who is said, on the stone of Palermo, to have brought 7000 men and 200,000 animals as booty from Ethiopia.

[2] Mariette's results, however, in his *Listes Géographiques*, rest on absurd identifications of the names recorded by Thutmosis III.

[3] 'Trogodytes' seems better attested than 'Troglodytes.'

Napata)[1] who had the title 'royal son of Koš.'[2] The tribute and products of the country mere chiefly gold (rarely, wrought gold), precious red stones, ostrich feathers, leopard skins, cattle, live monkeys, ivory, ebony, some incense, etc. (cp Herod. 3 97114).

We find Nubia an independent kingdom in dyn. 22. It seems that the high-priestly family at Thebes when yielding to the power of the Tanitic pharaohs (EGYPT, § 61*f.*) had fled to the southern provinces and there founded an independent state. In few countries of antiquity was the theocratic ideal of the priesthood realised as completely as in this new ecclesiastical kingdom of

5*a*. The kingdom of Ethiopia.

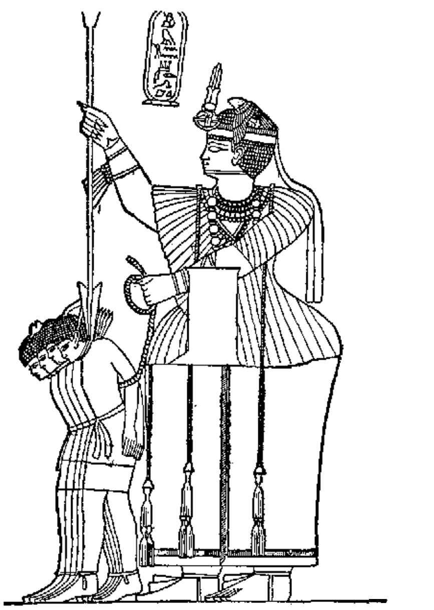


FIG. 2.—Ethiopian queen, Roman period. After Lepsius.

Napata. Every affair of state was directed by oracles of Amon; even the king was elected from certain royal descendants in a way very similar to that described in 1 S. 10 19, and if the priests were dissatisfied with the king, they simply communicated to him an oracle that he should leave the throne (or even commit suicide).[3] The priesthood seems to have enjoyed a wealth quite disproportionate to the resources of the country. No wonder that the discontented Egyptian priests of later times described pious Ethiopia to the Greeks (especially Herodotus) as the most ideal of lands, where people lived in unexcelled orthodoxy, and, consequently, in Utopian wealth and power. This new kingdom does not seem to have extended very far up the White Nile; its frontiers in N. Kordofān and Sennār are unknown; the nomadic desert-tribes between the Nile and the Red Sea could not be tractable subjects. Thus it does no* seem to have included much outside of the narrow Nile valley from Philæ to Kharṭūm, which is a poor country, not admitting of much agriculture. With such meagre resources, Kush could never hold its own against united Egypt. The unfavourable political conditions of Egypt however, allowed the king of Kōš to occupy *S*. Egypt

1 *Npt*, *Npy*, a name meaning in, the language of the country something like 'hank of the river. For the incorrect identification with נֹף, see MEMPHIS.

2 Strangely his province seems sometimes to have included the frontier districts of Egypt as far as Eileithyia (el-Kāb).

3 The best account, with a few exaggerations, of this strange state of things is found in Diodorus. A singular fact is that the king's mother was for the most part co-regent—a trace of the matriarchy so prevalent in E. Africa.

with Thebes soon after 800 B.C., and king P'anḫy could even attempt to subjugate the rest of the disunited counties, about 750 (see EGYPT, § 65; on the more successful conquest by Šabakō, on Šabatako [or Sebichos?] and T(a)harḳō [see TIRHAKAH], *ib.*, § 66 *a*). Nah. 3 9 refers to this period; Jer. 46 9 Ezek. 30 4 (8 8 5, very strange) refer to Ethiopian mercenaries in Egypt rather than to the past period of the 25th dynasty. ZERAH (5) and So (*qq.v.*) do not belong here. The strange anomaly of Nubia as a great empire, which even tried to stop the progress of Assyria in Asia, did not last very long. For the Ethiopians to hold even Egypt was too hard a task. The last attempt to regain it was made by Tantamen[1] in 667. He tells us in a long inscription how, encouraged by a dream, he easily conquered Egypt to Memphis; but he does not tell of his subsequent defeat. The ascendancy of dyn. 26 shut the Ethiopians out completely.

On several cases of unfriendly contact with the Ethiopians under Psametik (I. and II.?) and Apries, see EGYPT, §§ 67-69. The kings Atirunras, Asparuta (*circa* 600 B.C.) and several named P'anḫy are mentioned. One surnamed Arura was dethroned by Ḥarsiōt(ef); these two kings and their successor Nastasen(n), who records great victories over the southern peoples, reigned about 400. During the whole Persian period the kingdom of Kush was tributary to the Persian kings (cp Esth. 1 1 8 *f.*), having been subjugated by Cambyses in 524. The Ptolemies also had at least a strong influence in Napata.[2] Under Ptolemy IV.[3] king Erḳamen (Ἐργαμένης) had the courage to refuse the abdication demanded of him by the priests, and broke the power of the clergy by a great slaughter in Napata.

5 *b*. Meroë as capital.

The southern residence Meroe (Eth. originally *Berua*; cp mod. *Begerauie*?) came more into prominence from the time of Ergamenes (who was not, however, the founder). On the loss of the Dodekaschœnus district (ending at Pnubs or Hierasycaminus)[4] to Ptolemy

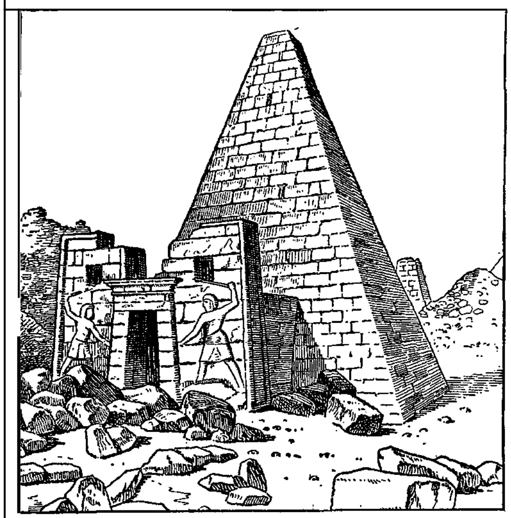


FIG. 3.—One of the pyramids of Meroe. After Hoskins.

V. Epiphanes (fragmentary report of the war in Agatharchides), see Egypt, § 71. The kingdom now sank more and more in culture (art, architecture, hiero-

1 Written Tanwati-Amen; in Assyrian pronunciation, Tandamani; in a Greek tradition disfigured to Tementhes. Kipkip, where he fled according to Ašur-bāni-pal, cannot he identified.

2 The war of Ptol. I. Soter with the Blemmyans (Diod. iii. 5 2 is a strange confusion of the interior and the coast of Ethiopia), the Nubian tribute (?) at the coronation of Ptol. II., the imitation of Ptol. III.'s name by Erḳamen and his successor Azaḫramen prove this.

3 See Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptol.* 273, on the emendation of "Ptolemy II."

4 This district paid tithe to the Isis of Philæ and seems to have formed, sometimes, a kind of neutral zone between Ethiopia and Egypt.

glyphic inscriptions, become indescribably barbarous) and in power. An attack on Egypt' by the one-eyed queen Kandake (see CANDACE) caused her defeat by C. Petronius in 24 B.C., the Roman occupation of the Dodecaschœnus, and the destruction of Napata. This shattered the weak empire, and although Nero's spies exaggerated in reporting that Meroe was in ruins (some later buildings are found there), only a shadowy remnant of the old kingdom seems to have subsisted on the Blue Nile.

It may be mentioned that the Egyptiansfigured the inhabitants of Kush as negroes—among them a minority of reddish-brown (*i.e.*, Hamitic?) tribes. The settled Cushites of the independent period seem to have been rather pure negroes[2] (contrast Gen. 10 6), most probably akin (but not all directly) to the modern Nubā (not to the Hamitic Bedja or Beda), who speak a language of the Nilotic[3] type. The population of the southern part may have been somewhat different. Certainty as to this depends on the decipherment of some inscriptions in as yet unknown characters,[4] and representing evidently the vernacular language in opposition to the Egyptian writing of the priests. The Romans, after Augustus, speak only of the independent tribes of the Nubæ or Nobades on the Nile, the rapacious Blemmyes and Megabari in the East. They gave much trouble to the Romans, who had to subsidise the Nobadians. Beginning with the latter they were converted to Christianity only in the sixth century: In the district around the ruins of Meroe arose the Christian kingdom of Aloa.[5] This and the Nobadian kingdom held their own against the Mohammedans down to the Middle Ages.

6. Ethnology of Nubia.

W. M. M.

ETH-RAZIN, AV ITTAH-KAZIN (עִתָּה קָצִין; πολιν κατασεμ [B], π. κασιμ [A], και σιν [L]), a landmark of the frontier of Zebulun, mentioned after Gath-hepher and before Rimmon-methoar (Josh. 1913). If AV is right in taking the final letter in עתה as radical, we might with Halévy (*JAs.*, 6th ser., 8 552) render 'Athé is lord' (cp the deity Athé in ATARGATIS); but the form of the Hebrew name is open to suspicion (cp 𝔊). The תה in עתה may be due to the neighbourhood of נתה. Most probably we should read עַר 'city (of),' following 𝔊[BA]; perhaps too קָצִין 'magistrate,' should rather be קָצִיו,—*i.e.*, *Ḳaṣiu*, an old divine name.[6] The same name may be probably found in Ḫirata-Ḳazaï (or Ḳasaï) mentioned by Ašur-bāni-pal in his celebrated campaign into Arabia; see Gottheil, *JBL* 17 210 *f.* ('98). For traces of deities in place-names cp BENE-BERAK, and see NAMES, § 9 *ff.*

T. K. C.-S. A. C.

ETHMA (οομα [B]), 1 Esd. 935 AV = Ezra 10 43 NEBO (4).

ETHNAN (אֶתְנַן, § 10; σεννων[7] [B], εθναδι [A], εθναν [L]), 'son' of Ashhur, a Judahite (1 Ch. 47). perhaps representing the Judean city ITHNAN (Josh. 15 23).

ETHNARCH, (εθναρχης), EV 'governor,' lit. 'ruler of a nation,' a title applied to Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 14 47 15 1 *f.*; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6 6), also to ARCHELAUS [*q.v.*], and in 2 Cor. 1132 to the 'governor' of DAMASCUS [*q.v.*, § 13] under ARETAS. In the last case the ἐθνάρχης is really the head of the tribal territory bordering on Damascus,[8] the political organisation of the

[1] Caused most probably by the interference of the Roman governor in Ethiopian affairs. The first governor of Egypt, C. Cornelius Gallus, in an inscription of 29 B.C. (*SBAW*, 1896, p. 476) boasts 'recepicse in tutelam' (the Greek version only 'in alliance'). the king of Ethiopia, and to have established a ruler (*tyrannus*) of the Triacontaschœnus in Ethiopia—*i.e.*, of the part reaching to about the second cataract.

[2] See W. M. Müller in *Oriental Studies of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia* ('94); Schaefer, *ÄZ* 33 114 ('95).

[3] The nearest linguistic relatives of the Nubā are the mountain negrnes in E. Kordofān; then come the Barea and Kunāma on the Abyssinian frontier.

[4] Some inscriptions in a simplified hieroglyphic system are *so* barbarous that it is still disputed whether they are to be considered as Meroitic in language or merely as bad Egyptian.

[5] Formed by Bedja elements—to judge by some fragmentary inscriptions.

[6] The Nab. קצין is well known as a personal name; that it was also a divine namk appears from the Ar. *'Abd-Ḳuṣai* (cited by We. *GGA*, '99, p. 245).

[7] Perhaps an instance of the pronunciation $\bar{ת} = \sigma$; cp Del. *Assyr. Gr.* 43 (Ki. *SBOT*).

[8] For actual examples of ἐθνάρχης in this sense from Gk. inscriptions in the Ḥaurān, etc., see Schiir. *St. Kr.*, *l.c.*

Nabatæans being 'primarily tribal (Schur. *St. Kr.* '99 i.; cp DISTRICT, 1). The head of the Jewish community in Alexandria also had the title of Ethnarch (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2), and Origen (*Ep. ad Afric.*, ap. Schur. *GVI* 1 534 2 150) speaks of the Jewish Ethnarch in Palestine in his own day as 'differing in nothing from a king.' See ISRAEL, § 77; GOVERNMENT, § 29; DISPERSION, §§ 7-9.

ETHNI (אֶתְנִי), a Gershonite Levite, 1 Ch. 6 41 [26] (αθανει [BA] ηθανια [L]) = JEATERAI, RV JEATHERAI, 1 Ch. 621 [6] (יְאַתְרַי;[1] ιεθρ[ε]ι [BA[a]L]). See ETHAN, 3.

EUBULUS (ευβουλος [Ti. WH]) joins Paul in his greeting to Timothy (2 Tim. 4 21). The name is not met with again; it is somewhat unaccountably absent even from the lists of the 'seventy disciples' compiled by Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus.

EUCHARIST

I. *Accounts of Institution.*—Two distinct narratives of the institution of the Lord's Supper or Holv Eucharist are found in the Synoptic Gospels. We may take first the account given by Mk., setting beside it the modified reproduction of it in Mt.

1. Institution: Mk. and Mt.

Mk. 14 22.	Mt. 26 26.
And as they were eating	Now as they were eating,
He took bread blessed and brake and gave to them and said:	Jesus took bread and blessed and brake and giving to the disciples said:
Take:	Take, eat:
this is my body.	this is my body.
And taking a cup he gave thanks	And taking a cup he gave thanks
and gave to them,	and gave to them,
and they all drank of it:	saying:
and he said to them:	Drink ye all of it:
This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed on behalf of many.	for this is my blood of the covenant which for many is shed for remission of sins.

The insertion of the command 'eat,' after 'take,' is probably due to a desire to lessen the abruptness. The change of the statement 'they all drank of it' into the command 'Drink ye all of it' is parallel with this. Both changes may be due to liturgical use, as also the addition of 'for remission of sins.'

2. Lk. and Paul. We may next compare the narrative of Lk., setting it side by side with that of Paul.

Lk. 22 17.	1 Cor. 11 23.
And he received a cup and gave thanks and said:	
Take this and divide it among yourselves; for I say unto you, I will not drink from now of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God come.	
And he took bread and gave thanks and brake and gave to them saying:	He took bread and gave thanks and brake and said:
This is my body	This is my body
[[which is given on your behalf:	. which (is) on your behalf:
do this unto my remembrance.	do this unto my remembrance.
Also the cup likewise after supper, saying:	Likewise also the cup after supper, saying:
This cup (is) the new covenant in my blood, (this) which on your behalf is shed]].	This cup is the new covenant in my blood;
	do this, as oft as ye drink (it), unto my remembrance.

The words in double brackets are regarded by Westcott and Hort as no part of the original text of Lk. They are termed by them a 'western non-interpolation,' as having been interpolated into all texts except the western. They are absent from Codex Bezæ and several old Latin MSS (*a*, *ff*, *i*, *ι*); others (6, *e*), as well as the Old Syriac (*cu sin*), show

[1] Apparently a conflation of יתרי and אתרי.

a dislocation of the passage which points to original omission. Internal evidence supports the omission. The words spoken over the second cup contain an awkward juxtaposition of words from 1 Cor. with words from Mk. (τὸ ποτήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον): it is difficult to ascribe this to so careful a writer as Lk. The interpolation of these clauses into all Greek MSS (except D) is doubtless due to harmonistic tendencies, and was perhaps facilitated hy liturgical usage (cp the harmony in the English Prayer Book of words from the three Gospels and 1 Cor.).

A remarkable accession of evidence has come to us from the *Teaching of the Apostles;* for there the order is the same as in the shorter text of Lk. ('first, concerning the cup' chap. 9). The cup is mentioned before the bread in 1 Cor. 10 16; but we cannot lay stress on this in face of Paul's formal statement in 11 25.

We must accordingly regard the accounts in Lk. and in 1 Cor. as wholly independent of each other. We have thus three lines of tradition: (1) that of Mk.; (2) that of Paul, in which the words both for the bread and for the cup are somewhat varied, and the command is added: 'Do this in remembrance of me'; (3) that of Lk., in which the blessing of the cup comes first, with variations in the words spoken, whereas for the bread the words (apart from the omission of 'Take') are the same as in Mk.

The Fourth Gospel does not record the institution of the Eucharist; but its chronology of the Passion differs from that of the Synoptic Gospels in a point which has an important bearing upon the Last Supper. In this Gospel the death of Jesus synchronises with the killing of the paschal lamb 'towards evening' on the fourteenth day of Nisan: so that the Last Supper falls on the day before the Passover. According to Mk. (= Mt. Lk.) it was 'on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover' (14 12) that Jesus sent two disciples to make preparation for the paschal meal; and, 'when evening was come,' he sat down with the twelve. With regard to this discrepancy we may perhaps be content, for the purpose of the present discussion, to accept the position defended by writers so divergent as Westcott (*Introd. to Gosp.*, 340 *ff.*) and Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Litt. des Urchrist.* 1 210 *ff.* ['93]), and regard the Last Supper as taking place on the day before the Passover (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 54 *ff.*). We have early evidence to show that the Eucharist was soon regarded as a commemoration of the redemption effected by the death of Christ (1 Cor. 11 26), and that Christ himself was spoken of as the Christian's paschal lamb (1 Cor. 5 7). Such interpretations may have led to the actual identification of the Last Supper with the paschal meal, and so have affected the chronological notices of the Passion. But it is hard to feel confidence in an explanation which sets aside the chronological statement of the Synoptic Gospels for that of the Fourth Gospel only.

3. Fourth Gospel.

II. *Significance.*—In view of this uncertainty, and for other reasons, our conception of the original institution must not be dominated by the consideration of the elaborate ceremonial of the Passover celebration. Such a consideration belongs rather to the subsequent development of the Eucharist as a Christian rite. Here we must confine ourselves to the simpler formulae which are known to have accompanied the ordinary Jewish meals. Thus at the present day (*Daily Prayer Book,* with transl. by C. Singer: 287 ['91]) the following blessing is said over the bread: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth Bread from the earth,' and before drinking wine: 'Blessed art Thou, . . . who createst the fruit of the vine.' It is probable that such words as these are implied in the statements 'He took bread and blessed,' and 'He took the cup and gave thanks.'

4. Thanksgiving at a meal.

This supposition is confirmed by the earliest extant formulæ of the Christian Eucharist. In the *Teaching of the Apostles* (chap. 9 *f.*) we find certain thanksgivings which are clearly of earlier date than the manual in which they are embodied. Two of these are respectively 'concerning the cup' and 'concerning the broken bread', the third is to be said at the conclusion of the meal. Their language suggests that they are Christian adaptations of Jewish graces; and it is worthy of note that they survived as Christian graces, after the Eucharist had ceased to be a meal, and had become a distinct act of worship with an elaborate liturgy in which these primitive formulæ have left but scanty traces (Ps. Athan. *de virg.* 12-14).

We see then that the Eucharist had, in its earliest form, an element in common with the ordinary Jewish meal, which was sanctified by thanksgivings uttered over the bread and over the cup. This element is expressly recognised in all the narratives of the institution. The chief point of distinction is that here these acts of thanksgiving came, not at the beginning of the meal, but during its progress and at its close; and that they were accompanied by utterances prompted by the unique circumstances of the Last Supper.

If we take merely those portions of the words of institution which are certainly common to two or more of the three lines of tradition, we see that, whereas the bread is interpreted simply as the body of Christ with no further explanation, the cup is directly explained of the 'covenant' made by Christ's death. The words of institution, even apart from premonitory warnings, in themselves pointed to death—'my body . . . my blood'; and the more clearly, in that the blood of a covenant was not life-blood flowing in the veins of the living, but life-blood shed in sacrificial death. If the first utterance, then, signified: At this moment of parting I give you in the fullest sense myself; the second further signified: My blood is being shed to unite you in a covenant with God.

The second utterance as it stands in Mk. (τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης) clearly recalls the 'covenant' recorded in Ex. 24 6-8:

5. Idea of covenant.

'Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said: Behold the blood of the covenant (ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης), which the Lord hath covenanted with you concerning all these words' (cp Heb. 9 20 10 29). Therefore, just as in Mt. 16 18 Jesus emphatically adapts to his own use a familiar term—'I will build my Ecclesia' (see CHURCH, § 2)—so here, in reference to the Mosaic covenant on Mount Sinai, not in reference to the Passover in Egypt, he declares: 'This is *my* blood of the covenant.'

Accordingly we are justified in accepting the words in Mk. as more nearly original than those in 1 Cor. ('This is the new covenant in my blood'). The Pauline phrase introduces the word 'new' into the place already filled by the emphatic pronoun 'my,' the 'new covenant' being perhaps an interpretation necessary for Gentile Christians.

The symbolism of eating and drinking is accordingly combined with the symbolism of a covenant made by sacrificial blood-shedding. Thus are brought into combination two characteristics of the Messianic idea: the feast of the Messianic kingdom, and the sacrificial death of the Messiah himself. The feast appears in many passages of OT prophecy; and there is reason to think that it had received a spiritual, not merely a literal, interpretation; even as the manna and the water in the wilderness were regarded as symbols of the Messiah. Moreover, the popular conception of the Messianic kingdom included a marvellously fruitful vine and an extraordinary abundance of corn (cp Fragm. of Papias in Iren. v. 33 3 which rests on earlier Jewish tradition; see *Apoc. of Baruch,* 29, ed. Charles, 54). If then, at the moment, the death of Jesus was beyond the comprehension of the disciples in spite of his frequent references to it, yet there may have been a side of his strange action and utterances which appealed to them then,—the conception, namely, of the Messianic feast, in which they should spiritually feed upon the Messiah himself, the spiritual corn and the spiritual vine. It is certain, at any rate, that Jesus added in reference to the cup an allusion to his drinking the new wine of the kingdom of God. The *Teaching of the Apostles* embodies a similar thought in the significant

6. Messianic reference.

expression in which it gives thanks for 'the holy vine of David' (chap. 9).

Whatever conception these acts and words conveyed to the disciples at the time, the events of the following days may have helped them to see in them the gift of a personal union with their Lord at the very moment of parting, and the gift of a union with his sacrifice of himself.

7. The words enigmatic.

That the acts and words are capable of yet further interpretations must have been part of the intention with which they were spoken; for had their meaning ended here, they would have been spoken otherwise, so as to exclude the possibility of interminable disputations. As it is, the very diversity of their interpretation in the history of the Church seems to be a token that they were so framed as to wait for a fuller comprehension. Something of that comprehension is found in Paul; something too in John.

Paul, in this as in so many other instances, arrived at his interpretation through the exigencies of his special mission. His task of welding into one the Jewish and Gentile elements led him to develop the conception of the corporate unity of all Christians. Food has ever been the token of unity—the bond of equal intercourse. Refusal to take food together is the symbol of exclusiveness and caste distinction. The Jew could not, by the later Pharisaic ordinances, eat with the Gentile. If Christ were for Jew and Gentile alike, the Eucharist, the feast of the new and all-inclusive 'covenant,' must be the common meal of Jew and Gentile. This in itself must have given it to Paul a special significance.

8. View of Paul.

Again, to Paul with his doctrine of the one man—the one body with many members—a new vista of thought lies open. The one body is the whole Christ: 'so also is the Christ' (1 Cor. 12_{12}): 'we are members of his body' (Eph. 5_{30}). Now the word of the Eucharist was: 'This is my body' (not 'This is my flesh'). Thus the Eucharist was the sacrament of corporate unity in Christ. The single loaf, broken into fragments and distributed among the faithful, was the pledge and the means of their intimate union: 'We are one body: for we all partake of the one loaf' (1 Cor. 10_{17}).

The sin of the Corinthian church lay specially in their scrambling over the Supper of the Lord, each making it 'his own' supper, and not waiting for others: note in 1 Cor. 11_{20} *f.* the contrast between 'the Lord's' (κυριακόν) and 'his own' (ἴδιον). They wholly failed to grasp the truth of the one body: thus, in a real sense (even if this does not exhaust the meaning of the words), 'not discerning the body.'

That to Paul the body is at one moment the Church, and at the next the Christ, is no contradiction in his thought, but rather a kind of refusal to distinguish: the Church and Christ are to him 'not twain, but one' (cp Eph. 5_{31} *f.*). Augustine is truly Pauline when he says of the Eucharist, 'Be what you see, and receive what you are' (*Serm. ad Infantes*, 272).

Paul's conception comes out strikingly in the sequence of verses in 1 Cor. 10_{16} *f.*: 'The loaf which we break, is it not the communion (or fellowship) of the body of Christ? For one loaf, one body, we the many are: for we all of us partake of the one loaf.' That is his practical comment on 'This is my body.'

When we turn to the Fourth Gospel, the much-debated question arises whether the sixth chapter has any direct reference to the Eucharist, either by way of anticipation on the part of Jesus himself, or in the reflective exhibition of his teaching by the writer.

9. Of the Fourth Gospel.

The absence of all mention of the institution of Christian baptism or of the Eucharist stands side by side with the emphasis laid in the third chapter on the absolute necessity of a new birth by water and the Spirit, and in the sixth on the absolute necessity of feeding on the flesh and blood of Christ. In each case the answer to the enquiry, How can this be? is a simple reassertion of the necessity without any explanation to guide the inquirer: and in each case words are spoken of the ascension of Christ into heaven, and of the need of faith if these things are to be grasped at all.

We may securely say that the two discourses deal with the same spiritual things as underlie respectively baptism and the Eucharist: and we cannot doubt that the evangelist's own interpretation of the two sacraments must have followed the lines laid down in these discourses. This being so, the controversy above referred to sinks to a position of secondary importance.

We may take it, then, that to the evangelist the special signification of the Eucharist lay in the intimate union with Christ himself, which we have already seen to be involved in the words—and particularly in the first word—of the institution. The saying 'I am the bread of life' is the converse of the saying 'This (*i.e.*, this bread) is my body.' In each case the meaning is: You shall feed upon myself: you shall enter into a union, which is nothing less than identification, with me.

If Paul is, as always, impressed with the corporate aspect of truth, the Fourth Gospel is concerned with the mystical union of the individual with his Lord: 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him' (Jn. 6_{56}).

10. The two views contrasted.

To Paul 'This is my body' is almost inseparable from the thought 'His body are we.' In Paul's narrative 'This is my blood of the covenant' appears as 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood.' The thought of the new people of God is each time uppermost in his mind. He finds its unity in the body: he finds it again in the new and universal 'covenant.'

In the Fourth Gospel the interpretation of the Eucharist is the same as if its words had actually run: 'This is my flesh,' 'This is my blood.' The flesh and blood are the full life: their communication is the communication of eternal life (Jn. 6_{54} *f.*).

Paul is practical and sees truth in his effort after corporate unity. The Fourth Gospel is contemplative: the writer is interpreting a past of half a century ago, which yet to him is an eternal present; but he is thereby in a sense isolated.

The two sides of truth are not opposed but complementary—the mysticism of the individual and the mysticism of the corporate life. They both alike find their full expression and realisation in the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

The Church of the post-apostolic age shows strangely little indication in its dogmatic teachings of the influence of the peculiar conceptions of Pauline or of Johannine teaching. This is true generally, and the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist presents no exception. The words of the institution, constantly repeated as they probably were, formed the only comment on the significance of the sacrament.[1] There was no attempt to explain them: they were as simple as words could be—'This is my body,' 'This is my blood.' They were the formula which expressed the fact: no metaphysical questioning arose; no need was felt of a philosophy of explanation.

11. Other early writers: Clement.

Paul's special position as the uniter of Jew and Gentile had ceased to need justification or even assertion. The Church—so far as its literature has survived to us—was a Church of Gentile Christians. Jews indeed formed a part of it, but an insignificant part, not destined to influence directly its future development. John's special position was necessarily peculiar to himself: there could be none after him who had 'seen and handled' as he had. A new age had begun, with its own situations and exigencies: and it was not an age which called forth developments of Christian philosophy.

The *Epistle of Clement* does not employ the Eucharist, as Paul had employed it, as the starting-point of an argument for unity. The spiritual significance of the Eucharist is not emphasised; but the way is being prepared for its becoming the central act of Christian worship, and so comparable with the sacrifices of Judaism. It is regarded as 'the offering of the gifts' of the Church (chap. 44), and it is surrounded already, it would seem, with liturgical accompaniments of prayer and praise (chap. 59 *ff.*).

In the *Didachè* the Eucharistic formulæ (chap. 9 *f.*) differ in thought and phraseology from anything else in the book: their colour is probably derived mainly from Jewish ritual, though their language is in several points Johannine. The three thanksgivings are addressed to the Father: the only reference to Christ is in the phrases 'through Jesus thy servant' (thrice), 'through thy servant,' and

12. Didachè.

'through Jesus Christ.' It is noteworthy that none of these names occur in the rest of the book, where Christ is always (except in the baptismal formula) spoken of as 'the Lord,'—a title reserved in the thanksgivings for the Father.

Thus, negatively, there is no expression of any feeding on Christ: there is not even a mention of 'body,' or 'flesh,' or 'blood.' There is no sense of the Eucharist as a means of corporate unity. The future union of the now scattered ecclesia is prayed for with an allusion to the gathering together of the scattered particles of wheat into one loaf. This is a conception radically different from Paul's teaching of the unity of believers as partakers of the one loaf.

Positively, we note the prominence of the idea of thanksgiving: its subject-matter being 'that which has been made known through Jesus Christ'—viz., the vine of David, life, knowledge, faith, immortality. The nearest thing to any positive blessing in the Eucharist itself is in the clause: 'Food and drink thou hast given to men . . . and to us thou hast granted spiritual food and drink and life eternal through thy servant.' From this we may perhaps conclude that the Eucharistic elements were already regarded as spiritually nourishing and so producing immortality.

It is convenient to notice at this point the view of the Eucharist which belongs to the later period of the composition of the *Didachè* itself. The Eucharist is that 'holy thing' which may not be given to 'the dogs'—*i.e.*, the unbaptized (chap. 9).

Confession of sins and a forgiving spirit are essential preliminaries, 'that your sacrifice may be pure,' 'that your sacrifice be not defiled'; 'for it is that which was spoken of by the Lord; In every place and time to offer to me a pure sacrifice' (chap. 4). Though the word 'sacrifice' is thus used, however, there is no exposition of a sacrificial view of the Eucharist—no indication that the 'elements' were regarded as forming a sacrificial offering, or that the Eucharist was in any way connected with the sacrifice of Christ. Indeed this last conception would be wholly foreign to the atmosphere of the *Didachè*. Yet the language both of this book and of Clement's epistle was preparing the way for an interpretation of the Eucharist in the light of the sacrificial worship of the Old Testament.

13. Ignatius.

The ***Epistles of Ignatius*** emphasise the Godhead and the manhood of Christ in face of a docetism which practically denied the latter. Thus Ignatius' whole view of life is sacramental: everywhere he finds the spiritual in closest conjunction with the material. We are accordingly prepared to find in him a mystical exposition of the Eucharist.

The second main stress of his teaching is laid on the threefold order of the ministry. As the Eucharist is the central function of the bishop's ministration, it stands out as the symbol and means of the Church's unity.

Thus we find in Ignatius something of the Johannine and something of the Pauline conception of the meaning of the Eucharist. In each case, however, there are serious limitations: Ignatius grasps only so much as the needs of his time make him feel the want of.

Taking first the thought of the Church's unity, we have in *Philad.* 4 'Be ye careful therefore to observe one Eucharist: for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for the unity of his blood: one altar precinct, as there *is* one bishop together with the presbytery and the deacons.' We miss here the Pauline conception of union through partaking of the broken pieces of a single loaf. The centre of unity is the one Eucharistic service of the one bishop with his presbyters and deacons, making the one altar precinct. The connection of the bishop with the Eucharist is elsewhere strongly emphasised: *e.g.*, *Smyrn.* 8: 'Let that be accounted a valid (βεβαία) Eucharist, which takes place under the bishop, or him to whom he may give commission,' etc.

The mystical meaning of the Eucharist comes out in such a passage as *Smyrn.* 7: 'They abstain from Eucharist (or thanksgiving) and prayer, because they allow not that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, (that flesh) which suffered for our sins, which the Father raised up. They therefore that gainsay the gift of God die in their disputings.' The thought of the Eucharist as counteracting death comes out still more plainly in *Ephes.* 20: 'Breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, a preventive remedy that we should not die, but live in Jesus Christ for ever. In *Rom.* 7 we read: 'I desire the bread of God (cp *Ephes.* 5), which is the flesh of Jesus Christ . . . and as drink I desire his blood, which is love incorruptible.' In *Trall.* 8: 'in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ.' These last two passages are characteristic of the manner in which Ignatius keeps interchanging abstract and concrete ideas.

The parallel with Jn. comes out especially in the terms 'the bread of God' and 'the flesh (not the body) and blood'; but the 'life eternal' of Jn. is here limited to immortality.

III. *Early usage.*—*In* the 'first description of the believers after Pentecost we are told that 'they stedfastly continued in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread, and the prayers' (Acts 242).

14. Earliest practice.

Here 'the breaking of bread' is a part of the expression of 'the fellowship' which charncterised the new society. Immediately afterwards (*v.* 46) we read: 'day by day, continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread house by house (or 'at home,' κατ' οἶκον).' The numbers were already so large as to make a single united Eucharistic supper out of the question. It is probable that in these earliest days every meal at which Christians met would be hallowed by Eucharistic acts; and we can scarcely doubt that such would be the case with the daily common meal by which the Church supplied the needs of her poorer members (Acts 61; on this subject see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5). It may be right to distinguish, however, between the Eucharistic acts which lent a sacredness to such common meals, and the formal Eucharists for which the Church assembled at stated times.

Of the more formal Eucharists we have an example in Acts 207 at Troas, where the Christians 'came together on the first day of the week to break bread.' Their Eucharist was preceded by a long discourse from Paul and followed by yet more speaking 'until the dawn' (*v.* 11), as the apostle was bidding farewell to the church. In 1 Cor. 1117 *ff.* we have again the Eucharist proper—'when ye come together ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ,' *i.e.*, solemnly assembled as the Church. The fault of the Corinthian Eucharist was, as we have seen (§ 8), that each made it 'his own supper' (τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον) rather than 'the Lord's Supper' (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον), by greedily scrambling for more than his share. Paul does not suggest any change in the method by which the Eucharist is attached to a public meal; he only calls for orderliness. Yet the possibility of such abuses must have led the way to change, even if other elements had not soon begun to work in this direction (see below, § 17).

15. Greek parallels.

The Corinthian Eucharist had parallels on its social side in the Greek world. Guilds and burial clubs had their stated suppers; and the wealthier townsmen found many occasions of inviting their poorer neighbours to a feast, as, for example, at the time of a funeral and on fixed days after the death. From such public entertainments Christians were debarred by reason of their connection with idolatrous worship; but it is likely that the Christians themselves in a Greek city would have similar suppers on somewhat similar occasions; and the wealthier members of the Church would thus entertain the poorer from time to time. Such snppers, though not Eucharists in the strict sense, would be accompanied by eucharistic acts.

16. Agapæ.

Hence would appear to have originated the *Agapæ*, or charity suppers, which are not always distinguishable from Eucharists. They are referred to in Jude 12 (cp 2 Pet. 213); and some light is thrown upon the reference by the custom, mentioned in the *Didachè* (chap. 11), of allowing the prophets 'to order a table' (ὁρίζειν τράπεζαν)—a custom sometimes misused for selfish ends.

In Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 8, it is forbidden 'to baptize or to hold an agape (ἀγάπην ποιεῖν) apart from the bishop.' It does not follow from this passage that agape and Eucharist were with Ignatius convertible terms; if the agapè required the presence or sanction of the bishop, *a fortiori* this was true of the Eucharist.

It is commonly said that the separation of the

Eucharist from the agapè, or (if they were already separated) the discontinuance of the latter, was made, in Bithynia at any rate, in consequence of an edict of Trajan forbidding clubs; but Pliny's letter to Trajan (*Ep.* 96) does not bear this out.

17. Separation of eucharist.

The renegades who described to him what their practice as Christians had been, had not merely desisted from attendance at the Christian common meal; they had abandoned the faith altogether. The faithful, on the other hand, had desisted from nothing, as far as we know; there is no proof that they had abandoned the later meeting and retained the earlier. Accordingly this correspondence throws no light on the relation between the Eucharist and the agapè.

The causes which tended to separate the Eucharist from a common meal were mainly four.

(*a*) The increase of numbers made the common supper more and more difficult in itself, and less and less suitable for the solemn celebration of the united Eucharist.

(*b*) Disorders, such as those at Corinth, were always liable to recur where a large number of persons partook freely of food and drink. The ordinances made at a later time (see the *Canons of Hippolytus;* ed. Achelis, pp. 105-111) for the quiet conduct of the agapè show that there were dancers of this sort to be guarded against.

(*c*) The liturgical accompaniments of the Eucharist underwent a great expansion. Even in the time of Clement of Rome (*circa* 96 A.D.) we find an elaborated intercession and a long form of thanksgiving in use.

(*d*) As the symbol of the Church's unity the Eucharist became restricted to occasions when the bishop or his deputy was present to celebrate it. In this, and in every way, it increased in formal solemnity, and became less compatible with a common meal.

These causes were doubtless at work to varying extents in different localities; in one place the issue would be reached more quickly than in another.

It is noteworthy that Clement's epistle makes no mention at all of the supper; and the next notice that we have of a Roman Eucharist clearly leaves no place for it. This is Justin Martyr's full description (*Apol.* 1 65-67), which shows a ritual already developed and containing all the main elements of the later use.

If we seek the grounds of the liturgical development of the Eucharist, we must begin from the mention of 'the covenant,' which, as we have seen, is found in both the Synoptic and the Pauline narratives of the institution. Here we have at once a link with the sacrificial ideas of Judaism. Although it is to the 'covenant' of Ex. 24, not to the Passover, that reference in the first instance is made, the Passover associations also probably attached themselves to the Eucharist at a very early date. Moreover, before the first century had closed, a Roman writer could speak of the Christian ministers as 'offering the gifts' (Clem. *Ep.* 44), and the passage of Malachi about the 'pure sacrifice' was soon interpreted of the Eucharist (*Did.* 14; Just. *Dial.* 28, 41; Iren., Tert., Clem. Alex.). Paul had received as a tradition coming ultimately from Christ himself the command, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' and had declared that in the Eucharist Christians 'showed forth the death of the Lord.'

18. Liturgical development.

Thus the conception of a solemn remembrance of Christ's death held a foremost place in the earliest times, and the interpretation of that death as sacrificial gave a second sacrificial aspect to the Eucharist. The word 'remembrance' (ἀνάμνησις) was afterwards interpreted in a ritual sense of 'memorial' in view of certain passages in which it was so used in the LXX.

It was a natural consequence that, when the Jewish ritual system was annulled at the destruction of the temple, a Christian ritual was developed with the Eucharist as its centre.

The agapæ, on the other hand, lost more and more their semi-eucharistic character. They became in some places occasions of unseemly riot or mere excuses for wealthy banqueting; and Clement of Alexandria, at the close of the second century, is already indignant that so lofty a name should he given to them, and complains that 'Charity has fallen from heaven into the soups' (*Ped.* ii. 15).

19. Fate of agapæ.

Thus the original institution underwent a twofold development, according as the liturgical or the social character of it came to predominate. In the one case, the supper itself disappeared, or was but symbolically represented by the consumption of small portions of bread and wine; the spiritual significance was emphasised, and the Eucharist became the centre of the Church's worship. In the other case, the supper was everything, and the eucharistic acts which accompanied it were little more than graces before and after meat; the spiritual significance had passed elsewhere, and, though under favourable conditions the agapè still had its value and lingered long, it had no principle of vitality left, and its place was filled in time by more appropriate methods of charitable assistance.

Among recent critical monographs may be mentioned: Harnack's *Brod und Wasser* (*Texte u. Unters.* vii. ['92]); Jülicher's 'Zur Gesch. d. Abendm.' (in *Theol. Abhandl.* dedicated to C. v. Weizsäcker, '92); Spitta's *Zur Gesch. u. Litt. d. Urchrist.* 1 205 *ff.*, ('93); Percy Gardner's *Origin of the Lords Supper* ('93); J. H. Thayer's 'Recent Discussions respecting the Lord's Supper' in *JBL* 18 110-131 ('99) (with further references). J. A. R.

EUERGETES (ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗϹ, 'benefactor'; cp Lk. 22 25). In the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus reference is made by this title (originally conferred by states on special benefactors) to one of the Egyptian Ptolemies (see EGYPT, § 73). Of the two Ptolemies who bore it—viz., Ptolemy III. (247-222 B.C.), more commonly known as Euergetes, and Ptolemy VII.—it is the latter who is meant (ECCLESIASTICUS, § 8). Ptolemy VII., Euergetes II., more commonly called Physcon (φύσκων), began to reign jointly with his elder brother (Ptolemy VI., Philometor) in 170 B.C., became sole king in 146 B.C., and died in 117 B.C. In spite of the attempt of Willrich (*Juden u. Griechen*) to prove that Physcon was a friend of the Jews, it appears that this king's attitude towards them was consistently inimical, not on any religious grounds, but from political motives, because of the support they had given to Cleopatra. To his reign belongs probably the main part of the Sibylline Oracles; see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 94. For the well-known story of the elephants (Jos. *c.Ap.* 25), which the author of 3 Macc. places in the reign of Ptolemy IV., Philopator, see MACCABEES, THIRD, § 5.

EUMENES (ΕΥΜΕΝΗϹ [ANV], 'well-disposed'). Eumenes II., son of Attalus I., and king of Pergamos (197-158 B.C.), allied with the Romans during their war with ANTIOCHUS (*q.v.*, 1), in recognition of which they added to his territory all that was taken from the Syrians. The statement in 1 Macc. 8 8 that Eumenes received 'India, Media, Lydia, and the goodliest of their (the Seleucidean) countries' is clearly inaccurate:[1] Apart from the improbability of the mention of Lydia by the side of India and Media, neither India nor Media ever belonged to the Seleucidæ or to the Romans. Both Livy (37 55) and Strabo (xiii. 4 2 [624]) agree that the territory added to Eumenes extended only to the Taurus, and the latter especially notes that previous to this accession there had not been under the power of Pergamos 'many places which reached to the sea at the Elaïtic and the Adramytene Gulfs' (πολλὰ χωρία μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἐλαΐτην κόλπον καὶ τὸν Ἀδραμυττηνόν). Hence it is probable that 'Media' is an error for 'Mysia' (Michaelis), and 'India' for 'Ionia' (Grotius[2]). For the life of Eumenes see Smith's *Dict. Class. Biog.*

EUNATAN, a misprint in AV for ENNATAN of RV (ΕΝΝΑΤΑΝ [BA]) 1 Esd. 8 44 = Ezra 8 16, ELNATHAN, 2.

[1] In his account of the power and policy of the Romans, the writer of 1 Macc. 8 does not appear to have followed very trustworthy sources; cp *vv.* 4 9 15 *f.*, and see *Camb. Bib. ad loc.*, also ANTIOCHUS 1.

[2] This is more probable than the suggested identification with the Paphlagonian *Eneti* (cp also Hom. *Il.* 2 852). By the writer of 1 Macc. 8 8 'India' may have been possibly conceived in as limited a sense as 'Asia' in *v.* 6.

EUNICE (ΕΥΝΙΚΗ [Ti. WH]), the mother of Timothy (2 Tim. 1 5), 'a Jewess who believed' (Acts 16 1). See TIMOTHY.

EUNUCH (סָרִיס, σπάδων [Gen. 37 36, Is. 39 7], εὐνοῦχος [usually]; in NT εὐνοῦχος in Mt. 19 12, Acts 8 27 *ff.*; also the verb εὐνουχίζω, Mt 19 12). That eunuchs mere much employed in Oriental courts, is well known; Babylonian and Persian history is full of examples of their political influence (cp Herod. viii. 105). We have no positive evidence, however, that the kings of Israel and Judah employed eunuchs. The reference in the law in Dt. 23 1 [2] is to those who, for a religious purpose, had voluntarily undergone mutilation (WRS *ap.* Dr. *Deut. ad loc.*). Still it is a mistake to suppose that the Hebrew word *sārīs* was used both of eunuchs and of persons not emasculated. It has been overlooked that ancient Hebrew possessed two distinct words סָרִיס—one meaning 'eunuch,' the other (more frequent in OT) meaning 'captain' or 'high officer.' For the former the usual etymology suffices (see Ges.-Buhl); the latter is the Ass. *ša-riš* (see RAB-SARIS). Another form of the second סָרִיס seems to be שָׁלִישׁ, *šālīš*, the still current explanation of which (see CHARIOT, § 10, *sup.* 730) is open to objection (see Di. on Ex. 14 7).

By a piece of remarkable good fortune we have in 2 K. 9 32 positive proof that the equation סָרִיס = שָׁלִישׁ is correct. The closing words of this verse are, properly, שְׁנֵי שָׁלִשֶׁיהָ (𝔊L δύο εὐνοῦχοι αὐτῆς; 𝔊B δύο εὐν.)—*i.e.*, 'two of her captains.' To שָׁלִשֶׁיהָ there was a marginal gloss סָרִיסִים which in course of time intruded into the text, the consequence of which was that שלשיה became corrupted into שְׁלֹשָׁה, and so the text came to be rendered (as in EV) 'two or three eunuchs' (nearly so Klo.).

In Jer. 29 2 'eunuchs' (EV) should rather be 'officers' (*i.e.* 'court officers'). So EV, probably correctly, in Gen. 37 36 39 1[1] 1 S. 8 15 1 K. 22 9 2 K. 8 6 24 12 15 25 19 1 Ch. 28 1 2 Ch. 18 8 [mg. 'eunuch']. In one passage [2 K. 25 19] such an 'officer' holds a high military post. (See GOVERNMENT, § 21.) In two other passages (Gen. 37 36, 39 1) he is married. In 2 K. 18 17 EV leaves RAB-SARIS [*q.v.*] untranslated.

The Herods, however, no doubt had eunuchs in their courts (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7 4; xvi. 8 1), and this suggested Jesus' reference in Mt. 19 12.[2] He gives the expression 'eunuch' a symbolical turn, and says that those who have entirely devoted themselves to the interests of the kingdom of heaven cannot satisfy the claims of married life. Perhaps, as Keim thinks, he refers to himself and to John the Baptist. See Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* iii. 4; *Strom.* iii. 1. T. K. C.

EUODIA (ΕΥΟΔΙΑ [Ti. WH]) and **SYNTYCHE** (ΣΥΝΤΥΧΗ [Ti. WH]), two women in the Philippian church specially saluted by Paul (Phil. 4 2). In the early days of Christianity at Philippi these women had struggled, like athletes, side by side with Paul (συνήθλησάν μοι), and on this ground he appeals to a certain Synzygus (EV 'yoke-fellow'—*i.e.*, fellow-labourer) to help them, but in what way is not stated. From the exhortation 'to be of the same mind in the Lord' it has been conjectured (Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, 2 29 *f.* 134 *f.*) that the women may have represented two parties inclining to the Jewish and to the Gentile type of Christianity respectively, whilst the 'yoke-fellow' is supposed to be the apostle Peter. The name Euodia, however, at any rate, is justified by Ἐυόδιος, the name of the first bishop of Antioch (cp Eus. *HE*, 3 22; *Ap. Const.* 7 46). AV Euodias erroneously derives εὐοδίαν (in the acc.) from the masc. εὐοδίας. See Zahn, *Einleit.* 1 396 *f.* and cp PHILIPPIANS.

EUPHRATES (פְּרָת, ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΣ [BADEFL], Ass. *Purattu*. For derivations see Del. *Par.* 169 *f.*) This, by far the greatest river of Western Asia, rises in the Armenian mountains. It has there two chief sources, one at Domli, NE. of Erzeroum, the other close to Mt. Ararat. Both branches trend W. or SW. till they unite at Kebben Maden, where they form a river 120 yards wide. Thence a south course takes the river towards the Mediterranean till the Amanus range and Lebanon bar the way and the stream follows a SE. course to the Persian Gulf. It is this portion, from Hit to the Gulf, about 1000 miles through a low, flat, alluvial plain, that is the historical river.

Its whole course is about 1780 miles, for 1200 miles navigable for small vessels. Below its junction with the Ḫābūr, still 700 miles from its mouth, it attains a width of 400 yards, but gradually decreases to about 120 at its mouth. Its depth is only 18 feet by the Ḫābūr and still less at its mouth. It was always depleted by canals, now it loses itself in marshes.

In May the melting of the snows in Armenia causes the yearly inundation. In the time of Nebuchadrezzar, and to a less extent before, this flood was skilfully applied to purposes of irrigation. The amount of traffic was always considerable, the river forming a main artery of commerce from the Gulf to the Mediterranean (Herod. 1 185). The boats were of wicker, coated with bitumen. Trade was brisk between all the cities on the route, and the ships took names from their ports (see a list of them in 2 R. 46, No. 1, cols. v. and vi., and duplicates in Bezold's Catalogue of Kouyunjik Collection B.M. sub. K. 4338*a*). Ships from Mair, Ašur, Ur, Dilmun (an island down the Gulf), Makan, Meluḫḫa, etc. are named.

The Euphrates is first named (Gen. 2 14) as one of the four rivers of Eden (see PARADISE). The promise of dominion from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates (Gen. 15 18) defines the ideal boundaries of the Israelite power (2 S. 8 3 1 Ch. 18 3 1 K. 4 21 [5 1]). According to 1 Ch. 5 9 the tribe of Reuben actually extended itself to the Euphrates before the time of Saul, there meeting the Hagarites whom Tiglath-pileser III. names as in that quarter (*KB* ii. 10 10),—a still greater idealisation of history, according to critics.

Whatever passages there may have been across the Euphrates in its upper course, it is clear that the great route by which the armies of Assyria came into Syria and beyond to Palestine and on to Egypt must have been commanded by the strong city CARCHEMISH. Till that fell no permanent hold was possible on the west. The army of Necho there met the forces of Nebuchadrezzar in the time of JOSIAH [1]. The exiled Jews became very familiar with the river, and there are frequent references to it in the political and prophetic books. At the mouth of the river on its left bank lay the country of CHALDEA (*q.v.*), inhabited by a Semitic race carefully distinguished from Assyrians, Babylonians, Arabs, and Arameans. Their land was known properly as the 'sea-land' (see MERATHAIM). Above it was BABYLONIA; then comes ASSYRIA (*q.v.*).

In Assyrian times the Euphrates did not join the Tigris, and Sennacherib, when pursuing Merodach Baladan and his followers, made a long sea voyage after sailing out of the mouth of the Tigris before he reached their seat. The growth of the delta at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris seems to have early excited remark. Pliny (*NH* 6 31) states that Charax (mod. *Moḥammerah*) was built by Alexander the Great 10 stadia from the sea; and that in the days of Juba II. it was 50, and in his own time 120 from the coast. Loftus estimated that since the beginning of our era the rate of growth was about a mile in 70 years. The very ancient city of Eridu (mod. *Abu Shahrein*) was originally a seaport. This process of silting up of course gave rise to extensive salt marshes, called Marratu in the inscriptions (see MERATHAIM).

The tributaries of the Euphrates were (1) the Arzania which joined the E. branch before the river left the mountains; (2) the small stream which ran in from the west below Tul-Barsip (mod. *Berejik*); (3) the Baliḫ, Βάλιχα, Βίληχα, *Belias* of the ancients (mod. *Belīkh*), that came direct S. from Ḫarrān into the Euphrates here flowing E.; (4) by far the most important, the Ḫabur, mod. *Khābūr* (see HABOR), which has several

1 Cp EGYPT, § 29, n.
2 Cp Dalm., *Worte Jesu*, 1 100.

ramifications on its upper course. (See map in *KB* ii. and compare map after col. 352 of the present work.)

For a fuller account of its physical characteristics see Chesney *Euphrates Expedition*, 1. On the antiquities add Loftus: *Chaldea and Susiana*, and Layard. On the inscriptional material specially Del. *Par.* (*passim*). C. H. W. J.

EUPHRATES (פְּרָת; ευφρατης [BAQ]). According to Jer. 13 4-7 RV Jeremiah was directed to take his inner garment (אֵזוֹר, *'ēzōr*=Ar. *'izār*, 'waist-wrapper,' Lane; see GIRDLE, 1),[1] and hide it 'by Euphrates' (*Perāth*), in a 'hole of the rock.' There are three difficulties in this view of the narrative. (1) The common prefix 'the river' is wanting; (2) the shores of the Euphrates are not rocky; and (3) it is most improbable that Jeremiah went (and went twice) from Jerusalem to the Euphrates.

The third difficulty is the least, the narrative might be only based on a vision (cp Jer. 11 13). The other two difficulties appear insurmountable. Bochart suggested reading Ephrāth for Perāth, Ephrāth being another name for Bethlehem (*so* Che. *Jer.*(1) 333 ['83-'85]; Ball, *Jer.* 284 [90]). The landscape of Bethlehem suits, and the play on Ephrath, as if the name prophesied of Perath (Euphrates and the Exile) is in the Hebrew manner. There is, however, a better solution.

The right course is with Marti (*ZDPY* 3 11), Cheyne (*Life and Times of Jer.* ['88] 161), and Birch (*PEFQ* '80, p. 236) to alter one vowel point, and read פָּרָתָה 'to Parah.' The prophet means, however, not the town of that name (see PARAH), but (probably) some point in the wild and rocky Wādy Fāra (3 m. NE. of 'Anātā or Anathoth), near the abundant spring called the 'Ain Fāra.

EUPOLEMUS (ευπολεμος [AℵV]), b. John, b. Accos (and of priestly descent, see HAKKOZ, 3), one of the envoys of Judas the Maccabee to Rome (1 Macc. 8 17; cp 2 Macc. 4 11). He is possibly to be identified with the Hellenistic writer of that name (author of the fragment on David and Solomon in Eus. *PE* 9 30-34) quoted by Alex. Polyhist. See Schur. *Hist.* § 33, iii. 2.

EUROCLYDON, RV **Euraquilo** (ευροκλυδων [TR 61], ευρακυλων [ℵAB* Treg. Ti. WH]; ευρυκλυδων [B³]), the name of a typhoon or hurricane (Acts 27 14). 'The crew and the passengers thought themselves out of their trouble, when all at once one of those hurricanes from the E., which the sailors of the Mediterranean call Euraquilon, fell upon the island [Crete]. The Gregalia of the Levantines is this very word, just as Egripou has been produced from Euripus' (Renan, *St. Paul*, 551, and n. 1). These words sum up in a nutshell the general conclusion of scholars. Renan adopts the reading *εὐρακύλων*, and the very plausible view of Conybeare and Howson that the narrator uses a name given to the wind by the sailors (*St. Paul*, 2 402 n.), supporting this view by the usage of Levantine sailors at the present day (Gregalia is their word).

If we accept this theory we cannot be surprised at the large number of variants (see Tregelles); the form *ευρακυλων* was not in common use, and so was easily corrupted into *ευρυκλυδων, ευροκλυδων, ευρακλυδον, ευροκλυδω, ευρακηλων, ευτρακηλων, ευρακικλων, ευτρακοδον*, while Vg. substitutes the form which, on the analogy of Euronotus and Euroauster was to have been expected—viz., Euroaquilo. The earlier Edg. versions (Wyc., Tyn., Cran., Gen.) considerately translate 'North-east'; the Rhemish Version (1582) and the AV (1611) prefer to reproduce the reading of their respective Gk. texts, Euroaquilo and Euroclydon. 'East by north' would be a more exact rendering of *ευρακυλων* or Euroaquilo. That this was in fact the wind appears from the account of the effects of the storm.

As to the meaning of TR's reading *ευροκλυδων*, scholars have been divided, some rendering 'Eurus fluctus excitans,' others 'fluctus Euro excitatus.' To adopt the second view involves of course the rejection of the reading as unsuitable.

B(3)'s reading *ευρυκλυδων*, '(a wind) raising a broad surge,' is obviously too vague. We do not want a second merely descriptive epithet after *τυφωνικός* (EV 'tempestuous')—*i.e.*, marked by those 'sudden eddying squalls' (Rnmsay) which are common in the autumnal storms of the Mediterranean.

See Dissertation in Jordan Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 287-292, and, against Burgon and Miller (who vehemently reject *ευρακυλων*), Dickson in Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.* T. K. C.

1 See the luminous paper on this word by WRS, *JQR*, 1892, pp. 289-292. The main points had already been given in Che. *Jer.*(1) 333 ('83). Giesqbrecht, *Jer.* 77 ('94), goes back to the wrong rendering 'girdle.

EUTYCHUS (ευτυχος [Ti. WH]. 'fortunate'), the young man of Troas, whose story is told in Acts 20 5-12.

EVANGELIST. The designation given to Philip, 'one of the seven,' with whom Paul stayed in Cæsarea (Acts 21 8).

The Gk. word 'evangelist' (*εὐαγγελιστής*) is formed from 'evangelize' (*εὐαγγελίζεσθαι*)—a favourite word in Lk.'s writings (although *εὐαγγέλιον* occurs only in Acts 15 7, speech of Peter; 20 24, speech of Paul), which he uses five times in connection with the work of Philip and others immediately after the death of Stephen, when the Gospel began to spread beyond the limits of Judaism (Acts 8 4 12 25 35 40). From this we see plainly what the function of an evangelist was in the earliest time.

The evangelist was the man who brought the first news of the Gospel message. Timothy was charged by Paul not to neglect this duty: 'Do the work of an evangelist' (2 Tim. 4 5). In Eph. 4 11 evangelists are spoken of after apostles and prophets, but before shepherds and teachers, as among the gifts of the ascended Christ to his Church; but we must not conclude from this that the term evangelist, any more than that of shepherd, was the stereotyped title of an official class. The word denotes function rather than office.

It is noticeable that the word is not found in the Apostolic Fathers, nor in the *Didachè*; in the latter the function in question appears to be discharged by apostles. In the time of Eusebius the word is still used in its earliest sense, and without reference to a particular office or class (*e.g.*, Eus. *HE* iii. 37 2, and of Pantænus v. 10 2 *f.*); but already another use was current, according to which an evangelist was the writer of a 'Gospel' in the sense of a narrative of the life of Christ: *e.g.*, in Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, and Origen. J. A. R.

EVE (חַוָּה), Gen. 3 20; see ADAM AND EVE, § 3 (*b*).

EVENING SACRIFICE (מִנְחַת הָעָרֶב), Ezra 9 4. See SACRIFICE.

EVERLASTING. See ETERNAL, and cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 82 *ff.*

EVI (אֱוִי), one of the five chiefs of Midian, slain after the 'matter of Peor'; Nu. 31 8 (ευειν [BA], ευηρε [L]); Josh. 13 21 (ευ[ε]ι [BAL]), both P. See MIDIAN.

EVIL-MERODACH (אֱוִיל מְרֹדַךְ, ευειαλμαρωδεκ [B in 2 K.], ουλαιμαραδαχ [A in Jer.], ευειλμαραδουχος [Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 20]), in Bab. *Avêl-Maruduk*, 'man of Marduk,'[1] the son and successor of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, after a short reign (561-560 B.C.,[2] see CHRONOLOGY, § 25), was put to death by his brother Nergal-šar-uṣur (Bērōssus, cited by Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 20). Apart from a few contract-tablets (see *KB* 4 200 *ff.*), no inscriptions of his reign have as yet been brought to light. One of his earliest acts was the liberation of Jehoiachin in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, 2 K. 25 27 (*ευειαναρωδαχ* [A], *ευιλαδμαρωδαχ* [L]) = Jer. 52 31 (*ουλαιμαδαχαρ* [B], *-ραχ* [Q], *-λεδαμαχαρ* [ℵ]). According to Bērōssus, Evil-Merodach reigned *ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς*, which hardly accords with his benevolence in 2 K. (unless [see Wi. *AOF* 2 198 ('99)] he had a political purpose in view),[3] and hence Tiele (*BAG* 457 464 *f.*) suspects that the true rescuer of Jehoiachin was Nergal-šar-uṣur. 'All the

1 Cp in Ass. Aram. אולת (fem.), 'servant,' *CIS* 2, no. 64, and מרדך (Bab. equivalent has *Marduk-rimmanni*), *ib.* no. 68.

2 '18 *years'* in Jos. *Ant.* x. 11 2 (*αβιλμαθαδαχος*) is more likely a mistake for *months.*

3 Jerome (on Is. 14 19) mentions a tradition that Evil-Merodach had been thrown into prison by Nebuchadrezzar and had there become friendly with Jehoiachin; cp with this the tradition in Jos. (*Ant.* x. 11 2), where Evil-Merodach releases and honours Jehoiachin to atone for his father's bad faith.

days of his life' (2 K. 25 29*b*, Jer. 52336) would certainly apply better to a king who reigned four years than to one who reigned scarcely two.

EXACT, EXACTOR, EXACTION.

(1) 'Exactor' is the usual Vg. rendering of the Heb. part. נֹגֵשׂ, *nōgēś* (√נגשׂ, cp Ass. *nagâšu*, 'to overpower'). It is found also in Is. 60 17 EV (RVmg. 'taskmaster' 𝔊 ἐπίσκοπος), Job 39 7 AVmg. (EV 'driver'; φορολόγος), Dan. 11 20 RV (AV 'raiser of taxes'; τύπτων [δόξαν βασιλέως, cod. 871 πράσσων [δ. βασιλείας BAQ]), Zech. 9 8 10 4 RVmg. and RV (AV 'oppressor' ἐξελαύνων). In Ex, 3 7, etc., *nogeś* is rendered 'taskmaster' (ἐργοδιώκτης), in Is. 3 12 9 4 [3] 14 2 4 (πράκτωρ, ἀπαιτῶν [ἀπειθῶν ℵc.a], κυριεύσας, ἀπαιτῶν) EV has 'oppressor,' in Job 3 18 AV 'oppressor,' RV 'taskmaster' (φορολόγος, as in 39 7). See TASKWORK, TAXATION.

(2) For גְּרֻשֹׁת, *gerūšōth*, Ezek. 45 9†, EV 'exaction,' EVmg. has, better, 'Heb. expulsions,' *i.e.*, evictions. 𝔊 has καταδυναστείαν.

(3) On מַשָּׁא, *maššā*, and נָשָׁא, *nāšā* (Dt. 15 1 *f.* Neh. 5 7 10 *f.* 10 31 [32]), cp USURY and LAW AND JUSTICE.

(4) On πράκτωρ (𝔊 in Is. 3 12; EV 'oppressor'), Lk. 12 58 (RVmg. 'exactor,' EV 'officer'; cp Lk. 3 13, πράσσετε, AV 'exact,' RV 'extort'), see TAXATION.

EXCOMMUNICATION. This Latin word of late origin (it is not found in the Vulgate) is conveniently used to denote (temporary or permanent) exclusion from the ecclesiastical community as distinguished from civil penalties of an analogous character.

1. Meaning in Gospels.

It need hardly be said that the later procedure of church excommunication developed out of NT germs, though Roman theologians give expositions of fundamental biblical passages which are not always critically sound. It is equally obvious that the NT germs of later usages stand in close relation to the practice of excommunication among the Jews in the time of Christ. It is to this Jewish practice that reference is made in Lk. 6 22, where from the use of three distinct terms (ἀφορίσωσιν, ὀνειδίσωσιν, ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα) some have found a reference to as many different grades of excommunication,[1] but where really (see Weiss) only one is intended, viz., exclusion from religious and social intercourse; see Jn. 9 22 12 42 16 2 (ἀποσυνάγωγος) and cp SYNAGOGUE. In Mt. 18 15-17, too, only one kind of ban is presupposed; its application, however, is to be preceded first by a gentler, then by a graver admonition, which reminds us forcibly of the similar procedure customary among the later Jews (see *'Ărākhīn*, 16 *b*; Mishna, *Maṣṣōth*, 1 10).

It is noteworthy that this passage stands just before the much-discnssed passage on BINDING AND LOUSING (*v.* 18). We can, however, more easily imagine Jesus actually uttering *v.* 18 than *vv.* 15-17, which seem plainly to represent the later practice of Jewish Christians. 'Let him be to thee as the ἐθνικός (RV the Gentile) and the publican' are the words which describe the punishment of the convicted sinner. Here there is a possibility that the sense of the original saying has been missed. In the Palestinian Aramaic the term used would be מִינָיָא, which may no doubt he rendered 'Gentiles,' but only because Gentiles were misbelievers; the word really means 'heretics' or 'infidels' (cp Levy's and Jastrow's *Lexx.*; Schurer, *TLZ* '99, col. 168 *ff.*).

Passing to the undoubtedly Pauline epistles we find most probably two recorded instances of church discipline.

2. In Pauline Epp.

In 1 Cor. 5 3-5 we read that Paul had resolved, as representing Christ's spirit, to give over a certain offender against morality 'to Satan' (alluding apparently to Job 2 6)[2] in the presence of the assembled church, he himself being spiritually present among them. Physical death he expects to be the consequence of this act (cp 1 Cor. 11 30); but the object is the good of the offender, 'that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.' In 2 Cor. 2 6-11, it has been customary to suppose that exclusion from church privileges was all that the offender actually suffered, and that this was not permanent. Weizsäcker's exposition of the circumstances,[1] however, makes it extremely probable that an entirely different case is referred to, and that the offence was of a totally different order. The Church had at first sympathised with the offender, who had in some way injured the apostle; but in consequence of a letter from Paul the majority resolved to rebuke the offender. It was no doubt some question of party intrigues against the apostle. There is no reason to think that the expression ἀνάθεμα μαραναθα (1 Cor. 16 22) is a formula of excommunication as was supposed by Calvin and other reformers (the words were held to be synonyms, like ἀββᾶ 6 πατήρ).

The view need not be discussed. It is contradicted by the prayer at the end of chap. 10 of the Didachè :—

> 'Eke& χάρις ~ a παρελθέτω 6 & ~ o s ~%os.
> Ὡσαννα τῷ υἱῷ Δαβιδ.
> Εἴ τις ἅγιος, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω.
> Μαραναθα. Ἀμην.

Still no doubt the prayer for the Lord's parousia did suggest to the apostle a thought of vengeance. To refuse to love the Lord Jesus made a man 'anathema; when the Lord came, this sentence would he executed.

The Gk. ἀνάθεμα (anathema) is not to be taken as suggesting excommunication (this would be importing later ideas [see: Suicer, *Thes.* s v.]; observe that in Gal. 1 8 6 it is an angel that is spoken of).' The same remark applies to Rom. 9 3 1 Cor. 12 3. Ἀνάθεμα is synonymous with κατάρα and ἐπικατάρατος.

In the Pastoral Epistles the rules of exclusion from fellowship have become more precise. and the offences punished by it are no longer merely moral.

3. In Pastoral Epp.

Again we hear of offenders 'delivered to Satan' (1 Tim. 1 20); but it is that they may be taught not to blaspheme (cp 2 Tim. 3 2 2 Pet. 2 10-18). The rights of a presbyter are defined; an accusation against him is not to be received, unless there be two or three witnesses; but there is to be public reproof of all who sin (1 Tim. 5 19 *f.*). In Tit. 3 10 a man that is 'heretical' (see HERESY, § 2) is to be avoided (παραιτοῦ; so render in 2 Tim. 2 23; cp RV 2 Macc. 2 31), but only after 'a first and second admonition.' That the αἱρέσεις or factions referred to had a theological colouring, is clear from 2 Jn. 10, and that they might even be dangerous appears from 3 Jn. 9 *f.*, where Diotrephes 'who affects pre-eminence" (6 φιλοπρωτεύων) is said not to admit the writer to fellowship; fit punishment is threatened for him. T. K. C.

EXECUTIONER. The OT has no special word to denote the person who executes the sentence of capital punishment. The words rendered 'executioner' in EV refer more naturally to (royal) bodyguards.

1. טַבָּח *ṭabbāḥ* (from טבח, Ass. *ṭabāḫu*, 'to slaughter'), is in 1 S. 9 23 *f.* rendered 'cook'; cp COOKING, § 1). In Gen. 37 36 39 1 40 3 *f.* 41 10 12, the שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים of the Pharaoh, and in 2 K. 25 8 *ff.* Jer. 39 9 *ff.*, the רַב־טַבָּחִים of Nebuchadrezzar is in EV 'captain of the guard.' So also רַב־טַבָּחַיָּא (Arioch) in Dan. 2 14 (EVmg. 'chief of the execntioners,' except in Jer. 'chief marshal'); cp WRS, *OTJC*(2), 262, n. 1. 𝔊 in these passages has ἀρχιμάγειρος, ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξ, ἀρχιδεσμώτης.

2. כָּרִי, *Kārī*, 2 K. 11 4 19†, RVmg. See CARITES.

3. σπεκουλάτωρ (Lat. *speculator* or *spiculator*, a pikeman, halberdier), Mk. 6 27 RV 'soldier of the guard.' The word is found also in late Hebrew.

EXILE (Is. 20 4 RV, Ezek. 12 4 11 RV, Ezra 8 35, RV). See CAPTIVITY.

EXODUS

1. Two rival hypotheses.

The interest of a legend which has long been mistaken for history and which has coloured the life and thoughts of a great people is hardly less than that of the facts themselves. Even if it were certain (*a*) that

[1] On the three Jewish grades of excommunication see Hamburger, *RE des Judenthums, s.v.* 'Bann'; and cp Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 142 *f.*

[2] See Redpath, *Expos.*, 1898 *b.*, pp. 287-290.—Ramsay's illustration of 1 Cor. 5 5 by the language of curses by which pagan Corinthians consigned their enemies 'to destruction by the powers of the world of death' (*Exp. T.* 10 59) is hardly to the point, for Satan was not an independent supernatural being.

[1] *Ap. Age*, 2 349-353.

only a section of the Israelites (the Rachel-tribes) sojourned in the land of Egypt, and made its Exodus from it, or *(b)* that the true land of מצרים from which the Israelitish Exodus occurred, was not Egypt (*Miṣraim*) at all, but a N. Arabian land called *Muṣr* or *Muṣri* (so Wi.; see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), it would still, on acconnt of the generations that have fed their inner life upon it, be a thrilling tale which tells of the hardened heart of the Pharaoh, of the escape of the Hebrew bondmen, of the passage of the Red Sea, of the purifying trials in the wilderness. In this article we shall call the former *(a)* the conservative, the latter *(b)* the advanced hypothesis. Cp ISRAEL, § 2 *f.* The conservative hypothesis is at present that most favoured by biblical critics. There is thought to be an antecedent

2. Conservative hypothesis. probability that the Israelites, as well as other Hebrews, found temporary admission into the NE. of the Egyptian territory. They would, of course, come from Canaan. That there were Israelites in that country at an early date we now know from the 'Israel-stele' discovered in 1896 by Flinders Petrie. It may have been in Merneptah's time, or it may have been even earlier, that the catastrophe poetically described by the Egyptian king occurred, when 'the people of *Isiraal* was laid waste,' so that their 'crops were not,' and so that, various cities of Canaan also having been punished, *Ḥaru* (Palestine) became 'a widow'—*i.e.*, helpless—'for Egypt.'[1] The names 'Ishpal' and 'Yakbal' (*Y-ša-p-'a-ra* and *Y-'-ḳ-b-'â-ra*[2]) in the name-list of Thotmes III. (nos. 78, 102) also appear to some critics to show that before that king's reign tribes having these names (which certainly look like Joseph-el and Jacob-el) had lived in Palestine, and given their own names to localities. It is conceivable that these Israelites, Josephites, or Jacobites, or some portion of them, being nomads, had sought admission into Egypt under pressure of famine, and had sojourned there, and had been treated at length with severity by the Pharaoh, though the statement respecting Pithom and Raamses (Ex. 1 11*b*) is not without difficulty. It must be admitted, however, that references to Merneptah's stele and to the names 'Ishpal' and 'Yakbal' can be made only with much reserve. The phrase 'the people of *Isiraal*' is very difficult (one would like to be able to read 'Joseph-el' or 'Jezreel'), and the meaning of 'Ishpal' and 'Yalibal' is by no means free from doubt (see JOSEPH i. and ii., § 1; and JACOB, § 1).

According to Stade ('Die Entsteh. des Volkes Israel,' *Akad. Reden und Abhandlungen*, ['99], 97-122) it is

3. Stade's theory. likely that the Hebrew tribes had sought pasture for their flocks to the S. of the Wādy Ṭūmīlāt, and that so a part of them had come under the power of the Egyptian authorities; likely too that the Israelites had cause to complain of a misuse of this power. The Egyptian authorities may, of course, have imposed a *corvée* upon them. The part of the Hebrew tribes which remained free from Egyptian oppression probably wandered as far as the true Sinai (E. of the Elanitic Gulf), and these Sinaitic nomads formed a confederacy under the protection of the god of Sinai; the liberated Israelites joined them at Kadesh. To the Kadesh tradition (see KADESH i. § 3) Stade attaches great importance.

In the *OLZ* (May, June, July, '99), Winckler criticises this view as mere theological rationalism. The charge might equally well be brought against C. Niebuhr, who is no theologian. Experience; however, has again and again proved that popular traditions are sometimes more truthful than critics had supposed. 'Rationalistic' conjecture is not out of place in the prolegomena of history, and here it has the advantage of keeping the student in some degree of sympathy with the Israelitish writers and the Jewish readers of the narrative of the Exodus.

Winckler's theory mentioned above in § 1 has an additional claim to consideration from the fact that the

4. Winckler and Beke. Englishman Dr. C. T. Beke, in his *Origines Biblicæ*, vol. i., maintained as long ago as 1834 that the Miṣraim of the Hebrew tradition of the Exodus was not Egypt, but some district lying to the N. of the Sinaitic peninsula. He also held that the Red Sea crossed by the Israelites was the Gulf of 'Aḳaba, and that Horeb or Sinai lay to the NE. of the head of that Gulf. His work did not escape the notice of Ewald, but failed to exert any deep influence. Winckler's kindred theory, proposed in 1893, was formed in complete independence of Dr. Beke. To accept it, as it stands, is hardly possible; but a modification of it, which will suit the requirements of biblical criticism, lies close at hand.[1] The existing evidence (which cannot here be discussed) leads to the conclusion that the N. Arabian *Muṣur* coincided with or included the district of Kadesh, and this is just the district which forms the scene of some of the most important patriarchal legends, though later scribes disguised Miṣrim (Muṣur) as Miṣraim (Egypt), or even fell into deeper error still (see KADESH i. § 1; MIZRAIM, § 2 (*b*); cp MORIAH). We cannot avoid the impression that there were Israelitish tribes in the N. Arabian Muṣur who were never in the Muṣur of Egypt. What were the relations between the Rachel-tribes in Egypt and the Israelites in Muṣur, and any other kindred associations that there may have been elsewhere, we are at present unable to say definitely. We do, however, seem to see that an Egypt-tradition and a Muṣri-tradition have been fused together. T. K. C.

We now turn to consider certain suggestive points in JE's account of the Exodus. There is a remarkable

5. JE's account. parallelism between JE's narrative of the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai (Ex. 15 22-18 27), and the continuation of the march from Sinai to Kadesh (Nu. 10 29-20). The visit of JETHRO (*q.v.*) and the appointment of the judges to lighten the labours of Moses were probably once placed later (by E) in connection with the legislation at Horeb. The defeat of Amalek in Ex. 17 has geographical difficulties, and the account seems to be based upon Nu. 14 40 *ff.*, where it is obviously more original (see Bacon, *Trip. Trad.* 93). Similarly the gift of Manna (Ex. 16) and the striking of the rock at the waters of Meribah (*ib.* 17) are probably connected, in the one case, with Massah (between Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah), and, in the other, with Kadesh (see MANNA, § 3; MASSAH AND MERIBAH). In every instance the episodes bear the appearance of having been inserted from later stages of the journey where they more naturally belong. Ex. 15 22-27 is the only old fragment remaining, and here the covenant, after a journey of three days, reminds us of the 'three days' journey' in the request to Pharaoh (Ex. 3 18 5 3), and finds a parallel in the three days' journey in Nu. 10 33.[2] *The oldest account of the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai is thus reduced to a minimum.*

Passing over the Decalogue and Covenant at Sinai we resume JE at chaps. 24, 32-34. Now the episode of

6. Musrite tradition. the golden calf 'cannot well be older than the reign of Hezekiah, and points indeed to a date later than 722' (Addis); it may with considerable probability be ascribed to E, (cp EXODUS ii., § 3 [viii.]). There was therefore no

[1] See *Six Temples at Thebes* (Flinders Petrie), 1897, which contains a chapter with a translation of the Merneptah inscription by Spiegelberg. See also W. M. Müller, 'Anmerkungen,' and Naville, 'Les dernières lignes de la stèle mentionnant les Israelites' (an attempt to reconcile the stele with Exodus), *Rec. de trav.* xx. ('98).

[2] WMM *As. u. Eur.* 162 *ff.*

[1] Not, however, such a modification as Jensen's (*TLZ*, 4th Feb. 1899). The region S. of Palestine may have been called מצרים, thinks this scholar, because it was often under Egyptian rule. This fails to do justice alike to the biblical and to the Assyriological data.

[2] After leaving the *yam-Suph* (RED SEA) Israel journeyed at once to the wilderness of SHUR (*q.v.*). Note that in *v.* 25 נִסָּה and מִשְׁפָּט remind us of Massah and Kadesh (En-Mishpat); see MARAH.

need in the old narrative for any renewal of the covenant, or for the intercession of Moses in 33 *f.*

That chap. 33 *f.* is composite is generally admitted, and it remains to consider the fragments that are left after the omission of those passages which are necessarily of an editorial nature. It is highly probable that we have here the traces of an old theophany and law-giving of greater antiquity than the theophany and law-giving at Sinai-Horeb (3 *ff.* 20 *ff.*), the scene of which was not Sinai, but Kadesh (see KADESH i. § 2). Fortunately this old tradition is not quite a torso. Although we can find no narrative of which it may be the continuation (see above, § 5 end), it seems possible to trace it further step by step to Hormah and Beer (*i.e.*, Beer-sheba, or Beer-lahai-roi?), and finally (in Judg. 1 16) to the 'city of palm-trees' (cp the S. Judæan name Tamar); see KADESH i. § 3. Details of this journey are missing,[1] with the exception, perhaps, of the oldest features in Nu. 16, where the revolt against the authority of Moses (*n.* 13) presupposes a very early stage in the journey of the Israelites. It at once suggests itself that this tradition is of Calebite origin (cp EXODUS [BOOK], § 3 [v.]), and this is borne out by (*a*) the prominence ascribed to Caleb in the oldest passages of Nu. 13 *f.*, and (6) the close relationship which, as the genealogies reveal, subsisted between Judah, Caleb, the Kenites, etc.—one tradition (a late one, it is true) actually connects Moses' family with Caleb (see MIRIAM, 2). We seem to have, therefore, distinct traces of a Calebite wandering from Kadesh northwards into Judah, the commencement, perhaps, of that northerly migration which took place in the time of David, and was continued, still later, in exilic times (see CALEB, § 3 *f.*).[2] The evidence, however (see KADESH i. § 1), leads to the conclusion that the limits of Muṣri and the district of Kadesh coincided.[3] The Calebite tradition, therefore, knew of an 'Exodus' from the land of Muṣri. S. A. C.

7. Manetho. Reference has often been made by writers to Manĕtho's narrative of the expulsion of the lepers under a priest of Heliopolis called Osarsiph (cp. Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 26 *f.*). The critical value of this narrative, however, is very slight. The reserve expressed by Kittel (*Hist.* 1 26 *f.*) is judicious; the present writer prefers to leave Manĕtho's story entirely on one side. Not only is it manifestly influenced by the Jewish narrative, but it seems to imply an absurd confusion between Moses and the reforming Egyptian king commonly known as Khuen-aten[4] (Amenhotep IV.). As Meyer has pointed out, the name Me(r)neptaḥ can never have become Ἀμενωφις (the name mentioned in Josephus), and since the king called Amenophis by Manĕtho (Jos.) does really correspond superficially, in a religious respect, to Amenhotep IV., it seems arbitrary to prefer the [Α]μενεφθης of Julius Africanus and Syncellus.[5]

8. Naville. It was not unnatural for Naville[6] to hope that the view which places the Exodus under Me(r)neptaḥ had been made approximately certain by his excavations. He has in fact shown that Rameses II., Šešonḳ I., and Osorkon II. have all left their names at Tell el-Masḫūta, the true site of Pithom. The language of Me(r)neptaḥ's inscription referred to above cannot, however, without a rather violent hypothesis, be reconciled with Naville's view. Lieblein is of opinion[7] that the biblical narrative of the Exodus and the events connected with it was redacted in the time of Rameses II. when Egyptian influences predominated in Syria, and that the Exodus really took place under Amenhotep III. This indeed cannot be granted; but it is at any rate possible that the Hebrew tradition of the Exodus underwent a profound modification at that period, and even that in its original form the Miṣrim referred to meant, not Egypt (מִצְרַיִם), but the N. Arabian land of Muṣr or Muṣri. All that the Egyptian monuments discovered and studied by Naville prove is that the biblical narrative in its present form comes from a writer who had good archæological information. In the second part of this article an independent attempt will be made to trace the route assigned to the B'nē Israel on their departure from Egypt to keep a festival to Yahwè in the wilderness (Ex. 7 16 8 1 [7 26] 10 9; cp 12 35).

9. Historical Literature. The literature is Immense. Besides the Histories of Israel by Stsde, Klostermann, Kittel, C. Niebuhr, and Wellhausen, see especially Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* ('Der Aufbruch' and 'Der Auszug der Hebräer'); Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 444 (he retains his opinion that the years following the reign of Seti I. offered favourable conditions for the Israelites to break away from their servitude, if the 'Israel' of Me(r)neptaḥ's description represents a tribe left behind in Canaan, after the majority of the Israelites had emigrated to Egypt; otherwise the Israel of Me(r)neptaḥ will be the 'bondmen' who had escaped from Egypt in Me(r)neptaḥ's reign); Petrie, 'Egypt and Israel,' *Contemp. Rev.*, May 1896, and *Six Temples of Thebes* ('97); M'Curdy, *Hist., Proph. and Mon.*, 1 204 (the Exodus cannot have been till the time of the feeble successors of Rameses III., similarly Sir H. Howorth); Wiedemann, *Le Muséon*, 17 ('98), on the Israel-stele (the stele only proves that at some time or other there existed a people of Israel which was in distress and bad no [corn]); Orr, 'Israel in Egypt and the Exodus,' Expositor, 1897*a*, pp. 161-177 (Amenhotep II., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, Hatšepsut, daughter of Thotmes I., the protector of the child Moses); cp C. Niebuhr's view that the accession of Thotmes I. is the latest *terminus a quo* for the oppression of the Hebrews [*Gesch.* 1 202]. T. K. C.

10. Supposed starting-point. Thanks to the progress of Egyptology, we now know something of the topography of GOSHEN (*q.v.*), although it is not yet easy to harmonise our knowledge with the biblical data. The route, however, to the S., near the sea, remains hopelessly obscure. The OT narratives, unfortunately, presuppose that all geographical names are familiar to the reader. True, the eastern regions of N. Egypt must always have been well known to natives of Palestine; the geographical statements of the narratives must therefore be expected to be trustworthy. However, is the narratives now stand—a mosaic of passages from various sources—they give evidence of the confusion which inevitably arose in the process of weaving the passages together.

The Israelites began their march at (the city of) Ram[e]ses (Ex. 12 37), which seems to mean the capital of Goshen where there was then a royal residence. Of the site of this RAMESES (*q.v.*) we know nothing. The ruins of the modern Tell Abū Islēmān at the western entrance to the valley of Ṭūmīlāt would be the most suitable starting-point, since this has to be sought in the W. of Goshen. Succoth is mentioned as the first halting place (Ex. 12 37 13 20 Nu. 33 5 *f.*); it seems to be the Egyptian *Ṯuku*. Whether Ṯuku signifies a city near P-atum, or a region near it, or the city P-atum itself, is a difficult question. If we could take Sncooth as the name of the tract of land round Pithom which the Israelites would enter on the second day, or as that of a place in the neighbourhood of that Egyptian colony, the reference to it would cause no difficulty; but the inscriptions on the sacred geography of Egypt dating from Ptolemaic times seem to identify Ṯuku and P-atum altogether. Now, Ṯuku certainly was situated where Naville excavated at Tell el-Masḫūṭa. If this be so, we must suspect a misunderstanding of the original source or sources, which would seem to have given Succoth and Pithom-Ethan1 as names of the same place—we say Pithom-Etham because PITHOM (*q.v.*) is probably identical with the station called ETHAM (*q.v.*), which was 'at the edge of

[1] It is improbable that Nu. 11 can in any way belong to it.

[2] Was David himself a Musrite? He was, at any rate, hardly a Bethlehemite. as the' later tradition supposed (see DAVID, § 1, col. 1020, n 2; cp also JUDAH).

[3] If Muṣri bordered upon Edom, so did the district of Kadesh. Cp Nu. 20 16*b* 'Kadesh . . . in the uttermost of thy (Edom's) border.'

[4] Meyer, *GA*, 1 270 (§ 226, end).

[5] Cp, however, Ki., *Hist.* 1261.

[6] In *The Store City of Pithom* ('85); *The Route of the Exodus* (Victoria Institute, '91).

[7] 'L'Exode des Hébreux,' *PSBA* 20 277-288 ['98].

EXODUS

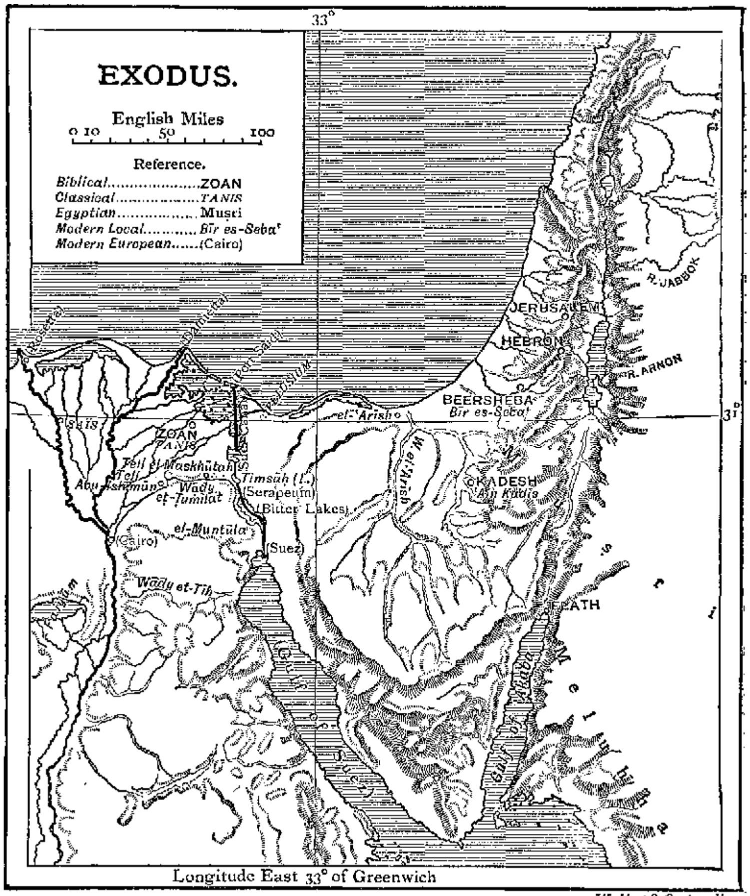
the wilderness' (Ex. 13 20)—*i.e.*, at the E. end of Goshen. The distance from the entrance of Goshen to Ṭuku or P-atum would be 26 m. (following the present line of railway). An average march of 13 m. a day would be all that could be assumed of a host hampered with much cattle. All highways run directly E. along the canal of Goshen.

11. Pihahiroth. Afterwards, God 'led the people about' (13 18) and 'they turned (back)' to encamp 'before Pīhaḥīrōth, between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-Zephon' (14 2). Here the difficulties increase. The sites of Migdol (certainly not the large fortress so called in the NE. of the Delta) and BAAL-ZEPHON (*q.v.*, 2) are quite unknown. As to Pīhaḥīrōth, we may venture to guess that, being near the 'Sea,' it may correspond to the Serapiu of the *Itinerarium Antonini*,—apparently the only city in that region (apart from the later Arsinoe and Clysma). All identifications, however, depend upon the locality of the passage through the 'sea.' A southerly direction is implied by the 'turning' ; but how far S. the locality is to he sought we have no means of determining, since it is not stated that the encampment 'by the sea' marked a day's journey.

12. Sea-passage at Suez? 1. Shall we, with most commentators, place the passage near the present Suez (better *Suwais* [es - *Suwēs*]), where the gulf is only two-thirds of a mile wide?[1] Those who do so usually lay great stress on the fact that the straits are shallow, and are passable (it is said) at a very low tide, especially when there is also a N. wind. Certainly this would permit a 'rational' explanation of the passage. It is doubtful, however, whether such arguments can be used.[2] Josephus gives us no help. In his time all conception of the situation of Goshen had been lost.

Hence to explain how the Israelites could 'reach the **Red** Sea in three days,' he made them march through Letopolis-Babylon (*Ant.* ii. 15 1)—*i.e.*, round the S. side of the Jehel Moḳaṭṭam, the mountain on which the citadel of Cairo is hnilt, on the most direct road to Suez through the Wādi et-Tih and through the Mūnṭula pass. Nothing could be more at variance with the biblical data, especially as the 'turning hack' to the 'edge of the wilderness,' and other details, are overlooked. Yet several scholars (Lengerke, Kutscheit, von Raumer, Shaw) have followed Josephus.

13. Or Serbonis? 2. Another view has been strongly urged by Schleiden (*Die Landenge von Suēs*, '58) and Brugsch (*L'Exode et les monum. Égypt.*, '75). Both make the Israelites march along the shore of the Mediterranean. Brugsch places Goshen too far N. and leads the Israelites from Tanis-Zoan (*i.e.*, Ramescs, he believes, for which equation he appeals to Ps. 78 12 43) to Daphnæ (=Etham=Ḥetam, according to him). Pīhaḥīrōth he explains (translating as the Peshitta[1] and perhaps also the Targum did) as the 'mouth of the depths' (βάράθρα)—*i.e.*, of the Sirbonian bog. Migdol he identifies with the Migdol mentioned in Jer. and Ezek., which was 12 R. m. S. from Pelusium according to the itineraries, and Baal-zephon with the temple of Zeus Kasios on the Casius promontory, so that the Israelites would have passed through the bog to the dunes N. of the Sirbonis. (So, before Brugsch, Schleiden, who, however, placed Succoth and Etham correctly.) This theory is wholly destitute of any solid



Walker & Cockerell sc.

Map to illustrate the article 'Exodus.'

basis; the expression יַם־סוּף, 'Reedy Sea,' occurs too often for the RED SEA (*q.v.*) to admit a new application to the Sirbonis.[2] The modern discoveries which have determined the position of Goshen, decide against it.

14. Or midway? 3. Recently, another view has begun to make way—the view, namely, that the passage through the sea is to be sought for nearer to the eastern end of Goshen. Du Bois Aymé, Stickel, and Knobel, in a rationalising interest, thought

[1] Of course the recent traditions about the well of Moses (see MARAH) do not come into consideration.

[2] 50 to 55 m. from the supposed site of Etham would he at least three days' journey.

[1] Later he tried to find in the name an Egyptian word *ḥraut*, 'depths' ; but there is no such word.

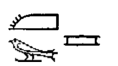
[2] The expression 'desert of Shur,' Ex. 15 22 (E), is very vague and cannot he used as an argument either for the N, direction of the march or for the identification of ETHAM with the frontier fortress Shur in the extreme NE,

of a point between the Bitter Lakes and the Gulf of Suez. They assumed that this sandy tract dried up quite recently, and that, in the time of Moses, it must have been very shallow, in parts even marshy. Dillmann and others admit a similar shallow connection between the Crocodile (Timsāḥ) Lake and the Bitter Lakes. Naville (followed by Strack) assumed the Timsiih lake itself.

All these modifications of the same theory are built upon the view that the ancient condition of the isthmus of Suez was very different from the present.

15. Early physical geography. There is no doubt among geologists that the Red Sea once extended not only to the Crocodile Lake but even to the Balāḥ Lake, so that the Red Sea and the Mediterranean were completely connected (see map, cols. 1437 *f.*). There is no evidence, however, that this state of matters continued down to historic times. The Egyptian inscriptions dating from the time of the Pyramids speak of the 'Great Black Water' (kem-uēr[1]) in connection with the fortifications at the E. end of Goshen,[2]—*i.e.*, it seems to have reached as far as the present Crocodile Lake. In dyn. XII. this 'Great Black Water' is spoken of as an undrinkable (*i.e.*, salt) '*lake*' (*šei*), so that there cannot have been a connected *gulf*. Under Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, the inscription of Pithom (ed. Naville) speaks of the 'Great Black Lake' and the 'Scorpion Lake' near Pithom as navigable and as connected with the Red Sea by the canal of Ptolemy II., which, evidently, was a mere restoration of the canal of Necho (EGYPT, § 68) and Darius. The extant traces of this latter canal and the monuments of Darius along it (see GOSHEN, map) seem to show that about 500 B.C. the extent of the various lakes was not very different from what it is now (so Lepsius), and that the Timsiih Lake was separated (under the name 'Scorpion Lake' according to the Pithom stele, etc.) from the larger salt lake in the S. The passage of Strabo (804) proves the existence of several 'bitter lakes,'—Le., confirms the view that there was no connection with the Red Sea.[3] Consequently, other passages stating that it was at Heroonpolis that the Arabian Gulf began (Strabo, 836, ἐν μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ κόλπου) seem to be based upon the artificial connections throughwhich this harbour became accessible (cp Strabo, 769).[4]

The possibiiity, indeed, that at an earlier period, such as the time of Rameses II., the lakes covered a larger area, or that they were even all connected with one another, is not to be denied. As we have already seen, however, the *one* 'Great Black Water' mentioned *circa* 3000 B.C., had long ceased to be a part of the Arabian Gulf. Naville then supposes the camp of the Israelites to have been at Pe-ḳerḥet (?),[5] or the place called in the Itineraries Serapiu, which he seeks at the modern Ǵebel Maryam near the S. end of the Timsāḥ Lake opposite Šeiḫ-Hanā'idiḳ (Naville's Baal-Zephon). He places Migdol at the ruins, W. of the railway station, mis-

1 

2 Full references in WMM *As. u. Eur.* 39. Cp also Naville, *Pithom*(3), 26. See GOSCHEN.

3 Linant and Naville (26) claimed that these must have been mere ponds, different from the present lakes which were too large to be made 'sweet' by the canal. Strabo's vague statement, however, is not to be pressed too literally. He speaks of several 'lakes'; at present also there are two different basins. Pliny (6 165) calls them *amaros fontes*(!) but describes them as navigable.

4 Naville insists upon taking these expressions literally, without consideration of the canal. The vagueness, *e.g.*, of Josephus (*BJ* iv. 10 5 'the Red Sea extends to Koptos' !) has, however, to be remembered, and certainly we ought not to use thestatement of Agathemerus (*Geogr. Gr. Min.*, ed. C. Muller, 2 475), who merely copies from Eratosthenes (see Strabo, 768) but changes the words describing the city of Heroönpolis as the place where *navigation* begins, making it the beginning of the *Arabian Gulf.* This misunderstanding cannot count as an argument.

5 It is most probable that there was no such city. 'House' (*pe*) or 'seat' (*st*) of the (serpent) *Ḳerḥ(et)* was the chief temple of *Ṭuku* at Tell el-Masḫūṭa.

called 'Serapeum' by French engineers. All this is problematical; but undoubtedly it would hardly be natural for the biblical narrative to pass over in complete silence the lake shutting off Goshen from the E. and interrupting the march of the Israelites. This theory of Naville would allow the 'turning aside' of the march, Chough on a very limited scale. It would be more rationalising than any other theory, inasmuch as the Crocodile Lake, which is 5 to 6 miles wide in the N. near the modern Bir Nefishe, is in the S., on the spot fixed upon by Naville, not more (in parts) than ¼ of a mile wide.. It was only a marsh before the Suez Canal changed its character, and it must always have been marshy, because the Nile reached it only irregularly. Whilst the salt-water of the other lakes does not allow the growth of reeds, the brackish water of this is covered with them, so that the name 'sea of reeds' would be quite appropriate.[1]

After all, the probabilities seem most in favour of the Lake Timsāḥ, although it would certainly rob the place of passage of all sea character.

16. Lake Timsāḥ. It is most reasonable to look for all the localities of the Exodus on or near Egyptian ground, and in the same narrow district in or near the valley of Ṭūmīlāt; but as long as the last three geographical names of the biblical narrative cannot be determined with certainty, this remains hypothetical.

T. K. C., §§ 1-4, 7-9; S. A. C., § 5 *f.*; W. M. M., §§ 10-16.

EXODUS (BOOK)

The second book of the Pentateuch, which narrates the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, appropriately

1. Name and Contents. bears in the Greek Bible the title Exodos (ΕΞΟΔΟΣ)[2] or more fully 'Exodos from Egypt' (ΕΞΟΔΟΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ; see Ex. 19 1 𝔊BAFL).[3] This passed over into the old Latin, and through the Vulgate into our own version. In Hebrew the book is commonly designated by its opening words, ואלה שמות,[4] or more briefly שמות; sometimes it is cited simply by number, חומש שני (*Sōṭā*, 36 *b.*).

The Book of Genesis closes with the death of Joseph at an advanced age; Exodus continues the history from the same point (Ex. 1 6 7 *ff.*). The grandsons of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 50 23) are contemporaries of Moses, the great grandson (Ex. 6 16 *ff.*), or grandson (Ex. 2 1 Nu. 26 59), of Levi. But though no great interval of time is supposed to elapse between the death of Joseph and the beginning of the oppression.5 the character of the history undergoes a complete change. The twelve sons of Jacob with their children who went down into Egypt ('seventy souls') have so increased in numbers as to be a cause of alarm to the Egyptians; the narrative, which throughout Genesis preserves the form of a family chronicle,[6] now at once becomes the history of a people.

The contents of Exodus may be briefly summarised as follows:—The oppression, the youth and call of Moses, 1-7 7; the

1 From these lakes, the strange name might heen transferred to the sea. See RED SEA for the difficulty of explaining the name. However, it is otherwise used only of the sea, never of the lakes (although the expression 'sea' is known to be used of such small lakes as that of Galilee). See above.

2 Philo, *Quis rev. div. heres*, § 4, and elsewhere; see Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. xxii.

3 Title of book in cod. A. The subscription in the same MS is ἔξοδος τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.

4 Origen in Euseb. *HE* 6 25.

5 On Ex. 12 40 *f.*, see below, § 2, and n. 5.

6 See GENESIS.

Egyptian plagues, 7 8-12; the escape of Israel from Egypt, 13-15 21; the way through the desert to Sinai, 15 22-18; the covenant, with its fundamental laws, 19-24; directions for the construction of the tabernacle and the consecration of the priests 25 31· the sin of the golden calf renewal of the broken tables 'of the 'Law, 32-34; the making'of the tabernacle and its furniture, 35-40. The hook ends with the entrance of the glory of Yahwè, the visible manifestation of his presence, into the dwelling place which had been prepared for him (40 34-38).

2. Sources: P. The sources and the method of combination remain substantially the same as in Genesis (*q.v.*, § 2 *f.*). Here also the Priestly stratum is easily recognised and separated.

To it belong:[1] Ex. 1 1-5 7* 13 14* 2 23*aβ*-25 6 2-12 (13-30) 71-13 19 20*aa* 216 22 8 5-7 15*a***b* 16-19 [8 1-3 11*a***b* 12-15] 9 8-12 (11 9 *f.* Rp), 12 1-20 28 37* 40 *f.* 43-51 13 1 2 20 14 1 2 4* 8 9* 15* 16-18 21*aa b* 22 *f.* 26 27" 28* 29 16 1-3 6f: (8) 9-13*a* 16-24 (in the main), 37-36 17 1*a* 191 2*a* 24 15* 16-18*aa* 25 1-31 18*a* 34 29-35 35-40.

The characteristics of P appear throughout (see GENESIS, § 2 *f.*).

The narrative begins, by way of recapitulation,[2] with a list of the sons of Israel who went down into Egypt (1 1-5); in 6 14-25 a long genealogy is introduced to exhibit the lineage of Moses and Aaron (cp 26 *f.*).[3] A very brief account of the oppression (1 7 13 14 2 23*aβ*-25) is followed by the call of Moses (in Egypt), the revelation of the name Yahwè (6 2-12), and the appointment of Aaron to he Moses' prophet (7 1-7). The wonders wrought before Pharaoh by Aaron at Moses' command (P in 7-9) assume the form of a trial of skill with the native magicians, who at first are able to do the same things by their arts, hut in the end are completely defeated. The announcement of the last stroke, the death of the first-horn, gives occasion to introduce directions for the observance of the Passover (12 1-13), to which are attached the ritual for the annual celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (14-20), supplementary regulations for the annual Passover (43-51), and the law requiring the consecration of the first-born (13 1 *f.*). This is a good example of the method of the author, who always endeavours to connect the legislation with some occasion or circumstance in the history;[4] so that in its primitive form and intention, P was not a 'Priests' Code,' but a history of the origin of the sacred institutions of Israel. The beginning of the migration (12 37*) leads to a chronological digression on the length of the sojourn in Egypt (40 *f.*).[5] The march to the shores of the Red Sea is next narrated (13 20 14 1 *f.*), and the miraculous deliverance there, the Israelites passing safely between walls of water on either hand, whilst the Egyptians pursuing them are overwhelmed (P in 14). Of the journey from the sea to Sinai we are told nothing except the names of the halting-places (16 1 17 1 19 1 *f.*).[6]

Arrived at Sinai, Moses ascends the mountain (24 15-18), where the plans for the tabernacle and its furnishings, and the ritual for the consecration of priests, are revealed *to* him (25-31 17). He returns to the people collects the necessary materials, and constructs the tabernacle 'in exact accordance with the specifications given him (34 29-40).[7]

In combining P with the other sources, R does not appear to have omitted anything of consequence from this narrative, though he was constrained to make some transpositions.[8] We observe here, as in Genesis, the disposition to reduce to a skeleton the narrative of ordinary events (the migration, *e.g.*, to a list of stations), and to enlarge upon everything connected with religion and the religious institutions (see 12 J 25 *ff.* 35 *ff.*). Here also the existence of other and fuller historical narratives is to be inferred from the epitomes of P (see GENESIS, § 2 *f.*). The dependence of P upon these narratives is especially manifest in the account of the plagues, and of the crossing of the Red Sea.

3. JE. The prophetic history which remains after the elimination of P is made up of the same two main strands, J and E, that criticism discovers in Genesis (see GENESIS, § 4 *ff.*). The analysis, however, is more difficult in Exodus than in the patriarchal stories.

The use of the divine names loses much of its value as a criterion, since after Ex. 3 13-15 the name Yahwè is employe&–though not uniformly—in E as well as in J; clues derived from the narrative deny us their guidance in the Laws, whilst other evidences of origin are often lacking. It is clear also that the author who united J and E (R_{JE}), not only fused his sources much more completely than the last redactor of the Hexateuch (R_P), hut also otherwise treated his material with a freer hand; this is peculiarly evident in Ex. 4 *ff.*[1] In Exodus, moreover, the work of later editors of the Deuteronomistic school is more frequently to he recognised or suspected.

An exhaustive analysis which would assign every clause or verse to its author, leaving no insoluble remainders, is impossible. The utmost that we can expect to accomplish is to distinguish the main features of the parallel narratives; and even in regard to these great uncertainty often remains.[2]

i. *Earlier Chapters.*—In 1-3, E is the chief source (J in 1 6 8-12 2 15-22 3 7 *f.* 16-18—the last two passages transposed and much amplified by R_{JE}, who also added 3 19 *f.*).[3] Ch. 4 1-16 is by most critics regarded as substantially from J (13*b*-16 R_{JE}). To J belong also 4 19-20*a* 24-26, which probably followed 2 23*a* (E in 18 and perhaps other verses; R_{JE} in 27-31). Ch. 5-61 is in the main from J (manifest duplication in 5 1-5).

ii. *The 'Plagues.'*—*α.* (J). In the history of the plagues also J is the principal source; in the plagues of frogs (8 1-4 8-15*a* [7 26-29 8 4-11*a*]), of insects (8 20-32 [16-28]), and of murrain (9 1-7), there is no contamination; in the turning of the Nile to blood (7 14-24), the hail and tempest (9 13-35), and the plague of locusts (10 1-20), E's version of the story has been united with that of J; the plague of darkness alone (10 21-23) is entirely from E.

In J's representation, Yahwè bids Moses[4] go to the Pharaoh, and demand in his name that Israel be allowed to go to worship him in the desert; if the king refuses, Moses is to announce that at a certain time (the next day, 9 5 18 10 13; cp 8 22) Yahwè will send a specified plague.[5] When this comes to pass, the Pharaoh sends for Moses and begs him to intercede with his God; but as soon as the scourge is removed his fatuity returns—ויכבד לב פרעה is the standing phrase—and he refuses to let Israel go.[6] The plagues fall upon the Egyptians only; Yahwè does not suffer any evil to come near the Israelites, who dwell apart in the land of Goshen (8 22 9 4 6 26).

β. (E). Compared with J, whose narrative is preserved in relative completeness,—doubtless because it was the fuller and more .vivid,—the remains of E in these chapters are fragmentary. In E, the plagues are not merely announced by Moses and on the following day brought to pass by Yahwè, bot are wrought on the spot, under the eyes of the Pharaoh and his court,

1 In this table, as in the corresponding one in Genesis, the additions of Rp are not in general distinguished from P. An asterisk indicates contamination or redactional changes. Nöldeke's analysis, *Unters. z. Kritik des AT's* 35 *ff.* ('69), has been modified by subsequent critics (esp. Di., Jiil., and Kue.) only in minor particulars.

2 Cp Gen. 5 1 *f.* 6 10 11 27 Nu. 3 2-4 etc.

3 The present position of this genealogy is highly unsuitable; *vv.* 16-25 probably stood in P at an earlier point, perhaps before 6 2; *vv.* 14 *f.* seem to he taken from another catalogue, perhaps that in Gen. 46.

4 So in Genesis, the Sabbath, the Noachian injunctions, circumcision.

5 According to the Jewish Hebrew Text, 430 years; according to the Samaritan Hebrew and 𝔊, 215 years. See CHRONOLOGY, § 4.

6 P's account of the murmuring of the people and the giving of the manna, which now stands in chap. 16, must originally have had a later place in the narrative, since it supposes theexistence of the tabernacle (10 34). See MANNA § 3.

7 These chapters have been much ehpanded by later hands; see below, § 5.

8 The giving of the Decalogue, which is now related in 20 1-17 from another source, must in P have followed 25-31 (see 25 16 21). A fragment of this account seems to he preserved in 31 18, to which the sequel is 34 29 *ff.*

1 We. *CH* 65 *f.* 69 72; Jiil. *JPT* 8 94 106; Kue. *Hex.* § 8, n. 11.

2 For a survey of the analyses of the leading recent critics, see the tables appended to Holzinger, *Einl. i. d. Hexateuch*, 1893.

3 In J the call of Moses probably followed his return to Egypt.

4 Aaron, who accompanies Moses hut neither says nor does anything, was introduced by R_{JE} from E.

5 The interview takes place in the palace; the meeting on the hanks of the Nile comes from E.

6 From J is probably derived the series of passages which represent the Pharaoh as trying to compromise with Moses, yielding one point after another hut always stopping short of the unconditional permission which Moses demands (8 25 *ff.* [21 *ff.*] 10 7-11 24-26). So Bacon, *JBL* 9 166 *ff.*; Jiil. and Di. ascribe them to E.

by Moses with his wonderful rod (7206 923 10 12 13*a* 21 *f.*).[1] This difference leads to striking confusion where the two sources are combined, as in 7 14 *ff.* 9 22 *ff.* (cp 18), and especially in 10 12 13*a* by the side of 136. E thinks of the Israelites, not as occupying a district apart, but as dwelling in the midst of Egyptian neighbours (3 21 10 23 11 2 *f.* 12 35 *f.*).

iii. The *Firstborn.*—The slaughter of the firstborn of the Egyptians is made the occasion, as in P, for the introduction of directions for the observance of the Passover (12 21-27), the Feast of Unleavened Bread (13 3-10), and the dedication of the firstborn (13 2 11-16). These laws, though strongly deuteronomistic in conception and expression, seem to be based upon J. It may be conjectured that the same hand which amplified the prescriptions transposed to this place laws which in J stood in a different connection (Eudde). If this hypothesis be correct, J will have had in his account of the last plague only the command to the Israelites to mark their houses with the blood of a sheep or goat, that they might be passed over by the destroyer (12 21-23).[2] The death of the Egyptian firstborn, and the vehemence with which king and people-now urge the Israelites to hasten their departure, aredescribed in the words of J (12 29-34 38 *f.*); of E is preserved only 12 35 *f.*, the last words of 37, then 13 17-19.

iv. *Crossing the* Sea.—In the account of the miraculous deliverance of Israel at the Red Sea, the beginning of the narrative is from J (14 5 *f.* 10-14; R_{JE} in 13*aa b*), who characteristically represents the passage as made possible by a strong east wind driving out the water (14 21 from ויולך). In the last watch of the night Yahwè looks down upon the Egyptians and makes their chariot wheels stick; seeing that God is fighting against them, they turn to flee (24 *f.*), but perish in the midst of the sea (27*b* 286). In E, on the contrary, whose version is followed by P, Moses with his rod divides the waters of the sea, which stand as a wall on either hand. The angel of God takes his station in the rear to protect the Israelites from their pursuers. When they have crossed in safety, Moses stretches out his rod and the waters close over the Egyptians (16* 19*a*, perhaps part of 20). The song of Miriam (15 20) also is from E.[3]

v. *To the Mount.*—In JE as in P, Moses leads the people from the shores of the sea to the Mount of Cod (SINAI, *q.v.*), where Yahwè gives them laws and makes a covenant with them. In the composite narrative, however, there are traces of a different representation, according to which the Israelites went directly to Kadesh on the south of Palestine (15 22-25*a*).[4]

In 17 2-7 we find them already at Meribah, that is KADESH (*q.v.*, 1, § 2).[5] Amalekalso (17 8 *ff.*) is to be sought in the region of Kadesh rather than among the mountains of the Sinaitic peninsula (Nu. 14 43 45 1 S. 15 30). Perhaps we may recognise in this a more primitive form of Judæan (or Calebite) tradition, our oldest written sources, as is very clearly to be seen in Genesis, unite materials of diverse origin, whose discrepant or conflicting representations they harmonise only superficially, if at all.[6] See EXODUS i., *§6*.

It is not certain that J or E related anything which occurred between the crossing of the sea and the arrival at Sinai; a redactor has filled this gap with doublets from a later point in the history (see EXODUS i., § 5; cp the miracle at Meribah in 17 2 *ff.* with Nu. 20 1 *ff.*; the appointment of judges in 18 with Nu. 11 16 &).[7] We may

1 This rod is used also at the crossing of the Red Sea (14 16), the smiting of the rock at Meribah (17 5 *ff.* Nu. 20 11), and the defeat of Amalek (17 8 *ff.*, cp 5)—all from E. In P the rod is in the hands of Aaron, who wields it at the bidding of Moses.

2 Observe that no directions are given for the eating of a paschal meal; and contrast this with the very detailed directions for the use of the blood.

3 On the greater Ode of Victory, 15 1-18, see below, § 6.

4 See We. *Prol.*(4) 348 *f.* = *Hist. of* Israel, 342 *f.* ['85]; art. 'Israel,' in *EB*(9), 399 *f.*; cp Holzinger, *Einl.* 74 *f.*

5 Horeb, 17 6, is a gloss, but see MASSAH AND MERIBAH.

6 Kuenen doubts whether any part of the narrative of events at Sinai is derived from J (*Hex.* § 8, and n. 18).

7 On these chapters see NUMBERS, § 2. Cp also the transposition of **P** in 16 noted above, § 2, n. 6 (col. 1441).

EXODUS (BOOK)

ascribe to J, 15 22-25*a* 17 1 (the last words), 2 4, 5 and 6 in part, 7; to E the rest of 17 2-7 8-13 18 (with editorial additions, but not contamination from the other source).

vi. *At Sinai.*[1]—JE's account of the giving of the law at Sinai and the events connected with it fills Ex. 19 2*b*-24 (except a few verses in 24), 31 18*b*-34 28. In consequence of repeated and complicated redaction, these chapters present to criticism problems of extreme difficulty, for which we can hardly expect to find a complete solution.[2] In 19 the impressive prelude to the legislation, 36-8, is from the hand of an editor;[3] 3*a* 9-19, though not free from editorial amplification and perhaps contamination, are in the main from E; while 20-22 25 belong to the parallel narrative of J (23 *f.* is a harmonistic addition by R_{JE}).[4]

vii. *J's* Legidation.—The sequel of J's account is to be found, not in 21-24,[5] but, with most recent critics, in 34.[6] This chapter stands in a very unsuitable place; after 32 34 33 1-3 (the peremptory command in both J and E to leave the Mount of God) nothing is in place but the actual departure from Horeb which both sources narrate in Nu. 10. Least of all do we expect fresh legislation such as is found in 34. On other grounds also it is certain that the present position of the chapter is due to one of the later redactors of the Hexateuch (see below, § 4). In its original connection in J, the giving of the law was probably followed immediately by the command to take up the march to the promised land (32 34*a*); Moses beseeches Yahwè to accompany his people in person (33 12*a* 34 9*a* 33156 16)[7] and his request is granted; thereupon Moses seeks a guide through the desert (Nu. 10 29 *ff.*), and they set out.[8]

viii. *E's Legislation.*—E's narrative in 19 (3*a* 9-19 in the main) is also preliminary to the revelation of Cod's law; the solemn ratification of the Law is described in 24 3-8. As we have found the legislation of J elsewhere, it is natural to infer that 20-23 as a whole is the corresponding legislation of E;[9] and this inference seems to be confirmed by the fact that various indications of affinity with E are discovered throughout these chapters (see below, § 4). Closer examination shows, however, that the problem is much more complicated than. at first appears. Ex. 20-23 contains two distinct bodies of laws: the Decalogue (20 1-17), and the so-called Covenant Book (21-23). These are not incompatible. We can readily conceive that the revelation of the fundamental precepts of religion and morals in the Ten Commandments should be followed by a more minute regulation of the civil, social, and religious life of Israel such as we find in 21-23; in the history of the law-giving, however, no connection is established between them.[10] Chap. 21 1 is without any antecedents in 20. Chap. 20 18-26 is composed of very disparate elements: 18-21 belong to the Decalogue narrative, but should probably stand before the Decalogue, immediately following 19 19;[11] 24-26 is a fragment relating to the regulation of the cultus, and, from whatever source it may have come, has nothing to do either with the Decalogue which precedes or with the civil and penal code which follows; 22 23—superfluous after 4—seem to be from

1 On the subiect of paragraphs vi.-viii., cp also LAW LITERATURE.

2 On the difficulties in these chapters see Kue. Th. T 15176 *ff.* ('81); We. *CH* 84 *f.*, Bruston, *Quatre sources*, 1 *ff.*

3 Perhaps with a basis of E (We.).

4 The thread is broken off at the end of 25.

5 Stähelin, Schrader, Kayser, We. (formerly), Del., Westphal, Ur.

6 So Kue. (*Th.T* 15 164 *ff.* ['81]), We. (*CH*, *Nachträge*, 327 *ff.*), Di., Bu., Co., etc.

7 Ch. 33 12-16 has been considerably enlarged by editorial hands, cp also 33 3 5 32 9 34 96.

8 The passages in which Moses begs to be shown the glory of Yahwè (33 18-23 34 5-8) are perhaps secondary in J, or redactional.

9 So, with earlier critics, Di., Tiil., Ki.; see also Montefiore. *JQR* 8 281 283.

10 For a synopsis of the critical argument, see Kraetzschmar, *Bundesvorstellung*, 71 *f.*

11 So Kue. *Th.T* 15 190 ('81); and independently Jiil. *JPT* 8 312 *ff.* ('82); the conjecture has been generally accepted.

the hand of an editor; in all these verses there is no reference to the Covenant Book, or to any further legislation. In 24 the continuation of the Decalogue narrative (12-14) and the ratification of the Covenant Book (3-8) stand side by side without any attempt to connect them.' In the subsequent narrative of JE (32-34) there is no mention of the laws of 21-23 or of the covenant of 24 3-8. Finally, Dt.—even in its later strata—knows no law given to Israel at Horeb except the Decalogue, which alone it recognises as the basis of the covenant (5 6 1 *f.*; cp 4 10-14 9 7-10 5); while Josh. 24 (E) makes no reference to any earlier covenant or law. The inference that the Covenant Book did not originally form part of E's history of the transactions at Horeb seems inevitable.[2]

There remains, then, the Decalogue and that strand of the following narrative which depends upon it, viz., 20 18-21 (connecting with 19 19) 1-17 24 12-14 18* 31 18*; the lapse into the idolatry of the golden calf, and its consequences, 32 1-6[3] 15-20 (21-24?) 30-33 (perhaps partly secondary). Yahwè then in anger orders Israel to leave the holy mountain, and declares that he will not go with them (33 1*a* 36 4-6*). That this was the form in which E was current at the end of the seventh century, B.C., and in the first half of the sixth, is proved by Deuteronomy. As has been already observed, D knows no law given to Israel at Horeb but the Decalogue. The author of the comparatively late interpolation, Dt. 98-17 (18-20) 21 10 10 *f.* (the story of the golden calf and the broken tables of the law), read Ex. 24 12-14 18 3118 32 7 *ff.* (34 28?)—that is, E with the additions of R_{JE}—substantially as we do.

ix. More *Primitive* Version.—There are, however, in E fragmentary remains of another, it would seem more primitive, representation. The most remarkable of these is 33 7-11, which tells us how Moses took a tent, which he called the Meeting Tent (*i.e.*, the appointed place to meet God), and set it up outside the camp at some distance. To this tent Moses repaired from time to time, and God spoke to him there out of the column of cloud which descended at its door. Thither others also resorted to consult the oracle. Joshua, Moses' youthful assistant, remained constantly in the tent, as its keeper. In the narrative from which these verses are taken they must have been preceded by a description of the making of this simple tent, which was omitted by R_P when he put in its place the great tabernacle of P; Dt. 10 3 5 still shows us where the passage stood. In the same connection, doubtless, stood an account of the making of the ark, to shelter which the tent was required (cp Nu. 10 33-36 14 44 [E], Dt. 10 3 5); this also R_P was constrained to omit in favour of P's Ark of the Testimony (Ex. 25 10 *ff.* 27 1 *ff.*). The directions for the construction of the altar of rude stones or earth, 20 24-26, to which Dt. 27 6 *f.* perhaps belongs, seem to be derived from the same source. These fragments suffice to show that E once contained a fuller account of the origin of the Israelite *sacra*, and laws regulating religious worship; and it may safely be assumed that these things had in the narrative a place befitting their importance. That so little of this now remains is to be attributed in part, as we have seen, to its displacement by P in the final redaction of the Hexateuch; but it is a not improbable hypothesis that it had been in considerable part supplanted at an earlier date by the Decalogue and the cognate narrative (the golden calf, etc.), which in this case must be regarded as a secondary stratum in E (E_2). To this question we shall return below (§ 4).

i. Ceremonial *Decalogue.*—Ex. 34 10-28 contains, as we have seen, the legislation of J. Its injunctions are exclusively religious: it forbids the worship of any other deity and the making of molten idols; commands the observance of the three annual feasts and of the Sabbath, the sacrifice of firstlings and the offering of first fruits; and prohibits certain rites which were probably associated with other cults. These laws are set forth as the terms of the covenant which Yahwe makes with Moses as the representative of Israel, and as such they are committed to writing by Moses (10 27 *f.*). Ch. 34 10-26 thus presents itself as a counterpart to the 'Book of the Covenant' (24 7) which is contained in 21-23. In 34 28, however, we read that Moses remained forty days with Yahwè on the mountain, 'and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten words.'[2] From this it would seem that the commandments in 14-26 constituted J's decalogue, an older counterpart to the Ten Commandments in Ex. 20 1-17 Dt. 5 6-21[3] (see DECALOGUE). Upon this theory, 34 1 *ff.* contains J's account of the origin of the two tables of the law; 1*b*, and the words 'like the first' in 1*a* and 4*a*, which represent these tables as designed to take the place of the tables which Moses had broken (32 19), are harmonistic additions by the redactor who introduced 34 in this place. Kuenen, on the other hand, contends that 1 4 28*b* had originally nothing to do with 10-27; they formed part of E's narrative, and the ten words are no other than E's decalogue (20 1-17).[4] Whatever view be taken of the relation of 28 to 27, the phrase 'the ten words,' which collides with the preceding 'the words of the covenant,' seems to be a gloss, introduced under the influence of the deuteronomistic theory that the covenant was made upon the Decalogue alone (cp esp. Dt. 4 13).[5] If this be the case, there is no direct evidence that the laws in 34 10-26 were originally just ten in number. It may be suspected that the words 'upon the tables' which connect 28 with 1-4 are also secondary, and that the original sequel of 27 was closely similar to 24 4*a* 7 *f.*, if, indeed, it be not contained in those verses (Valeton). On the other hand, 34 4*b*, 'taking in his hand two tables of stone' (שני לחת אבנים, indefinite), seems to be original; and it is perhaps on the whole more probable that the commandments of J also were inscribed on stone. Whether this is the oldest representation, and whether in the oldest Judæan tradition the commandments were given at Sinai or at some other place—perhaps at Kadesh—are questions to which no certain answer can be given.[6]

4. Laws in JE.[1]

ii. Character *and origin.*—The laws in Ex. 34 10-28 are certainly older than the setting which represents them as the terms of a covenant made by Yahwè with Moses at Sinai; and are the earliest attempt with which we are acquainted to embody in a series of brief injunctions formulated as divine commands the essential observances of the religion of Yahwè. We may safely assume that this collection of sacred laws was made at a Judæan sanctuary, and that it represents the ancient usage of the region. The age of the collection can only be inferred from its contents.

The three annual feasts which occupy the central place in the cultus are agricultural festivals,[7] and presume a people which has passed over to a settled life to whom tillage is a chief concern. On the other hand, the idea of religion to which such laws as those that forbid the seething of a kid in its mother's milk, or the keeping of part of a sacrifice till the next morning, appear fundamental, is very primitive.[8] A still stronger in-

1 Contamination of the text in both passages has resulted only in conflict.

2 Kue. *Th.T* 15 191 *ff.* (cp 182), *Hex.* § 13, n. 32; We., Bu., Co., Baentsch, etc.

3 Chapter 32 7-14 R_{JE}; 25-29 a later hand. Some scholars ascribe the story of the golden calf to J; so Di., Ki., and others.

1 On the subject of § 4, cp also LAW LITERATURE.

2 In the context, the subject must be Moses, not Yahwè.

3 This seems to have been first observed by Goethe, in 1773.

4 *Th.T* 15 186 *ff.* ['81], *Hex.* § 8, n. 13. See also DECALOGUE (literature).

5 Meissner, Kraetzschmar, and others. The name *decalogue* (ten words) is found only in this verse and in Dt. 4 13 10 4.

6 [See KADESH i. § 3.]

7 The Sabbath also is an institution of a settled people.

8 It must be remembered, however, that such survivals of primitive religion, regarded as positive divine commands, are often carried along into much more advanced stages of development, as Judaism itself best illustrates.

dication of the antiquity of this legislation is the fact that the demands of Yahwè all have reference to the way in which he is to be worshipped. Religion seems to be as yet untouched by the prophetic movement whose burden **was** that what God demands is not worship but righteousness.

In the strongest contrast to the fundamental revelation of Yahwè's will in J is the decalogue of Ex. 20 1-17. On the Deuteronomistic elements in this document and on its relation to Ex. 34 10 *ff.*, see DECALOGUE, § 2. The narrative in Ex. 32 (golden calf) is inseparable from it, and is aimed at the religion of the kingdom of Israel; the repudiation of its idolatrous cult which we find in Hosea is carried back to Horeb. This narrative, therefore, also belongs to the prophetic edition of E (E_2). The Decalogue seems to have supplanted the law given at Horeb in E. We may safely assume that this law was similar in character to that of J in 34 10 *ff.*; and it is not improbable that fragments of it are preserved in 23 14 *ff.* Whether it constituted a decalogue must remain uncertain.[1]

iii. *Chapters* 21-23.—A law-book of a different character is contained in 21-23.[2] By its superscription it is a collection of *mišpāṭīm*, that is 'judgments, judicial decisions, or norms'; and accordingly we find in 21 2-23 17 various titles of civil and penal law; viz., slavery and manumission (21 2-11), homicide (12-21), torts (22-36 22 5 *f.*), theft, burglary, etc. (22 1-4), the liability of a borrower or bailee (7-15), seduction (16 *f.*).[3] In those titles which remain intact the laws are methodically arranged and formulated: first the general rule is given, then the particular cases which may arise under it, *e.g.*—

When (כי) thou buyest a Hebrew slave he shall serve six years, and in the seventh he shall go frke, without ransom. If (אם) he was single when he came into hii master's possession he shall go free alone. If he was married, his wife shall go with him. If his master gives him a wife and she bear him children, the woman and the children belong to the master; the slave shall go free alone; etc. (21 2 *ff.*; cp also 28 *ff.*).

This book of *mišpāṭīm* (משפטים) has unfortunately not been completely preserved; some of the paragraphs are much mutilated, whilst other titles which we have every reason to believe were once contained in it are wanting altogether. Additions also have been made to it, which are recognised by their departure from the systematic form of the original work, in part also by the different nature of their contents. The character of this little code indicates considerable progress in civilization and in jurisprudence. It may be compared with the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and especially with the legislation of Solon (Plutarch, *Solon*), to which it is probably not much anterior in time.[4]

Chap. 23, which contains only moral precepts and religious ordinances, is not covered by the title *mišpāṭīm* in 21 1. Most scholars are of the opinion that 23, together with the kindred verses in the latter part of 22, originally constituted a distinct part of the Covenant Book, which, like the laws in 34 and the decalogue in 20, was entitled simply The Words (*dᵉbārīm*);[5] cp also 19 6. In 24 3-8, in the ratification of the law, we read that Moses recited to the people 'all the Words of Yahwè (*dᵉbārīm*) and all the Judgments (*mišpāṭīm*)'; the two together (*fas* and *jus*) cover the whole field of the divine law. It is not quite certain, however, that 24 3 is the conclusion of 21-23; if 20 18-21 originally preceded 20 1-17, as is now generally believed, 24 3 would naturally refer to the promulgation of the decalogue (the Words of Yahwè); 'and all the *mišpāṭīm*' would then be a redactional addition.[6] The question whether 21-23 was originally one collection of laws under the two heads, Civil and Penal (*mišpāṭīm*), and Moral and Religious (*dᵉbārīm*), can therefore be decided only on internal grounds. In 23 7 4-19 we find a group of laws relating to worship and religious festivals which are in the main verbally identical with those of J in 34; cp especially 23 15-19 with 34 18-26. Closer examination shows that they are in *situ* in 34, and were brought over thence into 23 by a redactor.[1] This redactor, it must be supposed, having incorporated the substance of J's legislation in 23, omitted 34 from his compilation; its restoration is to be ascribed to a later editor.[2] In 23 20-33, which is as a whole the composition of a redactor, remains of an older text are preserved in 28-31 (cp Jos. 24 12 Dt. 7 20-22); and the same source perhaps underlies 20-22 25 26. In 22 18-23 13 we can recognise diverse elements: first, a few civil and penal laws, which differ from the *mišpāṭīm* by their categorical form[3]—*e.g.*, 22 18, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' 19, 'Whosoever is guilty of bestiality shall be put to death,' etc. Second, a collection of moral injunctions, which from their nature cannot have the sanctions of human law (22 20-24 23 1-3 4 *f.* 6 *f.* 8 9). Some of these resemble in form and content the second table of the decalogue; others are manifestly akin to the deuteronomic legislation. Finally, interspersed with these are religious ordinances (22 29 *f.* 31 [?] 23 10-13). The different character of these laws, and still more the disorder in which they are, points to compilation; the prominence of precepts of charity, and the deuteronomic motives and phraseology, indicate that the recension, if not the compilation itself, dates from the seventh century.

These facts make it very doubtful whether the author of the *mišpāṭīm* in 21 2-22 17 is also the author of a corresponding collection of moral and religious precepts (*dᵉbārīm*) which form the basis of 22 17-23 33. A more probable hypothesis is that 21-23 is the result of a process of accretion: to what was originally a handbook of civil and penal laws was added, first, perhaps from E's Horeb legislation, the main stock of 22 18-23 13; then (probably hy the same editor who added the parænetic close) 23 14-19, from 34 14 *ff.* (J).

Many attempts have been made to reconstruct the Covenant Book, eliminating interpolations, restoring by more or less extensive transpositions the order of the *dᵉbārīm* and the *mišpāṭīm*, and even supplying some of the gaps by comparison with **Ex. 34** and **Dt.4** In this work of restoration several scholars have sought **a** formal regulative in the supposition that the laws were originally grouped in homologous decads and pentads.[5] This theory finds some support in certain paragraphs of the *mišpāṭīm*; but the results hitherto attained by this method are not less widely divergent than those reached without such a criterion.

iv. *Ratification.*—Chap. 24 3-8 is the ratification by solemn covenant (see COVENANT, § 6 [ii.]) of the legislation in 21-23,[6] which on this account is often called the Covenant Book. By most critics these verses, with the Covenant Book itself, are ascribed to E. They appear, however, to be composite;[7] 3 may have belonged to the decalogue narrative in its original form (see above, iii.); in 4 the altar at the foot of the mountain and the twelve *maṣṣēbōth* seem to be doublets; the *maṣṣēbōth* and perhaps the young men of Israel who act as sacrificers may be derived from the oldest stratum of E (akin to 33 7-11), in which, it may be surmised, these stones rather than a book were the monument of the adoption of the religion of Yahwè at Horeb (cp Jos. 24 26 *f.*); while 4*a* 7 8 seems to be a later representation

1 See below. Attempts to restore the original decalogue of E have been made by Staerk, *Deut.* 40 *ff.*, and Meissner, *Dekalog*, 33; cp Co. *Einl.* (3, 4), 40.

2 For the literature on the Covenant Book, see $7.

3 For a more detailed analysis, see Baentsch, *Bundesbuch*, 12 *ff.*

4 See also *Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio* (early fifth century A.D.), ed. Th. Mominsen, in *Collectio librorum juris antejustiniani*, 3 ('go).

5 No trace of this title remains in 21-23.

6 Bacon, *JBL* 12 32; Baentsch, 77 *f.*; Holzinger, Kraetzschmar, and others.

1 For a comparison of the two see Jiil. *JPT* 8 300 *f.*; Briggs, *Higher Criticism* (3), 190 *ff.* 229 *f.*

2 Rudde, *ZATW* 11 217 *ff.* ['91].

3 Regularly in 2 sing.; others in 2 **pl.** may he interpolations.

4 See Stade, *GVI* 1 636 *f.*, n.; Rothstein, *Bundesbuch* ('92); Staerk, ***Deut.*** ('94), 32 *ff.*

5 So Bertheau, Briggs, L. B. Pnton, *JBL* **12** 79.6 ['93].

6 *Vv.* 1 *f.*, from whatever source they may come. obviouslv intrude here.

7 Di., Bruston, Baentsch; Valeton, ZATW 12 242 *ff.*; Staerk, ***Deut.*** 41 n.; Kraetzschmar, *Bundesvorstellung*, 79.

more nearly parallel. to 34 27 with its original sequel, and may be attributed to a later recension of E as the close of its Covenant Book, or to R_{JE}. As a whole, 24 3-8 seems to be meant to follow **21-23,** and to be the work of the editor who incorporated J's commandments from **34,** and gave these chapters their present form. Ch. 24 1 *f.* **9-11** are derived from a very ancient source; there seems *to* be no decisive reason why this may not be E_1.[1]

v. ***Origin of Covenant* Book.**—The language of the Covenant Book shows some affinity *to* E; and most recent critics think that it was incorporated in that work.[2] It cannot, however, have occupied in E its present position as a law given at Horeb (see above, § **3,** viii.). Kuenen conjectured that it was originally the law given by Moses just before the crossing of the Jordan; it filled in E the place which Dt. has in the present Pentateuch; and when supplanted by Dt. was removed by an editor (R_D) to this earlier point in the history of the legislation.[3]

If the view of the composition of these chapters taken above be correct, the problem assumes a somewhat different form: it would be the simplest hypothesis, that the redactor who inserted the Covenant Book here was also its compiler; and the question for the critic would be, what were the sources from which this redactor drew his materials. For **23** 14 *ff.* this question is already answered; for the *mišpāṭīm* we may hazard the surmise that in E they constituted a book of instructions for judges, which stood in immediate connection with **18**;[4] for other parts of **2218** *ff.* **23** it is probable that the original Horeb legislation of E (E,) which was supplanted by the Decalogue, has been laid under contribution; in particular, it may be inferred that the group of laws noticed above (which in substance and form resemble the second table of the decalogue) are of this origin. Traces of this parallel legislation may perhaps also be discovered in 23 14 *ff.*, where the text of J sometimes shows signs of contamination (Budde, *ZATW* 11 218 *f.*).

5. P composite.[5]

In § 2 above, P was separated as **a** whole from JE. The more closely P is examined, however, the more plainly it appears that it is not the work of a single author.[6] It is rather to be compared *to* a stratum, the deposit *of* a considerable period, in which distinct layers are to be seen. This is nowhere more evident than in chaps. **25-31 35-40.** Ex. 25-31 17 contain the plans for the tabernacle and its furnishings, and directions for the consecration of priests; 34 29-40 Lev. 8 *f.* relate, in almost the same words, the carrying out of these instructions. Such repetition is not found elsewhere, even in P, and would of itself lead us to suspect that the mechanical conformation of the execution to the command was the work of an editor rather than of the author. Critical investigation not only fully confirms this surmise, but also proves that even **25-31** is not all from one hand, or of one age.

i. ***Chaps.*** 25-31.—Chaps. **25-2937** belong, with inconsiderable exceptions,[7] to the main stem of P; 29 43-46 is **a** formal close. Chaps. 30 *f.* contain a series of paragraphs supplementary to **25-29** and demonstrably of later date.

The first of these paragraphs gives directions for making an altar of incense (30 1-10). If the author of **25-29** had provided for such an altar, it would have been introduced with the other furniture of the Holy Place in *25,* and must have been mentioned in 26 31-37;[1] furthermore, the altar described in 27 1 *ff.* must then have been in some way distinguished from the altar of incense, and could not be spoken of simply *as* ***the*** altar. This internal evidence is confirmed by the fact that in the ritual laws of P there is **a** stratum which ignores or excludes the altar of incense; this is the case even in the liturgy for the day of atonement (Lev. 16; cp also Ezek. 41 22 44 16), and in certain rituals for the sin-offering (Ex. **29** Lev. 8 *f.*; see also **10** 16 *ff.* Nu. 16 *f.*).[2] The incense altar thus becomes an important criterion in the further analysis of P.

In a similar way and with equal conclusiveness it is shown that the half-shekel poll-tax (30 11-16),[3] the anointing oil and unction of all the priests (22-33), the bronze laver (17-21), and the formula for compounding the incense (34-38), are secondary. Chap. 31 1-11 presupposes the parts of 30 which are proved not to be original, and fails with them.

The injunction to observe the Sabbath (**31** 12-17) seems to be introduced here to teach that even sacred labours such as the building of the tabernacle, do not suspend the Sabbath law—a kind of reflection which itself suggests a late date. The language is not altogether like that of P, and has some suggestions of H; the editor who inserted the paragraph here may have made use of a law which he found in another connection.

ii. ***Chaps.*** 35-40.—In the account of the making of the tabernacle in **35-40,** the paragraphs in 30 *f.* which we have recognised as later additions are all included, and are inserted in their natural and proper connection,—the altar of incense with the other furniture of the Holy Place (37 25-28), the laver with the great altar in the court (38 8 *f.*), etc. Chaps. **35-40** are, therefore, not older than 30 *f.* Other indications make it probable that the whole detailed account of the construction of the tabernacle in exact accordance with the plans in 25 *ff.* is a still later addition to the original text of P. Chaps. **35-40** were not translated into Greek by the same hand as the rest of the book; and material differences in content—the altar of incense, *e.g.*, is still lacking in @—and order[4] seem to prove that the final recension of these chapters was not yet completed when the Alexandrian Version was niade. In its original form P probably related very briefly that Moses did in all respects as God had bidden him.

6. Triumphal Ode: Ex. 15 1-18.[5]

The historian tells us in his introduction (15 1) that the ode preserved in chap. **15** was sung by the Israelites on the shores of the Red Sea; and until recent times it has been believed without question that Moses was its author. The poem celebrates, however, not only the destruction of the pharaoh's hosts in the sea (2-12), but also the safe guidance of Israel *to* the land of Canaan (13-18);[6] 176—which there is no formal reason for regarding as an interpolation—speaks of the building of the temple (cp also 136). It is evident, therefore, that the poem was composed after Israel was established in Palestine. Some critics (Ew., H. Schultz, Di., Riehm) ascribe it *to* the age of David and Solomon, or even *to* the period of the Judges; but the linguistic evidence, which is what is chiefly relied on as a proof of antiquity (see especially Di.), is far from decisive. It is possible with greater probability to draw from it an opposite conclusion.[7] The other evidence is all against so early a date. The prose narrative in **14** is not dependent on 15, but the converse. The ode has no resemblance to the really old poems in the historical books (*e.g.*, Judg. **5** 2 S. 1 Nu. **21).** Its affinities are with Is. **12** and a group **of** historical psalms (78 **105** 106 **114** 77 11-20 118), and

1 Kuenen, etc. Others ascribe the verses to J (Di.), or to P.
2 Kue. *Hex.* § 8, n. 12; Di., Jül. *JPT* 8 305 *f.*, Bu. *ZATW* 11 215 *f.*, Co. Ki. Kraetzschmar, etc.; see esp. Holzinger, *Einl.* 177. Other assign the chapters to J; so Kayser, We. (formerly), Del., Westphal. Dr.
3 *Hex.* § 13, n. 32; so Co. *Einl.*(3, 4) 68, etc. For **a** different hypothesis, **see** Holzinger, *Einl.* 179.
4 Chapter 18 itself originally occupied a later position in the narrative.
5 On this subject compare also LAW LITERATURE.
6 For the literature, see § 7.
7 The passages suspected are 27 20 *f.* 28 13 *f.* 41 42 *f.* 29 35-37 38-41 42-46.

1 The Samaritan recension actually inserts it after 26 35.
2 On the other side *see* Del. *ZKW* 1880, pp. 113-122.
3 Cp **Neh.** 10 33[32] 2 Ch. 24 6, from which it has been inferred that **Ex.** 30 11-16 is a novel later than **444** B.C.
4 **A** tabular exhibit of these differences in order may be found in Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 15, reproduced in Dr. *Introd.*(6) 40 *f.* On the character of the Greek translations of these chapters cp Popper, and, on the other side, Klostermann, *Neue kirchl. Z.* 3 59 *ff.*
5 See De Wette, *Beitr.* 2 216 ['07]; Reuss, *Gesch. d. AT,* § 171; We. *CH*(2) 79, cp *Prol.*(4) 22 *f.*, 359 *f.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 13, n. 15; Jiil. *JPT* 8 124 *ff.*; for **a** synopsis of recent opinion, Holzinger, *Einl.* 233 *ff.*
6 The tenses in 13 are preterites **(RV)**, not futures **(AV).**
7 Jiil. *JPT* 8 125.

there seems to be no reason for regarding it as older than these.' Some scholars think that the poem in its present form is the amplification of an older brief, and probably genuine, song of Moses, which maybe preserved in **15** 1*b*-3;[2] others, with greater probability, regard it as the development of the motive suggested in *v.* 21.[3]

It has been thought by many that the song was found in an old collection of poetry, — perhaps the 'Rook of the WARS OF **YAHWE'** (*q.v.*), —and was incorporated by E in his history (Schr., Di., Ki., etc.). The latter hypothesis can hardly be accepted; E's song at the crossing of the sea is v. 20 *f.*; 1-18 is a rival composition. The references to Jerusalem and the temple are also against the supposition that the poem was included in E. More probably it was inserted by R_{JE} or a later editor. It is possible that it was taken from a poetical collection; but equally possible that it was written for its present position (Jiilicher).

7. Literature. (a) *Commentaries*:—(See F. Brown, 'Commentaries on Exodus,' Old Testament Student, Nov. 1886, pp. **84-92).** M. Kalisch ('55); **A.** Knobel ('57); C. F. Keil ('61, (3) '78, ET, '66); J. P. Lange ('74, ET, '76); A. Dillmann ('80, (3) V. Ryssel, '97); **H. L.** Strack ('94).

(*b*) *Criticism*:—For the **history** of criticism see HEXATEUCH. i. General. E. Bertheau, Die *sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze* in den *drei mittleren Büch.* d. Pent. ('40); J. W. Colenso, The *Pentateuch* **and Book** *of Joshua*, Part VI. ('72); Th. Nöldeke, *Unters. z. Krit. d.* A T ('69); A. Kayser,' Das *vorexilische* Buch der *Urgeschichte Israels* **und** seine *Erweiterungen* ('74); J. Wellhausen, Die Composition des *Hexateuchs und* der *historischen Bücher* des AT, '89 (*JPT*, '76 *f.*); A. Kuenen, *ThT* 14 ('80) 281-302 (Ex. 16); *ibid.* 15 ('81) 164-223 (Israel at Sinai, **Ex.19-24 32-34)**; A. Jiilicher, Die Quellen *von* **Exodus 1-77 ('80);** 'Die Quellen von Exodus 7 8-24 11,' *JPT* 8 79-127, 272-315 ('82); B. **W.** Bacon, 'JE in the Middle Books of the Pentateuch,' *JBL* 9 *a* ('90), 161-200 (Ex. **7-12);** *ibid.* 10 *b* ('91), 107-130 (Ex. 1-7); *ibid.* 11 6 ('92), 177-200 (Ex. 12 37-17 16); *ibid.* 12 *a* ('93), 23-46 **(Ex. 18-34):** The Tripe *Tradition of* the *Exodus* ('94); **K.** Budde, 'Die Gesetzgebung der mittleren Biicher del Pentateuchs, insbesondere der Quellen J und E,' ***ZATW*** 11 193-234 ('91); Bruston, *Les quatre* sources *des lois* de *l'Exode* ('83); Les *deux Jéhovistes* ('85); 'Les cinq documents de la Loi mosaique,' *ZATW* 12 177-211 ('92); Kittel, Gesch. der *Hebräer*, 1 ('88), ET, *History of the Hebrews* ('95).

ii. *On* fhe Laws. 1. Ex. 12 *f.*: J. F. L. George, ***Die*** *älteren jüdischen Feste* ('35); W. H. Green, The *Hebrew* Feasts ('85, where references to the other literature will be found).—2. On the Decalogue:—E. Meier, Die *ursprüngliche Form* **des** Dekalogs ('46); Datema, Der *Decaloog* ('76); **O.** Meissner, Der *Dekalog* ('Inaug. Diss.'), **1893;** C. A. Briggs, Higher *Crit. of the Hex.*(3) 181 *ff.* ('97); C. Montefiore, 'Recent Criticism upon Moses and the Pentateuchal Narratives of the Decalogue,' *JQR* 11 251-291 ('91). 3. On the Covenant Book:—J. W. Rothstein, *Das Bundesbuch* ('88); K. Budde, 'Bemerkungen zum Bundesbuch,' *ZATW* 11 99-114 ('91); B. Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch* ('92); W. Staerk, Das *Deuteronomium* 32-57 ('94); C. **A.** Briggs, Higher *Criticism*(3), 211-232; L. B. Paton, 'The Original Form of the **Book** of the Covenant,' *JBL* 12 79-93 ('93); **R.** Kraetzschmar, Die *Bundesvorstellung im* A T 70-99 ('96). Steuernagel, 'Der jehovistische Bericht iib. d. Bundeschluss am Sinai (Ex. 19-24 31 18-34 28),' *St. Kr.* 1899, 319 *ff.* 4. On Ex. **25-31 35-40**:—Popper, Der *biblische Bericht über* **die** *Stiftshütte* ('62): Wellhausen, *CH*(2) 137 *ff.*; Kuenen, Hex. § 6, n. 12 *f.* 15; Dillmann, Ex. *u.* Leu. 354 *ff.*, (3) 392 *ff.*; cp *Num.* Deut. *u. Jos.* 635; W. **H.** Green, 'Critical Views respecting the Mosaic Tabernacle,' *Presb.* and *Ref. Rev.* 5 69-88 ('94); A. Klostermann *Neue kirchl. Z.* 8 48-77 228-253 298-328 353-383 ('97).

See also J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, The *Hexateuch*, Oxford, 1900 (Analysis, synoptical tables of laws, etc.), and works on Introduction to the Old Testament, especially those of Kuenen, Holzinger, Driver, Cornill, König; and on the History of Israel, especially Stade (1 634 *ff.*), and Kittel.

G. **F. M.**

EXORCISTS (ΕΞΟΡΚΙΣΤΑΙ) were found by Paul at Ephesus (Acts **19** 13 †).

ἐξορκίζω in 𝔊 renders שבע twice (Gen. **243,** EV 'make **to** swear,' Vg. *adjurare*; 1 K. 22 16, EV 'adjure,' Vg. *adjurare*) and אלה once [AL] (Judg. **17** 2, AV 'cursedst,' RV 'didst utter a curse,' RVmg. 'didst utter an adjuration').

The practice of casting out demons by spells is of remote antiquity. It was common both in and after the time of Jesus Christ, who undoubtedly cast out demons himself. There was this strong distinction, however, between the procedure of Jesus and that of his contenipuraries that, whereas the latter were careful to use the names of supernatural beings to gain their end with the demons, Jesus 'cast out the spirits with a word,' 'by the spirit of God,' 'by the finger of God'; how he suffered in consequence, is told in the synoptic gospels. In Mt. 10 8 Mk. 3 15 6 7 13 Lk. 9 1 Mk. 16 17 it is further said that both before and after his resurrection he gave authority to his disciples to cast out demons, and in **Mk. 16 17** (the address previous to his ascension) the great deeds which he prophesies are ascribed to the power of his name (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου). If Jesus Christ made it *a* condition of successful exorcism that it should be performed 'in his name,' he certainly did not mean the recitation of the name of Jesus as a spell. This however, was the procedure of the 'sons' or disciples' of a certain Jew of high rank at Ephesus (see SCEVA) according to the narrative in Acts **19** 13, who tried the plan (ἐπεχείρησαν) of using this potent name (cp Eph. 1 21) as a spell in preference to the strings of names of gods and demigods and angels which were common in exorcisms both in Asia Minor and elsewhere. What they are reported to have said was simple enough, and contrasts very favourably with the ordinary medley in Jewish and even sometimes Christian exorcising formulæ. It was this, 'I adjure you (ὁρκίζω, not ὁρκίζομεν) by Jesus whom Paul preaches.' Demons probably did not often address the exorcists in the tone adopted by the demon on this occasion. 'Jesus I recognise' (γιγνώσκω), he said, 'and Paul I know (ἐπίσταμαι); but who are ye?'

The passage stands in connection with a reference to certain miracles wrought by or through Paul which hardly come **up** to our expectations (see *2* Cor. 12 12). The narrative rightly assumes that Paul did perform wonderful deeds, but certainly imagines wrong ones; **it** is only 'accidental fancy's guardian sheath'[2] of a belief in Paul's thaumaturgic powers (cp Acts **5** 15). This juxtaposition is unfavourable to the historical accuracy of the account of the Jewish exorcists. Still, even if unhistorical, this account enables us to realise better the historical situation. Gal. **5** 20 and indirectly **2** Tim. **3** 13 show how prevalent magic was among the populations evangelised by Christ's disciples, and the whole paragraph, Acts **19** 13-20, gives a vivid, even if partly imaginary, picture of this. The works of Justin Martyr further illustrate what we may call the two contending types of exorcism. Unfortunately there is not much difference between these types. Justin (*Apol.* 2 45) says that 'by the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate' demons who resist all other exorcism are cast out. He does not deny that a Jew may perhaps successfully exorcise a demon in the name of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob (κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ 'Αβρ. κ.τ.λ.; *Dial.* **311** c.); but he says that Jewish exorcists as a class had sunk to the level of the superstitious exorcists of the heathen (*Apol.* 2 45 ***B*)**, and the stories in Josephus ***(Ant.*** viii. **2** 5 and *BJ* vii. **6** 3) seem to confirm this statement.

Josephus asserts that king Solomon left behind an account of the various forms of exorcism, and in connection with this relates the strange story of Eleazar's cure of certain demoniacs in the presence of Vespasian; he also says wonderful things respecting the herb Baaras. A book called the 'Testament of Solomon,' full of marvellous demonology, still exists; see M. R. James's paper in Guardian, 15th March **1899.**

It was an age of universal credulity; but the influence of the life of Jesus Christ tended to preserve the early Christians from the worst failings of their Jewish neighbours. Origen expressly says that not a few plain Christians (ἰδιῶται), without any acquaintance with magical formulæ, by prayer alone and simple adjurations (μόνῃ εὐχῇ καὶ ὁρκώσεσιν ἁπλουστέραις) had proved the power of Christ over the demons (c. *Cels.*

1 We. *Prol.*(4) 359 **n.**; Che. *OPs.* 31; Co. *Einl.*(3, 4) 61.

2 Ew., Di., Del. etc. Dr. thinks that the greater part of the song is Mosaic, thd expansion being limited to the closing verses.

3 Otmar, De Wette, Co., Wildeboer, Che., Ki.

1 The epithet περιερχόμενοι 'strolling' (Jews), suggests that they were little better than travelling mountebanks.

2 Browning, *Asolando.*

7 334). Babylonian and ecclesiastical formulæ of exorcism would he only indirectly illustrative, and need not be quoted.

See further, MAGIC, §§ 2 6, 4; Jastrow, *Rel. of Bad. and Ass.* 269-273; Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata* ('86); and cp DEMON, § 9, etc. T. K. C.

EXPIATION. The rendering of חטאת in Nu. 8 7 RV (AV 'water of expiation'), and of כפר ('to make expiation') in Nu. 35 33 Dt. 32 43. See SACRIFICE.

EYE. Dark, fiery eyes have always been to orientals an essential part of feminine beauty. An Arabian poet likens the glance of a beautiful woman to lightning from a heavy rain-cloud (*Ḥamāsa*, 558). Leah is less attractive than Rachel (Gen. 29 17), because she has 'lustreless eyes' (so Kautzsch; EV 'tender'; רַכּוֹת, *rakkōth*; ἀσθενεῖς). In Canticles, the eyes of bride and bridegroom alike are compared to doves (4 1 5 12; on 1 15 see Budde). The iris with the pupil is the dove; the 'water-brooks' spoken of in 5 12 (where the figure is developed) are the whites of the eyes. The doves which the poet has in his mind are probably rock-pigeons (cp Cant. 2 14); these are gray or blue with black bands. The lover considers his passion the effect of the bright eyes of his beloved (Cant. 4 9); compare the Arabian poem already referred to, where it is said that if an armed man met such a glance as the poet has met he would he wounded mortally as by an arrow.

The power of an 'evil eye' is not directly referred to. The 'evil eye' (ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός) of Mk. 7 22 (cp Mt. 20 15) means no doubt either niggardliness, or envy, or (cp Ps. 35 19) malicious joy at the misfortunes of another, or lustfulness (cp Mt. 5 28). The 'ogling' women in Is. 3 16 (מְשַׂקְּרוֹת, *m^esakkerōth*) certainly had evil eyes. So, too, when Saul 'eyed' David, it was not in order consciously to exert a baleful influence on the favourite of the people; it was the involuntary expression of his jealousy and ill-will. The use of amulets (לְחָשִׁים, *lěḥāšīm*), it is true, can hardly be doubted, and one of the chief objects of an amulet was to guard the wearer against an 'evil eye.' It was not, however, one of the aims of the biblical writers to contribute to Hebrew archaeology, and they and the editors of their works perhaps shrank from too much reference to popular superstitions. In Ecclus. 14 8-10 (RV) we have a full description of the 'evil eye,' in the sense of jealousy and ill-will,—

Evil is he that envieth with his eye,[1]
Turning away the face, and despising the souls [of men].
A covetous man's eye is not satisfied with his portion;
And wicked injustice drieth up his soul.
An evil eye is grudging of bread,
And he is miserly at his table.

According to Hatch,[2] 'evil eye' should rather be 'grudging eye,' and this is his striking rendering of Mt. 6 22 *f.*—

The lamp of the body is the eye.
If therefore thine eye he liberal,
Thy whole body shall be full of light,
But if thine eye be grudging,
Thy whole body shall be full of darkness.

The rendering 'liberal' for ἀγαθός is in accordance with EV's rendering of Prov. 22 9 'He that hath a bountiful eye (טוֹב־עַיִן, *tōbh 'ayin*) shall be blessed'; hut, as we have seen, it is not necessary to restrict the reference of an 'evil eye' to niggardliness. That fine passage Mt. 6 22 *f.*, is quite independent of the passages which precede and follow it; indeed the Sermon on the Mount cannot critically he said to form a rhetorical or literary whole. The 'evil eye' is really the 'harmful eye,' and the passage is a warning against a spirit of self-absorption, unfriendliness, harmfulness. We also read of 'eyes full of adultery' (2 Pet. 2 14) and of 'lofty'—*i.e.*, proud—eyes (Ps. 131 1 Prov. 6 17 30 13).

Painting the eyes, or rather the eyelids, is several times referred to. Jezebel 'painted her eyes' (lit. 'set her eyes in paint') in order to receive Jehu in full state (2 K. 9 30); AV unfortunately substitutes 'face.' The effect is strikingly described by Jeremiah: 'Though thou enlargest (Heb. 'rendest') thine eyes with paint' (Jer. 4 30 RV). Ezekiel, too, represents this as a part of the full feminine toilette (Ezek. 23 40); cp PAINT.

1 ὁ βασκαίνων ὀφθαλμῷ.

2 *Biblical Greek*, 80.

Prov. 6 25, however, 'Let her not take thee with her eyelids,' probably refers to a winking with the eyes to attract the attention.

'Eyelids' and 'eyes' can in fact be used synonymously. The expression 'Eyelids of the dawn' (if 'dawn' should not rather he read 'sun'[1]) in Job 3 9 41 10 [18] is surely only a poetical variation of 'eyes of the dawn'; and in Prov. 4 25 'let thine eyelids look straight before thee' is plainly synonymous with 'let thine eyes look right on.' We cannot, however, quite so easily account for these words of Ps. 11 4:

Yahwè is in his holy palace; Yahwè's throne is in heaven;
His eyes behold, his eyelids try, the sons of men.

It is improbable that even the 'eyes' could be said to 'try' the moral state of men; still less could the 'eyelids' he said to do so. We must therefore look closely into the text, which may not have been accurately transmitted. It is only a slight improvement to read in *l.* 2 with Baethgen,

His eyes behold [the world];[2] his eyelids try the sons of men;

for the difficulty connected with the word 'eyelids' still remains, nor has even Duhm grappled with it. After a consideration of all the points involved, we decide to read thus: עיניו נדכה תצפינה תחזינה בני אביון—*i.e.*, 'his eyes watch the crushed, they view the race of the poor.'

In the later literature the 'eye' or 'eyes' of God become the symbol of his providence and judicial watchfulness (Ps. 33 18 Prov. 15 3 Ezra 5 5). The same emblem suggests the beautiful words of Ps. 121 4 'Behold the keeper of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps,' side by side with which one may put the words of Dt. 32 10 'He guarded him [Israel] as the apple of his eye' (כְּאִישׁוֹן עֵינוֹ; the 'apple of the eye' being regarded as the most precious of possessions [see also Ps. 17 8 Prov. 7 2]). T. K. C.

EYE, DISEASES OF THE. Egyptian, Greek, and Brahmanical medical writings show the chief eye-diseases to have been ophthalmia (including all chronic effects to the lids, tear-ducts, etc., under the name of trachoma), cataract, and glaucoma.

1. General references.

There are niceties of diagnosis (*e.g.*, ripe and unripe cataract), as well as various treatments. Jewish references are as usual, meagre. The Bab. Talmud (*Shabbāth*, 108*b*-109*a*) heats sore eyes by applying wine, or fasting saliva (not on the Sabbath, unless to complete a cure begun the day before).

The biblical references are to the protection of the blind (Lev. 19 14 Dt. 27 18), or to persons or companies (Dt. 28 28 *f.*) struck blind as a punishment (cp Herod. 2 111), or to cures of blindness. The strict criticism of ancient references by Hirschberg (*Geschichtl. Reise eines Augenarztes*, Leips. 1890) warns us against measuring the ancient prevalence of ophthalmia (trachoma) by its present extent, which is enormous in Egypt, and considerable in other N. African countries and in Syria.

In Syria, Pruner (*Krank. des Orients*, 1847) found it most prevalent in all the coast towns, but also in Antioch and at Ḥoms and Baalbek. In Jerusalem there is now a charity specially for ophthalmic cases. See further P. J. Baldensperger, *PEFQ*, Apr. '99, p. 154.

The Jewish case most fully narrated is that of Tobit. The texts (especially Jerome's in Vulg.) differ so widely as to leave no doubt of variations and accretions in the telling of a folk tale. They agree that the malady was whiteness, λεύκωμα (albugo), *leucoma* being the third ancient degree of opacities of the cornea, of which the lesser were *macula* and *nubecula*.

2. Tobit.

It had lasted four years, according to most texts, seven in another, eight in another; Tobit is said to have heen fifty-eight when it began. The cause assigned, droppings of a bird, when

1 שחר miswritten for חרס (Che.). Note the Arabic phrase 'eyelids of the sun' (Ges. Thes. 1003 *a*).

2 Inserting לְחֶלֶד; 𝔊^U, Theodoret, and Syr. Hex: have εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην; the common text of 𝔊, however, gives εἰς τὸν πένητα, *i.e.*, נדכה, which in 9 10 10 18 74 21 is worn down into דך. See Che. *Ps.*(2) ad *loc.*; Duhm's criticism is tentative and unsatisfactory.

he was asleep out of doors, is merely a picturesque explanation of the whiteness; ophthalmia is the common cause. The leucomata are dwelt upon pathetically as an affliction incurred in doing a pions deed; actual or total blindness may be implied in Tobit's stumbling (11 10), hut is not expressly mentioned in all texts.

Opacities of the cornea interfere with vision in proportion to their central position opposite the pupil, their extent, density, kind of margins, presence in one or both eyes, etc. The whiteness is that of new scar-tissue, which is not homogeneous with the transparent tissue of the natural structure.

Saemisch ('Krankh. der Cornea,' *Handb.* 4 306) says that it is not rare to find a veryslow spontaneous clearing of recent corneal opacities, especially in children, but that all applications to dispel the opacity of old scars are useless; Beer, of Vienna (1847), claimed many good results in treating white flecks as distinguished from true scars.

There is a treatment which might pass popularly as an actual cure, especially in the many cases where the vision is only impaired—viz., to darken the white spots by a pigment so that they are no longer seen (as a blemish) against the black of the pupil or the coloured iris. The modern method is to tattoo the spot or spots with Indian ink. Hirsch *(Gesch.* ***der*** *Augenheilk.* 276) has found in Galen a treatment having the same object, viz., producing by a heated probe an eschar of the surface, rubbing in powder of oak-galls, and applying a weak solution of copper salt; the copper ink so made on the spot would sink into the white tissue and render it permanently dark. Tobit's cure was probably of the nature of pigmentation. See TOBIT.

The text does not claim a miracle, Raphael's aid being given through ordinary means; a radical cure by the medicinal action of gall (or anything else) is out of the question (Saemisch); and the actual removal or exfoliation of the white tissue, which the text may seem to claim, would only have resulted in leaving other white scars behind.

From a fish of the Tigris, perhaps a sturgeon, the heart, the liver (not in all texts), and the gall are to be taken and preserved (65: θὲς ἀσφαλῶς); it is probable, from the subsequent use of the two former to make a smoke with aromatics added, that they had been calcined to charcoal (6 16 8 2); the gall would keep only as evaporated and dried to a resinous mass, in which state it will keep for years.[1] The gall of a fresh-water fish (sturgeon) differs from ox-gall in having its bile-acid nearly all taurocholic and its alkaline base soda. Whilst Raphael is sent to cure both Tobit and his future daughter-in-law, and the materials for both cures are taken from the same fish, the gall alone is for the one, and the smoke of the heart and liver (probably calcined) for the other. The collocation of the text is so far snggestive, however, that one may read into it the omitted detail, viz., that the charcoal had been used with the gall to make a permanent pigment, as Indian ink may be made, and that the 'cure' had been of the same kind as that which is now effected by tattooing, the pigment having been applied either in that way or as in Galen's copper ink. (The καὶ δηχθεὶς διατρίψει, 'being pricked therewith, he shall rub,' of 11 8 may imply either needle puncture or a preliminary eschar.) It is said that fish-gall has been used in Persia in modern times to 'cure' corneal opacities (Bissell in Lange, *ad loc.*); but the folk-lore is again fragmentary, and the scientific explanation wanting.

3. In Gospels. The other cases of blindness cured are miraculous (Jn. 9 1 Mk. 8 22 Mt. 9 27, and the case or cases at Jericho in the Synoptics). In the first two use is made of saliva. in the third there is only the touch of' the hand, in the fourth only the word spoken (in two accounts). The use of fasting saliva (which is the more alkaline) for sore eyes occurs in all folk-lore, ancient and modern.

[1] Ox-gall is so prepared for the use of water-colour artists, its effect being to make an emulsion of the carbon particles of lead pencil and fix them in the tissue of the paper. The emulsifying effect of adding ox-gall to lamp black in water is easily shown in a watchglass, a serviceable sepia being produced. There is also a physiological experiment which shows that ox-gall added to oil causes it to soak through a moist animal membrane.

In the case at Alexandria given hy Tacitus *(Hist.* 4 81) Vespasian took the precaution to learn from his physician; whether the man who solicited the exercise of imperial virtue were actually a curable subject.

In the circumstantially narrated case of Jn. 9 1, the man was born blind. Strictly, that should mean some congenital defect of structure in the eyes, of which the varieties are many; but one who had suffered from ophthalmia at birth, and had retained the more or less serious effects of it, would be classed also as born blind.

4. Paul? The bodily infirmity of Paul, referred to by himself in Gal. 4 13-15, is best explained as an acute attack of ophthalmia. We may safely follow Weizsacker (*Ap. Zeit.* iii., 2, § 1) in assuming that he would not have written, 'ye would have dug out your own eyes to give to me,' had not his infirmity been of the eyes.[1] The compliment to the Galatians, that they 'neither set at naught nor abhorred my bodily trial' (πειρασμόν, which is commonly used for a temptation or volitional trial), implies some malady at once externally shown, and repulsive in its nature. Ophthalmia might well be repulsive—the eyes red, swollen, and rendering a whitish filmy matter, the tears overflowing, the eyelids blinking from the intolerance of light, and the face contorted by spasms of pain in the eyeballs and in the forehead and temples. All the while it is unattended by general fever (Pruner, *l.c.*). The medical diagnosis involves a point of grammar,—the use of διά in δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός. In poetry (see the Lexicons) it is used for duration—*e.g.*, διὰ νύκτα—and if it were allowable to give διά this sense in NT the text of Gal. 4 13 would have the intelligible meaning 'right through bodily infirmity I preached etc.,' which would also be in keeping with the apostle's known zeal. The diagnosis of an acute attack of ophthalmia, throughout which he had preached (as it was not impossible to do), would enable us to assume some permanent after-effect (trachoma), such as would explain the references to his 'weak' or contemptible 'presence,' and perhaps his inability to recognise the high priest (Acts 235). It is singular also that the σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί of 2 Cor. 127 is the same word that is nsed of eyes as tormented, in Nu. 3355 𝔊—σκόλοπες ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς.

For **Eyesalve,** Rev. 3 18 (κολλούριον), see MEDICINE.

C. C.

EZAR (אֵצֶר), 1 Ch. 138 AV, RV EZER (*q.v.*, i.).

EZBAI (אֶזְבָּי; αζωβαι [B], -ωβε [א], αζβι [A], ασβαηλ [L], 1 Ch. 11 37). A faulty reading. See PAARAI.

EZBON (אֶצְבּוֹן, Sam. אצבעון).

1. In genealogy of GAD, § 13; Gen. 46 16 (θασοβαν [AD], -μ [L]). In Nu. 26 16 the name has been corrupted to OZNI, and the family is knownas the OZNITES (הָ[אָזְנִי]; *v.* 25, αζενει [B*], -ανει [Bab], -αινι [AF], αζαν, ὁ αζανι [L]).

2. b. Bela in genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *a*); 1 Ch. 7 7 (ασεβων [BA], εσσε. [L]). See BELA ii., 2.

EZECHIAS, RV **Ezekias** (εζεκιας [A]), 1 Esd. 9 14 = Ezra 10 15, JAHAZIAH.

EZECIAS, RV **Ezekias** (εζεκιας [RA]). (1) 1 Esd. 9 43 = HILKIAH, 7. (2) Ecclus. 48 17, RV HEZEKIAH [1].

EZEKIEL (יְחֶזְקֵאל = יְחַזֵּק אֵל, 'El makes strong,' ιεζεκιηλ [BAQ], *EZECHIEL*), one of the four 'greater' prophets.

1. Training. The only trustworthy notice of Ezekiel from another writer is that in the editorial title to his prophecy (1 3), in which he is described (probably) as 'the priest, the son of Buzi.'

[1] [Lightfoot's final opinion is that the disease was epilepsy, a view held also by Krenkel and Schmiedel (*Gal.*, in *HC*). Ramsay (***Hist. Comm. on*** *Gal.* 422 *ff.*; cp *St.* ***Paul*** *the Traveller*, 97 *f.*) assents to all Lightfoot's conclusions except this final result, in place of which he proposes the view that Paul was afflicted by seizures of malarial fever, which, as the inscriptions show, was regarded in Asia Minor as due to the immediate action of God (cp 2 Cor. 127); its intermissions would have enabled him to preach from time to time and from place to place. Cp GALATIA, § 27.]

Here Buzi possibly points for the origin of the prophet's family to some district near N. Arabia, or to the region of Gad (see BUZ).[1] His priestly character comes out clearly enough in his book; he was, in fact, a member of that Zadokite clan which toward the close of the seventh century was on the point of getting complete control of the worship of Yahwè in Palestine (see ZADOK, 1); his whole tone is that of a man who belonged to the governing sacerdotal body.

The prophet's youth was probably spent in the temple at Jerusalem, where his education would consist chiefly in training in the ritual and moral law and in the history of his people; whether the priestly youth then received specific literary training, we do not know. The two chief educational influences of his time were doubtless the cultus-centralisation of Josiah (see ISRAEL, §§ 37 *ff.*) and the teaching of Jeremiah; Josiah's reform must have heightened the ***esprit de corps*** of the Jerusalem priestly college, and have paved the way for the complete organisation of the temple-ministers, the new law-book (contained in Deuteronomy) furnishing the starting-point for detailed codification; Jeremiah's teaching suggested broad prophetic views of the ethical-religious condition and needs of the nation. Ezekiel's writings show how greatly he was influenced by his older contemporary.

His home career was cut short in the year 597 by the Chaldean capture of Jerusalem and deportation of a large number of the people to Babylonia. In the account in Kings (2 K. 24 10-16) it is said that with king Jehoiachin and his household all the princes, warriors, and craftsmen were carried to Babylon. This statement cannot be taken literally, since it appears, from the book of Jeremiah, that a considerable number of princes and fighting men were in Jerusalem in Zedekiah's time; but no doubt the deportation included many of the best people (Jer. 52 28; cp ISRAEL, § 41). There is no mention, either in Kings or in the book of Ezekiel, of priests among the exiles. The omission may be accidental; Ezekiel at any rate was among those carried away. This appears from the fact that he dates his prophecies from the deportation of Jehoiachin (everywhere except in 1 1) and that he calls it 'our captivity' **(33 21).** Possibly he was singled out by Nebuchadrezzar as a chief man among the priests, or as the representative of a prominent priestly family, though he was certainly neither 'chief priest' nor 'second priest' (cp 2 K. 25 18).

2. Chronology. Ezekiel's age when he left Judæa can only be guessed at. His call to the prophetic office came in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (1 2), 592 B.C., when he was possibly about thirty years old.[2] In this case his birth-year would be approximately 622; he may, however, have been older.

The 'thirtieth year' of 1 1, given by him as the date of his prophetic call, cannot as the text stands, refer to his age (Origen); that would' be expressed in Hehrew differently (see Kings, *passim*). Nor was it the custom of the prophets or their editors to give the writer's age (*see* the prophetic books, *passim*); the epoch is always a political or a national one—the accession of a king, or an earthquake (Am. 1 1), or there is simply mention of the kings under whom the prophet prophesied. **In** Ezek. 1 1, then, the epoch is in all probability political or in some way national. The only event in Israelitish history of this date ***(622)*** is the introduction of the moral and ritual reform (Deuteronomy) by Josiah (2 K. 22). This **is** adopted by Targ. and Jerome. There is no reason, however, to suppose that it was a generally recognised epoch. Still less is there ground for taking the Jubilee year as the starting-point (*see* CHRONOLOGY, **§ 1**, end); it was, as far as we know, never ***so*** used except for land-transactions. For other explanations see Carpzov, *Introd.* The supposition of a Babylonian reckoning (Scaliger) is in itself not unnatural if we consider Ezekiel's fondness for Babylonian ideas and customs, and the fact that the Jews after a while adopted the Babylonian names of months (see MONTH, § 3). No appropriate Babylonian date, however, has yet been found; the era of Nabopolassar, if it be a real era, begins according to the Canon of Ptolemy in 625, not thirty but thirty-three years before 592. It **is** possible that the number thirty in Ezek. 1 1 is a very early corruption of 'five,' or, conceivably, the alteration of a scribe who wished to bring Ezekiel's *forty* (4 6) into accord with Jeremiah's *seventy* (Jer. 25 11), and therefore makes the prophet's writing begin in the thirtieth year of the captivity (see Duhm, Bertholet).[1] Cp CHRONOLOGY, § *1*, col. *774 f.*

We must leave the question unsettled till the Babylonian history and the Hebrew text have been cleared up. However this point may be decided, we may regard it as reasonably certain that the prophet's active career extended from the fifth to the twenty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity (29 17), 592-570 B.C.

3. Life. Ezekiel's life in Babylonia appears to have been outwardly quiet and comfortable. The captives were settled at Tel-abib on the river Kebar, not far from the city of Babylon (see CHEBAR, TEL-ARIB). They formed a separate community, had their elders (8 1), engaged in agriculture (Jer. 29 5-7), and were probably left undisturbed on condition of paying a tax to the Babylonian government (cp Wildeboer, *Letterkunde*, 206). Ezekiel was married, and had his own house (8 1); the death of his wife was made the occasion of a symbolical act of warning to the people (24 15-24); there seems no reason to doubt the reality of the procedure.

After his call as prophet his life was spent in the endeavour to open the eyes of the exiles to the significance of current events, to make them see what the captivity meant, and to what a future they were destined. He had to struggle against the moral and religious levity of the mass of the people (33 30-32), the torpor and idolatry even of the principal men (14 1-5), and the evil influence of the morally blind prophets and prophetesses (13). He was respected by the people as a predicter, and perhaps admired as an orator; but the moral side of his teaching was not generally comprehended (8 1 **14 1 33 32).** There was, however, a sympathetic kernel (20 33-38).

In his last years, when Jerusalem had been destroyed and the popular excitement of struggle and hope had given place to the quiet of acknowledged defeat, Ezekiel gave himself up to contemplation of the new organisation of the nation, to whose speedy return to its land he ardently looked forward (chaps. 40-48). This is the only indication of development of thought in his prophetic career; he began as denouncer, he ended as consoler and organiser of his people. The turning-point in his work was the destruction of Jerusalem; the worst accomplished, he set himself to build up. This general unity of thought may suggest that he was already a mature man when he began his prophetic work. When and how he died we do not know.[2]

4. Historical place. Ezekiel is a particularly interesting and important figure in the history of the OT religion, for the reason that he represents the transition from the prophetic to the priestly period. Both a prophet and a priest, he sympathised with, and did justice to, both-tendencies of thought. In this respect he differs from Jeremiah, who, though a priest, felt little interest in the ritual. Ezekiel, as prophet, was alive to the dependence of the people on the immediate word of God, to the necessity, that is, of a constant living contact between the mind of God and the mind of man; but, as priest, he also saw that the people had reached a stage which demanded a more precise formulation of the law of worship. He lived on the verge of a great religious revolution—the abolition, namely, of idolatry, and the establishment of the sole

[1] Whether the Ezekiel mentioned in 1 Ch. **24 16** has any connection with **our** prophet is uncertain (see JEHEZEKEL).

[2] Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7 3) says that he was a boy when he was carried away; **but this** is either **a** guess, or an unsupported tradition.

[1] It is clear that the editor who inserted ***v.* 2 *f.*** thought that the datum in *v.* 1 required explanation. Cornill prefers to regard *v.* 1 as a scribe's addition; but the use of the 1st pers. in *vv.* 1 4, and the obviously explanatory. tone of ***v.* 2 *f.*,** make the supposition improbable.

[2] For traditions **of** his genealogy, miracles, tomb, etc., see Pseudo-Epiphan. *De vit. proph.*; Benj. **of** Tudela, *Itin.*; Carpzov, *Introd.*; Hamburger, ***RE.***

worship of Yahwè in Israel. The religious leaders of Josiahs time, both priests and prophets, had with true insight insisted on the necessity of centralising the worship at Jerusalem in order to destroy the corrupt local cults. Ezekiel carries on the fight for ethical monotheism, not only by denouncing the worship of other gods than Yahwè as the source of the national misfortunes, hut also, more effectively, by furthering that strict organisation of the cultus which alone could train the people to the purer worship of the one God of Israel.

It would perhaps be going too far to say that Ezekiel saw the full historical significance of the principles which he maintained, or that he was wholly uninfluenced by desire to increase the importance and power of his order; but it is fair to assume that, as a man of genius, he saw both the evil of his time and its remedy. He thus paved the way for the next great movement of Israelitish society. He was the last of the prophets—prophetism accomplished its work in securing substantially the victory of monotheism. The writers who are massed under the name of the Second Isaiah are seers rather than prophets, and the post-exilian prophetic hooks are only the last strains of an expiring impulse, without the spontaneity and power of their predecessors, and largely dominated by the priestly spirit. Ezekiel is both true prophet and true priest, and harmonises the two vocations; in insisting on the ritual he does not cease to he a preacher of righteousness, and he thus enables **us** to see that the priestly period is not antagonistic to, hut only the continuation of, the prophetic period.

5. Character style.

Ezekiel seems to have been a bold, determined man, well fitted to deal with the humours of an obstinate people (**34-11**), showing no tenderness for his nation (his only exhibition of tender feeling is on the occasion of his wife's death, **24 16**), vigorous and strong in word and deed (**32 6** 14 1-3 21 20 [25] and the play on his name in 3 8 *f.*), lacking in fineness and discrimination. His favourite designation of himself as 'son of man' (**2 1** and *passim*) is intended to mark his sense of his own insignificance in the presence of the divine majesty, and, because he regarded himself as simply the mouthpiece of God, he was unflinching before men. He seems, however, to have been profoundly discouraged at the outset; for six years he did not speak in public, and at a later time he interpreted his silence as the result of a divine command (**3 26**).

Ezekiel's literary style resembles his character—it is rich and vigorous, hut lacking in simplicity and grace; he produces striking effects by the heaping up of particulars (16 20 23 27 29 etc.) and is especially powerful in denunciation (26 31 *f.* etc.). His imagination is impetuous and titanic, hut unchastened. There is great variety in the form of his presentation: he abounds in vision, parable, and allegory, has some of the finest examples of the Hebrew *Ḳīnā* ('lamentation,' see LAMENTATION), and is fond of geographical detail. He has preserved several mythic figures. Some of his discourses certainly were written, not pronounced (3 26). They all give evidence of careful literary composition; in him the old prophetic oratory is rapidly disappearing.

Ezekiel shows a marked friendliness toward Babylonia. He is the staunch advocate of Nebuchsdrezzar (notwithstanding the king's idolatry) against Israel, Egypt, and Tyre. He borrows imagery (the cherub) from Babylonian architecture, and literary (and probably geographical) material from Babylonian hooks or men. It is not unlikely that his great scheme of temple-organisation was influenced by what he saw around him in Babylonia. and he possibly began the adoption of a part of the Babylonian material which **is** now found in Gen. 1-11.

C. H. T.

EZEKIEL (BOOK)

1. Authorship and date.

Ezekiel's prophecies have come down to **us** in a relatively good state of preservation. They contain scribes' errors and expansions, and were probably revised by the prophet in his later years; hut there is no good reason to doubt that the hook is from his pen. On this point no important doubts were expressed before the present century.[1]

Zunz (*Gottesd. Vortr.* 1832; *ZDMG*, 1873) places the work in the Persian period (in the 5th century B.C.) on the ground of the non-mention of Ezekiel by Jeremiah, its non-prophetic specific predictions (Zedekiah [12 12 *f.*], Zerubbabel [17 22 *ff.*)], the improbability of a prophet's drawing up a new constitution (**40-48**) soon after the destruction of the temple, the existence of material belonging to the post-exilic period (treatment of angels, 9 *f.*; mention of the late non-Jewish personages Noah, Daniel, Job; use of the name 'Persia'), imitation of Jeremiah, employ. ment of the era of the exile, linguistic resemblances to Job and later hooks, use of Pentateuch words, and Aramaisms.[2]

These and similar considerations are by no means decisive. The nature of Hebrew prophetic and historical writing makes the silence of Jeremiah intelligible (Jeremiah himself is not mentioned in Kings), and Ezekiel was perhaps little known in Jerusalem in Jeremiah's time; the reference to Zedekiahs blindness is not dated and may have been inserted in the revision, and Zerubbabel is not mentioned; only before the Second Temple could such a constitution as Ezekiel's have been drawn up; the angels in chap. 9 (if the personages **in** *v.* 2 he **so** considered) act much as those of Zechariah sixty years later; Noah, Daniel, and Job were doubtless old-Israelitish heroes of tradition; the name 'Persia' may have been known in Babylonia in Nebuchadrezzar's time, though it is doubtful whether Ezekiel's *Paras* is our Persia (see PARAS); and the vocabulary of the book of Ezekiel does not differ from that of Jeremiah more than the different surroundings of the two men may naturally account for.[3] The Aramaisms are probably due to later scribes. On the other hand, the general tone of the book is different from that of the post-exilic prophets and particularly from that of Daniel—it has nothing in common with them hut an incipient apocalypse: Israel is struggling with idolatry, is to he chastised and purified, is in definite historical relations with certain nations. The religious and political situations are the same in Ezekiel as in Jeremiah.

2. Supposed revision.

Some peculiarities of form and expression in the book are most easily explained by the supposition that the prophet in his last years revised his discourses, making alterations and additions suggested by subsequent events.

It is distinctly stated that the section 29 17-20 is such an addition. It is not impossible that the whole of the first part

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1 On the Talmudic tradition (*Bab. Bathr.* 14 *b*) that 'the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel' (where 'wrote' may hint at editorial work by later scholars), see CANON, § 19 *f.*

2 Zunz's arguments are repeated, with additions, by others. Seinecke (*GVI*, **1876**) fixes the date of the book at **164** B.C. on the ground of imitation of Daniel ('Son of man'), and from the 430 (390+40) of Ezek. **4**, which he reckons onward from 594 (5th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin). The 390 of MT is, however, to be corrected, after 𝔊, to 190. Geiger (*Urschr.* p. **23**, and *Nachgelass. Schr.* 2 83) adopts Zunz's conclusions. M. Vernes (*Du prétend. polyth. des Hebr.*), exaggerating the arguments of Reuss, regards our book as a collection of fragments edited about 200 B.C. E. Havet (*La modernité des proph.*) identifies **Gog** with the Parthians, **40** B.C., and thinks that chaps. **40-48** were composed at the time when Herod conceived the plan of reconstructing the temple. Chaps. **38 *f.*** are assigned by Wi. (*AOF* **2** 160 *ff.*) to B.C. 334.333, and 27 9*b*-25*a* is considered by Manchot (*JPT* **14** 423 *ff.*) and Bertholet (*Hesek.*) to be an interpolation.

3 On the vocabulary of Ezekiel see Zunz (*op. cit.*), Smend (*Ezechiel*), Delitzsch (in the Baer-Delitzsch ed. of the Heb. text), Driver (*Introd.*).

(chaps. 1-24, which precedes the fall. of the city) is coloured by the (later acquired) knowledge of the capture of Jerusalem, though the general announcements of impending destruction (chaps. 4-7 12 etc.) may be simply proofs of the prophet's wise reading of the signs of the times. Specific predictions, as in 12 13 24 2, may he regarded as later insertions.

The unity of style may suggest a complete final revision.

The section above referred to, 29 17-20 (which recognises error in the preceding prediction, 26 12), shows, however, that the prophet was not greatly concerned to remove discrepancies from his text (Cornill), else he would have erased 26 12. How much of the earlier matter (chaps. 1-24) was spoken or written, it is difficult to say. The prophet declares that he was dumb from his call till the reception of the news of the capture of the city (3 26 *f.* 33 22), yet he is also said to speak to the captives (11 25 215 [20 49] 33 30 *f.*). The 'dumbness' may mean that he did not address the people in public, hut confined himself to conversation or discourse in his own house.

Ezekiel may have written notes of his discourses and afterwards expanded them. It is not necessary to suppose that he was very highly esteemed before the fall of the city; with his greater fame and authority in his later years would come the occasion of careful literary revision. There seems no necessity to suppose thgt he really composed the book at the end of his life (Reuss, Kuenen). Whether the dates given to the various groups of predictions are trustworthy is disputed (Kuenen).

Some of the inscriptions in MT are clearly scribes' errors. Kuenen observes that chap. 17 cannot belong to the sixth year of Zedekiah (such is the date given in 8 1) since Zedekiah had not then revolted, and that the reference to Egypt is not borne out hy Jer. 27 3. This remark is pertinent if the date given at 8 1 be held to reach to the next mention of date (20 1); and if the date does not go on, then chap. 17 and other sections must be regarded as undated. Kuenen would take the inscriptions as merely a setting inserted long afterwards by the prophet.

It is perhaps better to say that they represent a real chronology, but have suffered from scribal and other errors.

3. The visions.

Most of Ezekiel's visions seem to be without the definite psychological basis which may be recognised in such experiences as those of Amos 7 1-8. The pictures given in chaps. 1 8-10 40-48 are too elaborate for a moment of ecstasy—they are, in their present form, the product of careful study and composition, based on Is. 6, on the prophet's knowledge of the Jerusalem temple, and on Babylonian monuments. Ezekiel in these cases used the vision as a mere literary form. For this reason doubt must attach also to the psychological reality of the vision of dry bones (chap. 37), though this falls more nearly in the region of possibility. It seems impossible to decide whether all the symbolical actions described by him were really performed. Some (12 1-7, going into exile, and 24 18, behaviour on the death of his wife) are simple enough for performance; that of 4 1-8 (siege of Jerusalem) presents serious difficulties (see the commentaries).[1]

4. Text.

The MT is in bad condition. It is full of scribes' changes and additions, and is in some places unintelligible.

Examples are chap. 1 (which must be compared with and corrected by 10) 4 5 9 (390 for 190) 7 1-4, doublet of 7 5-9, 12 1-10 13 20 19 21 8-17 24 1-13 26 17 *f.* 27 23 11-16 32 17-32 39 11-16 40-48 and many other passages.

For the correction of the text the most important instrument is 𝔊, which, though itself abounding in errors, often offers or suggests the true reading. The Pesh. and Vg. are of less use, and the Targum is almost worthless for text-criticism. The other versions (Copt., Ethiop., Arab.) have some value for the establishment of the Greek and Syriac texts. For an excellent account of the versions see Cornill, *Ezechiel.*

One reason for the thoroughgoing revision which late Hebrew scribes made of the text of this book is probably to be found in the boldness of Ezekiel's expressions, which, it was felt, needed to be toned down or explained; and there is, in addition, the general tendency of scribes to modify a much-read book in accordance with the ideas of their own times. The corruption of the text, however, while it obscures certain passages, does not affect the general thought of the book.

[1] On the conjecture that Ezekiel was subject to epileptic attacks see Klostermann, in *St. Kr.*, 1377; but cp Valeton, *Viertal Voorl.*, and Kuenen, *Onderz.*

5. Admission to Canon.

The book of Ezekiel was no doubt canonised along with the other prophetical books (see Ecclus. 49 3 and cp the prologue) when the second canon was made up (probably in the 3rd century B.C.; see CANON, §§ 39 *ff.*), and its canonical authority has since been generally recognised by Jews and Christians. It is not directly quoted in the NT, but its imagery and its picture of the future are in part adopted in the Apocalypse (Rev. 4 2 *f.* 6 5 20 3 21 12 *f.* 16 22 1 *f.*). It did not, however, in early times entirely escape suspicion.

When in the first century of our era the necessity of fixing the canon led to a severe examination of the traditionally sacred books the attention of Jewish scholars was directed to the obscurity and apparent mysteriousness of Ezekiel's opening[1] and closing sections (chap. 1, called *markābā* 'the chariot,' and 40-48), and these, as we learn from Jerome (Pref. letter to his Comm. on Ezek), it was forbidden the Jewish youth to read till they reached the age of thirty years. More serious difficulty was occasioned by the discrepancies between Ezekiel's ritual scheme (chaps. 40-48) and that of the Pentateuch (*Mĕnăch.* 45 *a*); but these were satisfactorily explained it is said (*Shab.* 13 6 *Hag.* 13 *a*), by a certain Hananiah, who appears to have lived in the first half of the first century of our era.

Doubtless it was felt that difficulties of the kind just mentioned must not be allowed to set aside the strong evidence for Ezekiel's prophetic authority.[2]

6. Dependence on Jeremiah.

Ezekiel shows many points of contact with Jeremiah. This is probably in part the result of identity of surroundings and education; but there seems also to be direct dependence. Ezekiel may well have been a hearer of Jeremiah in his youth, and have seen his writings or heard of his discourses after the deportation to Babylonia. He has in fact expanded certain of Jeremiah's texts; possibly, however, the two prophets borrowed from a common source.

Cp. E. 3 3 J. 15 16, E. 3 17 J. 6 17, E. 7 14 27 J. 4 5-9, E. 13 J. 14 13-16, E. 13 10 J. 6 14, E. 16 51 J. 3 11, E. 18 J. 31 29 *f.*, E. 20 J. 11 3-8, E. 24 16-23 J. 16 3-9, E. 29-31 J. 46, E. 34 J. 23 1-4, E. 36 26 J. 24 7, E. 37 24 J. 30 9, E. 35 15 J. 6 22.

7. Politics and ethics.

Contents of the book.—The central thought of the book is that Jerusalem (which at this time substantially comprised the nation in Judæa) was hopelessly bad and doomed to destruction, and that the future of the people lay with the exiles in Babylon. This view (which was held by Jeremiah also) had a double basis, political and moral-religious. Politically, the two great prophets held that it was insane folly to oppose Babylon, and, in fact, it may seem to us absurd in a city like Jerusalem to defy the conqueror of Western Asia. A similar position was taken by the party which, in the siege by Titus, counselled submission to the Romans; and the conduct of Jeremiah in this regard was not different from that of Josephus. The princes of Ezekiel's time took the same position as the Zealots of the Roman siege. In both cases the war-party denounced the advocates of submission as traitors: Jeremiah suffered for his opinion, Ezekiel was too far off to be assailed,—more precisely, it does not appear from his book that the exiles took sides with one or the other party. At this distance of time it is hard to judge of the situation. The war-sentiment may have been really patriotic, and, considering the strength of Jerusalem (it had successfully resisted Sennacherib, 2 K. 19 36), not necessarily mad, and it may be doubted whether the prophet is justified (17 16) in regarding Zedekiah as a traitor.

As to the moral and religious side, there was, no doubt,

[1] Chap. 1 furnished part of the machinery of the Kabbālah.

[2] The statement of Josephns (*Ant.* x. 5 1) that Ezekiel wrote two books may be based on a division of the present work into parts (1-39 and 40-48, or 25-32 may have been a separate book), or may possibly refer to an apocryphal work. The citations in Clem. Al. (*Pæd.* 1 10) and Tertullian (*De Carne Christi*) point perhaps to an apocryphal Ezekiel-book, or to some collection of the sayings of the prophets. See Fabric. *Pseudep.*; Carpzov, *Introd.*; Wildehoer, *Letterkunde.*

ground for the dark picture of the city drawn by the prophets, though it is not to be inferred that Jerusalem was worse than other cities. From Amos downwards the prophets had held that the idolatry and the moral depravity of the people must call down punishment from the righteous God of Israel. In Ezekiel's time a catastrophe was plainly imminent—it was looked on as the retributive dispensation of YahwB. In that case, the withdrawal of a part of the people, their safe establishment in the conqueror's land, was to be regarded as an act of mercy—from this saved remnant would come the renewed nation whose future was held to be guaranteed by the promise of YahwB. Such is Ezekiel's position. Yet in the morally dull body of exiles around him he found much to condemn, and he therefore expected a sifting of this mass before the return to Canaan (20 37 *f.*). Apart from this particular view his aim is the establishment of moral and religious purity in the nation.

8. Division of book. The book may be divided into two parts : the body of prophetic discourses (1-39), and the new constitution (40-48); or into the minatory **(1-32)** and the consolatory **(33-48).**

If we omit chaps. 40-48 the discourses fall into three divisions : (i.) those delivered np to the beginning of the siege (1-24) ; (ii.) those directed against foreign nations, apparently while the siege was going on (25-32) ; and (iii.) the consolatory pictures of the future (33-39).

9. Chaps. 1-24. i. The first of these groups is (a few sentences excepted) wholly minatory. We have first, as general introduction, the history of the prophet's call **(1-3).** There is a magnificent theophany.

Yahwk appears seated on a celestial chariot-throne, which **is** supported and moved by four creatures, each with four wings and four faces (man, lion, ox, eagle), the whole surrounded by a rainbow-like brightness ; the composite creatures (called cherubs in chap. 10), probably partly of Babylonian origin or suggested by Babylonian forms (a survival of primitive beast-worship) here symbolise the completeness of the divine attributes ; the whole appearance sets forth the majesty of Yahwb, and its presence in Babylonia is intended to indicate that the God of Israel had now taken up his abode in Babylonia with the exiles.

From the mouth of God the prophet receives his commission to act as moral and religious guide of the people.

His message is symbolised by **a** book-roll which he is ordered to eat **(2 1-3 21)** ; and, in view of the moral dulness of the exiles (cp Is. 6 **7 10**), he is further commanded to be dumb, that is, not to address the people orally (3 22-27) till permission shall be given him to speak (see **24 27 33 22)** ; his discourses were to be written, but not delivered.[1]

His prophetic work begins with a series of symbolical actions (4 1-5 4), in which are dramatically represented the siege of the city, the famine, and the destruction or dispersion of its inhabitants ; in the following discourse against Jerusalem (5 5-17) this threat is stated and explained in literal terms. Similar pimishment *is* predicted (6) for the mountains of Israel, with special reference to the rural idolatry, and a passionate denunciation (7) closes with the declaration that Yahwè will abandon the land to its enemies.

At this point the discourses are interrupted by a theophanic vision the object of which is to set forth clearly the fact that Yahwè no longer dwelt in his temple at Jerusalem, but had withdrawn himself so that it might be given over to destruction.

First comes **(8)** a striking picture (in vision) of the idolatrous cults of Jerusalem, including the worship of the image of jealousy (see IDOL, §§ 1 (c), 5), of Adonis (see TAMMUZ), and of the sun, this last cult being probably of Assyrian origin (in *v.* 17, instead of 'they put the branch to their nose' read 'they are a stench in my nostrils') ; then follows the vision of the smiting of the city (9); the prophet, or perhaps a scribe, here pauses **(10)** in order to identify the creatures of chap. **1** with cherubs (the text of the chapter is corrupt and difficult), the purpose being to point out that the divine presence of the vision was identical with that of the inner shrine of the temple ; and the vision closes **(11)** with a denunciation of the war-party in the city (*vv.* 1-13) and a promise of restoration to the exiles (*vv.* 14-25).

With chap. 12 the minatory predictions are resumed.

The prophet represents in symbols the exile of the people and the king (*vv.* 1-16), and the famine of the siege (*uv.* 17-20), and adds the assurance that the fulfilment of the threat is near at hand (*vv.* 21-28). Next comes a denunciation **(13)** of the prophets and prophetesses who divined for pay without regard to moral-religious principle, speaking false words of comfort to the people. To certain elders of Israel the prophet declares that idolaters and deceived prophets (men deceived by Yahwè himself) shall be destroyed (cp Dt. **13 1-5** [2-6]) ; and that good men in an evil land shall save only themselves by their righteousness **(14)** —that is, there is no hope for Jerusalem. After comparing Jerusaleni to a worthless wild vine (15), the prophet in an elabrrate and striking allegory (16), an historical review. describes the city as an unfaithful wife, worse than Samaria and Sodom, yet ultimately to he united with them in the fear of Yahwk; the crime of Sodom is said to be pride. This city, which he here in imagination exhumes, seems to represent for him the southern region, which had natural connections with Judah. He adds a denunciation of what he calls the treachery of king Zedekiah in turning from Babylon to Egypt, and appends a promise of national restoration (17). In connection with this promise, in order that the exiles may not he deceived by false expectations, he declares, against the popular notion of the moral solidarity of the family that they shall be judged individually, each man standing or 'falling for himself (18 ; cp Jer. 31 29 *f.* Dt. **24 16**). **A** couple of laments follow (19), one **for** kings Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin, the other for the nation, after which comes a remarkable review of the national history (Heb. 20, EV 20 **1-44),** the prophet making the charge that from the beginning Israel had been rebellious (a different view in Hos. 2 17 [15] Jer. 2 2).[1] **As** theendapproaches, hiswordsbecome fiercer : a prediction of the desolation of Judah and Jerusalem (Heb. **21 1-12,** EV 20 45-21 7), a dithyrambic (textually corrupt) ode of the avenging sword (Heb. **21 13-22,** EV 21 8-17), a description of the march of the king of Babylon to Jerusalem, and the overthrow of Zedekiah (Heb. **21 23-32,** EV **21 18-27**), with an appended prediction of the destruction of the Ammonites who had gloried over Israel (Heb. 21 **33-37,** EV **21 28-32**), and **a** detailed indictment of Jerusalem for her moral and religious crimes (22), the ethical and ritual being curiously mingled. A second elaborate allegory **(23)** describes the religious debauchery of Samaria and Jerusalem; the careers of the two cities are represented as parallel, only Jerusalem is said to have excelled her sister in evil (a proof that the prophet saw no great difference between the religious constitutions of the northern and southern kingdoms). Finally he announces (24) that the king of Babylon has begun the siege of Jerusalem, and sings **a** song of vengeance on the city; at this juncture his wife dies, and he is commanded **as a** sign, to make no mourning for her—so shall the people'; terrible punishment crush them into deadness of feeling.

10. Chaps. 25-32 : Foreign nations. Here comes a pause. The prophet is waiting for the news of the fall of the city, and in this interval is placed the second group.

ii. The prophecies against foreign nations (25-32).

Whether these were all (except **29** 17-20) uttered at this time (as the prefixed dates declare), or were merely here massed for convenience of arrangement, we have no means of determining (see Kuenen, *Onderz.*(2) ii., § 62). We may compare the arrangements of similar prophecies in Isa. and Jer. (MT and 𝔊) ; it is perhaps intended to represent the humiliation of foreign nations as a natural antecedent to the exaltation of Israel (cp **35).**

First to be dealt with are the Palestinian peoples—Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Philistines—(25, in ***v.8*** omit 'and Seir'). The charge against them is purely political—hostility to Israel—and they are all threatened with destruction. The prophet speaks not from an ethical but from a simply national point of view, there being no reason to suppose that these peoples were morally inferior to the Babylonians or the Israelites.

11. Tyre. Next comes one of the most splendid passages of the Old Testament, the prophecy against Tyre (26 1-28 19), consisting of several discourses.

The ground of Ezekiel's fierce hatred of the great city is not clear—hardly commercial rivalry, as 26 2 has been understood to say, for Jerusalem had no great commercial ambition. A partial explanation is perhaps given in Jer. 27 1-11, in which Tyre, along with other

[1] The section **3 22-27** may be **a** late addition by the prophet, **a** summing-up of his experiences as preacher ; but this supposition **is** not necessary.

[1] Hosea and Jeremiah follow a tradition (not in accordance with the present Pentateuch narrative) which represents Israel as obedient in the wilderness (a sort of Golden Age). Jer. (2 7) makes the defection begin with the entrance into Canaan. Ezekiel **(16** ***20)*** takes a unitary view of the history; he finds the explanation of the nation's present hardness of heart in the fact that it had heen rebellious from the beginning (cp. **Acts** 7 **51).**

powers, appears as trying to entice Zedekiah into a revolt against Babylon—a heinous crime in the eyes of both Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The point of view of these prophets was a twofold one; on the one hand, they thought submission to Babylon the condition of peace for Judah (Jer. 27 11); but, on the other hand, they held the destruction of the existing Judæan régime to be necessary for the national future of prosperity—and revolt was the necessary antecedent to this destruction. How they harmonised these two points of view does not appear. A more general explanation of Ezekiel's position is that he regarded the rich and splendid Tyre as embodying an anti-Yahwistic cult and an anti-Israelitish civilisation, dangerously seductive for Judah; a central prophetic principle was the untainted development of the native civilisation. We should naturally suppose that Babylon would be thought equally dangerous. It was not so. Babylon is only honoured and defended, and the reason of this is that every other consideration was swallowed up in the conviction that Nebuchadrezzar was the only hope of deliverance from the present evil. A few years later (Is. 47 1) the circumstances changed, and with them the tone of the prophets toward Babylon.

Ezekiel first describes the siege and capture of Tyre (26; cp 29 17-20), introducing an exquisite little *kīnā* or lament (*v.* 17 *f.*). On this follows the historically valuable description of the Tyrian commerce (27), the text of which is unfortunately in very had condition.[1] Turning to the prince of Tyre (28), the prophet first taunts him for his inordinate pride, and predicts for him a shameful death (*vv.* 1-10), then represents him as having dwelt in the divine garden of Eden, under the protection of the cherub (so the Heb. text must be corrected), whence he was expelled for his pride. We apparently have here the Babylonian Eden-story, out of which that of Gen. 2 *f.* was shaped by monotheistic transformation (see CHERUB, 5 2). A prediction of destruction against Sidon is added, with a word of promise to Israel (28 20-26).

12. Egypt. The next section (29-32) is devoted to Egypt, which, like Tyre, was an anti-Yahwistic power (opposed by the prophets from Hosea onwards) and an enemy of Babylon. The coming desolation of the land is described, with promise of partial restoration, yet so that it should never again be a powerful kingdom (29 1-16),—a prediction which was literally fulfilled; and it is added that Egypt should compensate Nebuchadrezzar for his ill-success with Tyre (29 17-20), which he may have captured (on this point we have not certain information), but certainly did not spoil (for early explanations see Jos. *Ant.* x. 11 1, *Cont. Ap.* 1 21, and Jerome on this passage of Ezekiel). Here again the prophet interjects a word of hope for his people (29 21).

The picture of desolation is repeated in the next discourse (30) with interesting geographical details. The king is then represented (31) as a noble tree destined to be felled (in *v.* 3, read: 'behold, there was a cedar in Lebanon,' etc.), and as the Nile monster at whose death darkness shall cover the land (32 1-16; but see DRAGON, §§ 1 4). Finally, in an eloquent discourse (32 17-32) the Pharaoh is brought down to Shĕōl, where he lies among the outcasts, those who had not received burial rites.

13. Chaps. 33-39. Turning now to Israel, after having announced the destruction of external enemies, the prophet proceeds to give a new picture.

iii. The new subject is the future restoration; the occasion is the reception of the news of the fall of the city (33).

First comes a repetition of Ezekiel's commission as watchman (33 1-9 = 3 17-21) and of the principle of individual retribution (*vv.* 10-20 = 18); this latter is for the encouragement of the exiles who were oppressed by the fear that they were doomed to destruction on account of their sins (*v.* 10), against which the prophet declares (looking to the return) that repentance will save them. When the news comes from the city, he points out the moral necessity of the desolation of the land, and deplores the levity of the exiles.

The first consolatory discourse (34) denounces under the figure of a flock the negligence and rapacity of the Judean leaders, and promises the people safe abode in a fruitful land united under a king of the Davidic dynasty (this was the natural expectation of the time, though the circumstances of the return made it impossible). The national feeling of the time comes out curiously in the appended announcement of the desolation of Edom (35)—the destruction of Israel's hostile and hated neighbour was held to be an essential feature of the restoration.

Next is promised a blessing on the soil (36)—the land should suffer no more under the evil renown of famine—Yahwè for his own sake would restore them; for their unfaithfulness to him (worship of other gods) he had scattered them, and had thus lost honour among the nations, being seemingly unable to provide for his own people—now he would show his power, his name should be accordingly revered among the nations, and he would give his people a new spirit of obedience which should save them from idolatrous defection.

The prophet goes on (37) to depict the national restoration under the figure of revivified dry bones (*vv.* 1-14), and the everlasting union of the two branches of the nation, Judah and Ephraim, by the uniting of two pieces of wood into one piece (*vv.* 15-28).

The concluding discourse (38 3) is a semi-apocalyptic picture of invasion and victory. At that time (*circa* 580) the Scythians had overrun north-western Asia, and an invasion of the Mediterranean coast might seem certain—this the prophet regarded as the last trial of Israel, ushering in the era of unclouded prosperity.[1] Ezekiel first describes (38) the mustering of the forces of GOG (by command of Yahwè, *vv.* 4-8, according to the correct translation), their attack on Israel (*vv.* 9-77) and their overthrow (*vv.* 18-23), whereby Yahwè's power should be made known to many peoples. The defeat is then described in detail (39); the land should be filled with their weapons and corpses, their dead should all be buried in the valley of 'Abārīm, in the mountains of Moab, E. of the Dead Sea (*v.* 11, emended text), the event should be a lesson to the nations, and for Israel there should be no more captivity.

14. Chaps. 40-48. iv. The last series of discourses (40-48) belongs to the picture of restoration; but by its character it separates itself from the rest of the book. It is the constitution of the reconstructed state, the temple service being the central feature. Ezekiel spends no time on the political and moral sides of the national life—these both were fixed by tradition; he is concerned with the ordering of the public rites of religion, in which he sees possibilities of reform, his special point being to destroy the old royal control of the cultus, and make temple and temple-ministers absolutely independent.

He gives first a plan of the new temple (40-42), apparently a reproduction of the temple of Solomon (1 K. 6 *f.* 2 Ch. 3 *f.*), with the details of which he, as priest, would be familiar; the text is, unfortunately, very corrupt. The vision of the Kebar here reappears (43 1-9), the glory of Yahwè fills the temple (*vv.* 1-5), returning after having abandoned the old temple (8-10); and the royal practice of building sepulchres by the temple (natural when this was a royal chapel) is forbidden (43 6-9). The divinely given form of the temple and its service is declared to be the essence of public religion (*vv.* 10-12), and the altar and its consecrated offerings are described (*vv.* 13-27). After mentioning the peculiar use of the eastern outer gate (44 1-3) the prophet announces that the idolatrous priests of the rural shrines are degraded to the rank of subordinate non-sacerdotal ministers (henceforth known distinctively as 'Levites'),[2] and gives the law of the priests proper (*vv.* 4-31). A sacred territory is then marked off (45 1-5) in the middle of the land, 25,000 by 20,000 cubits (about 7) by 6 miles or 12 by 10 kilometres) for temple, priests, and Levites; south of this is the city (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles or $2\frac{1}{4}$ kilometres square, with territory on the E. and the W.), and on the E. and W. sides the domain of the prince. Various prescriptions follow: the oblations to be furnished by the people to the prince, and by him to the temple (45 9-17), the offering for cleansing the sanctuary (*vv.* 18-20), and for the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles (*vv.* 21-25), the function of the prince in the public service (46 1-15; in *v.* 13 *f.* read 'he' for 'thou'), the prince's control of his own property (reference to the *dĕrōr* or Jubilee-law) (*vv.* 16-18), places for boiling and baking the offerings (*vv.* 19-24). Further, the blot on the land, the sterility of the Dead Sea, is to be removed; the prophet (47 1-12) sees a stream issue from the eastern front of the temple; it runs into the sea, whose waters are then healed and abound in fish (only certain marshes remain for the production of salt); on the banks of the river grow fruit-bearing trees. There is nothing in the text to indicate that this was not intended in the literal sense. The boundaries of the land are then given (47 13-21), agreeing in general with Nu. 34 2-12 (cp Josh. 15-19); the Jordan forms part of the eastern boundary. It is added that resident foreigners (of course, worshippers of Yahwè) are to have a share in the land (47 22 *f.*): this is an advance in liberality and in social organisation. The last chapter (48) gives the territories

[1] Chap. 27 9b-25a is regarded by some critics as the insertion of an editor. Certainly, if this section be omitted, the remainder of the chapter will form a satisfactory unity (picture of Tyre as a lordly vessel, which suffers shipwreck); yet the geographical situation depicted is exilian, and the details are in Ezekiel's manner. The section was perhaps inserted by the prophet himself.

[1] This section is regarded by Winckler as a composition of the time of Alexander the Great; see above, col. 1460, n. 2. In that case, however, Alexander would be called 'King of Greece' and would be treated not as an enemy but as a friend.

[2] See LEVITES.

of the several tribes in parallel slips, seven on the N. and five on the S. of the central reserved territory (*vv.* 1-29), and the measurements and gates of the city (*vv.* 30-35) the sacred name of which is to be *Yahwè šammah*, 'Yahwè 'is there' (cp Jer. 23 6 33 16).

Moral and religious position. —Ezekiel's writings state the principal ethical and religious problems and ideas of his time.

15. Ethics. His own opinions we may suppose to have been those of the most advanced priestly circle, though it may not always be possible to distinguish his individual views from the current opinion.

Ezekiel's ethical code is that of the prophets—of high character as far as regards the relations between Israelites, or, we may probably say, between individuals (of whatever nationalities). All the main social duties are insisted on in 18 and 22. As to foreign nations, the prophetic code says nothing of duties toward them—the social relations of the time had not created an international code. Ezekiel regards all nations hostile to Israel as morally bad and to be hated and given over to destruction. That his standard of judgment is not ethical, but political, is shown by the fact that he denounces Egypt and favours Babylon, the only difference between the two kingdoms being in their different relations to Israel.

It seems remarkable that the prophet shows no recognition of the greatness of the Egyptian and Phœnician civilisations. Another defect of his ethical scheme is his mingling of the moral and the ritual, as in 18 11-13 (where read 'has eaten [flesh] with the blood'), 22 6-12, in which the 'contempt of sacred things probably means a violation of the ritual law, and the 'humbling of an unclean woman' is purely a matter of ritual. In 22 10 *f.* reference is made to certain marriages—namely with the wife of one's father, and with one's half-sister—which, formerly legal (2 S. 16 22 Gen. 20 12), had been condemned by the advancing moral feeling in Ezekiel's time (cp Lev. 20 11 17). These things were wrong as violations of existing law; but we demand a clear distinction between them and purely moral offences.

On the other hand the prophet's sharp exposition of individual responsibility (18) is an advance on the older view which held men responsible for the sins of their fathers or their social chiefs. This principle did not originate with Ezekiel: it is found in Dt. 24 16 and Jer. 31 29 *f.*; but he elaborates it distinctly, and no doubt did much to give it currency. It must be added that he seems to give it a special application to the exiles, on whom he wished (on the eve, he supposed, of departure from Babylon) to impress the necessity of individual preparedness; nevertheless his words contain the universal principle. See ESCHATOLOGY, § 24 *f.*

As regards purity of religious conceptions Ezekiel occupies a position midway between the old Israelit-

16. Idea of God. ism and the later Judaism or the New Testament. With his higher prophetic thought are mingled survivals of the old ideas, and this admixture gives a curiously varied and picturesque character to his writing. In this respect he appears to fall below Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah—a result for which his priestly training was doubtless in part responsible. His conception of God is in the main that of all the prophets. He is practically monotheistic; he recognises no deity but the God of Israel, though from the paucity of his statements on this point (see, *e.g.*, chap. 8) it is impossible to say whether he regarded other deities as having a real existence; it is perhaps significant that in such passages as 34 29 36 15 21 39 21, in which demonstration of Yahwè's power to other peoples is spoken of, nothing is said of their gods. It seems probable that his opinion was that of Jer. 2 11, that these gods were 'not gods.'

Though Ezekiel has no definite formula of absolute divine omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence, Yahwè is for him practically unlimited in place, time, knowledge, and power, the universal lord and judge, fashioning the fortunes of all men and peoples, using, and putting up and down whom he will. This seemingly universal conception is held along with the old tribal idea that the deity is attached to a definite place; Yahwè, however, abandons for a time his doomed temple (1 28 10 19) and goes to Babylonia to remain till the new untainted temple shall be built (43 7). Yahwè is specifically the God of Israel, and has no friendly relations with other nations (34 30); he dwells in the land of Israel (37 26 *f.*), and particularly in the temple (10), of his sole proprietorship of which he is jealous (43 7 *f.*).

The coexistence in Ezekiel's mind of these unharmonious ideas is explained by the historical development; it was only gradually that Israel purified its religious conceptions, and Ezekiel's theology contains the germ of the later more spiritual view. The prophet probably thought of Yahwè as having definite human form (1 26); this pure physical anthropomorphism was an advance on the earlier theriomorphism (as in Egypt and Babylon) and formed the transition to the higher conception.

The ethical character ascribed by Ezekiel to Yahwè also shows diverse elements. In his relations with

17. Yahwè's character. Israel Yahwè is represented as inflexibly just, and as basing his judgments on moral grounds—he punishes his own people for their sins. This is the prophetic view which, though not confined to Israel, was most clearly announced by the Israelitish thinkers (Am. 3 2), and by them made a part of the world's religious thought. On the other hand, the Yahwè of Ezekiel lays great stress on ritual. In his dealings with other nations he has not risen entirely above the level of the old national god who cares only for his own people; his treatment of Egypt, Tyre, and the other peoples is not morally discriminating. The curious statement of 20 25 *f.*, that he gave Israel evil, deadly, and polluting laws, is apparently intended to account for the presence, in the earlier legislation, of prescriptions (as that of Ex. 13 12) to which objection was taken in the prophet's time; these, says Ezekiel (in accordance with his conception of the divine absoluteness), were given by Yahwè as punishment for the people's disobedience (cp Mt. 19 8). Ezekiel (differing in this respect from Hosea and Jeremiah) does not ascribe to Yahwè tenderness. He generally represents him as animated against Israel and Jerusalem by fierce anger (see especially chaps. 5 and 20). Still, he says of him (18 32) that he has no pleasure in inflicting death, but desires that sinners turn and live; that is, he desires his people's good (34), but is angry at and rigorously punishes defection. A primitive feature in Ezekiel's portraiture of Yahwè's character is the desire for renown which he ascribes to him (35 9 36 22 *f.* 38 23 etc.): Yahwè acts 'for his name's sake,' that is, that his name (himself) may be revered by the nations.

In this representation there is a well-developed conception of divine absoluteness—it is not for man but for himself that God acts (cp. the similar, yet discrepant, statements in Dt. 9 4-6 7 7 *f.*): and there is also the germ of a great moral and religious idea—the conviction that the truth of the worship of Yahwè will be the salvation of the nations; but in the prophet's mind this idea is obscured by excessive nationalism, the desire to exalt the national deity above all other deities, and so the nation above all other nations: he expresses no hope for the moral-religious reform of foreign peoples. In short, his conception of God has noble features dimmed by narrow national and low anthropomorphic elements.

He makes no mention of angels (unless the persons

18. Other beings. who are introduced in 9 2 are so to be regarded), of serāphim, or of evil spirits; but the non-mention is probably accidental.

The 'spirit' which enters into him (2 2) and lifts him up (3 12 14 8 3 11 24) is (as in Judg. 14 19 1 K. 22 21 2 K. 2 16) a member of the heavenly court, sent by God to do certain things beyond ordinary human power; in 39 29 its function is to implant a new disposition in the mind (and here the expression 'pour out' indicates the beginning of a transition to the sense of 'influence' for the term 'spirit'). The cherub, to which Ezekiel several times refers, is of course no angel, but a figure of mythic origin, derived directly or indirectly from Babylonia. On the different representations of the cherub *see* CHERUB.

Ezekiel has the old-Israelitish view of the nature and

destiny of man. He regards him as a free agent, capable of changing from bad to good, or from good to bad (18); of the conditions which may determine a man to be good or bad he says nothing, except that it is open to any one to consider the outcome of his ways (18 28). Shĕōl, the world of the dead (see 26 20 31 14-17 32 17-32), is still without any trace of local division between the good and the bad (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 10 *f.*); nor can it be said that any reference is made to the resurrection of the body, the description in 37 1-14 being figurative of the restoration of the nation to national life (so, explicitly, *v.* 11). Man, according to the prophet, works out his destiny and finds his happiness or unhappiness in this world; here God distributes rewards and punishments, awarding to nations prosperity or adversity, and inflicting on the wicked man the greatest calamity, premature death (18). Righteousness and sin are obedience and disobedience to the divine law, moral and ritual. Of the inward life, struggle against sin, love to God, the prophet says nothing (on 36 26 see below); it is the outward side that is considered. The chief reason for this is that the nation, not individual man, was the religious unit of the prophets (as of antiquity in general), and for the nation there could be only the external test of goodness. Salvation was thus, both for the nation and for the individual, deliverance from the outward ills of life, and endowment with all things good. It includes forgiveness of sins, and its condition is obedience to the law. For obedience there is needed a disposition or determination of mind. Israel, having been rebellious, must have implanted in it a new purpose and will, a 'new heart,' a 'heart of flesh' (36 26), yielding, sensitive to the divine will. Yahwè himself will do this. The same thing the prophet expresses by saying (36 27) that Yahwè will put within the nation his spirit, a new spirit (*v.* 26), the reference being to the idea expressed in Gen. 2 7 that man's vital breath is breathed into him by God (cp § 18, above). 'Heart' and 'spirit' are in the OT sometimes practically identical; each expresses the whole inward being (cp ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 12 19 *f.*). The prophet thus declares that Israel's inward nature shall be transformed in the respect that it shall hereafter have the will to obey. Though he has in mind directly only the statement of the fact that Israel will cease to be disobedient and become obedient (of which statement a natural Heb. form is that of 36 26 *f.*), yet in his conception of transformation (as in Jer. 31 33) we must see the germ of the NT idea of regeneration.

19. Man.

Ezekiel's representation of the future of Israel does not differ substantially from that of his predecessors. He expects the nation to be restored in peace to its own land, in which (after the struggle with Gog) it shall dwell for ever in prosperity under its kings. He says nothing of an individual human deliverer, there having been apparently at that time no prominent political figure either among the exiles or at home. He expects not an absolute theocracy but a royal government which shall respect and support the temple. A decided advance over earlier prophetic representations of the future is the more definite formulation of the idea of moral regeneration mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The hope for the union of Ephraim and Judah into one kingdom under a Davidic king (37 15-28) was a natural one at the time—the northern kingdom had long ceased to have a political existence; the fulfilment of this hope was made impossible by political conditions which the prophet could not foresee, since in his day Persia had not yet come to the front. The 'messianic' expectation proper did not arise till after his time. On his new constitution for the future kingdom see below, § 24.

20. Future of Israel.

Place in the history of the ritual.—The development of the sacrificial ritual which had been going on from the beginning of the national history received a special impulse toward the end of the seventh century. This was, in the first place, the result of that general growth in culture which is, as a rule, attended by growth in organisation. Israel, with its high religious endowment, naturally advanced slowly and surely in the ordering of its outward religious life, as Rome did in the establishment of political principles. There were, besides, two facts, one internal, one external, that probably helped on the movement in the generation preceding Ezekiel's active life. The first of these was that the practical triumph of monotheism gave the leading men leisure to turn their attention more fully to the needs of the national worship; and some of these were accordingly not slow to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the young king Josiah, and to set on foot an attempt at centralisation. The other fact was the closer social contact with Assyria during the seventh century. Judah was an Assyrian vassal kingdom, the relation between the two powers was a peaceful one, and the less advanced in general culture would naturally borrow from the more advanced, especially as the Assyrians were Semites, and the Judæans felt nearer to them than to such a country as Egypt. Manasseh and his party adopted astral worship from Assyria (2 K. 21 3 23 5), and the Yahwè-party, while protesting against these innovations, might get from their suzerain kingdom valuable suggestions for the better regulation of worship. Ezekiel belonged to the circle most interested in this movement, and from his writings we may form an idea of the changes which were proposed in his time; these, we may assume, represent not only his individual opinions, but also the views of his circle.

21. Interest in ritual.

The first efforts of the reform party were directed toward the suppression of the rural shrines; its programme is embodied in Dt. 12-26—a work which doubtless represents the ideas of the leading men of the year 621. The next step would naturally be the further organisation of the sacrificial cultus, a point on which D has very little to say (18 1-8). Its provisions were probably known to and accepted by Ezekiel; the book may have been regarded as an authoritative but not a final statement of sacred law, and it forms the starting-point for the work of the succeeding generation. Little seems to have been done in the interval between the year 621 and the destruction of the city in 586; the energies of Jerusalem were absorbed by the political situation, and the leading prophet, Jeremiah, was not interested in the ritual (Jer. 7 22). It was in the quiet of the exile that the development of the ritual was carried on; to this work Ezekiel seems to have devoted himself in the last years of his life. Cp LAW LITERATURE.

22. Centralisation.

The book of Ezekiel stands between Deuteronomy (= D) and the final priestly legislation (Lev. 1-16 27 Nu. Ex. 25-31 35-40 = P), and is in nearest relation with Lev. 17-26 (Law of Holiness = H).[1]

23. Ezekiel and other works on ritual.

With 18-20 of this last section (which is composite and of various dates) he agrees in the general conception of the position of the priest, the special sanctity of the sabbath (Ezek. 20 12 Lev. 19 30), and the marriage law (Ezek. 22 10 *f.* Lev. 18 8 15 19 20 11 *f.* 17 *f.* cp Dt. 23 1 [22 30]). On the other hand the subsections Lev. 17 21-26 in their recognition of priests as Aaronides (21 1), in their greater elaboration of the ceremonies of the feasts (23), and in their development of the jubilee (25), appear to be later than Ezekiel; the earlier parts of H are probably contemporaneous with him, but they were added to in succeeding times.

The more particular relation between D, Ezek., and H is as follows:—

i. *Levites.*—In D (18 1-8) all Levites are priests, in Ezek (44 15) only Zadokites are priests, in H (21 1) only Aaronides.

ii. *Priests.*—As to their general conduct, all the provisions of Ezek. (44 17-27) are found in H (Lev. 21 22 4-16) except the prohibition of woollen clothes and wine, and the command to act as judges, and H has many details not found in Ezek. D has nothing on this point except (17 9) the recognition of Levites as judges (an old institution). As to their support, D (18 1-4)

[1] See LAW LITERATURE.

is substantially reproduced in Ezek. (44 29 *f.*), but the latter adds a large gift of land for priests and Levites (**45** 1-8); this land-provision is peculiar to Ezek., but in Nu. **35** 1-8 forty-eight cities are assigned to the whole tribe of Levi, and of these thirteen (Josh. 21 4) were for the priests; Ezek.'s proposed arrangement proved, in fact, to be impracticable. H alone mentions the high priest (21 10).

iii. *Offerings*.—D has no details. The offerings are of the same kind as in Ezek. and H, except that the latter does not mention the *āšām* ('guilt-offering,' 2 K. 12 16 [17]); neither has the elaborate sin-offering of Lev. 16. H is more detailed than Ezek. in the description (22 17-28) of sacrificial animals.

iv. *Feasts*.—D (16) has the three great festivals—Passover, Weeks, Booths—without sacrificial details; Ezek. (**45** 21-25) mentions only the first and the third of these, but with details of the materials (the omission of the feast of weeks is no doubt due to an oversight), and adds a special ceremony of purification of the sanctuary on the first day of the first and the seventh months (45 18-20, according to the Gk. text). H (23) gives, besides the three, the ceremony of the sheaf of first-fruits, the feast of trumpets, and the day of atonement (the ritual details are given more fully in Nu. 28 *f.*).

The impression made by comparison of Ezekiel and H is that the latter represents in general a more advanced ritualistic stage; but the differences between them are not so great as to require us to suppose that they are separated by a great interval of time. The main point is that Ezekiel expands the Deuteronomic scheme by a more precise formulation of the ritual.

The function assigned to the prince (peculiar to Ezekiel and never carried out; see PRINCE, 2) is to be noted. The omission of mention of furniture (ark and cherubs) in the most holy place is strange, especially as the cherub and the palm tree are introduced as ornaments; the omission is perhaps due to scribal error. Cp 1 K. 6 23-29, and the omission of the bronze altar in 1 K. 7 *f.*

24. New constitution. Though the scheme given in 40-48 is put in the form of a vision, its minuteness of detail shows that the prophet had in mind a plan of organisation to be actually carried out on the return of the people to their land. It is all to be taken literally, even 47 1-12 for there is no exegetical ground for making a distinction between this section and the rest. The plan is an admirable one. Without encroaching on the proper functions of the state, it secures the absolute independence of the temple. The ministers of the sanctuary are to have their own lands and houses and revenues assured them by organic law; the prince is a servant of the temple, subordinate in this sphere to the priests; it is a genuine separation of Church and State, a provision which for that time was a necessity, if public religion was to have free course. The temple, the dwelling-place of Yahwè, is the centre of the national life (cp Hag. 2 7 Zech. 1 16 Mal. 3 1); the people are to be morally and ritually righteous, but the full conception of ritual sanctity (as in Zech. 14 20 *f.*) is not expressed. The other features of the scheme are less important.

The prophet reproduces the details of the temple of Solomon with a fidelity which shows not only that he attached great importance to the visible centre of worship but also that he had closely studied its architecture and its 'service. It is hardly possible to restore the temple completely after his indications; but there is enough to show that the whole structure, including the enclosure, was pleasing and possibly imposing (see TEMPLE). The physical changes in the land expected by the prophet (47; cp Zech. 14 4-10 Is. 65 17-25 11 6-9) are not essential to his religious plan.

It is sometimes said that the measurements of the temple (42 15-20) and of the sacred territory (45 1) are geographically impossible and that the prophet thus means to indicate that his scheme 'is an ideal one. The difficulty disappears when (with 𝔊) we read 'cubit' instead of 'reed' in 42 15-20, and, in accordance with this, supply 'cubit' in 45 1-6. The temple-enclosure will then he about 250 yards (or 225 metres) square, and might easily stand on the top of the hill, and the whole central reserved district (including the land of the priests and of the Levites and the territory of the city) will he about 7) miles (or 12 kilometres) square. The physical changes described in 47 are not greater than those contemplated elsewhere in OT, and were not unnatural according to the ideas which prevailed in Ezekiel's time.

25. Literature. i. Criticism *of Heb.* text.—Cornill, Ezechiel ('86) (rich in material; bold, sometimes rash in emendation; often happy in suggestio;; see § 4 above); Siegfried in Kau. *HS* (critical notes to his translation); Grätz, *Emendationes*, II. ('93); D. H. Müller, *Ezechiel-Studien* ('95); Bertholet in Now.'; Toy in *SBOT* ('99). [See also many articles on archæological points in the present work.]

ii. *Commentaries*.—Among modern writers see Hävernick, 1843; Hitzig, 1847; P. Fairbairn, 1851; Ewald 1868; Reuss, 1876; Currie (in *Speaker's Comm.*), 1876; F. W. J. Schröder, 7873; Smend, 1880; Keil, 2nd ed. 1882; A. B. Davidson, 1882; Orelli, *1888*, 2nd ed. 1896; Bertholet in *KHK* 1897; Toy, *SBOT*, Eng. ed., 1899; R. Kraetzschmar in Nowack's *HK* (1900).

iii. *Other critical aids*.—Grätz, *MWGJ* ('74); Duhm, *Theol. d. Propheten* ('75); Klo. in *St. Kr.* ('77); Graf, *Gesch. Bücher des AB* ('66); Kuenen, *Prophets and Prophecy* ('77), and his art. in *Modem Review* ('84); Valeton, Jr., *Viertal voorlez. over prophet. des OV* ('86); Arndt, *Die stellung Ez. in der AT Prophetie* ('86); L. Gantier, *La mission du prophète Ez.* ('91); Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* ('92); Skinner, *Ezek.* (*Expos. Bible*) ('95); Bertholet, *Die Verfassungsentwurf des* Hes. ('96). To these should be added, on Ezekiel's elegies, Bu. in *ZATW*, '82 and '91-'93; and, on the prophet's plan of a temple, Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art*, etc., where, however, Chipiez's restoration is highly imaginative.

C. H. T.

EZEL (הָאָזֶל [with art.]), a name which has intruded itself by a misunderstanding into the narrative of David's parting from Jonathan, 1 S. 20 19 (Vg., Luther, EV). 𝔊[B] presents the unintelligible word *Ergab* (παρὰ τὸ εργαβ ἐκεῖνο),[1] which reappears as *Argab* in *v.* 41 (A. ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ αργαβ); MT in *v.* 19 has האבן, and in *v.* 41 נגב.[2]

Evidently האבן, האזל, and נגב are all wrong. Not less evidently the true reading (instead of האזל, EV 'Ezel') is preserved by 𝔊. Hence Wellhausen and most critics restore הָאַרְגָּב הַלָּז in *v.* 19 and הָאַרְגָּב in *v.* 41; but there is no word ארגב (see below).

אַרְגָּב, *'argāb*, has been held to mean 'cairn' (WRS, *OTJC*(2), 81, and most critics) or 'heap of earth' (Kittel in Kau. *HS*, Dr. *Sam.* 132, and *Deut.* 48). The latter sense is the more defensible, though it is scarcely appropriate. The existence of the word, however, is undernonstrated. It is true, the word εργαβ occurs again in 1 S. 6 11 15 [B], where, however, it is a corruption of αργοζ [A], βαεργαζ [L], which is simply a gloss from the margin, (see COFFER), and in 1 K. 4 13 [A], where it represents אַרְגֹּב. Almost certainly the true reading is הערער—*i.e.*, the juniper-tree. Render *vv.* 19 *f.*, '. . . and thou shalt *sit* down beside yonder juniper-tree,; and I will choose (אראה) the three rocks as a mark to shoot at. Cp HEATH. T. K. C.

EZEM (עֶצֶם, § 106; ΑϹΟΜ [BAL]), an unidentified site in the Negeb of Judah toward the Edomite border, Josh. 15 29 (AV AZEM; ασεμ [A] αδεμ [L]).

In Josh. 19 3 (AV AZEM; ιασον [B] -μ [L]) and in 1 Ch. 4 29 (βοοσαλ [B] βοασομ [A]) it is one of the towns 'in the midst of the inheritance of Judah' (Josh. 19 1) assigned to Simeon

AZMON (עַצְמוֹן) may be another form of the same name.

EZER (אֵצֶר; ΑϹΑΡ [D[sil] EL], ϹΑΑΡ [A]), a son of Seir the Horite (Gen. 36 21; 1 Ch. 1 38, AV EZAR, ασαρ [A], om. B), whose sons are mentioned in Gen. 36 27 (ιασαρ [D]), 1 Ch. 1 42 (ασαρ [A], ωσαρ [B]). More strictly Ezer was a Horite clan (אֶלֶף, not אַלּוּף), Gen. 36 30 (σααρ [D], ασα [El). The name appears in 1 S. 15 33 𝔊[L] (ασηρ) as that of Agag's father; *see* H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*

EZER (עֵזֶר and עֶזֶר, 'help,' § 50; ΕΖΕΡ [AL] a shortened theophorous name).

1. One of the B'ne HUR, 1 Ch. 4 4 (αζηρ [B]), probably the same as EZRA (RV EZRAH) of *v.* 17 (εσρει [B], εζρι [A], ιεζραα [L]).

2. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 42 (om. Bא*A, ιεζουρ [א[c.a mg.] L]).

3. In genealogy of EPHRAIM (§ 12), 1 Ch. 7 21 (οζαρ [B], [illegible] for עֵזֶר וְאֶלְעָד [Pesh.]), perhaps a corruption of the name Elead (see ELADAH).

4. One of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 9 (αζα [Bא], αζερ [A]). See DAVID, § 11 c.

EZERIAS (ΕΖΕΡΙΟΥ [A]), 1 Esd. 8 1 = Ezra 7 1, AZARIAH, 3.

EZIAS. 1. (ΟΖ(Ε)ΙΟΥ [BL], ΕΖ· [A]), 1 Esd. 8 2 = Ezra 7 3, AZARIAH, 3.

2. (εζειας [B]) 1 Esd. 9 14 RV[mg.] = Ezra 10 15, JAHAZIAH.

EZION-GEBER (EV) or **EZION-GABER** (AV) (עֶצְיֹ[ו]ן גֶּבֶר), hardly 'back-bone of the giant' [as, *e.g.*, Smith's *DB*(2)]; perhaps, like the Ar. *ġadyā*, a place where the tree *ġaḍā* grows in abundance [Lag., *Übers.* 157], cp NAMES, § 103; γασιων γαβερ [BAL],

[1] 𝔊[A] has εργον for εργαβ, 𝔊[L] παρὰ τῷ λίθῳ ἐκείνῳ.

[2] 𝔊[A] has υπνου for αργαβ, 𝔊[L] αργοβ.

y. γαβελος [Jos. *Ant.* viii. 6 4]. It has been suggested, however, that the true name was Nĕṣīb-ĕdōm—*i.e.*, 'Column of (the god) Edom.' See JEHOSHAPHAT, 1).[1] One of the last stations where the Israelites encamped (Nu. 33 35 *f.*, γεσσιων y. [B*], -εσι. γ. [BabA] [P2], Dt. 28 [D]); see WANDERINGS, § 12 *f.* It was here that Solomon made a ship (or a navy of ships) to fetch gold from Ophir (1 K. 9 26, εμαεσειων y. [B], γεσιων y. [L], cp 2 Ch. 8 17 γεσιων γ. [L]); and at a later time Jehoshaphat made Tarshish-ships (cp our 'Indiamen'), which were broken up by a storm (1 K. 22 48; ασεων y. [A]=16 28 f in B [γασιων γ.] and L [ye. γ.]; 2 Ch. 20 36 εργασιων [=ἐν γ.] γ. [A], ἐνγεσιων γ. [L], see JEHOSHAPHAT, 1). To judge by 1 K. 9 29 Ezion-geber must have been situated near (את) to ELATH; its precise situation is unknown, but on the supposition that the mud-flats which now form the lower end of the WBdy el-'Arabah were once covered by the sea, it is identified by Robinson with *'Ain el-Ghuḍyān*, a valley with brackish water some 15 m. N. of the present estremity of the gulf (see Dr. *Deut.* 35 *f.*). Others would place it in the small bay N. of the mouth of the Wādy Marākh, opposite to which at a short distance from the land is the islet of el-Ḳurēya. The identification of Ezion-geber with the modern *Dahab* proposed by Wellsted (ii. ch. 9 153) rests on the old legends common among the Sinaitic monks. This place is situated too far N., and its name ('gold'), which may have given rise to the legends, arose probably from the shining appearance of the place, rather than from any legends of gold-laden transport-ships from Ophir.

Ezion-geber soon seems to have lost its importance and to have given way to Elath. In 1 K. 9 29 its position has to be defined by means of the latter place, whilst in 2 K. 14 22 16 6 it is unmentioned.

According to Jer. and Eus. Ezion-geher (*Asion-gaber*, ασιων-γαβερ) is said to have been called *Essia*, αισια (*OS* 97 21 125 7 227 44 241 53). At a much later time the Egyptian historian Maḳrizi (15th cent.) mentions as hearsay that in early times hard by Aila (Elath) was a great and important town called 'Aṣyūn; but whether his information was based on biblical sources or arose from an independent source, cannot be said. At the present day it has totally disappeared. (Cp Burckhardt, 831, Buhl, *Gesch. d. Edomiter*, 39 *f.*) See ELATH.

S. A. C.

EZNITE, THE (הָעֶצְנִי; *Kt.* העצנו), 2 S. 23 8. See ADINO.

EZORA (εζωρα [BA], ναδαβου? [L]), a post-exilic family in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), 1 Esd. 9 34 RV, AV OZORA. According to Be.-Rys. =family of Ater in Ezra 2 16; but see MACHNADEBAI.

EZRA (עֶזְרָא; perhaps abbreviated from AZARIAH, 'Yahwè helps'; see NAMES, §§ 27, 84; εσρας [B], εζρ. [A; but 1 Esd. 9 1, εδρ.], εζδρ. [L]; in title and subscription, εσδρ. [BN]), of whose memoirs, written by himself, some portions unaltered and others very considerably modified have come down to ns in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah[2] (Ezra 7-10 Neh. 8-10), lived as a Jewish exile in Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimănus, and was a younger contemporary of Nehemiah. Of his antecedents othermise nothing certain is known.

1. His origin.

We are told indeed in Ezra 7 1-5 that Ezra belonged to the high-priestly order (in 1 Esd. 9 40 49 he is even called high priest); but no credit deserves to be given to the statement, which is taken from the fictitious genealogy in 1 Ch. 6 3-15 [5 29-41] (see EZRA ii., § 14), and makes Ezra a son of Seraiah, the priest who, according to 2 K. 25 18-21, was put to death by Nehuchadrezzar in 586. If we accept the date given in Ezra 7 7 *f.* (see § 2), Seraiah died almost 130 years before Ezra arrived in Jerusalem, and therefore, of course, cannot have been his hther. The statement, moreover, is plainly not derived from Ezra's own memoirs which would hardly have passed over his immediate ancestor: in silence; it comes from the hand of the redactor. There is even some reason for questioning whether Ezra was a priest at all. He is called 'priest' or 'the priest, the scribe' only in those places which have been worked over by the redactor (Ezra 7 11 *f.* 21; 10 10 16; Neh. 8 2 9, and cp Neh. 12 26); Ezra himself sometimes refers to 'our priests' (Ezra 9 7; Neh. 9 32 34), in a way that implies he did not reckon himself as belonging to the number. Cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iv.).

2. Expedition to Jerusalem: Chronicler's account.

After the thirty-third year of Artaxerxes' (Neh. 13 6; see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 16) Ezra set out from Babvlon for Jerusalem with a band of 1496 men (Ezra 8 1-14 = 1 Esdras 8 28-40, where the number amounts to 1690), besides women and children. It was by the favour and liberality of Artaxerxes that he was able to undertake this expedition, for which it is not unlikely that Nehemiah during his stay at the court of the Persian king (to which reference is made in Neh. 13 6) had paved the way (see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 3). According to Ezra 7 11-26, which purports to give the words of the firman, Artaxerxes not only permitted all the exiles without exception to return, if so minded, to the land of Judah, but also, along with his 'counsellors,' supplied them on a generous scale with the means of purchasing animals and otherwise providing for the temple sacrifices; it would also appear that Ezra was authorized to draw upon the royal exchequer to a considerable amount for further necessities of the temple worship. Moreover, the king freed all those employed in the service of the temple from all taxes (see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 3, n.), and gave Ezra full powers to order everything in Judæa and Jerusalem in accordance with the law of God which he carried with him; even the Jews outside of Palestine were made subject to the jurisdiction of the authorities at Jerusalem, on whom an almost unlimited power of punishment was conferred. This representation, however, is obviously a highly exaggerated one, and the firman of Artaxerxes unquestionably spurious, for he speaks there as if he were a believing Jew, recognising Yahwè as the God of heaven,[2] holding himself bound to care for his service, and in case of remissness holding himself and his posterity liable to the consequences (see further EZRA-NEHEMIAH. § 3).

It is only in passages which have been worked over by the redactor that we find any mention of this firman or of the copies made from it by the king's officials (cp Ezra 8 36); all that Ezra himself tells us is that the king and his nobles gave gold and vessels for the temple, and that God inclined the heart of the sovereign in his favour (Ezra 7 27 *f.*; 8 25); he also believes that had he chosen he could have obtained a safe-conduct for his

[1] According to Jos. (*l.c.*) it was known by the name of Βερενίκη.

[2] [The author of this article stands between the extreme negative criticism of Torrey in his *Compos. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh.*, and the much more conservative criticism of E. Meyer in his *Entstehung des Judenthums.* For a fuller statement of the author's criticism and its results see his *Het Herstel van Israël* (which has been translated into German) and the articles referred to below (EZRA ii., § 18). Meyer's work is a very thorough and instructive historical and archæological study; but it is not as keen in its criticism as could be wished. Torrey, on the other hand, is sometimes almost hypercritical. He thinks that the older documents incorporated by the Chronicler are of much less extent than has generally been supposed, and denies the historical character of all the supposed official documents inserted in our Book of Ezra. He regards the story of Ezra as the best exemplification of the qualities of the Chronicler as a writer of fiction and of his mistaken idea of the history of Israel. Marquart's essay (*Fund.* 28-68) on the organisation of the Jewish community after the so-called Exile is learned and acute; it should he read in combination with Meyer's work which it preceded. Che., in *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* ('98), adopts a view approaching that of Rosters, hut much affected by more recent critics *e.g.*, Marquart, Torrey, Wellhausen, and Meyer. Winckler's articles on the time of the restoration of Jndah, and on the reform of Nehemiah (*AOF* 2 210-236, cp 241-244), attach too much weight to disputable corrections of names of Persian kings. See also GOVERNMENT, § 28 *ff.*; ISRAEL, §§ 50-64.]

[1] [This suggests an emendation of 'seventh' in Ezra 7 7 into 'thirty-seventh,' see Marq. (*Fund.* 39). Cheyne, who places Ezra's arrival between Nehemiah's two governorships, and shortens the time of Nehemiah's first period of office, would prefer to correct 'seventh' to 'twenty-seventh.' In fact, the date of Ezra and his chronological relation to Nehemiah are hotly disputed. Meyer has shown strong reasons for adhering to the view that the Artaxerxes of Ezra is Artaxerxes I., but probably inverts the right order when he makes Ezra precede Nehemiah (*Die Entst.* 90). On these points cp NEHEMIAH.

[2] [Meyer (*Die Entst.* 63) seems to misunderstand this objection. The use of the phrase 'the god of heaven' for Yahwè in a different context would have been less surprising. Did the Persian authorities really sanction *v.* 23?]

band from Artaxerxes, but this he had refrained from doing because he had expressed so unreservedly his confidence in the help of his God.

Again, it seems doubtful whether, as the redactor represents (Ezra 7 10), the object of Ezra's expedition was to establish in Israel the law of Yahwè, and whether he thus arrived in Jerusalem with the law of his God already in his hand (Ezra 7 14). From his own words we gather rather that his aim was, by bringing back its exiles, to restore Israel and re-establish the twelve tribes once more in the land of their fathers: the company he brings with him consists, in addition to one Davidic and two priestly families, of twelve clans; the gifts received are entrusted to twelve priests and twelve Levites; the number of sacrificial victims offered by the exiles on their arrival in Jerusalem is twelve of each kind or a multiple of twelve (if, at least, following 1 Esd. 8 66, we read 72 for 77 in Ezra 8 35). The aim he had in the whole expedition was to bring back the twelve tribes to their fatherland and to restore the temple to its pristine glory.

3. Its real aim.

By the banks of the AHAVA [*q.v.*] which flowed past a town of the same name, Ezra assembled his company. After three days' stay, discovering that he had no Levites with him, he sent messengers to a certain IDDO [i.] at Casiphia, apparently an influential compatriot, from whom some Levites and NETHINIM [*q.v.*] were obtained. Prayer was then offered, with fasting, for a successful journey, the temple vessels which accompanied the expedition were handed over to the charge of certain priests and Levites, and on the 12th of the first month the company set out on its journey. If we are rightly informed by the redactor (Ezra 7 9) that Ezra left Babylon on the first of the same month, and if by the three days of 8 15 we are to understand the first three of the month, the enlistment of the Levites thus involved a delay of only nine days. The journey, probably at first in a NW. direction along the Euphrates towards Thapsacus or Carchemish, and then SW. down the valley of the Orontes, occupied more than 3½ months; on the first of the fifth month, we are told, Jerusalem was reached, and there, after an interval of three days, the silver, the gold, and the vessels were handed over to a commission of priests and Levites in the temple, and thank-offerings made.

4. Journey.

Not long after his arrival Ezra heard of the serious 'defilement' which the Jewish population of Palestine, priests and Levites included, had contracted by mixed marriages [a trouble to which most scholars have also found a reference in Mal. 2 11; see, however, MALACHI, § 2*b*. What actually happened may, or may not, be correctly represented in the extracts from Ezra's memoirs (Ezra 9 *f.*); this is a matter which calls for keen criticism. It is possible that some admirer of Ezra wrote in Ezra's name. Or, as Volz suggests, we may distinguish between an original Ezra-document and a drastic recension of the same by the Chronicler, especially in the 'I' section. He notices that 1 Esd. 8 1-7 betrays the work of two hands; also 9 39 *ff.*; even the original Ezra-document can have been of but slight historical value, since it was mainly an imitation of the memoirs of Nehemiah. Cp also Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 58 *f.*, who agrees with Torrey that the story in Ezra 9 *f.* is full of improbability, and that the ascription of Ezra 9 to Ezra does not make it more plausible. According to the story, for which we need not hold Ezra himself responsible,] Ezra's distress on learning this was such that he rent his clothes, tore his hair and beard, and sat for hours as one astonied on the plateau in front of the temple, until the time of the evening sacrifice. He then rose up, and renewing the outward expressions of his grief poured out his heart in a passionate confession of guilt.

5. Mixed marriages.

Meanwhile 'a very great congregation of men, women, and children' (10 1) had been gathering around Ezra. A certain SHECHANIAH (4), recognising the guilt that had been incurred, urged Ezra to take measures to extirpate the evil, assuring him of the support of all right-thinking persons. Ezra lays all present under an oath to stand by him, and then passes the night in fasting and humiliation in the chamber of Johanan, Eliashib's son or grandson[1] (cp Neh. 12 10 *f.* 23). Undoubtedly this branch of the high-priestly family was favourably disposed to Ezra's schemes, and Ezra was able by its help to get an assembly of the whole people of Judah and Benjamin summoned to Jerusalem.

Three days after, on the 30th of Kisleu, probably in the same year as Ezra's arrival, the assembly met. The outcome was, from Ezra's point of view, hardly satisfactory; the proposal that all mixed marriages should be dissolved and the alien wives sent away, though not unsupported, provoked strong opposition (see Ezra 10 15 RV). This and the violent rain which prevented any prolonged meeting—they were assembled on the plateau eastward of the temple, in front of the Water-gate—caused the assembly to break up without determining on more than the appointment of an authoritative commission of inquiry. Their task, begun on the first of the tenth month, was completed on the first day of the following year; and the list of persons implicated, drawn up by them, still lies before us in Ezra 10 18-43. No further progress, however, was made.

We read indeed that, in cases where the offenders belonged to the high-priestly family, promises to send their foreign wives away were made; but that these promises were fulfilled is nowhere said. As for the other offenders, it is not so much as alleged that either by word or deed any concession whatever was made to Ezra's demand. The narrative ends (Ezra 10 44) with the statement: 'These all had married foreign wives'; followed by some words now unintelligible. Ezra's own memoirs doubtless went on to tell the sequel, which the redactor—probably from a desire to conceal the failure of the measures taken by Ezra—afterwards struck out and in place of which, for the same reason, the author of 1 Esd. 9 36 substituted the clause: 'and they sent them together with their children away.'[2]

The impossibility of cleansing the people at large from their defilement in this fashion once apparent, it became necessary to try some other method. If the old Israel refused to be reformed, then the like-minded with Ezra must unite themselves in a new society and so restore the true Israel. This scheme offered some prospect of success, for it had the support of the powerful Nehemiah, and the high-priestly functions were, in consequence of Nehemiah's radical reforms (Neh. 13 28 *f.*), in friendly hands. In these circumstances it was that, at the call and under the leadership of Nehemiah, certain Israelites met in solemn assembly to separate themselves from the heathen and all their heathen connections, and so to form the true Israel, henceforth to be known as 'the congregation' (Neh. 9 *f.* 13 1-3).[3] See ASSEMBLY.

6. Formation of congregation.

They met in a spirit of the deepest contrition; fasting and with earth sprinkled on their heads, they stood and confessed their sins and the iniquity of their fathers and joined in the humble prayer made by Ezra (Ezra 9 6), in which Yahwè's favour shown to the fathers is celebrated, and Israel's guilt (by which that favour had been constantly forfeited) is acknowledged and the downfall of the nation is recognised to be a righteous chastisement of Yahwè, but at the same time prayer is made that the chastisement may now come to an end.

Hereupon Nehemiah and the heads of clans drew up a sealed document containing a vow of fidelity to Yahwè, to which the rest of the people gave their adhesion by oath and impreca-

7. Covenant.

1 [Or had Eliashib both a son and a grandson named Johanan? See JOHANAN (2).]

2 [See, however, Guthe, *SBOT*. 1 Esd. 9 36 runs, Πάντες οὗτοι συνῴκισαν γυναῖκας ἀλλογενεῖς, καὶ ἀπέλυσαν αὐτὰς σὺν τέκνοις.]

3 [In the list of names, Neh. 10 2-28, which though old in origin has been modified and expanded by the editor, we find names of families and of individuals side by side (see Smend, *Die Listen der BB. Esr. u. Neh.* 13; Kosters, *Het Herstel*, 78, n.).]

tion. The undertaking was to observe 'the law of Yahwè' (as contained in the Book of the Covenant [Ex. 21-23; see EXODUS ii., § 3] and Deuteronomy) along with the following special pledges: not to allow their children to intermarry with foreigners; not to trade with 'the peoples of the land' on the sabbath day; *to* let the land lie fallow every seventh year; not to exact payment of debts; and to contribute yearly a third of a shekel for the support of the temple worship. Regulations were fixed for the supply of wood for the altar; promise was made to bring the first fruits of field and orchard and the best of all that was produced from these as well as the firstlings, to the temple to be handed over to the priests; the tithe was to be paid to the Levites, who in turn had again to hand over a tenth to the priests. On such terms the 'congregation.' now freed from all foreign contamination and filled with zeal for the service of their God, could confidently rely on the divine help henceforward.[1]

On yet one other occasion do we find Ezra coming forward publicly alongside of Nehemiah [2]—at the bringing in of a new law (Neh. 8).

8. Priestly law.

Already, at the assembly in which Israel was rehabilitated, the people, besides engaging themselves to an observance of the law of Yahwè, had pledged themselves to a variety of matters on which the written law was silent or prescribed otherwise. There was a sense that in the new circumstances the needs of Israel were not sufficiently met by the old law, and that a new one was required. This law was given to the congregation by Ezra and Nehemiah.

It was on the first of Tishri (*v.* 2; cp *v.* 13 *ff.*)—the year is not known—that Ezra, in a great gathering held on the plateau before the Water Gate, first brought forward the Book of the Law. Standing on a wooden pulpit high above his hearers he unrolled the book, the whole congregation meanwhile reverently rising to their feet, and proceeded to read aloud from it from daylight till noon. The congregation, signifying with its loud amen its acceptance of what was being read as the word of Yahwè, was deeply moved. If this was the law of Yahwè which had been given to Moses, how great had been their shortcomings in fulfilling the divine will! However, Nehemiah and Ezra (*so* our Hebrew text states) comforted the people: this was in truth a joyous day, the people ought to hold festival and give presents one to another. Thus the day was turned to a feast. The new law, the so-called priestly law-book that constitutes an important part of our present Hexateuch, became henceforth, along with the older laws, the sacred writing which regulated the life of every Israelite (see CANON, § 23 *f.*). [Torrey's criticism of the narrative, however, is very forcible. It looks very much like an imitation of the account of the introduction of the older law-book under Josiah. It also appears intrinsically improbable. A new scripture differing so widely as this from the older law-book could not, it would seem, have been at once accepted. Only a small kernel of fact can safely be admitted. Cp *Jew. Rel. Life*, 56-58.] The first feast celebrated in accordance with its enactments after its promulgation—and within the same month—was the feast of tabernacles (*vv.* 13-18; see FEASTS, § 11); since the days of Joshua the son of Nun, never had the Israelites so observed it. Where and by whom this law was written we do not know.

[The firman of Ezra, indeed, *i.e.*, virtually] the redactor informs us that Ezra came from Babylon with the law of his God in his hand (Ezra 7 14); but it is in the highest degree improbable that our present law was committed to writing so early, for in the assembly of Neh. 9 *f.* the congregation is still bound only to the older law, and moreover our present law contains precepts respecting the worship and servants of the temple, which certainly must have been written by some one acquainted with the temple service and with the actual circumstances in Judæa. That Ezra indeed had a large share in its compilation is very likely, and so it is not without reason thar by the redactor of Ezra-Nehemiah, he is constantly called 'the scribe.'[1] (Ezra 7 11 *f.* 21 Neh. 8 9 12 26). But Jewish tradition—as we learn from 2 Esd., a writing belonging *to* the close of the first Christian century—goes much further than this and tells us that, not merely the entire law, which had perished in the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, but the contents of **all** the twenty-four books of the OT, were anew or for the **first** time revealed to Ezra, and thus *that* the whole of the sacred Canon of the Jews is in the last instance due to him (see CANON, § 17).

2. One of the priests who came with Zerubbabel out of Babylon (Neh. **12** 2; εσδρα [BK], εζρα [L]) and after whom (*v.* 13) one of the priestly clans was named. In the list (10 2) AZARIAH (*q.v.*, 4) takes the place of Ezra. See EZRA ii., § 8 (e).

3. **A** priest, contemporary with Nehemiah (Neh. **12 33**; εσδρα [א]).

4. 1 Ch. **4 17**, RV EZRAH. See EZER ii. (1).

W. H. K.—T. K. C.

[1] [Cp *Jew. Rel. Life*, 62 *f.* 'The scene in the foreground of the picture may still be correct. The Babylonian Jews who came up with Ezra certainly regarded themselves as the true Israelites, and it was only natural that they should form themselves into what claimed to be a national ecclesia or assembly.']

[2] [This, however, is very doubtful. See 1 Esd. 9 8, and cp TIRSHATHA. Kosters' view thar the lawbook was introduced durinq Nehemiah's second governorship is criticised by We. *CGN*, '95, 172, and by Meyer, Die *Entst.* 201. In fact, Ezra's failure seems to have caused Nehemiah's second visit.]

EZRA-NEHEMIAH

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Jewish Canon were originally one (cp CANON, §§ 10 [2], 13).

1. One Book; the text.

They still are one in 𝔊, where they hear the name of 2 Esd. or ἱερεύς [A], whilst what is called 1 Esd. contains, in addition *to* our present Book of Ezra (with numerous variations, especially in the arrangement of the latter portion), the last two chapters of Chronicles. Neh. 7 73-8 12, and a legend about Zeruhbabel *at* the court of Darins. In the Latin, Ezra is called 1 Esdras; Nehemiah, 2 Esdras, and also Nehemiah. In the Christian Church, Ezra and Nehemiah gradually came to be treated as two books. The Jews followed the Christians in this, so that now they appear as separate books in the Hebrew printed text also.

In conformity with the old tradition they will here be treated as one book, as not only are they drawn from the same sources, but they have also been compiled by the same redactor (cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 11 *ff.*).

[On the text of 1 Esdras, which rests on a recension of the Hebrew superior in some points to MT, see also EZRA, GREEK, § 6.

There is an admirable conspectus and critical discussion of the textual phenomena of the Hebrew text and the versions by Klostermann, in *PRE*(3) 5 501 *ff.*; but there is still scope for an analytic treatment of the same material. The present work, too, offers not a few contributions *to* the correction of the text, especially in proper names; 1 Esd. bas been found helpful (see, *e.g.*, BILSHAN). Guthe's treatment of Ezra and Nehemiah, in *SBOT*, is perhaps too cautious; but so far as it goes it is excellent, and not least in its critical use of the versions and of 1 Esdras. A good specimen of the emendations due *to* these helps is *to* be found in Ezra 10 6, where וַיֵּלֶךְ ('and went') should be וַיָּלֶן ('and lodged'); so Pesh., and 1 Esd. 9 2.]

Ezra, *so* named from the man who, from chap. 7 onwards, is its leading figure, naturally falls into two main divisions.

2. Contents of Ezra.

The first, **1-6** (4 8-6 18 being in Aramaic), deals with the fortunes of the Jews in Palestine from the first year of Cyrus as king of Babylon down to the sixth year of Darius Hystaspis (538-515).

The contents are: the return of the exiles in consequence of the edict of Cyrus (1); a list (apparently) of those who thus returned (2; but see § 7); the setting up of the altar of burnt offering and the restoration of the daily services (3 1-6); the preparation for and the beginning of the rebuilding of the temple (3 7-13); the opposition of the Samaritans in consequence of the refusal of the Jews to allow them a share in this work (4 1-5); repeated complaints raised against the Jews on account of the rebuilding of the walls (4 6-23); the stoppage of the building of the temple (4 24); the rebuilding, begun in the second year of Darius, and completed in his sixth (5 1-6 18); the celebration of the feast of the passover (6 19-22).

[1] [Cp *Jew. Rel. Life*, 70-72.]

EZRA-NEHEMIAH

The second division of the book, 7-10 (7 12-26 being in Aramaic), which transports us to the seventh year of Artaxerxes, describes the return of Ezra and his fellow-exiles to Jerusalem (1 *f.*), and the measures taken by him with reference to mixed marriages (9 *f.*).

The book called after Nehemiah relates the origin of that Jewish courtier's mission to Jerusalem as governor, with the object of restoring the walls, and describes the measures which he took, in spite of Sanballat, to accomplish this.

3. Contents of Nehemiah.

Chaps. 1-6 include an inserted list of the builders (3 1-32); also the episode of the governor's dealings with the hard-hearted usurers (5). Next are described the final efforts of Sanballat and his friends to ruin Nehemiah (chap. 6) also some special administrative measures of the latter · another copy is given of the important list in Ezra 2. This concludes Part I. (chaps. 1-7).

Next follows an account of the reading of the law and the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles (8), and of the great assembly for Israel's dedication of itself to Yahwè (9 *f.*); a short account of the increase of the population of Jerusalem (11 1 *f.*); a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Judah, and Benjamin (11 3-19 21-24 25-36); lists of heads of priestly and Levitical families dating from various periods (12 1-26); an account of the dedication of the wall (12 27-43) and of the appointment of guardians of the temple chambers (12 44-47); and a brief statement about the expulsion of strangers from Israel (13 1-3). The book closes with an account of Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem and of his reforms (13 4-31).

We see from the fact that the opening verses of Ezra (Ezra 1 1-3*a*) are attached to Chronicles (2 Ch. 36 22 *f.*) that our Ezra is the immediate sequel to Chronicles, and had already been written when the last-named book was composed. In fact, whenever the contents of our Ezra and Nehemiah are not taken from earlier sources, the style and habits of thought are those of the Chronicler, who must be regarded as the compiler of our Ezra and Nehemiah. That this writer used a variety of documents in producing his work is manifest. Here and there he reproduced his authorities verbatim; but he also often used great freedom of treatment, and did not scruple to expand or abridge, to alter or transpose.

4. Authorship.

The most important of the authorities used by the compiler are two works which, after their authors, we may call the Memoirs of Ezra and of Nehemiah, respectively: (*a*) from the first is taken Ezra 7 27-8 34 9; from the second, Neh. 1 1-7 5*a* 13 4-31; in which passages Ezra and Nehemiah are themselves the speakers, the compiler having only here and there made slight alterations. (*b*) There are other passages from the same memoirs; but in them the first person is almost wholly absent, and they have been considerably modified by the Chronicler.

5. Memoirs.

To this class belong Ezra 7 1-26 8 35 *f.* 10 [between Ezra 10 9 and 10 we should perhaps insert Neh. 13 1 *f.*[1]], founded on the Memoirs of Ezra; and Neh. 11 1 *f.* [20] also 3 1-19 21-24[2] [cp 7 5] 31 25-36 12 27-43 44-47 13 1-3 [?], founded [unless 11 25-36 be an addition of the Chronicler][3] on those of Nehemiah.

(*c*) Neh. 7 6-10 39 also, in its original form, was part of the memoirs; but we cannot make out whether it is derived from those of Ezra or from those of Nehemiah.

[It is doubtful whether the passages assigned directly or indirectly to the memoirs of Ezra can really claim the authority of Ezra. That authentic utterances of Ezra are to be found in them may be allowed (see, *e.g.*, Ezra 7 27 *f.*); but the passages in which Ezra appears to speak in the first person contain some statements too improbable for us to assign them without compunction to the great scribe himself. It is allowed that a redactor had to do with the passages in which 'the first person is almost wholly absent'; the same concession must almost certainly be made with regard to the passages

1 Robertson Smith, *OTJC*(2), 427 n.

2 On Neh. 11 3-19 21-24, cp Meyer, *Entst.* 100 *f.*, 186 *ff.*

3 [Neh. 11 25-36 should perhaps never be referred to without an expression of reserve. The tendency of the most thorough recent criticism is to regard this passage as an insertion of the Chronicler, and not as an authentic statement of the territory occupied after the so-called Return by the 'sons of Judah' and the 'sons of Benjamin.']

in which Ezra himself appears to be the speaker. Even the royal firman in Ezra 7 11-26 cannot be authentic.

Meyer himself admits (p. 65) that the firman lacks the Persian colouring which appears to characterise the other supposed official documents, and proves that, if fictions, they are not unskilful fictions; a strict criticism of the contents shows that the firman too is of Jewish origin. Meyer's answer (p. 64) is altogether inadequate. That the Persian court was favourable to the maintenance of the religions of subject races, at any rate of such religions as that of Yahwè, is recognised; the missions of Sheshbazzar and Nehemiah, in so far as they had religious objects, are perfectly in accordance with Persian policy. But for the violent interference with the religion of the people of Judah, and even as the supposed firman says, of the people[1] of the province W. of the Euphrates in general, there is no parallel—certainly that adduced by Meyer[2] (p. 71) is no parallel at all. Meyer thinks that the Persian court simply adopted the terms of the petition laid before it by Ezra in the name of the Babylonian Jewry; but it could not have acceded to a petition for which there was no precedent, nor could the Babylonian Jewry have been so unwise as to ask leave for something that was unattainable. The firman declares 'that Ezra the priest and scribe is sent by the king and his counsellors to institute an inquiry into Judæan religion on the basis of the law which is in his hand. It even empowers Ezra to appoint magistrates and judges to judge the people of the province W. of the Euphrates in accordance with this law, and should there be any who presume to disobey, or refuse to he taught, a strict sentence is to be passed upon them, ranging from simple imprisonment to confiscation of goods, banishment, and death.'[3] As a matter of fact, Ezra is not reported to have attempted to carry out this firman, which is evidently the work of a partisan of Ezra with but slight historical sense. The one thing which is credible in the firman is that the Persian court was willing to grant freedom from taxes to the Jewish priests, a parallel for which is supplied by the rescript of Darius I. to the Persian official Gadatas at Magnesia (on the river Mæander).[4] What the real object for which Ezra desired the royal permission was, has been pointed out elsewhere (*see* EZRA, § 3); it was by no means what the supposed firman represents. It is not permissible, therefore, to say that the pious exclamation of Ezra in Ezra 7 27 proves that the firman must have been inserted by Ezra in his memoirs; the point to which it refers is only incidentally mentioned in the firman, and is not that for which Ezra is specially sent by the king and his 'seven counsellors. In fact, to carry silver and gold to Jerusalem to beautify the temple, required no firman at all (Zech. 6 10 *f.*).

Those who can bring themselves to hold that, in spite of the objections raised. the firman must be genuine, might do well to identify the Artaxerxes who was the patron of Nehemiah and Ezra with Artaxerxes II. Mnemon (404-359), simply because this king did not scruple to force the acceptance of religious innovations on his own people, so that he might conceivably have permitted Ezra to use force in introducing his law-book at Jerusalem. It would, however, be the resource of despair. The objections which, if space permitted, could be raised to this proposal of Marq. (*Fund.* 37), are weighty, and, it seems, insuperable. Kosters, Wellhausen, and Meyer are probably right in identifying the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah and Ezra with Artaxerxes I., and a political motive for that king's generosity to the Jews can be divined (see *Jew. Rel. Life*, 38 *f.*). The view assumed by most on the basis of Ezra 7 11-26 seems to the present writer historically inconceivable, and a warning to the student was necessary.]

The Memoirs of Ezra and of Nehemiah are not the only documents to which our author is indebted.

(*a*) For example, he has used an account of the building

1 [Marq., it is true, would read עַמָּךְ 'thy people' for עַמָּא 'the people' in Ezra 7 25.]

2 [The interesting story of Uza-hor (an Egyptian who became chief physician to the king of Persia: see Brugsch, *Gesch. Äg.* 784 *ff.*) is considered in *Jew. Rel. Life*, 40-43.]

3 [*Jew. Rel. Life*, 55.]

4 [Marq. (*Fund.* 37), referring to *Bulletin de corresp. hellén.*, 1889, p. 530. This scholar (*Fund.* 37, 39) and Meyer (*Entst.* 19-21) have done good service in calling attention to this important piece of evidence for the attitude of the Persian court towards the religions of subject peoples. The fact that a copy of this rescript has been found near the very place to which Gadatas belonged as an official, shows that Persian documents may well have been preserved in the archives at Jerusalem. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that some part of the supposed official documents in Ezra is genuine. Indeed, the presence of fictitious documents in Ezra may perhaps be taken to imply the existence of genuine ones.]

of the temple in the reign of Darius (Ezra 5 1-6 15). This is made up out of two accounts (*a* and β) as is at once apparent (1) from its inconsecutiveness: in 66-12 (α) we find the close of a letter of Darius (the beginning is wanting), given as the sequel of a decree of Cyrus contained in 63-5 (β); (2) from its contradictions: according to 5 2 (α) it is Zerubbabel and Jeshua who begin to build the temple, whereas, according to 5 16 (β), the foundations had already been. laid by Sheshbazzar in the time of Cyrus; according to 6 1 *f.* the decree of Cyrus which is sought for at Babylon is found at Achmetha (Ecbatana), without any notice of the search being abandoned at the one place and resumed at the other.

6. Other sources.

We are unahle, however, to separate the two portions with certainty, chiefly because only parts of each of the two accounts have been taken. We may perhaps say that 5 1-10 6 1 *f.* (in part), and 6-15 belong to the one (*a*) and 5 11-17 6 1 *f.* (in part), and 3-5 to the other (β). Probably the Chronicler had the story before him already in its composite form.

[Against Kosters' attempt to separate the report of the satrap Tattenai (Uštanni?[1]) into two parts derived from different sources, see Wellhausen, *GGN*, *'95*, p. 176; Meyer, *Entst.* 42, n. **4**. It is not probable, however, that the document has reached us in its original form.

The answer of the Jewish elders in Ezra **5** 11 *f.* is plainly fictitious; so also the last clause of the imprecation which concludes the answer of Darius appears to be either a Jewish addition, or altered in a Jewish spirit from the original passage, which may have referred to Ahura-mazda. The Statement, however, that Tattenai complained to the great king of the attempt to rebuild the temple, and at the same time referred to the mission of Sheshbazzar is probable enough, and the mention of the discovery *at Ecbatana* of the roll (*i.e.*, the cuneiform tablet) containing the decree of Cyrus, which, as Meyer plausibly supposes, entered into the answer of Darius,[2] is self-evidently authentic.]

(*b*) Again, in Neh. 12 1-26 we have a list of heads of priestly and levitical families dating, it would appear, from the time of the high priest Jaddua, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, originally compiled as a *supplement* to the register which we find in Neh. 11 3-36.

[It might perhaps be better to modify this statement thus: 'Neh. 12 12-21 may have been intended as a supplement to the register in 11 1-24.' On the passage see Meyer, *Entst.* 103. It is plain at a glance that הַלְוִיִּם has come into 12 22 by error from *v.* 23 (it is a synonym of בְּנֵי לֵוִי), and that ו before כהנים should be cancelled. Winckler's attempted explanation (*AOF* 2 221) recognises this, but is too devoid of plausibility to he considered here.]

(*c*) The author may have made use of a written source also in Ezra 4 6-23. For Ezra 1 3 4 1-5 24 6 16-22, it does not appear that he consulted other writings.

[On Ezra 3 1-4 5 see Driver, *Intr.*(6), 547 *f.*]

Such portions of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as have been simply transferred from the memoirs, have great historical value; but the redactor's own contributipns are largely inventions.[3] Particularly is this true of what he tells about the return of the exiles, the foundation of the temple, and the suspension of the work in the reign of Cyrus (Ezra 1 3 1-4 5 24). At least, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, who lived when the temple was being built under Darius, know of no other founding of the temple than that which took place in their own time (Hag. 2 19 [18]), and presuppose no return from exile;[4] according to them the time of chastisement is still present, and that of redemption is all in the future (see Zech. 1 2 *f.* 12 2 6 *ff.* 69-15 8 7 *ff.*); above all, a prophecy of Zechariah (6 15) spoken to encourage the Jews to accept certain gifts from Babylonia, to the effect that Jews from a distance would take part in the building of the temple, shows that up till then no band of exiles had returned or taken a part in the restoration of the sanctuary.

7. Historicity: the return.

Our faith in the historicity of the return in the time of Cyrus is shaken by the testimony of 1st Esdras. In that hook we have, in the remarkable pericope 3 1-5 6, an account of the return of the exiles and the rebuilding of the temple (4 42-5 6) that is in irreconcilable conflict with the representation of Ezra1. At least we are told in 1 Esd. that not Cyrus but Darius sent Zeruhbahel with the returning exiles and restored the temple vessels which Cyrus had already set apart to he handed over, when he made the vow to destroy Babylon. Is it conceivable that this representation has groun out of that of Ezra 1? that the writer of 1 Esd. 4 transferred the original restoration of Israel by Cvrus, the deliverer mentioned in Yahwè's name by Deutero-Isaiah, to Darius who is nowhere mentioned in any prophecy? that if the return and the restoration of the temple vessels had really taken place under Cyrus, a later writer should have transformed this into a mere promise and intention on the part of Cyrus afterwards fulfilled by his successor Darius? This is incdnceivahle. Ezra 1 evidently contains a form of the tradition later than 1 Esd. 4 42-5 6, and its account is therefore not to he accepted. Cp EZRA, GREEK, § 6.

Nor does either of the two narratives of which Ezra 5 1-6 15 is made up, presuppose a return of exiles in the time of Cyrus. Both representations of the temple rebuilding vary from that given by the redactor. According to the one (α), a beginning with this was made not in Cyrus's reign but in that of Darius (5 2); according to the other (β), Cyrus was well disposed to the undertaking, and, with a view to it, sent to Judæa, not indeed Jewish exiles, but an official of high rank, Sheshbazzar,[1] of course to co-operate in the work with the Jews in Palestine—a work which was carried on without interruption until Darins's time, 5 14-16 [β]): neither account has a single word about returning exiles.

Nor does the list of those who returned, which we find in Ezra 2 (Neh. 76-73). prove anything for the credibility of the Chronicler's way of representing matters. Originally it had no reference to the time of Cyrus. In its present form it certainly has, as is evident (1) from the place which has been assigned to it, (2) from *v.* 2, where Zerubbabel and Jeshua are enumerated among the twelve leaders of the Jews, and (3) from *v.* 68 *f.*, which carries us back to the period before the restoration of the temple.

8. The great list: Ezra 2 = Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5.

To take the last-mentioned point first: (*a*) a comparison with Neh. 7 70-72 [BL. 69-71] shows that the narrative here originally related, not to gifts for the building of the temple, but to gifts to the treasury out of which 'the work'—*i.e.*, the temple-service—was defrayed; whilst, that the representation in Ezra 2 68 *f.* according to which 'the work' is taken to mean the building of the temple is incorrect, is further evident fi-om the fact that the gifts consisted in part of priests' garments, which could of course come into requisition for the establishment and maintenance of public worship, but not for a re-building of the temple. Above all, (*b*) the number of those who, according to this list, returned to Judæa (*v.* **64**) presents great difficulty. It is much larger than the total number of Jews who, according to 2 K. 24 14 *ff.* Jer. 52 28 *ff.*, were carried into captivity in 597, 586, and 581. If, in addition to this, we bear in mind that, according to Ezra 7 *f.* (cp the Book of

[1] So Meissner; *see* TATNAI.

[2] [Meyer (*Entst.* 47) thus restores the opening of the royal rescript: 'Ring Darius to the satrap Sisines (Tattenai), etc. The decree of Cyrus has been found in **a** roll in the treasury of Echatana, and therein is the following record.']

[3] [Cp col. 1473 note 2.]

[4] [At any rate no considerable hand of exiles can have returned—none that was ahle materially to influence the Jewish community; so much must be inferred from Hag. and Zech.; cp Che. *Intr. Isa.* p. xxxv; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 6f. The mere circumstance that no allusion is made by Hag. and Zech. to the arrival of Sheshbazzar does not disprove the actuality of his return.]

[1] [That Sheshhazzar was a Persian official may he admitted. By nationality, however, he was a Jew; we may infer this from the phrase in Ezra 1 8 הַנָּשִׂיא לִיהוּדָה, 'the (legitimate) Judæan prince' (based perhaps on an earlier document), and from the Statement in the genealogy of the Davidites that among the sons of Jechoniah was SHENAZZAR (1 Ch. 3 18 RV), whose name in MT seems to he a corruption of the Babylonian name of which another corrupt form is SHESHBAZZAR [*q.v.*]. That the Jewish *nāsi* 'prince' (if the term may be accepted as genuine) went up to Jerusalem unattended, is not to be supposed. Cp *Jew. Rel. Life*, 6; ISRAEL, § 51.]

Esther), a large number of the Jewish exiles remained behind in Babylonia, the figures in the list in question cannot be accepted as representing returning families. Moreover (c) the list includes names not only of outstanding families (*vv.* 3-19 30 *ff.*) but also (*vv.* 20-28 33 *ff.*) of common people (contrast 2 K. 24 15 25 12), and (*d*) these last consist, according to *v.* 1*b*, of returned exiles who have recently settled again in the homes of their ancestors; which cannot have been the case.

We can indeed, if need be, suppose that the exiles had preserved the memory of the places from which their ancestors had been taken and that, in the land of their exile community of origin constituted a bond of union among those who had formerly belonged to the same town or village; but we can hardly suppose that they all were able to settle again in the places from which they had sprung. During their absence aliens had established themselves in Judæa, and in the case of many towns the earlier population must have remained behind in Babylonia; one locality would therefore, if things were as the author supposes have received too great a population, whilst another was insufficiently supplied. Circumstances must thus have compelled many to take up their abode elsewhere than in their ancient homes.

If then *V.* 1*b* gives an inaccurate representation of the character of the citizens, the conjecture at once arises that the statement is to be ascribed to a redactor, and that the original list dealt with the population of the places mentioned as a whole, not exclusively with those who returned.

Lastly (*e*), let us take the second of the three points mentioned above (beginning of § 8). It would seem that the list of the twelve leaders (Neh. 7 7; in Ezra 2 2 only eleven are named) is by no means free from suspicion,[1] partly on account of the names Nehemiah and Azariah (so Neh. 7 7; Seraiah in Ezra 2 2) of which the second, especially in Hebrew, closely resembles that of Ezra, with which indeed it is confused (cp Neh. 12 1—Seraiah, Jeremiah, Ezra—with Neh. 10 2—Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah), and partly also because it names Zerubbabel and Jeshna as leaders of the return, which they are not [if MT may be trusted] in the writings of their contemporaries Haggai and Zechariah,[2] who nevertheless frequently refer to them; the writer of 1 Esd. 3 1-5 6 knows them as leaders of the return in the time of Darius.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that this list at one time possessed a character quite different from that in which it here comes before us.

9. Its original meaning.

Perhaps it was originally a complete register of the clans and citizens constituting the restored Israel—the 'congregation' the origin of which is related in Neh. 9 *f.* The compiler of Ezra-Nehemiah subsequently, by placing it immediately after Ezra 1, by the interpolation of *v.* 1*b* 2, and by *v.* 68 *f.*, made it serve as a list of the exiles who returned in the reign of Cyrus. [On this list see also below, § 15 1(*a*).]

The account, in Ezra 1 3 1-4 5 24, of the return from the captivity, of the laying of the foundation of the temple, and of the arrest laid on the work of rebuilding by the hostility of the Samaritans, is thus unhistorical.

Equally unhistorical is the narrative according to which a beginning had already been made with the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem long before Nehemiah's time (Ezra 4 6-23).

10. The city walls.

This narrative includes letters from Persian officials to Xerxes (485-466) and Artaxerxes (465-424), reporting that the Jews were rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem; also a letter from Artaxerxes giving orders for the stoppage of the work. The unhistorical character of the passage appears from the following considerations.

(*a*) It comes in between the account of the hostility to the building of the temple shown by the Samaritans (4 1-5) and the statement that the work was accordingly suspended until the second year (519) of Darius (Ezra 4 24); as if this suspension of the temple building had been the consequence of the letter of Artaxerxes about the building of the wall. The passage thus cannot, at all events, originally, have belonged to the place where we now find it; perhaps the redactor transferred it here in order to signify to the reader that the building of the temple had been interrupted by accusations similar to those which, under Xerxes and Artaxerxes, had interfered with the building of the wall.

(*b*) Quite apart from its connection, it is not in itself probable that the story is historical. Nehemiah's account of the restoration of the wall (Neh. 1-6) does not leave the impression that any others before him had already addressed themselves to this work.

Is it likely that the enemies of the Jews, who were bold enough to set themselves against the royal governor Nehemiah, even when addressing himself to the work with the express permission of the king, would at an earlier period have hesitated, until they had received in writing the orders of the king, to interfere with the Jews when these were addressing themselves to the work of building without permission?

Further (c) [even after certain errors in the text have been removed] the letters themselves bear internal marks of non-originality. [The question is no doubt a complicated one. We may admit that the facts presupposed by the letters are not always incorrect; or again that in one case or another there may be a genuine *kernel*; or again that the letters are in some respects skilfully composed; but that they are genuine in their present form, and can be used without criticism for historical purposes, must unhesitatingly be denied. Notice that Rehum's letter of complaint (Ezra 4 8-16) is addressed immediately to the king of Persia, passing over the satrap of the province through whom it ought to have been sent. This points to the period when Syria was under the rule of the Ptolemies or the Seleucidæ, and was divided into small administrative districts (Marq.), and it is difficult (see below) not to trace the *later* antagonism of Jews and Samaritans in the prominence given to the alien population of Samaria. Notice further that] Artaxerxes states in his answer (*vv.* 17-22) that an examination of royal records showed that there had been mighty kings of Jerusalem who had ruled over all the lands to the W. of the Euphrates and received toll, tribute, and custom. This is a manifest reference to David and Solomon [as Winckler (*AOF* 2 231) has also, since Kosters' death, pointed out], and betrays the hand of a Jewish writer. It cannot be shown that Assyria or Babylon ever had relations with these kings of Israel or with their dominions; a complete silence respecting them is preserved in the inscriptions. [In spite of the particularity of the statement, 'written in Assyrian (*i.e.*, in cuneiform) and interpreted in Aramaic'[1] (Ezra 4 7, emended. text), the document is certainly fictitious. The motive of the fiction was probably to show that Nehemiah's rebuilding of the walls was no arbitrary innovation, the same work having been taken in hand before the reign of Darius, and only hindered by the malice of the Samaritans, whose opposition to the Jews the redactor antedates. That the writer confounds Cambyses with Artaxerxes[2] (cp Jos. *Ant.* xi. 2 1 26) need not surprise us; he may have thought of Darius II. or Darius III. who did succeed an Artaxerxes.[3]]

1 [Whether Prof. Kosters would have adhered to this view, may be doubted. To Meyer (*Entst.* 193) the names have a credible appearance. In this we must agree with him, though he too hastily adds that Zerubbabel and Jeshua are the only leaders of whom we have any definite knowledge. It has been shown elsewhere (BILSHAN, REGEMMELECH, TIRSHATHA) that of three of the 'heads' we possess definite information. On the 'heads' cp GOVERNMENT, § 25; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 6, 10, 16.]

2 [Prof. Kosters here shows himself a conservative textual critic. See REGEM-MELECH for the text of Zech. 7 2, where it appears that two of the leaders are referred to; see also preceding note.]

1 [Reading אַשֻּׁרִית for the first אֲרָמִית (Klo. *PREP*) 5 514). To read פָּרְסִית (Meyer; cp Marq., 63) is more difficult.]

2 [אחשורוש, Ahasuerus, in Ezra 4 6, is probably a scribe's error for ארתחששתא, Artaxerxes, *vv.* 6 and 7 should be fused. For Bishlam Mithredath and Tabul, we should, as Marq. (62) suggests: read Rehum and Samlai (see SHALMAI).]

3 [So Marq., 61. Klo. *PRE*(3) 5 516, thinks that Ezra 4 6-6 18

11. The list of Neh. 12 12-26 misplaced.

The redactor's view of the fortunes of Israel in the time of Cyrus rendered it necessary that he should here and there introduce alterations even into the documents taken over by him. We have already seen how this has been done in Ezra 2. Something similar happened with Neh. 12 12-26, where priests of the time of Darius and the high priest Joiakim (*vv.* 12 26), and Levites of the time of Nehemiah and Ezra (*vv.* 22-26), are named as patriarchal heads of priestly and levitical houses; by prefixing *vv.* 1-11 he carried the list back to the time of Cyrus.

12. Formation of 'congregation' misrepresented.

According to Neh. 9 *f.*, after Ezra and his exiles had come to know that the people of Judæa had intermarried with aliens, the true Israel separated itself from 'the peoples of the land' and so had constituted itself into 'the congregation.' According to the redactor, who had made a separation and formation of a congregation take place already soon after the return of the exiles in the time of Cyrus (Ezra 6 21), the alien marriages of which Ezra complained could only have reference to the congregation already thus separated. He therefore introduced into Ezra 9 *f.* certain corrections, with the effect of making it appear that the contaminating alliances which Ezra met with in Jewish territory had occurred in the case of certain exiles who had united themselves into a 'congregation' (9 4 10 6 8 12 14). The narrative itself (Neh. 9 *f.*) which described the formation of the congregation in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah he has thus failed to appreciate in its true significance, and he partly mutilates it by removing a portion (Neh. 13 1-3), partly makes it almost unintelligible by placing it in a connection to which it does not belong (after Neh. 8) and by making interpolations (*e.g.* 9 3 *ff.*) which obscure the scope of the narrative.

13. Editorial adjustment to P.

Other more or less considerable corrections, made by the compiler in the passages he took over, were due to his conviction that, throughout the entire period with which he was dealing, not only the regulations affecting priests and Levites (which according to 1 Ch. 23-26 had been established by David), but also the prescriptions of the law, which according to Neh. 8 had been introduced by Ezra, were valid. The last-named law (what is now known as the Priestly law) he regarded as dating from the time of Moses, so that apparently he did not regard Neh. 8 as describing the introduction of a new law—which in fact it was.

Consequently in the portions composed by himself the redactor represents everything as happening in accordance with the law and the ordinances of David; (*a*) the feasts are observed (Ezra 3 4 *f.* 6 19 *ff.*) in accordance with Ex. 12 6 Lev. 23 5 *ff.* 33-43 Nu. 29 12-38; (*b*) the priests have trumpets (Ezra 3 10) in accordance with Nu. 10 1-10; the Levitical years of service (Ezra 3 8) are those which, according to 1 Ch. 23 24 27, had been fixed by David, (*c*) the Levites have the oversight of the building of the temple (Ezra 3 8 *f.*) in accordance with 1 Ch. 23 4; (*d*) the singers are Levites (Ezra 3 10 *f.*) as enjoined in 1 Ch. 23 5 25, though they are not so, as yet, in Ezra 2 40 *ff.*; (*e*) priests and Levites are divided into classes (Ezra 6 18) as laid down in 1 Ch. 24. For the same reason he introduced corrections into the narratives he took over. (*f*) In Neh. 8 *f.* he has inserted some verses which not a little confuse the course of the narrative (8 4*b* 7 *f.* 11 9 3-5) because he thought it impossible to dispense with the services of the Levites as interpreters of the law and leaders of the congregation in the ceremonies described. (*g*) In Neh. 12 27-43 the account of the dedication of the wall is exceedingly confused, because the redactor missed in the description of the feast which lay before him, thing; which he thought he ought to have found, and thus regarded corrections and interpolations as necessary; he made the singers Levites, provided them with the musical instruments of David (*v.* 36), supplied the priests with trumpets (*vv.* 35, 41), and inserted lists of names, so that even Judah and Benjamin, in the original narrative designating the people, became priestly names (*v.* 34). See BENJAMIN, § 5.

is a great apology for the Judæan community by a person officially competent for the task, whose name in Aramaic was Tab'el, and had the sanction (בשלם?) of the Persian governor Mithredath. The cause of the apology was the accusation brought by Rehum which Tab'el prefixes to his work. This accounts, he thinks, not only for the singular כְּתָב, and the sing. suffix in כנותה, but also for the 'suggestive' chronological statements 'until the reign of Darius' (4 5), 'at the beginning of his [Ahasuerus'] reign' (4 6), etc. Kautzsch too (*Abriss* 109) takes a very favourable view of 4 8-6 18: the compiler has 'good information but inserts 4 6-23 out of chronological order. Evidently Kautzsch has been moved by Meyer's somewhat excessive expression of his confidence in his own historical results, and perceives that earlier critics laid too much stress on one class of evidence to the neglect of other important phenomena to which Meyer seems (unduly) to limit the term 'historical.']

14. Other adjustments.

Elsewhere he has made corrections in the accounts given in the older narratives for other reasons.

(*a*) Ezra's genealogy (Ezra 7 1-5) he has conformed to 1 Ch. 6 3-14 [5 29-40] so as thereby to make his hero a member of the high-priestly family (cp also EZRA i., § 1); (*b*) the account of the measures taken by Ezra against the mixed marriages he has so modified and altered in Ezra 10 that we cannot make out what the result of the attempt was; probably he intended to disguise its failure as much as possible. Cp EZRA, § 5.

15. Dislocation of materials.[1]

Above all, the author has allowed himself great freedom in the arrangement of the materials at his disposal. At least, the events cannot all have followed each other in the order in which he describes them.

1. During the interval between the completion (Neh. 6 15) and the dedication of the walls (12 27 *ff.*) it is impossible that all the things which stand in his account can have taken place.

(*a*) The list of those who returned occupies, neither in Ezra nor in Nehemiah (Neh. 7 6-73), the place to which it rightly belongs; after 7 1-5*a* what we should expect to find would be some particulars regarding the population of Jerusalem, but for this we look in vain in the list here introduced, though the case is different with the list in Neh. 11, which probably once occupied this place. (*b*) Inasmuch as the law, the introduction of which is described in Neh. 8, was the so-called Priestly law of the Hexateuch,[1] its introduction must have occurred after the assembly of Neh. 9 *f.*, for here the people, besides pledging themselves to fidelity to the law (10 30 [29]), bound themselves to observe certain precepts (*vv.* 36-40 [35-39]) which are found for the most part in the Priestly law; had these been integral parts of the law which the people had just sworn to obey, there would have been no reason for special vows of observance in the case of these particular precepts.[2] Further, (*c*) all that is related in Neh. 8-10 must have taken place after what we read in Neh. 13 4-31. At all events, the enactment of the congregation in Neh. 10 38-40 [37-39], that the Levites shall themselves collect the tithes and then bring the tenth part of these to the temple treasury for the priests, transports us to a period when the method by which, according to Neh. 13 10-13, Nehemiah proposed to secure the Levites in their revenues was regarded as insufficient. Finally, (*d*) the redactor has erroneously made the narrative regarding Ezra (Ezra 7-10) anterior to that regarding Nehemiah. Whilst Ezra and a considerable band of exiles have, according to the narrative in its present form, already returned to the land of their fathers, there is not in Neh. 1 1-7 5 13 4-31 a single hint of these or of any earlier return, and among the names of those who took part in the building of the wall (Neh. 3) we seek in vain for those of Ezra's companions (Ezra 8 2-14).

2. Another strange thing is that after Ezra had already demanded separation from, and dismissal of, the alien wives (Ezra 10 3 11 19), Nehemiah should have rested content with a much smaller concession—with an undertaking, namely, that neither the men themselves nor their children should in future contract mixed marriages (Neh. 13 23-29).

3. Further, in the narrative of Ezra's arrival and first measures in Jerusalem we meet with at least one circumstance which transports us to Nehemiah's latest period; namely, that Ezra, shortly after his arrival at Jerusalem, takes up his quarters with a son of the high priest Eliashib (Ezra 10 6 cp Neh. 12 10 *f.* 22); as Eliashib was still high priest in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes (Neh. 13 6), it is improbable that a son of his should already have been a prominent personage in the seventh year of that monarch, which according to Ezra 7 7 *f.* was the date of Ezra's coming. What is related must thus have occurred most probably after Eliashib's death and certainly after the events of Neh. 13 4-31. When the redactor reversed the original order 'Nehemiah-Ezra,' which is still met with in Neh. 12 26, he also moved back the date of Ezra's coming and then further inserted the name of Ezra at least once, in a rather inappropriate place, in the account of the building of the wall (Neh. 12 36).

The order in which the events related in the books now before us actually occurred was probably the following.

1. After the temple had been rebuilt (519-515) by

[1] See HEXATEUCH, § 29 *f.*, HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9.

[2] [See further the pages devoted to this subject in Kosters' *Het Herstel*.]

Jews who had been left behind in Judah and Jerusalem (Ezra 5 1-6 15) Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in 445 and rebuilt and consecrated the city wall (Neh. 1 1-7 5 12 27-43).

16. Actual events.

2. On a second visit, in 433, on his return from a journey to court, he came forward as an ecclesiastical reformer (Neh. 13 4-31).

3. Not long afterwards, the date in Ezra 7 7 being incorrect, Ezra arrived in Jerusalem with his band of exiles and, perceiving that his compatriots had been intermarrying with their heathen neighbours, endeavouted, but in vain, *to* dissolve the mixed marriages (Ezra 7-10).[1]

4. Upon this, under the joint leadership of Nehemiah and Ezra, was held the great assembly at which the Jews separated themselves from the people of the nations, and thus 'the congregation' was constituted (Neh. 9 *f.* 13 1-3).

5. Into the congregation thus formed, the new law was shortly afterwards introduced (Neh. 8).

The reason that induced our author to invent a return of exiles in the time of Cyrus and to give to the events of Nehemiah's and Ezra's time a different order from that which he found in his sources, was perhaps this.

17. Motives for alterations.

(a) According to his view (2 Ch. 36 20) all Israel had been carried into captivity, no Israelites at all having been left behind in Palestine. Israel's restoration, which began with the rebuilding of the temple, thus became possible only with the return of the exiles. This must accordingly have already occurred before the time of Darius. When, then, in one of his sources (Ezra 5 13-16) our author came across a tradition (apparently resting on Is. 44 28-45 8) which ascribed the founding of the temple to Cyrus, he supposed that the return of the exiles also had occurred under that king.

(6) Just as the temple had been rebuilt and a beginning made with the restoration of Israel by those who returned in the reign of Cyrus, so in like manner, according to our author, the honour of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, the second great step in the restoration of Israel, fell to the lot of the exiles who returned with Ezra. In this view he placed Ezra 7-10 before the account of the restoration of the wall by Nehemiah, and gave as the date of Ezra's arrival the seventh year of Artaxerxes; and more than this, in Ezra 4 6-23 he gives it to be clearly understood that already before Nehemiah's time *a* beginning had been made with the rebuilding of the walls by the people of Ezra's company. Thus the restoration of Israel had been begun by returned exiles, and by returned exiles also had it been brought to a successful issue.

(c) The author's reason for placing Neh. 9 *f.* after Neh. 8 is obvious. In the last-named chapter he saw no introduction of a new law-book—all laws were by his time laws of Moses,—but the reading of the old law which had for centuries possessed validity for Israel, though often transgressed; as, then, Neh. 9 *f.* spoke of an assembly at which those present came under obligation to observe the law, this must have been preceded by the public reading of the law. That this was the engagement he had in view appears not obscurely in the verses (Neh. 9 3 *f.*) interpolated by him, by which he makes the people's pledge of fidelity to the law *to* be preceded by a public reading by the Levites, and so makes the assembly of chap. 9 *f.* become in a certain sense a continuation of that of chap. 8.

18. Literature.

See besides the Introductions of Dr., Co., König, and especially Kue. *Ond.*(2) 1 495-517 ('87); Berth., *Die BB. Esra, Neh. u. Esther*, ed. Ryssel ('87); Smend *Die Listen der BB. Esra u. Neh.* ('81); H. E. Ryle, Ezra and Neh., in *Cambr. Bib.* ('93); A. v. Hoonacker, *Neh. et Esd.* ('90); Kue., *De Chronol. van het Perz. Tijdvak der Joodsche Gesch.*; A. v. Hoouacker, *Neh. en l'an 20 d'Artax. I., Esd. en. l'an 7 d'Artax. II.* ('92), and *Zorobab. et le sec. Temple* ('92); W. H. Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israel in het Perz. Tijdvak* ('94), German tr. ('95); We. 'Die Riickkehr der Juden aus dem bab. Exil' in *GGN* ('95 heft 2); J. Marquart 'Die Organisation der jiid. Gemeinde sei; dem sogenannten Exil' (dated Aug. 29 '95), *Fund.* ('96), 28-68; W. H. Kosters, 'Het Tijdvak van Israels Herstel i., ii., and iii.,' in *Th T* 29 77-102 30 489-504 31 518-554 ('95 *ff.*); C. C. Torrey, *The Compos. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh.* ('96); A. v. Hoonacker. *Nouvelles Études sur la Restauration Juive* ('96); E. Meyer, *Die Entsteh. d. Judenthums* ('96); We., critique of Meyer's book in *GGA* (Feb. '97); E. Meyer, *Julius Wellhausen u. meine Schrift 'Die Entsteh.,'* etc. ('97); H. Guthe, Ezra and Neh., in *SBOT*: Cheyne, *Jew. Rel. Life after the Exile* ('98), Germ. tr. by H. Stocks ('99); 'The Times of Neh. and Ezra,' *Biblical World*, Nov. '99; A. Klostermann, 'Esra und Neh.,' *PRE*(3), 5 ('98), 500-523; Sir H. Howorth, 'A criticism of the sources and relative importance and value of the canonical Book of Ezra and the apocryphal book known as Esdras I.,' in *Tram. of 9th International Congress of Orientalists* ('93), 2 68-85; and series of articles in *Acad.* '93.

W. H. K.—T. K. C.

[1] [It is a question, however, whether Ezra's arrival should not rather he placed between Nehemiah's first and second visits to Jerusalem. See NEHEMIAH, § 5.]

EZRA, THE GREEK.

EZRA, THE GREEK. The Greek, the Latin (before Jerome's time), the Syriac, and the English Bible from 1560 onwards, designate the book as Esd. A, or 1 Esd. (the canonical books Ezra-Neh. being in 𝔊 Esd. B), either because its narrator begins at a chronologically earlier date than does the Hebrew, or because it is not a mere translation into Greek like Esd. B, but a free redaction made at a date earlier than Esd. B.

1. Name.

The Latin Bibles, since the time of Jerome, have called it 3 Esd. (2 Esd. being Nehemiah); in a Florentine MS (cp Pitra, *Anal. sac.* 2 635) it is called 3 Paralip.; others again cite it as 2 Esd. (Ezra-Nehemiah being regarded as one hook); cp Isidor *Or.* 6 2. In 𝔊A it hears, like the other book of the same name: the inscription (o) ιερευς (= Ezra הַכֹּהֵן; but Nestle, *Margin.* 29, conjectures Εζρας α ιερευς, Εζρας β ιερευς to have been the oldest superscriptions); and the subscription Εζρας α (𝔊BA); perhaps also the name *Pastor*, used by Jerome in *Prol. Gal.*, refers to. our book.'

Modern writers call the book the apocryphal Ezra; the Greek Ezra would be better (see APOCRYPHA, § 4, ii.).

The best tradition of the text is given in codd. B and A; the book has dropped out from ℵ; the recension of Lucian is peculiar.

2. MSS and Versions.

There is a double Latin translation—an older (of which Sabatier in *Bibl. Sacr. Latinæ versiones antiquæ*, 1751, gives two versions, one of them from cod. Colbertinus, 3703), and a later (admitted into the Vg.), of which the intention was to improve the older Latin translation and make it more intelligible. See also the fragment of a third Latin translation in Lagarde (*Septuag. Studien*, 2, '92). The Peshitta does not contain the book; on the other hand, it is found in the Syro-Hexaplar of Paul of Tella (616 A.D.; see Walton, *Sacr. Polygl.*, 1657), doubtless from a strongly corrected Greek text, there is also an Ethiopic version (Dillm. *Bibl. Vet. Test. Æthiopica*, 5, '94), and an Armenian (this last, worthless critically, is to be found in Holmes, *Sergii Maleæ codd. Armeni*).

3. Contents.

The contents of the book are as follows:—

Chap. 1 (= 2 Ch. 35 36 1-21). Josiah's passover, his death, and his successors down to the destruction of Jerusalem.

2 1-14 (= 2 Ch. 36 22 *f.* Ezra 1 1-11). The so-called edict of Cyrus.

2 16-30 [15-26][2] (= Ezra 4 7-24). The building of the temple (wall) interrupted by Samaritans in time of Artaxerxes.

3-5 3. Triumph of the Jewish youth in the contest between the pages-in-waiting before Darius. Leave for the return to Jerusalem given.

5 4-6. Beginning of a list of those who returned under Joshua and Zerubbabel.

5 7-73 [70] (= Ezra 2 1-4 5 24 Neh. 7 6-73). List of those who returned with Zerubbahel. Labours on the temple. Their suspension under Cyrus until the time of Darius.

6 1-7 9 (= Ezra 5 1-6 18). Application by Sisinnes the governor to Darius with reference to the building of the temple. Darius gives permission to build. Completion of the work by Zerubbabel in the sixth year of Darius.

7 10-15 (= Ezra 6 19-22). Celebration of the completion of the temple.

8 1-9 55 (= Ezra 7-10 Neh. 7 73-8 12). Ezra's work: the return of the exiles. The struggle against mixed marriages. The reading of the law.

[1] In 𝔊L, the Greek Ezra appears as 2 Esdras, 1 Esd. being Ezra-Nehemiah.

[2] The verses in brackets refer to the Greek text.

Thus, apart from the section 31-53 with the account of the pages' competition, which is peculiar to the Greek Ezra, the contents of the book are a doublet of the Hebrew Ezra, with portions of Chronicles and Nehemiah. The opening is very abrupt ('And Josiah held the Passover'); cp 1 25, where the last scene in Josiah's life is introduced not less abruptly. The present conclusion, too, is mutilated; originally, we may suppose, the narrative went beyond Neh. 8 12, perhaps coming as far down as to Neh. 8 18 or 10 39. Any considerable departure from the Hebrew Ezra is found only in the position of 2 16-30 and in the fact that 9 37 *ff.* (= Neh. 7 73 *ff.*) comes immediately after 9 36 (= Ezra 10 44).

4. Josephus.

Josephus in his *Antiquities* follows 1 Esd. (the Greek Ezra). The whole arrangement of his narrative, the story of the pages' competition, the agreement of many of his names with the Greek against the Hebrew Ezra, all abundantly show that this was the book he had before him, not the Hebrew or its Greek rendering in Esd. B. The only question is as to what parts Josephus copied from our 1 Esd.

What is related in chap. 1 Josephus takes up in *Ant.* x. 4 5 *ff.*, though there, so far as we can judge, he seems to depend more on the MT of Ch. or rather on the LXX of Ch. On the other hand, he begins *Ant.* xi. 1 1 with our 1 Esd. 2 1-15 [14] and continues to use it throughout down to *Ant.* xi. 5 5. After 1 Esd. 2 12 [11] he introduces from chap. 6 an edict of Cyrus to Sisinnes and Sarabasanes; and after 7 15 he introduces an account of intrigues of the Samaritans which is wanting in the present Greek text. From chap. 8 onwards there are many shortenings; the story ends with 9 55, but mention is added of the feast of tabernacles (cp Neh. 8 13-18), the return of the people to their inheritance, and the death of Ezra.

Certain variations from the text make it evident that Josephus used not only a Greek text similar to that which now lies before us, but also the source upon which it is based; cp, for example, *Ant.* xi. 4 4 with 1 Esd. 6 4, and the more skilful phrasing of *Ant.* xi. 3 2 with 1 Esd. 3 3 *ff.*

5. Claims to canonicity.

The facts (1) that in the best MSS (BA) the Greek Ezra stands beside the canonical books of Ezra and Neh.; (2) that Josephus uses the Greek Ezra, not the Hebrew; (3) that the Greek and the Latin fathers frequently quote from it, especially from the portion that is peculiar to it—chap. 3 *f.* (cp Pohlmann)[1]—lead to the conclusion that originally the same value was attached to 1 Esd. as to the Hebrew Ezra.

Augustine, for example, sees in the praise of truth in chap. 4 a prophecy of Christ, and in one of his lists of canonical books (*De doctr. Christ.* 2 8) enumerates two books of Ezra, of which our 1 Esd. was certainly one.

The Church's unfavourable judgment on 1 Esd. is due to Jerome, whose firm attachment to the Hebrew OT led him to refrain, in the first instance, from translating this and the other Apocrypha, remarking in his preface to Ezra: 'nec quemquam moveat quod unus a nobis editus liber est; nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur; quia et apud Hebræos Esdræ Nehemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur.' This became a ruling decision for the Church, and the Tridentine edition of the Vg. prints 1 Esd., as it prints the Apocalypse of Ezra (4 Esd.) and the Prayer of Manasseh, after the NT, in a small-type appendix, 'quippe qui a nonnullis sanctis Patribus interdum citantur et in aliquibus Bibliis latinis . . . (not in Greek, we are to infer) reperiuntur.' The Protestant Church followed in the same course. Karlstadt (*De canonicis scripturis lib.*, 1520) places the book among the 'plane apocryphi'; Luther translated neither 1 Esd. nor 2 [4] Esd. 'since they contain absolutely nothing which one could not much more easily find in Æsop or in even more trivial books' (Erlangen ed. 63 103 *f.*).

In the EV 1 Esd. heads the list of the Apocrypha.

6. Origin and relation to canonical Ezra.

Formerly 1 Esd. used to be regarded as a free handling of Εσδρας β, the LXX version of the canonical Ezra (so Keil, Bissell, and others; see on the other side. Nestle, *Marg.* 23 *ff.*). Of more critical views, three have to be mentioned. (*a*) Some (*e.g.*, Trendelenburg and Fritzsche) consider it to have been taken directly from the Hebrew. (*b*) Others (*e.g.*, Ewald, *Hist.* 5 165; Thackeray in Hastings, *DB*) assume a no longer extant Greek version of the canonical Ch.-Ezra-Neh. from which were taken, in the first instance, the present Greek Ezra as a free redaction, and afterwards the more scrupulously careful rendering of LXX. (*c*) Sir H. H. Howorth (*Acad.*; see § 13) sees in 1 Esd. the original and genuine LXX translation, the present LXX text of Εσδρας β being perhaps that of Theodotion (cp the case of Daniel; in the present case, however, both versions found admission alongside of each other into the Greek canon). This would explain how it came about that our book, as being of greater age, took the place of precedence as Εσδρας α in the MSS of our present LXX. That it came closer to the original than Εσδρας β would seem to be supported by the fact that it is used by Josephus, as also by the better condition, from a text-critical point of view, of many passages when compared with Εσδρας β (see Thackeray, Hastings' *DB* 1 760). What strikes the present writer as of primary importance to the discussion is the observation that the text of 1 Esd. is of very unequal value and of varying degrees of excellence when compared with the various parts of the parallel Hebrew.

Chap. 1 is quite manifestly inferior to 2 Ch. 35 *f.*; cp, for example, 1 5 10 *f.* 25 [23] (Pharaoh), 12 6 [28] 34 [32] (Jechoniah), 1 35 [33] (Israel), 1 38 43 [36 41] (Jehoiakim), 15 6 [53]. On the other hand, the text of chap. 6 is good—perhaps still better than in the parallel Ezra 5 1 *ff.*; *e.g.*, observe the names in 8 3, the form of the superscription of the letter in 6 7, the omission of 'the Great God' of Ezra 5 8 in 6 8, the mention of the names in 6 27; according to 6 29 *f.* the royal treasury makes merely a grant of the sacrifices to be offered for the life of the king, in Ezra 6 8 *f.* it is a grant of all the temple expenses. In 2 16-30 [15-26] the relative value of the two texts is not so clear; the superscription and exordium of the letter, as also the names, come down to us better in 1 Esd.; on the other hand, the rest of the passage shows many misunderstandings.

This varying quality of the text excludes the supposition that the Greek version can have been produced *aus einem Guss*. It thus becomes necessary to treat it as a compilation and to analyse it as such into its component parts:—

1. Ch. 3 1-5 3, relating to the pages' competition, is an independent piece of narrative that is also found standing by itself in a MS of the Vg. (Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, '93, p. 94, n. 5). To all appearance this piece is itself also a composite production, the praise of truth being an addition. The whole seems to have been originally written in Greek, and shows affinity with the epistle of Aristeas (Ew. *Hist.* 5 165); the writer appears to have knowledge of the court history of Persia (4 29 *ff.*). The hero of the story (ὁ νεανίσκος, 4 58) was not originally Zerubbabel.

2. 6 1-7 15 2 16-30a [15-26a]. Fragment of an Aramaic historical writing (the parallel portions of Ezra are written in Aramaic). It is worthy of notice that Jos. *Ant.* xi. 4 9 introduces immediately after our 7 15 an expansion in which Samaritan intrigues are described. This leads to the inference that something of the same kind must have fallen out between 8 and 2 15-26. The Greek translation of this Aramaic fragment here goes back perhaps to a better text recension than we have in the case of the canonical Ezra.

3. Ch. 8 *f.* is from the Ezra document (= Ezra *7-10* Neh. 7 73 8 1 *ff.*). What the present writer thinks of that document is expressed elsewhere (see EZRA, § 5); he now speaks only of the text of the Greek Ezra, which here seems to rest upon a different Hebrew text from MT; observe the designation of Ezra as ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀναγνώστης τοῦ νόμου (apart from 8 3 25 [A] where he is γραμματεύς as in the Chronicler) as compared with the הַכֹּהֵן סֹפֵר דִּבְרֵי מִצְוֹת יְהוָֹה of MT; the connection of 9 37 *ff.* with 9 36; the name Theras (8 41); and the like.

4. 2 1-15 5 7-73 7 2-4 6-15. Sections taken from the Chronicler.

5. Ch. 1 is a defective, and in many places, incorrect translation of the Hebrew of 2 Ch. 35 *f.*, Esd. B having been at the same time before the translator. Of this, as well as of the hurried manner of this translator, we have a specially instructive illustration in 1 23 [21] *f.*, which has been condensed from 2 Ch. 35 19*a*-19*d* 𝔊 (notice also the confusion in *v.* 24).

Our book, then, we may venture to suppose, arose somewhat as follows:—

(*a*) In the first place an Egyptian Jew combined the story of 3 1-5 3 with the Aramaic fragment 6 1-7 15 . . . *2 16-30a* which he translated into Greek. He made the story refer to Zerubbabel (4 13 5 6), and after 5 3 interpolated a section which has reached us only in a mutilated form (some words have also fallen out before Zerubbabel in *v.* 5). It contained originally the names (the names, be it observed; not the numbers) of the heads of families of the returning exiles, especially of their leaders.

(*b*) Next, a later writer, whose readers were acquainted

[1] *Op. cit.*, § 13.

with the first collection or composition (*a*), just spoken of, addressed himself, with the entire work of the Chronicler before him, to the task of translating that portion of Ch. which we now know as the book of Ezra.

He began with **2** 1-15, and in order to explain Zerubbabel's petition to Darius for the restoration of the temple (notwithstanding the edict of Cyrns), transferred 2 16-30 from its later position in the hook to its present place, the result being that what had originally followed **7** 15 was lost: in the further course of his translating he introduced into 'his work, from the Chronicler, all that he did not already find in his original. Finally chap. 1 came to he prefixed; perhaps it owes its position here to a mere oversight (similar to that which has placed 2 Ch. 36 22 *f.* at the end of Ch.)—possibly remaining attached to 1 Esd. when that book was transferred from its connection in a (bad) Greek translation of Ch.-Ezra-Neh., to find admission into the present Greek canon.

7. Purpose.

The purpose of the book has been estimated variously, and indeed, in the case of so complex a compilation, is difficult to determine. The subscription of Vetns Itala—'de Templi Restitntione'—is appropriate enough; in point of fact, the various restorations of the Jewish worship and religious organisation under Josiah, Zerubbabel, and Ezra are substantially the theme of the book. The political interest is in the background; the rebuilding of the wall becomes a rebuilding of the temple; the restitution of the sacred vessels, the cleansing of the congregation, the regulation of the religions festivals figure as the main things. The book, accordingly, in its present form, bears throughout the impress of the religious and ecclesiastical temper which characterised the Jewish people of the late post-exilic period; and this becomes all the clearer by comparison with the history we find in Josephus. Perhaps the Greek-reading public for whom the work was published included others besides Jews. Note the remarks in 8 3 9 39 and compare also 23 (6 κύριος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, κύριος 6 ὕψιστος; also 9 46); the same thing is suggested by the good Greek style, which is much superior to that of Esd. B. At the same time we are hardly inclined to think that the book, either as a whole or in any of its parts, was designed to influence any Gentile power in favour of the Jews.[1] It is enough to suppose a purely historical intention—that the book is designed to set forth, for the benefit of readers who have received a Grecian education, the restoration of the post-exilic Jewish community.

(Cp Bertholdt, *Einl.* 3 1011 ('12-'19), in whose view the purpose was to compile from older works a history of the temple from the time when its regular services ceased down to its rebuilding and the re-establishment of the ritual.)

8. Historical Value.

As we now have it, the book is full of repetitions, errors. and inconsistencies. The repeated narratives of opposition offered to the building of the temple (2 16 *ff.*, 566-73, **6**) cannot all of them be historical; 5 66-73 leaves the impression of being an imitation of pure fiction; **2** 16 *ff.* dealt originally with the building of the wall but was made by the compiler to refer to the building of the temple; ch. **6** on the other hand speaks from the outset of the building of the temple. The list of positive errors would be long.

Take as examples 1 25 [23] (Pharaoh for Pharaoh-Necho), 1 34 [32] (Jechoniah for Joahaz), 1 35 [33] (Israel): **1** 52 [49] (βασιλεῖς); **2** 16 [15] (בעל טעם as a name); **5 40** (Nehemiah and Attharias), 5 73 [70] (two years until the reign of Darius), 7 4 (Artaxerxes); 7 15 (King of the Assyrians); 9 **40 49** (Ezra a high priest); 9 49 (Attharates as **a** proper name).

Of these errors some are to be charged to the Chronicler, others to the latest compiler. Finally, the chronological scheme is quite wrong. Artaxerxes is placed before Darius (but contrast 7 4 𝔊[BA]); Zerubbabel returns, according to the connection in ch. 5, under Darius (cp EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 7); but, according to the original scheme of 5 7 *ff.*, which also reappears in *vv.* 71 73, under Cyrns. Thus the narrative actually proceeds backwards; **2** 15-26 happens under Artaxerxes, **3** *f.* under Darius, 5 7 *ff.* under Cyrus. Manifold were the attempts to introduce order into this chaos. Josephus makes out the Artaxerxes of 2 16 to be Cambyses, represents Zerubbabel as having returned to the court of Darius after having come up to Jerusalem in the reign of Cyrus, adds Darius to Cyrus in **5** 71 and makes the special point of the complaint of Sisinnes to be that the temple buildings were assuming too large dimensions. Howorth (*Acad.* 17 *ff.*) seeks to remedy matters by substituting Darius Nothus (423-404) for Darius Hystaspis. The view of the origin of the book set forth in the preceding paragraphs adequately explains the contradictions: the compiler, as we have seen, introduced between **2** 15 [14] and **3** 1, the incident of the interruption of the building of the temple (the wall) under Artaxerxes in order to supply a motive for Zerubbabel's petition to Darins; and, the story of 3 *f.* having once broken the true historical connection, it became necessary to transfer to Darius's time events which in the document before the compiler were brought into the reign of Cyrus (57-73).

It is our duty as critics to distinguish between the historical value of the original elements and that of the present compilation. As it stands, the compilation bears the impress of the genuine Jewish spirit, which, without any feeling for history, writes stories for the honour and glory of Judaism, and regards the kings of the alien world-power purely as instruments for bringing to realisation the greatness of Israel. On the other hand, in the opinion of the present writer, the Aramaic source of ch. **6** is entitled to be regarded as historical;[1] also what we read in 2 16 *ff.* of the interruption of the building of the wall, even if we cannot be sure under whose reign it occurred. Chap. 3 *f.*, however, have of course no similar claim to our respect. Cp EZRA-NEHEMIAH.

9. Value for literary criticism.

In praise of the text of 1 Esd. as an aid to the student of the MT, enough has been said elsewhere (EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 1). It is of its usefulness for literary criticism that we have to speak here, supplementing the article already referred to. The question to be raised is this, How did Neh. 1 1-7 72 come to be interpolated between Ezra 10 **44** and Neh. 7 73 (or conversely Neh. **7** 73-10 39, which plainly belongs to the Ezra-document, between Neh. 7 72 and **11**) whilst yet, in 1 Esd., 9 37 (= Neh. 7 73) follows 9 36 (= Ezra **10** 44)? It should be borne in mind that 1 Esd. 9 37 is plainly out of place in its present position, and that 9 37 *f.* corresponds exactly to **5** 46 *f.* (Neh. 7 73 *f.* to **Ezra 2** 70 *f.*). To supplement EZRA-NEHEMIAH (§§ 8, 15), we may suggest that what happened may have been somewhat like this.

The lists as well as the accounts of the contributions to the building and of the settlement are in their original place in Ezra **2** (= 1 Esd. **5**) perhaps taken from a source that lay hefore the Chronicler; Neh. **7 5** suggested to the Chronicler the idea of bringing forward the lists again, and accordingly he introduces them at 7 6 along with 7 70-73 = Ezra **2** 68-70. Further, the original Nehemiah-document (see EZRA ii., § 6) contained an account of the popular assembly in Jerusalem (7 5), of which traces still survive in 1 Esd. 9 49 (Attharates [*see* TIRSHATHA] the speaker!) 9 51 *f.* **54**; but the Chronicler had before him only fragments of this, and accordingly he substituted, from the Ezra-document, the account of the assembly for the reading of the law, worked over by himself and prefaced with the words וַיִּגַּע הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי. Thus the narrative came to disappear from its original place in the Ezra-document (let us say, before Ezra 9 1 = 1 Esd. 8 68). Everything else (Neh. 8 13-10 39) is embellishment by the Chronicler, and is to some extent parallel with Ezra 8 35-10 44 (= 1 Esd. 8 65-9 36). Later still Ezra 3 1 (= 1 Esd. 5 47), which has nothing to do with its present connection, was introduced from Neh. 7 73 *b*, 8 1, in order to bring Ezra **2** 68 and Neh. **7** 70 *ff.* into complete correspondence with each other. When, finally, 1 Esd. came to be completed in agreement with the work of the Chronicler and translated (see above, § 6, end), the translator added after 1 Esd. 9 36 from Neh. 8 everything relating to Ezra that he found in that work.

10. Style.

The style of the book is genuinely Greek; fluent and easy, it betrays none of 𝔊's slavish dependence on the Hebrew. Perhaps the elegance

[1] So Ew. *Hist.* 5 165, Bissell, *Comm.* 63, **Lupton,** *Comm.* 10 (see § 13, 'Literature').

[1] Note that the name 'Zerubbabel' in 6 18 must be due to the redactor.

of its Greek was one of the reasons Josephus had for using 1 Esd.

Eichhorn (*Einl.* 346, ['95]) detects in its style a likeness to the style of Symmachns; Gwynn (*Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, *s.v.* 'Theodotion,' 977) calls attention to its similarity to that of Daniel in 𝔊, which suggests (cp Thackeray, Hastings' *DB*, 761) that both 1 Esd. and Dan. (LXX) may he renderings by the same hand. Sometimes the translator finds himself unable to make anything of his Aramaic original; see, for example, 6 4 (καὶ τἆλλα πάντα), 2 20 6 24, and so forth.

As regards the date of the compilation all that can be said is that the book in its present form, or perhaps still without ch. 1, was already in the hands of Josephus (100 A.D.). The affinities between 1 Esd. 3 1 *ff.* and Esther 1 1-3, as also between 1 Esd. and Dan. (LXX). give our nearest indications for any approximate determination of date.

11. Date.

The view of Lupton (*Comm.* 11-14) that the book was designed to prepare the way for the building of the temple of Onias for the Jews of Alexandria (170 B.C.) is insufficiently supported.

The place of composition of the book, or of its constituent portions, is not known. There is at present a disposition to assume an Egyptian authorship (cp Lupton, 10 *ff.*).

12. Place.

The mention of εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πλεῖν καὶ ποταμούς in 4 23, and the use of the expression Συρία (or κοίλη Συρία) καὶ Φοινίκη for עֵבֶר־נַהֲרָה may be noticed (cp CŒLESYRIA).

The most important point to be considered is whether 3 *f.* betokens contact with the religious philosophy of Alexandria. Such a contact certainly is disclosed in the praise of truth.

See especially the personification in 4 38-40, where we read that while all else perishes, Truth lives and conquers for evermore. With her there is no partiality in accepting of persons; all else is unrighteous, but in her and herjudgments there is never any wrong; and all men who do well like her works. Hers is the strength and the sovereignty and the power and the majesty of all ages (Mt. 6 13 RVmg.).

Even granting the Alexandrian origin of this section, however, especially if it be only a later addition, we are still very largely in ignorance of the origin of the work as a whole.

Dähne[1] points to the use of ὁ ὕψιστος as a Divine name—a feature by which 1 Esd. (2 3 6 31 [30] 8 19 21 9 46) is distinguished from the Hebrew—as an example of its Hellenistic habit of thought. Note also the ὁ ὕψιστος θεὸς σαβαωθ of 9 46 𝔊A; and on the worship of θεὸς ὕψιστος and of σαβαζιος-σαβαωθ see *TLZ*, '97, p. 506.

13. Literature.

(*a*) ***Text and Exegesis:*** Ball notes to 1 Esd. in ***The Variorum Apocrypha:*** Guthe, translation in Kau. *Apokr.*, '98; Fritzsche in *KGH*, '51; Bissell in Lange-Schaff's *Comm.* '80 (rephnt from ***Bibl. Sacr.*** 209-228, ['77]); Lupton in ***Speaker's Commentary***, '88; Zöckler in *KGK*, '91; Reuss, ***Das AT übersetzt, eingeleitet, u. erläutert***, 4 36-40 6 417 *ff.* ('92-'94). (*b*) *Introduction*, etc.: Trendelenhurg, 'Apocr. Esra' in Eichhorn's ***Allgem. Bibl. der bibl. Litt.*** 178-232 (1787); Dahne, ***Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüd.-alex. Religionsphilosophie***, 2 115-125 ('34); Treuenfels, 'Ueber das apocr. Buch Esra,' in Fiirst's *Litteraturblatt des Orients*, nos. 15-18, 40-49 ('50); also, 'Ueber Entstehung des Es.-apocr.' (*ibid.* nos. 7-10 ['51]); Pohlmann, 'Ueber das Ansehen des apocr. 3 Buchs Esra,' in *Tüb. Theol. Quart. Schr.*, '59, pp. 257-275; Ewald, *Hist.* 5 126-128 (*GVI*(3), 4 163-167); Schürer, *GJV*(2) 713 *ff.* ('86), cp *PRE*(3) 1 636 *f.*; Howorth in *Trans.* of the Ninth Oriental Congr., London, 2 68-85 ('93), and 'On the real character and importance of the First Book of Esd.' in *Acad.* Jan.-June, '93; Nestle, *Marg. u. Mat.* 23-29 ('93); Thackeray in Hastings' *DB*, 1 758 *ff.* ('98); Moulton, 'Ueber die Ueberlief. u. den textkrit. Wert des 3 Esrabuchs' in *ZATW*, 19 ('99) 209-258. See also 'Literature' in EZRA-NEHEMIAH.

P. V.

EZRAH (עֶזְרָה) 1 Ch. 4 17 RV, AV EZRA. See EZER (ii., 1).

EZRAHITE (אֶזְרָחִי, a patronymic, meaning descendant of **ZERAH** [*q.v.*, 1]), an epithet applied to ETHAN (*q.v.*, 1) in 1 K. 4 31 [5 11] (ο ζαρειτης [B], ο εζραηλιτης [A], ο ισραηλιτης [L]) Ps. 89 title; and to HEMAN (*q.v.*) in Ps. 88 title (ο ισραηλ[ε]ιτης [BAKRT]. Pesh. in K. has ܡܕܢܚܝܐ 'of eastern origin.'

EZRI (עֶזְרִי '[Yahwè is] my help'; εσλρει [B], εζραι [AL]), b. Chelub, according to the Chronicler the overseer of tillage in David's time (1 Ch. 27 26).

EZRIL (εζρ[ε]ιλ [BA]) 1 Esd. 9 34 RV = Ezra 10 41 AZAREEL, 5.

F

FAIR-HAVENS (Acts 27 8: εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλούμενον Καλοὺς Λιμένας [Ti. WH]), at some point on the S. shore of Crete near Lasea. Paul's ship was detained here for some time, owing apparently to continued NW winds. Precisely according with this is the situation of the small port still known as the *Fair Havens* (ς τοὺς Καλοὺς Λιμεῶνας), two hours W. of C. Leonda. It is open to the east but protected from SW. winds by two rocky islets. The coast projects W. in C. Lithinos or C. Matala (anc. Lissen or Lisses; Λισσήν, Str. 479), and then bends N. for mary miles. The vessel would therefore be compelled to wait at Καλοὶ Λιμένες for a change of wind to enable her to get round the point. This small anchorage, however, might well be regarded as not 'commodious to winter in.' Hence the attempt to work to Phenice. Paul himself was averse from taking the risks of a passage across the Gulf of Messara, and the event proved that his caution was sound (*v.* 10, where τὸν πλοῦν signifies, not the entire voyage, but the crossing from Fair Havens to Phenice),

(See Pococke, 2 250; Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griech.* 2 566; Jas. Smith ***Voyage and Shipwreck of S. Paul***(4), 82 *f.*, with view and charts(; cp Spratt, *Travels* **and** *Researches in Crete*, vol. ii. *frontis.* and p. 1 *f.*

W. J. W.

FAIRS (עִזְבוֹנִים) Ezek. 27 12 etc. AV, RV 'wares.' See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

FAITH. (*a*) 'Faith' (LXX and NT πιστις) in the sense of 'good faith' or 'faithfulness' occurs in the EV of Dt. 32 20 (אֵמוּן, *'ēmūn*) Mt. 23 23 Rom. 3 3 Gal. 5 22 (RV 'faithfulness') 1 Tim. 1 5 19 27 2 Tim. 222 3 10 47 Tit. 210 (EV 'fidelity') Rev. 2 19 13 10. We must not add Hab. 2 4, because the translators have here evidently been influenced by the Pauline use of the words (see below, § 4). Nor need we deny that in some of these passages faithfulness to God is included; all that has to be emphasised is that 'faithfulness' (cp TRUTH) is used as a general term without exclusive reference either to God or to man as its object. So, too, in Ecclus. 46 15, ἐν πίστει αὐτοῦ means 'by his honesty,' or 'by his veracity'; the Hebrew text no doubt had באמונתו, though the ב alone is now legible in the Oxford fragment.

1. Explanation of the term.

(*b*) Of the term 'faith' with exclusive reference to God—*i.e.*, trust or belief, 'the subjective condition of salvation' (H. Schultz; cp 1 Pet. 1 5), no example can be cited from the OT. The famous passage, Hab. 2 4, should probably be rendered 'but the righteous—by his faithfulness will he remain alive.' There is nothing in the context to prove that אֱמוּנָה, *'ĕmūnāh*, here means faithful performance of promises made to God; elsewhere the test of righteousness is the faithful performance of moral duties towards fellow-Israelites or fellow-men (see Jer. 5 2). Delitzsch, who, in deference to tradition, retains the rendering, 'by his faith will he live,' fully admits that אֱמוּנָה has a passive, not an active, sense, and that the form has nothing to do with הֶאֱמִין, *he'ĕmīn*, 'to believe.'

It is true, however, that Jewish and Christian tradition favour the active sense. The Gk. Vss. render by πίστις—the LXX

[1] *Gesch. Darstell.*, etc., 120 *f.* (*see* § 13)

strangely ἐκ πίστεώς μου;[1] Moses and David Ḳimḥi gloss אמונה by בִּטָּחוֹן, *biṭṭāḥōn*, 'trust.'

In fact, there is no word equivalent to 'faith' in the active sense in biblical Hebrew: Talmudic Hebrew has הֵימָנוּתָא (from הֵימִין = הֵימֵן, 'to believe') and אֱמָנָה. On the other hand, הֶאֱמִין, 'to believe,' followed by ביהוה (literally 'in YahwB') is of frequent occurrence. A notable passage is Gen. 15 6,[2] where EV gives, 'and he believed in the LORD; and he [YahwB] counted it to him for righteousness.' The idiom rendered 'he believed in' (האמין בְּ) is a very striking one; the belief intended is, not merely a crediting of a testimony concerning a person or a thing (this would be expressed by הֶאֱמִין לְ), biit a laying firm hold morally on a person or a thing, without the help of any intermediate agency (cp the phrase, 'to cleave to YahwB,' רבק בי', Dt. 10 20 11 22, etc.). Abraham has a sure confidence in God that, in spite of natural conditions, he'will give him a son as an heir, and Yahwè reckons this as righteousness, because the first obligation of the truly righteous man is to trust God.

This relation of trust to righteousness is specially Deuteronomic; trust or belief is obedience; both האמין לְ and האמין בְּ are found (see Dt. 9 23 1 32).

Though, however, the phrase, 'to believe (in) God,' occurs only once in the story of Abraham, the idea of the phrase pervades the narrative. Abraham is the hero of faith (see Heb. 11 8-12, and ABRAHAM, § 2). It is this that made his life so precious to pious Jews, for faith, they knew, was the quality which alone could preserve them as a people, and of faith they hnd a perfect example in Abraham (cp Gal. 3 9), whose spirit, unlike that of his descendants (Ps. 78 8), was 'constant' or 'steadfast' towards God. The idea must surely have been derived from some great religious teacher; was it perhaps Isaiah? Such is Duhm's opinion. According to him, the supreme importance of believing in God was first expressed by Isaiah in his interview with Ahaz, when he said, 'If ye take not hold [of God], ye shall not keep hold [of your life];' אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ (Is. 7 9). Again, in 2 Ch. 20 20 the Chronicler puts these deeply-felt words into the mouth of King Jehoshaphat, 'Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem; take hold of Yahwè your God,[3] so shall ye keep hold (of your life); take hold of his prophets, so shall ye prosper.' The Psalmists, too, use the phrase, though not very frequently (Ps. 78 22 32 106 12 24 119 66), and it so happens that the only passage of the Psalter quoted by Paul to illustrate the importance of faith (πίστις) is Ps. 116 10, of which he adopts 𝔊's version, ἐπίστευσα διὸ ἐλάλησα, which cannot represent the right text.[4]

The Second Gospel surprises us by the statement that the first sermons of Jesus contained the exhortation, 'believe in (πιστεύετε ἐν) the Gospel' (Mk. 1 15). The phrase πιστεύειν ἐν (האמין בְּ) is unique in the NT.

2. Its use by the Synoptists.

Jn. 3 15 Eph. 1 13 have indeed been referred to as containing it; but the reference implies an interpretation which is certainly not to be preferred (see RV). In Gal. 3 26, however, and in 1 Tim. 3 13 we have the phrase [ἡ] πίστις [ἡ] ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 'faith in Christ Jesus.'

Possibly 'in (ἐν) the gospel' was not in Mk.'s original source; this writer often introduces superfluous words from an excessive striving after clearness. 'Repent and believe' would be quite sufficient (for the absolute use of πιστεύειν, see Mk. 9 42 15 32 Lk. 8 12.) Certainly the statement in Mk. 1 15 may be well founded so far as 'believe' is concerned. It is credible that Jesus used the words 'believe,' 'faith,' very early in his ministry, and that he quickly drew the eyes of men upon himself, without having occasion to use the words 'Believe in me.' He spoke 'as one having authority' (Mt. 7 29 Mk. 1 22), and such an one produces faith in himself without having occasion to ask for it. In the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 6 30) we meet with the phrase ὀλιγόπιστοι, 'men of little faith,' which is not classical Greek; it is equivalent to the Talmudic phrase קְטַנֵּי אֲמָנָה, 'small in faith.' After the 'rebuke' of the wind and the waves Jesus said (Mk. 4 40 tells us), 'Why are ye fearful? have ye not yet faith?' Again, in the narrative of the healing of the centurion's servant we read of Jesus expressing surprise at the centurion's faith, which exceeded any faith that he had as yet found among Israelites (Mt. 8 10). The scarcity of 'faith' in his native district was such that he 'did not many mighty works there' (Mt. 13 58), and to his own disciples he had to give the exhortation, 'Have faith in God' (ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ), Mk. 11 22, whilst they on their side had to ask for help against unbelief (Mk. 9 24; cp Lk. 17 5)—*i.e.*, for his efficacious intercessory prayers (Lk. 22 32). This all-important possession—what is it?

'Di', huon Cristiano, fatti manifesto;
Fede che è?'[1]

It is not an intellectual assent and consent to dogmatic decrees; it needs not 'proofs physic and metaphysic,' nor phraseological suggestions 'rained'[2] throughout the Scriptures. It is the assent and consent of the human personality—the recognition 'with heart, and mind, and soul, and strength' of the truth that God is not only 'King of Israel,' and therefore of each Israelite, but also *de jure* sovereign of the world which he made, and that anything necessary for the establishment of his sovereignty *de facto* over the world and its inhabitants will be granted to those of the true Israel who ask it. Not only if the opposition of heathen rulers require signs and wonders in order that it may be quelled ('Re thou removed, O mountain'), but if it be necessary for the production in any *individual* of a filial feeling towards God, the sickness which oppresses, or the physical danger which threatens that individual will be removed, if he ask for this in 'faith.' For himself, Jesus demands unconditional trust; for God, he requires undoubting belief or 'faith.'

The distinction' is not an idle one. In the Psalms, 'trust' is the characteristic attitude of the soul towards God. When, however, the Son had come, some new phrase, or at any rate some old phrase which could be invested with a new dignity, seemed to be required to express the joyous and undoubting confidence which Jesus sought to cultivate in his disciples; that phrase was 'faith.' For himself, as we have seen, he asked not faith, but trust; the distinction can, however, best be expressed in German, 'One has *Vertrauen* on God, *Zutrauen* to Jesus' (Holtzmann). Jesus is one 'greater than the prophets'; in teaching his disciples how to pray, he implies that though they are his brethren, he is in a fuller sense 'Son of God' than they are. They must therefore trust him, see with his eyes, hear with his ears; then they will believe in God as he does, and be able to do the wonderful things which he himself, in the service of the kingdom, is enabled to do.

In the Fourth Gospel the noun (πίστις: eight times in Mt., five in Mk., eleven in Lk.,) does not occur once. The verb (πιστεύω) occurs ninety-nine times, and niight therefore be expected to convey a prominent

1 Bishop Lightfoot (*Galatians*(2), 154) conjectures that the translator may have meant this to he understood, 'by faith in me'; but surely בֶּאֱמוּנָתִי most naturally means, 'by my fidelity to my promise' (cp Ps. 89 33 [34] *f.*), and ἐκ πίστεώς μου can certainly mean this. Lightfoot himself quotes Rom. 3 3, τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

2 Usually assigned to J or J2 (but see Holz. *Einl.* 95).

3 EV inconsistently renders, 'believe in the LORD your God,' but, 'believe his prophets,' though the Hebrew idiom is the same in both cases.

4 It is true, MT is as corrupt as the text presupposed by 𝔊 (see Che. *Ps.*(2)).

1 Dante, *Paradiso*, 24 52.

2 'Anco la verità che quinci *piove*,' etc. (*Paradiso*, 24 135 *f.*; cp *l.* 91).

idea of the evangelist. Such, however, cannot be said to be the case. 'To know God' is, in this Gospel, a much deeper and fuller idea than 'to believe in (πιστ. εἰς) God,' or 'in the Son.' The best spiritual blessings can be had now; 'belief' in the God who will shortly redeem Israel gives place to joyous, personal communion with the God who has redeemed his own from the power of evil by manifesting himself to them; such persons 'know' God. 'Believing' is no doubt a necessary prc-requisite of knowledge. Those who do not believe have had their sentence already (ἤδη κέκριται, Ju. 3 18), because they do not receive the testimony of Jesus. If there are those who cannot believe—*i.e.*, who have no spiritual susceptibility—it is because a demoniacal power ('the prince of this world') has blinded them (Jn. 12 39 *f.*), or because they are entirely absorbed in giving and receiving honour as members of a close corporation, the existence of which is imperilled by the claims of Jesus (Jn. 5 44). Cp GNOSIS, § 2, TRUTH.

3. In the fourth Gospel.

Paul's conception of faith needs to be considered in connection with his own inward personal history, and in combination with his conception of RIGHTEOUSNESS [*q.v.*]. The 'faith' of the Epistle of James is also excluded from consideration here, because it is neither clear nor homogeneous. So much, however, may be suggested, that the view of the intention of Jas. 2 14-26 sometimes put forward—viz., that the author is controverting a prevalent misuse of Paul's doctrine of faith—is possible only if the work belongs to the post-apostolic age[1] (cp JAMES, EPISTLE OF).

4. In other NT writings.

The idea of faith in the Epistle to the Hebrews is not open to the same objection. It is neither mystical nor metaphysical; but it satisfies the fundamental requirements of spiritual religion. 'Faith' is obedience, just as unbelief is equivalent to disobedience (Heb. 3 18 *f.*); hence, 'without faith it is impossible to please God' (Heb. 11 6). It is brightened, however, by a strong tinge of hope (cp Ecclus. 49 10, ἐν πίστει ἐλπίδος[2]); faith, like hope (Heb. 6 19), is an anchor of the soul; it enables a man to move about while on earth as if already in the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. 12 22). Hence the heavenly-minded writer of the great eulogy of faith in this epistle (Heb. 11 1-12 2) defines it as 'the firm expectation (ὑπόστασις) of things hoped for, the conviction (ἔλεγχος) of things not seen': Dante's 'syllogisms' (*Parad.* 24 94) are not needed here. It is true, however, that in the Pastoral Epistles and in Jude[3] we find traces of a nascent conception of faith which ultimately took full form in the theology of the old Catholic Church.

Besides the numerous works on the teaching of the different hooks of the NT, see Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT*(2) ['95] (note especially the discussion of the OT conceptions *'ĕmĕth* and *'ĕmūnāh* and their Aramaic equivalents, and of the linguistic usage of Greek philosophers, historians, and jurists); also Lightfoot *Galatians*(2), 152-156; Hatch, *Biblical Greek*, 83-88. On the different views of faith in the Pauline Epp. and in James respectively, see von Soden, *JPT*, '84, p. 137 *ff.*; Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 2 330 *ff.* T. K. C.

FALCON (אַיָּה; 𝔊 ἴκτις; in Job, γύψ), Lev. 11 14 Dt. 14 13 RV (AV 'kite'), Job 28 7 RV (AV 'vulture'). The only clue to the identification of the *Ayyah* is the keenness of sight alluded to in Job (*l.c.*). The reference might therefore be to the *Milvus ictinus* (Tristram; see KITE). Of the genus *Falco*, however, nine species are enumerated in Palestine.

FALLOW-DEER (יַחְמוּר, Dt. 14 5 βούβαλος [AFL; B om.], 1 K. 4 23 [5 3] [𝔊 om.]?), RV ROEBUCK (*q.v.*, 4).

[1] So H. von Soden, *HC* iii. 6. 176; Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* 2 337.

[2] It is not clear, however, what the Hebrew equivalent of this phrase can have been. The Hebrew text is defective; the word for πίστις does not seem to have been אמונה.

[3] Cp PASTORAL EPISTLES; JUDE, EPISTLE OF.

FAMILIAR SPIRIT (אוֹב), Lev. 20 27. See DIVINATION, § 4 (ii.).

FAMILY

[The present article is introductory. Affinity, whether by marriage (this is the special sense in which the word occurs in EV of 1 K. 3 1 2 Ch. 18 1 Ezra 9 14) or by blood, and the terms expressing relatioiiship, will be considered under KINSHIP. The range of subjects covered by the word 'family' is too large to be treated in a single article.]

The importance of the family in ancient Israel is apparent from the nature of the social conditions then prevailing, which are discussed with some detail elsewhere (see GOVERNMENT, § 3 *f.*). Other factors no doubt there were in the tribal constitution of the oldest period with which the OT deals; but none of them played a larger part than the family. Indeed, the clan and the tribe were regarded by the Hebrews themselves simply as extensions of the family, which thus had a special prominence given to it. By it, right and wrong are determined; it makes law, administers justice (see LAW AND JUSTICE, §§ 1, 8), and maintains divine worship (see below, § 2). All public affairs are, up to a certain point, family matters; they are regulated by the 'elders,' the heads of families and clans. This condition of things continued long after the settlement in Canaan.

1. Importance.

The importance of the family in ancient Israel was partly due, further, to the fact that in those days it was a society of worship. What has to be said of the tribe (see GOVERNMENT, § 8) holds good also of the family, and of the family in the first instance,—viz., that community of worship is the bond which keeps the family and the clan together.

2. Place in religion.

The same thing was true of various Indo-Germanic peoples, notably the Greeks and the Romans. There too the family was the oldest society of worship. The house-father was in primitive times the priest who had charge of the relations between the members of the household and the god. The right of sacrificing, in particular, was his alone. This is clearly shown in the case of the Israelite house-father, in the Passover ritual (Ex. 12 13 *f.*). The transference of the designation 'father' to the priest in this connection is also worth noting. Accordingly, within historical time in Israel we still find clans celebrating special sacrificial feasts of their own, feasts that had an important place in the social scheme. The members of the family were under the strictest obligation to assemble at the family sanctuary (1 S. 20 29)—an obligation which clearly points to an original family cultus (see FEASTS, § 1). The same family character shows itself in the social position of the slave. He is a member of the family; hut he becomes so (and shows that he is so) by joining; in the family worship. Eliezer prays to 'the god of his master' (Gen. 24 12). Foreign slaves are received into the religious fellowship of the house by the rite of circumcision—an ancient custom although no direct precept relating to it that has come down is of earlier date than P (see CIRCUMCISION, § 3). Lastly, reference may be made to all the indications from various sources which make it probable that, until well within historical times, ancestor-worship was practised, and that this worship may therefore be regarded as representing one of the earlier intermediate stages of Israelitic religion. Ancestor-worship, it need hardly he said is a family worship. How profound was the influence of this family character of religion upon the family life will appear from the details which have been preserved. See further ESCHATOLOGY, § 2 *f.*

The family takes its character from the position of woman. As to this nothing could be more instructive than the form of speech in which the husband is called *bá'al*, the wife *bĕ'ūlāh*: the man is the owner, the woman the chattel. Such at least was the custom as far back as our sources carry us (see, however, KINSHIP, § 8). In accordance with the classification of Robertson Smith, this type of marriage and family is therefore usually spoken of now as *bá'al* marriage. The married woman is completely under the power of her husband; the husband has over her a proprietary right. Precisely similar is the form

3. Marriage.

of marriage that chiefly prevailed in old Arabia. The husband acquires his property by purchase. The *mōhār* paid by the ancient Hebrews, as by the ancient Arabs, and by the Syrian fellāḥīn of the present day, on betrothal, is simply the purchase-money paid to the former proprietor—the father or guardian (cp MARRIAGE, § 1). With the payment of this purchase-money the marriage becomes legally valid, and all rights over the bride pass to the purchaser.

This is seen most clearly in the terms of the law relating to the seduction of a betrothed virgin, that is, one who has already been purchased by her future husband. The compensation to be paid was fixed exactly on the same scale as for a married woman (Dt. 22 23 *f.*); looked at from the present point of view, it made no difference whether the marriage had been consummated or not; the violation of the rights of private property was equally great in both cases.

Originally, as Robertson Smith (*Kin.* 72 *ff.*) rightly observes, such a *ba'al* marriage must have been a marriage by capture. Before a daughter of the tribe could be sold into such slavery, the slavery of woman must have become fixed as a firmly rooted usage in virtue of the established fact that ordinarily wives were obtained by plunder from abroad or as captives in war. Such women were of course, in the strictest sense, the property of the husband, the slaves of their master. We know that down to Mohammed's time marriage by capture was extremely prevalent; and, as was only to be expected, we have clear traces that it was not unknown in ancient Israel. In this way, we are told, the Benjamites who had escaped extermination were provided with wives (Judg. 21). Here (the date of the narrative is immaterial) capture in war (*v.* 10 *ff.*) stands alongside of capture (in peace) at the annual harvest festival at Shiloh (*v.* 19 *ff.*; cp DANCE, § 6). It is safe to infer that at the festival in question there survived ancient customs which owed their existence to a reminiscence of marriage by capture in the strict sense of the word. Such customs belong to the same category as those found among the Arabs, which plainly are designed, after the wife has ceased to be captured really, to represent the practice figuratively (see MARRIAGE, § 3). D, moreover (Dt. 21 10 *ff.*), has special regulations (whatever we may choose to make of them) as to the manner of entering into a valid marriage with a prisoner of war—regulations which certainly have relation to an ancient custom. By the fact of becoming the lawful married wife of her master, the captive woman passes into the ranks of the free women (as far as it is possible for any woman to be free; see § 4); she is no longer liable to be sold as a slave by her master; if he divorces her she becomes free. The rule of old Arabia was precisely similar. Obviously, however, a certain stigma attached to marriage by capture as soon as it had been supplanted in general usage by marriage (by purchase) with a tribeswoman. Laban reproaches Jacob for his stealthy flight on the ground that he had carried off his daughters with him as if they had been captives taken in war (Gen. 31 26).

4. Legal position of woman. Though the wife at marriage passes into the power of her husband, her position is not otherwise changed—at least for the worse—and accordingly she feels no degradation. The unmarried woman in the house of her parents, also is under tutelage; she is the property of her father or guardian. Amongst the Arabs, for example, her guardian can make her his wife or marry her to his sou without having to pay any *mōhār*. In like manner, to take another instance, two fathers can exchange daughters as wives for their sons.

The seduction of an unbetrothed virgin is from this point of view regarded as an injury to property, and, very significantly, is dealt with by the law in that connection only. A virgin is valued at a higher figure than a widow or a divorcee. The seducer has to pay to the father, as compensation, the amonnt of *mōhār* which the father would otherwise have been entitled to at her marriage (Ex. 22 15 [16]). The father, however, is under no compulsion to give the girl in marriage to the seducer; otherwise the way to force a marriage would be only too plain. Such an encroachment on his rights he is entitled to resist; so also in old Arabia.

Whilst thus treated as a valuable chattel, woman was not originally at all regarded from the point of view of working efficiency. The ancient Semites never appraised her so low. Women were looked upon rather as potential mothers, destined to give the tribe the most priceless of all gifts—namely, sons. On the number of its spears depended in those primitive times the whole power and dignity of clan and tribe. Therefore it was that the tribe did not willingly allow its women to pass by marriage into another tribe so as to enrich it with children. Later, indeed, when a sedentary life had been adopted, views changed and at the present time what the fellahin grudge is the working efficiency which by marriage is transferred from their own to another family.

5. Special points. The onesidedness of the marriage relation comes into prominence especially at three points: (*a*) where there is polygamy, (6) where there is divorce, and (c) where there is inheritance.

(*a*) In a condition of society where the husband is regarded as owner of the wife, naturally no limit is set to his powers of acquisition. He can own as many wives as his means allow him to purchase and maintain. He can also acquire secondary wives and make his female slaves his concubines at his pleasure. In this there is felt to be so little of reproach to the first legal wife that instances are not wanting in which she herself promotes the arrangement (as in the cases of Sarah, Leah, and Rachel). The great antiquity of this custom (and thus also of the patriarchal system, see KINSHIP, § 9) is shown by the fact that the word (צָרָה) for a secondary wife is common to all the Semitic languages (see ADVERSARY).

On the other hand the wife is very zealously guarded. Though she is hy no means shut up as in the Islam of to-day, the custom of veiling—which doubtless originated in the circle of ideas that we have been considering—is very ancient (Gen. 24 65 29 25). Adultery is punished with death, and if the husband has suspicions he can subject his wife to the ordeal of jealousy (Nu. 5 11-30; see JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF). Under such conditions the only case in which the husband can he guilty of adultery is when he seduces the wife of another man. Cp MARRIAGE, § 4.

(6) The right of divorce is equally onesided in favour of the man. It is always in his power to forgo his rights of property and to send his wife back to her home, if only he is prepared at the same time to send back the *mōhār*. The wife, on the other hand, has no means of obtaining a separation from her husband, or of forcing a divorce.

(c) Neither the unmarried nor the married woman is capable of inheriting. In *ba'al* marriages and under the patriarchal system the tendency to limit women's power of ownership and inheritance is easily intelligible. What belongs to the woman goes out of the family at her marriage. Thus in Israel daughters had no right of inheriting along with sons (see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18), and women's right of property was confined to what they had received as a gift; the wife of good position retains at her marriage (for example) the right to the female slaves who have been given to her as her personal attendants on leaving her father's house (Gen. 16 26 30 4 9). Even these, however, in the last resort, rank as part of the husband's property disposable by inheritance. Numerous indications tend to show that in ancient Israel when a man died his womenkind passed to the heir in the same way as the rest of his property (cp MARRIAGE. § 8).

Strictly, however, this right of property over the wife is not a right over her person: it is a right to enjoy her society and have children by her. The husband cannot, for example, sell his wife (though he can sell his children) into slavery (Ex. 21 7). He cannot sell even the concubine whom he Has bought as a slave, or gained as a prize of war. Thus, even from a purely legal point of view, the position of a woman

who has become a wife of any sort differs from that of a mere slave. There are other aspects also in which she is by no means absolutely without resource against her husband; she can always fall back on her blood-relations, who are ever ready—as they are also under obligation—to support her whenever she has just cause for complaint. Her position is, therefore, in the last resort, essentially dependent on the dignity and influence of her own family. This being *so*, it is easily intelligible why men were unwilling to let their daughters pass into the possession of a foreign tribe or (later) to a distant home, where they would, to a great extent, lose the protecting influence of their kin. Conversely, we meet in Arabian literature, on occasion, the exhortation not to marry too near one's own camp if one wishes to avoid the continual interference of one's wife's relations (We. *GGN* 437, '93).

It would be a great mistake, then, to draw immediate conclusions as to the personal relations of the wife to her husband and household from the mere facts of her legal position. In the lower classes of society, no doubt, the lot of a wife may well have been hard on the whole, inasmuch as (just as among the bedouin and fellāḥīn of to-day) upon her fell a very large share indeed of the most arduous labours of the domestic establishment—water-carrying, corn-grinding, baking and the like—besides, as far as circumstances allowed, field labour and the task of tending the flocks and herds. That she owed the master of the house unconditional obedience hardly needs to be said. This, however, held good of her sons as well. If we can draw any conclusion from what we read of the wives of the patriarchs we cannot regard the Hebrew wife as having been unduly subordinate and dependent.

6. Real position.

According to custom and right she was entitled to claim her wifely dues, her food and clothing, and general good treatment. Cases of cruelty to wives may be presumed to have occurred no oftener, if no seldomer, than they have always occurred in East and West alike. Women of rank and wealth, who could have personal attendants of their own, had a much easier lot. It need hardly be added that the amount of influence the wife possessed in the household would always depend upon her own character and her attractions for her husband. As a consequence of the comparatively large amonnt of freedom enjoyed by the Hebrew girl, she never as a wife became the (intellectually and morally) stunted creature which is now the prevalent type of woman in Mohammedan towns.

In the OT stories we are continually meeting with women of energy, capable of wielding great influence in household affairs and of taking independent action, worthy to be commended for their ability no less than for their beauty (Gen. 16 5 *ff.* 27 13 *f.* 42 *ff.* Judg. 4 4 *ff.* 17 *ff.* 16 6 *ff.* 1 S. 25 14 *ff.* etc.). See, also, MARRIAGE, § 4.

Though the legal status of the wife remained unchanged, it is evident that her actual position improved as time went on. More and more did she cease to be regarded as a mere chattel. The original meaning of the *mōhār* was gradually lost sight of. In Gen. 31 15 the narrator (E) makes it a matter of reproach against Laban that he had sold his daughters and entirely devoured the price received. The story of the creation in J (Gen. 218) gives the woman a far higher place in relation to man—that of a 'helper, matching him,' as one part of a whole matches another (עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ). A no less lofty conception of the marriage" relation finds expression in the prophets who represent the relation of Yahwè to his people under this figure. If, in the songs of Canticles, the beauty and love of women are represented with frank sensuousness and in glowing colours, this is supplemented in Proverbs by the praise of the virtuous wife which reveals a lofty ideal of the sex. It may always of course remain a question how far such theoretical reflections had penetrated into the consciousness of the people or practically affected the position of women in everyday life.

To have a numerous progeny was the desire of every one in ancient Israel. 'Give me children, or I die' was the heart's cry of the wife (Gen. 30 1); 'be thou the mother of countless thousands' summed up the good wishes of parents over a departing daughter (Gen. 24 60). Barrenness was a dire misfortune, nay, a divine judgment (1 S. 1 5 *ff.*); for it was not until she had become mother of a son that the wife attained her full dignity in the household (1 S. 1 6 *f.*; cp Gen. 16 4 30 1 *f.*). Still worse was it for the husband to have no son; his house was threatened with extinction. In the last analysis the dread of childlessness had its root in ancestor worship; the man who is childless will have no one to pay the needful dues to his manes after his death (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 5 *f.*). This was often the true reason why a second wife or a concubine was taken, and it was the essential consideration in levirate marriages (see MARRIAGE, § 8, ESCHATOLOGY, § 6).

7. Desire of offspring.

It is remarkable in this connection that we have absolutely no instance of resort to the means that would appear to us the most obvious—the adoption of a child from without; in Gen. 48 and parallel cases it is a son of the house-father, not an outsider, who is spoken of (see below, § 14). The inheritance in the last resort fell to the slave, who had already been participator in the family worship, rather than to the mere outsider (Gen. 15 3).

The desire was, in the first instance, for sons. By them alone is the family continued; daughters marry and go elsewhere. Sons alone, not daughters, keep up the family worship; sons alone belong to the *ḳāhāl* (see SYNAGOGUE), the aggregate of persons capable of bearing arms. The preference accorded to sons shows itself above all in the fact that they alone can inherit (see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18). In all this we are dealing with views not specifically Israelite; they are fully shared by the ancient Arabs. A much lower value was set on daughters; but it was not forgotten that a *mōhār* could be demanded for them at their marriage, and nowhere in the OT is there any trace of the contempt for girls which characterises so many nations past and present.

Amongst the ancient Arabs female infanticide seems to have been not very uncommon, the motives being not merely desire to be rid of the trouble of rearing female children, but also resentment against the disgrace of having become father of a daughter (We. *GGN*, 1893, p. 458). No such practice, as far as our records go, was known among the Hebrews.

Any distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children in the modern sense of these words was unknown. Legitimacy depended, of course, on fatherhood, and amongst the Hebrews, as amongst the Arabs, the claims of the man will originally have rested not on the presumption of his paternity but on the fact that the mother was his property. Similarly, the children of the slave of the mistress belong to the mistress and are reckoned as hers, inasmuch as their mother belongs to her (Gen. 16 1 *f.* 30 1 *ff.*). At all events, wherever the paternity is certain all children are legitimate, those of the secondary as much as of the principal wife; all are children of the paterfamilias, and all, therefore, are capable of inheriting (Gen. 21 10).

8. Legitimacy.

Even Jephthah, thongh (as son of a harlot) illegitimate in the *strictest* sense of the word, was brought up in his father's house along with the children born in wedlock, and if these afterwards drove him away it was a case of might against right (Judg. 11 1 *f.*, cp *v.* 7). No doubt the right to inherit may not, in such a case, have been exactly the same as in the case of sons of a principal wife—in this respect mnch seems to have depended on the father's goodwill, and a definitely fixed usage cannot be discovered—but this does not alter the fact that the legitimacy of the children did not depend on the form of the marriage.

In Ex. 1 15 *ff.* we read of the ease with which, according to Shiphrah and Puah, the Hebrew women delivered themselves. Nevertheless the office of the midwife must have been an ancient one (Gen. 35 17 38 28 Ex. 1 15 *ff.*). Stade has tried to make out (*ZATW* 6 143 *ff.* ['86]) that among the Hebrews the wife brought forth 'on the knees' of her husband; but this is hardly likely.

9. Birth; recognition.

In Gen. 30 3 it is proposed that the handmaid bear 'upon the knees' of her mistress so that the child may come to be regarded as the mistress's own. In this case it is easy to see how the

practice arose, and how the very expression became a synonym for adoption. Custom and expression alike can have arisen only under the matriarchal system where a woman adopted, in other words, received into her kindred and clan, a child of really alien birth. The transference of the expression to denote adoption by the father represents, therefore, at best, only a secondary sense. Moreover, it is far from certain that the phrase has this meaning at all or that the symbolical action of placing the child upon the knee; at adoption on the father's part was actually used. There is no mention of it at the adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48), and in Gen. 50 23 the expression is very doubtful (see Holzinger, *Comm. ad loc.*).

From Job 3 12 all we can infer is that at that time the mother brought forth upon the knees of another person. This need not, however, have been the father; it may have been the midwife or some other female friend. In Jeremiah's time (Jer. 20 15), at the birth of a child, the father was not present. Some interpreters have found in the passage already cited from Job an instance of a symbolical act analogous to that in use among the ancient Romans, whereby the father by raising the child from the ground signified that he recognised it and wished it to live; but if so it would be a reminiscence of an earlier custom of infanticide of which we have in the whole OT no further evidence even in the case of female children, not to speak of males (see above).

10. Infancy. The newly-born infant was bathed, salted, and swaddled (Ezek. 16 4). The use of salt in this connection seems to have been somewhat widely diffused in the ancient East, and it is still kept up to the present day. The fellāḥīn consider that it strengthens the child (*ZDPV* 4 63). This, we may be certain, was not the original reason for the custom; doubtless it had a religious significance. The mother usually suckled her own children (Gen. 21 7 1 S. 1 21 *f.* 1 K. 3 21 etc.), resort being had to a nurse (מֵינֶקֶת) only in exceptional cases (Gen. 24 59 35 8), though afterwards this seems to have become the practice more and more among the wealthier classes (2 S. 4 4 2 K. 11 2, cp Ex. 2 9). Weaning was late. At present the child in Palestine is kept at the breast for two or three years, and the case was nearly the same in antiquity (cp 2 Macc. 7 27; the Rabbins give two years). The weaning was made the occasion for a family festival, with sacrifices and joyous feasting (Gen. 21 8 1 S. 1 24).

11. Ceremonial uncleanness. The birth of the child made the mother unclean. This idea was shared by practically all the nations of antiquity, and is held still by all nations living in a state of nature; we must not, therefore, in seeking to explain it, appeal to religious and ethical conceptions peculiar to the Hebrews or even to later Israel—as, for example, to the notion that the sexual life from first to last was sinful, defiling alike to body and soul. Just as little should we be justified in regarding the whole arrangement as 'a primitive quarantine, the first step towards a public hygiene' (Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte der Völker*, 1 61). More probably the original idea was that the sickness of childbirth, like any other sickness, lay under the influence of certain demons, or that this, like other events in the sexual life, was under the protection of a special spirit (see Sta. *GVI* 1 483 *f.*). The consciousness of any such origin of the practice had, needless to say, become entirely obliterated before historical times.

The priestly law (Lev. 12) distinguished two degrees of uncleanness, the first lasting (in the case of a boy) seven days, or (in that of a girl) fourteen days; the second lasting for other thirty-three days in the first case and sixty-six in the second—thus making total periods of forty and eighty days respectively. Only after the expiration of the term of uncleanness could the offering of purification be made. Though we have no evidence of such a graduation of periods for the older time, it is possible that the totals of forty and eighty days may go back to very ancient custom. Amongst the Greeks also the woman was usually held to be unclean for forty days, and according to Zoroaster she had to live in a separate place for forty days and only after the lapse of another forty days might she resume the society of her husband. Among the ancient Arabs also the woman had to live for some time in a separate tent, and according to Islam she is unclean for forty days. That the uncleanness arising from childbirth lasts longer in the case of a girl than in that of a boy is also a widely diffused belief. The Greeks, for example, held pregnancy in the first case to be more troublesome and birth more painful; the purification after birth had to last only thirty days in case of a boy, but forty-two in that of a girl (Hippocr. *De nat. pueri*, ed. Kühn, 1 392). See CLEAN, § 14.

On circumcision and the naming of the child see CIRCUMCISION, § 1; NAME.

12. Parental authority. Growing children were kept in the most rigorous subjection to their parents. Good morals forbade the father to kill his child; but otherwise his power over it was almost absolute. He could sell his daughters into marriage, and even into slavery, though not to foreigners (Ex. 21 7 *f.*). Disobedience to parents, or cursing them, was punishable with death (Ex. 21 15 17; cp for the later time Lev. 20 9 Prov. 20 20 Mt. 15 4). Custom gave to the father the broad general right to put to death the worthless dissipated prodigal or heedless son, or the daughter who had gone astray (cp Gen. 38 24). As the legal system developed, the father's right of personally punishing was transferred to the regular courts; but in substance this changed nothing; on the complaint of the father the court would pronounce sentence of death. No limit of age at which the father's full power came to an end is ever mentioned. In practice, no doubt, it would terminate generally as soon as the son came to be independent and to have a house of his own.

13. Education. The children's upbringing was, in the first years of their life, the duty of the mother. Boys and girls remained together in the harem (Prov. 31 1). The girl continued there till her marriage; but boys comparatively soon passed under the superintendence and guidance of the father, or in the wealthier families were handed over to special guardians (Nu. 11 12 Is. 49 23 2 K. 10 1 5 1 Ch. 27 32, and perhaps 2 S. 12 25). Attention would of course be paid to their initiation into the worship handed down from their ancestors (Ex. 13 8 Dt. 4 9 *ff.* etc.). Hardly less important was their practical instruction in the cultivation of the field and the vineyard, in the tending of cattle, or in the exercise of their father's trade. The wealthier classes also learned to read and write, arts which in Isaiah's time (probably even earlier) were, it would seem, fairly widely diffused (Is. 10 19 8 1, cp Judg. 8 14). Of schools no mention is made in the OT; it was not till a much later date that education was systematized (see Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10 5, and cp EDUCATION). I. B.

14. Adoption. [We have now to refer to the act by which the privilege of virtual sonship was conferred on one who was not a son by birth (cp above, § 7). Three cases of informal adoption may plausibly be said to occur in the OT. One is the adoption of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter (Ex. 2 10); a second, that of GENUBATH (*q.v.*) by an Egyptian or rather N. Arabian princess (1 Ki. 11 20); a third, that of Esther by Mordecai her father's nephew (Esth. 2 7, דֹּדוֹ). The first two, however, appear to be survivals of the matriarchal system among the Semites (Ex. 2 1-10 comes to us from a Semitic writer), and the third exhibits the influence of non-Semitic surroundings on a post-exilic Hebrew writer.

In the Pauline epistles we meet five times with the technical legal term υἱοθεσία (Gal. 4 5 Rom. 8 15 23 9 4 Eph. 1 5). Here, too, except in Eph. 1 5, we notice the influence of non-Semitic social usages—usages which in Galatians are probably of the Greek type, in Romans of the Roman type, while in Ephesians (see below) 'adoption' seems to be used merely as a symbolic term, specially intelligible to Greek but by no means obscure to Jewish readers. Archæologically, therefore, the passages in Galatians and Romans are the more interesting, but to rest in their archæological aspects (on this subject see GALATIA, § 21) would show strange blindness to their highest significance. The writer of Galatians and Romans knows that 'all things are [his],' and scruples not to use law as an illustration of the highest truth. To faithful Christians he says that the 'spirit of adoption' is possessed already

(Rom. 8 15), but the 'inheritance' is 'according to' promise' (Gal. 3 29), and till the promise is fulfilled perfect happiness is impossible. Hence 'adoption' itself can be described as something for which we 'wait'; it will be enjoyed when the 'body,' and with it the entire sympathising creation (*i.e.*, the whole world apart from man), is 'delivered from the bondage of corruption' (Rom. 8 21 23). Thus the 'spirit of adoption' resembles the 'spirit of bondage' in so far as it refers to the future, but differs from it in so far as its characteristic is, not fear, but sure confidence in God's fatherly attitude towards us (Rom. 8 15). Those who are 'under the law' are not properly 'sons,' but 'servants' (Gal. 4 7 *f.*). It is true that in the context of this very passage (Gal. 4 1-3) men in this position are likened to children under age; but children under age are virtually servants, and so may in some sense be 'redeemed.' The use of this term 'redeem' (ἐξαγοράσῃ) in Gal. 4 5 (cp 3 13) has been illustrated by the Roman practice in adoption, which was virtually a sale by the natural father, and a buying out by the new father. Apart, however, from the question whether the Greek or the Roman type of adoption is implied, we must not press the preposition, considering the late Greek tendency to use verbs compounded with prepositions without increase of meaning.[1] The last passage (Eph. 1 5) is remarkable because 'adoption' there appears to be closely akin to moral and spiritual likeness to God; cp Jn. 1 12, where those who 'receive' (*i.e.*, believe on) the eternal word (*i.e.*, virtually Jesus Christ) are said to have 'authority' (ἐξουσίαν) given them 'to become sons of God.' The next verse explains that such persons have been 'begotten' (RVmg.), not in the natural way, but 'of God.' The 'adoption' which is in the writer's mind, though he does not use the term, is a recognition by God of a certain spiritual character in those who have 'received' Christ, and this must also be the idea of υἱοθεσία in Eph. 1 5.

We are a long way here from the υἱοθεσία of Rom. 9 4, where the 'adoption' is that referred to in Ex. 4 22, Hos. 11 1, etc. Still the insistence of Hosea on the moral conditions of Israel's sonship (cp LOVINGKINDNESS) shows that the 'adoption' of Israel intended by the OT writers is really a recognition of a degree of likeness to God in the Israelitish people. We are also still separated by a considerable interval from the ecclesiastical use of υἱοθεσία recorded by Suicer (*s.v.*). Hesychius, says this writer, defines the term thus, ὅταν τις θετὸν υἱὸν λαμβάνῃ, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα. Photius, *too* (*Ep.* 97, *ad Basilium Macedonem*), makes a strong appeal to Basilius in the name of their old friendship and various other still more sacred things, last among which is 'the bond by which the adoption, of the fair boy (ἡ τοῦ καλοῦ παιδὸς υἱοθεσία) bound us together. The reference is to a child of Basilius whose sponsor Photius had been. υἱοθεσία has become a synonym for baptism, for which we have a parallel in the phrase 'the laver of regeneration' in Tit. 3 5 (RVmg.).]

16. Literature. For the older literature see Ugolini, *Thes.* 30; Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, 1673; J. D. Michaelis, *Mosaisches Recht*, II.; Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, 725 *ff.* See also, besides the archæological handbooks: W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* ('85), and 'Animal Worship and Animal Tribes,' etc., *Journ. Phil.*, 9 75 *ff.*; Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, 40 148 *ff.*; Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern* ('84); Chr. Stubbe, *Die Eire im A T* ('86); Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' *GGN* 1893, p. 431 *ff.*; Benzinger, art. 'Familie u. Ehe,' in *PRE*(3); Simon, *L'Éducation des Enfants chez les anciens Juifs* ('79); Strassburger, *Gesch. d. Erziehung bei den Israeliten* ('85). I. B., §§ 1-13, 15; T. K. C., § 14.

FAN (מִזְרֶה, *mizreh*, Is. 30 24 Jer. 15 7, cp 'fanners' Jer. 51 2 AV RVmg.; ΠΤΥΟΝ Mt. 3 12 Lk. 3 17). See AGRICULTURE, § 9.

FARTHING (ΑССΑΡΙΟΝ, Mt. 10 29 Lk. 12 6 [Amer. RV 'penny']; ΚΟΔΡΑΝΤΗС, Mt. 5 26 Mk. 12 42). See MONEY.

FASTING,[2] FASTS. Fasting (צוֹם, *ṣūm*; later עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ, *'innāh néphes̆*, see below, § 5), to the Hebrews, meant, as amongst other Orientals it still means, total abstinence from meat and drink.

1. Duration of fasts. Such abstinence lasted as a rule from sunrise to sunset, when it ended in a meal (cp *e.g.*, Judg. 20 26 1 S. 14 24 2 S. 1 12 3 35). When a fast of more days than one is spoken of (1 *S.* 31 13 'seven days' fast') the expression is to be understood in the sense that meat and drink were taken each day after sundown just as at present in the Mohammedan fast of Ramaḍān. If, as in Esther 4 16, a prolonged fast extending over a specified number of days and nights is spoken of, this is to be regarded as exceptional. The weakened form of fasting which consists in abstinence from certain kinds of food and drink appears only as a development of later Judaism. Of Daniel we are told (Dan. 10 2 *f.*) that he drank no wine, ate no flesh or dainty food, and abstained from anointing himself. It is a fast of this sort that we are to suppose in the case of Judith (Judith 8 6; see below, § 6).

2. Original meaning. On the object of fasting the only express utterance of the OT occurs in 2 S. 12 22:

'While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept, for methought, Who knows whether Yahwè will not have compassion upon me, that the child may live? But now he is dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him back again?'

David is here said to have fasted in order to raise Yahwè's pity, and so make him inclined to listen to his prayer (see below, § 3).

We may well doubt, however, whether we have here the original meaning of the act of fasting. For we could not thus explain how fasting became one of the most prevalent and widely diffused of mourning customs; the passage merely suggests the uselessness of fasting as an element of mourning for the dead. It was well, therefore, to try another explanation, and that of Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 434) seems likely to be correct. This scholar points out that sacrifice, being essentially a sacrificial meal, needed to be carefully prepared for; this preparation was obtained by fasting.

In addition to numerous parallels for such a preparation, he notices the fact that abstinence, though in another direction, was certainly a preparative for eating of the consecrated bread and sacrificial food (1 S. 21 5 [6] *f.*). This is of much weight. We must, it is true, concede that fasting is nowhere mentioned as one of the details of preparation for a sacrifice, or 'sanctifying oneself' for a festal celebration. Rather is it represented everywhere as a religious act of independent value. This, however, proves nothing against the possibility of such an origin of fasting; it only shows that even in the earliest historical period the Hebrews had already lost this custom of fasting before sacrifice. And yet perhaps there may be a trace of the view of fasting which is here advocated in the reports in Exodus (34 28 [J]; cp Dt. 9 9) that Moses on Mount Sinai neither ate nor drank for forty days and after that received from God the tables of the law. Daniel, too, received his revelations after a long fast (Dan. 9 3 10 2 *f.*).

The cases of Moses and Daniel prove that fasting was a means by which man was brought into such a condition that it was possible for God to have conimunion with him. Perhaps also a similar thought underlies and has had an influence on the report that Elijah passed forty days and forty nights in Horeb without meat or drink (cp also the fasting of Jesus, Mt. 4 2). Fasting in mourning for the dead is sufficiently esplained in the same way; the funeral meal is in its origin not different from a sacrificial meal, except in the fact that the offering is in the former case macle, not to Yahwè but to the deceased.

Fasting in sign of mourning finds express mention in the OT only twice; the men of Jabesh fast for Saul seven days (1 S. 31 13 1 Ch. 10 12), and David and his people fast for Saul and Jonathan on the day of the arrival of the news of their death (2 S. 1 12). 2 S. 12 21, however, warrants the conclusion that fasting in mourning was a pretty general custom; David's courtiers wonder that the king ceases to fast after the dcath of his child, since, in their view—*i.e.*, according to ordinary custom—that was the very time when he ought *to* have fasted.

The explanation of the origin of fasting now given conics nowhere clearly to light in the OT; no consciousness of it remained, at least when the narratives came to be written. The custom itself, however, sur-

[1] Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, 337-344.

[2] The fact that violent emotions such as anger, jealousy, or grief find one of their natural and appropriate expressions in abstinence from food (1 S. 17 20 34 1 K. 21 4 *f.*) need not he further dwelt on here. The present article deals with fasting in its religious aspects.

vived like so many other mourning usages (such as rending of the garments) as a universally prevalent expression of sorrow.

3. New significance.

Fasting, therefore, is frequently mentioned in this connection (2 S. 1 11 *f.* 3 35 12 16 20 1 K. 21 27 Is. 58 5 Joel 2 12 *f.* Jonah 3 5 *ff.* Ezra 10 6 Neh. 9 1 Dan. 9 3 Esther 4 3 1 Macc. 3 47 Judith 4 7 3 86; cp MOURNING CUSTOMS).

As we have seen already, fasting gradually came to have a significance that raised it above all other mourning customs, being considered as a specially efficacious means of influencing the deity—a pain which man brought upon himself and which must awaken the divine pity. Thus it falls into the same category as sacrifice proper, which also in process of time came to be regarded as a surrender of property—a gift made to God (Jer. 14 12). The suppliant fasted in order to give special emphasis to his prayer. Of course it is always some impending or actually present calamity which is the occasion of the act; there can be no fasting in times of prosperity, least of all on festivals (Judith 8 6). How deeply rooted was this conception of the purpose of fasting can be seen from 2 S. 12 16 *ff.*, where David is represented as holding fasting to be useless except where it reinforces a prayer; or from Is. 58 3 (post-exilic), where the people think that they have just canse for complaint because Yahwè pays no heed to their fasting.

In practice, of course, there were all kinds of occasions for fasting, and these remained the same, though the frequency of fasting varied (see below).

4. Occasions for fasting.

(*a*) *Private*.—Like David (2 S. 12 16 *ff.*), the pious Israelite fasted when his friends were sick (Ps. 35 13). Ahab fasted, and not in vain, when Elijah predicted his downfall (1 K. 21 27 *ff.*); Nehemiah bewails with fasting the sad condition of the Jews in Jerusalem (Neh. 1 4); Ezra and his companions, before their journey to Palestine, fast in order to secure the divine protection (Ezra 8 21), and Esther does the same before her perilous visit to the king (Esth. 4 16).

(*b*) *Public*.—In cases of public danger or disaster such as a plague of locusts (Joel 1 13 *f.*), or a reverse in war (Judg. 20 26 2 Ch. 20 3 1 Macc. 3 47), the entire community or people fasted. It is true, the passages cited are all post-exilic; but such passages as 1 K. 21 9 *ff.* Is. 1 13*b* (𝔊), Jer. 36 6 *ff.* show that public fasts were known also in the older period (see below).

The idea of exciting the compassion of Yahwè by such self-mortification had at first, as we might expect, a very realistic form. The deity, it was thought, could not bear to look on while his servant had such acute suffering; he became a fellow-sufferer and was moved to compassion. With the spiritualising of the conception of God there came a gradual refinement of this idea. Fasting was no longer a self-inflicted chastisement, but a humbling of oneself before God; thus the act assumed a spiritual complexion.

5. Spiritual conception.

When this change of view came ahout, we know not; a notable saying in one of the Elijah-narratives marks it as already complete. 'Seest thou,' says Yahwè to Elijah, 'how Ahab has humbled himself before me? Because he has humbled himself before me, I will not bring the disaster in his days,' etc. (1 K. 21 29; cp also Dt. 8 3). In this connection a heightened interest attaches to the remark that the ancient expression צוֹם, *ṣūm*, after the exile is pushed into the hackground by another, not known to have been used in pre-exilic times עִנָּה נֶפֶשׁ, '*innāh nepheš*, 'to humble, or mortify oneself' (*e.g.*, Lev. 16 29 31 Nu. 29 7 Is. 58 3 5, and often, and, with the addition of בַּצּוֹם[1] *baṣṣōm*, Ps. 35 13). The derivative תַּעֲנִית, *ta'ănīth*, is a very frequent word for fasting in the post-biblical literature.

All this makes it easy to understand the close relation of fasting and penitence. Great calamities were always regarded as manifestations of the divine anger, and supplication for their removal involved as a matter of course the penitent confession of guilt. In particular, general and public fasts must early have assumed the character of days of penitence.

This seems to he the only satisfactory explanation of 1 K. 21 9 *ff.*, and may be safely assumed for the fast days of Jeremiah's time (Jer. 36 6 9). Fasting is expressly associated with a confession of sin in the following passages (post-exilic):—1 S. 7 6 Neh. 9 1 Joel 2 12 *ff.*; similarly the great day of atonement is at the same time a fast day (Lev. 16 29 31).

[1] [According to Che. *Ps.*(2), *ad loc.*, בצום is an interpolation suggested possibly by 69 10 [11].]

It was in the period immediately before the exile that fasting began to acquire special importance. It was one of the expedients to which the Jewish people resorted for averting the dreaded calamity; the opinion that it had any intrinsic value is combated by Jeremiah (Jer. 14 12). The popular estimation of it went on increasing during and after the exile. This may be ascribed, partly at least, to a feeling of the need of religions exercises to take the place of the suspended temple services. The post-exilic differs from the pre-exilic period not only in the increased frequency of fasting, but still more in the adoption of this usage as one of those universally practised religious exercises which needed no extraordinary or specially definite occasion. This deprives fasting of much of its religions value. It becomes simply, at least in the eyes of the multitude, a meritorious work. Against this view the later prophets struggled (Is. 58 3 *ff.* Zech. 7 5 *f.*); but in vain. The picture of Judith (8 4 *ff.*) fasting every day 'except the eves of the sabbaths, and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons, and the new moons, and the feasts and joyful days of the house of Israel' shows us the ideal of piety prevalent in the later period. Fasting and prayer now becomes a constant combination of words (Judith 4 9 11 Tobit 12 8 Ecclns. 34 26 Lk. 2 37). The special days of the week devoted to public or private fasting were the second and the fifth (Monday and Thursday); very pious persons fasted on these days all the year through (Lk. 18 12; *Ta'ănīth*, 12*a*). It was forbidden to fast on Sabbaths, new moons, and feast days (also on the eves; see Judith 8 6, as above). Two degrees of fasting were distinguished. The less stringent form required abstinence from food and drink between sunrise and sunset; in the stricter, the fast lasted twenty-four hours, and abstinence from washing, anointing, sleep, and work, were added.

6. Later development.

Public fasting too became much more frequent in post-exilic times. During the exile had arisen the custom of observing four yearly fast-days to commemorate the calamities of Jerusalem. That of the fourth month had reference to the capture of the city by the Chaldæans (Jer. 52 6 *f.*), that of the fifth to the destruction of the city and temple (Jer. 52 12 *f.*), that of the seventh to the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 41 1 *ff.*), that of the tenth to the commencement of the siege (Jer. 52 4). These fast-days were not taken into the law, and disappeared after the time of Zechariah. They were revived after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; according to Dalman, however (*PRE*(3) 7 16 *f.*), in Palestine only the ninth of the fifth month (Ab) was observed in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem first by the Chaldæans and afterwards by the Romans, both of which events, according to Josephus (*BJ* vi. 5 8), happened on the same day of the year. In Babylonia the other three anniversaries also were permanent public fast days. The law itself enjoins rigorous fasting for the great day of atonement only (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF). On the (very late) fast of the thirteenth of Adar, which professed to commemorate the counsel of Haman that all the Jews shonld be put to death, see PURIM.

Over add above these regular public fasts it was competent for the community at any time of trouble or distress to enjoin a fast. Special public fasts of this kind were very common. Among such occasions one of the most frequent was the failure of the autumn rains. If by new moon of Chisleu no rain had fallen, three fast days were held; if the drought still continued, the fasts were renewed and intensified.

7. Literature.

Keil, *Handb. d. Bibl. Arch.* 353 *f.*; Nowack, *HA* 2 270; Benzinger, *HA* 165, 484, 477; art. 'Fasten' in Riehm's *HWB*, and Buhl in *PRE*(3) 5 768 *ff.*; Smend *AT Rel. Gesch.*(2) 142, 319; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 433 *f.* Schürer, *GJV*(3) 2 489 *f.*; Dalman, art. 'Gottesdienst, Synagogaler' in *PRE*(3) 7 16 *f.*

I. B.

FAT (חֵבֶל), Ex. 29 13. See FOOD, § 10, LIVER, SACRIFICE.

FATE. See FORTUNE AND DESTINY.

FATHER (אָב, etymology unknown; πατηρ). We shall treat this subject here only in so far as it can be treated independently of 'sonship' (see SON). The following are special uses of the term 'father.'

(1) A title of respect, 1 S. 24 11 (David calls Saul 'my father'). (2) A near or distant ancestor *e.g.*, Gen. 28 13 (Abraham the 'father' of Jacob); Dt. 26 5 and Is. 43 27 (the patriarch Jacob); Mt. 3 9 Jn. 8 56 (Abraham); Lk. 1 32 (David). So especially in the plural: Ex. 3 13 1 K. 8 21 Mt. 23 30 Jn. 4 20 6 31 1 Cor. 10 1. Cp WRS *Kin.* 117 *f.*

Usage naturally permitted the same word to be used of the ancestors of a tribe and of those of an individual, for the tribe was viewed as an organism (see GENEALOGIES i., § 2; GOVERNMENT, § 2). For 'father's' or 'fathers' house' (בית אבות, בית אב), cp FAMILY, § 2.

(3) The reputed founder of a city, Gen. 33 19 1 Ch. 2 51 *f.* 44 etc.; or (4) of a guild or class of men, Gen. 4 20 *f.* (5) An honorific title of priests, Judg. 17 10; or (6) prophets, 2 K. 2 12 5 13 6 21 13 14;[1] or (7) teachers, Mt. 23 9 (cp in later times, Abba Shaul, Abba Eleazar). (8) An official title of the chief administrator or vizier, Gen. 45 8,[2] perhaps also Is. 22 21 (Duhm); cp 𝔊's addition to Esth. 3 13, and the commentators on 1 Macc. 11 32.

In Is. 9 5 [6] אבי עד (see ABIHUD) we should perhaps read אֲבִי הוֹד, 'glorious father' (*i.e.*, governor), parallel to שַׂר שָׁלוֹם, 'prosperous prince'; but אֲבִיר (יִשְׂרָאֵל) 'Mighty one (of Israel)' is much better (for details see Che. in *Crit. Bib.*). The difficulties of all the ordinary explanations of MT may be seen from the commentaries (*e.g.*, Del. and Duhm).

(9) Applied to Yahwè as the creator or producer of the people of Israel, of mankind in general, and of all natural phenomena, Dt. 32 6 Is. 63 16 64 8 [7] Mal. 2 10 Job 38 28. Tg. renders Is. 63 16 64 7 paraphrastically, 'thou whose compassion for us is as great as that of a father for children.'

Note also the use of ὁ πατήρ, 'the Father,' as a title of God in Acts 1 7 (ὁ πατήρ alone), Mt. 11 27 24 36 28 19 and || passages, where ὁ πατήρ and ὁ υἱός occur together; ὁ πατήρ = ABBA [*q.v.*]. On the other NT phrases, 'my Father,' 'your Father,' sometimes with the addition of 'who is in heaven,' also 'our Father who is in heaven,' and on the whole conception of 'the heavenly Father,' see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 1 150-162.

FATHOM (ὀργυιά; Acts 27 28). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FATLING, an animal fattened for slaughter; see CATTLE, § 5.

In EV it represents (1) מֵחִים, *mēḥīm*, Ps. 66 15†, for which read מְרִיאִים, so Che. on Is. 5 17, *SBOT* 'Isa.' Heb. 83; (2) מְרִיא, *merī'*, 2 S. 6 13, etc., see CATTLE, § 2 (5), and cp בָּרִיא, *bārī'*, Ezek. 34 3 RV; (3) משמנים, 1 S. 15 9, for which הַשְּׁמֵנִים, *haššᵉmēnīm*, should be read; see Dr. *ad loc.*; (4) σιτιστά, Mt. 22 4 = σιτευτά of LXX.

FAUCHION (ἀκινάκης), Judith 13 6 16 9 AV, RV SCIMITAR. See WEAPONS.

FAWN (עֹפֶר, Cant. 4 5 7 3 [4] RV); see ROE, 3.

FEASTS

1. Their social character. Amongst the ancient Hebrews, as amongst all other ancient peoples, there was no distinction between religious and secular feasts; there was no feast without a sacrifice, and there was no sacrifice that was not a feast.[4] Nor was there any sharp line of demarcation, as there is amongst modern nations, between social and religious life; religious observances formed one department of social duty. A close bond of union and of intercourse, originally conceived as physical, connected the members of a clan with their god. If the clan was celebrating a joyful festival, their god must participate in it. For the Israelitish nomads in particular, no festival was complete without the eating of meat, whilst the slaughtering of an animal for food was always at the same time a sacrifice. On the other hand, a sacrifice in the most ancient periods had, as a rule, the character of a public feast. The deity stood in direct relation not so much to the individual man as to the clan or tribe as a whole. Accordingly, sacrifice was originally an affair of the clan.

Sacrifices offered by a private individual were the exception, and even in later times they betray something of the character of a public feast, inasmuch as the members of the same tribe were always welcome as guests. 'Even a private offering was not complete without guests and the surplus of sacrificial flesh was not sold but distributed with an open hand' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 264).

2. In the nomadic stage. We find only a few traces in the OT of regularly recurring feasts celebrated by the Hebrews in their nomadic state before the immigration into Canaan. The three great annual feasts, so important at a later date,—Maṣṣōth, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles,—are the festivals of an agricultural people, which were first adopted by the Hebrews in Canaan. On the other hand, one portion of the Feast of Maṣṣōth—the Passover—goes back to the nomadic life of the Hebrews. Even Jewish tradition has preserved the correct view, that the foundation of the Passover is earlier than the Exodus—that even before Moses the Hebraic pastoral tribes were accustomed to celebrate a spring festival with offerings from their herds (Ex. 7 16 10 24 *ff.*, etc.). This is confirmed by the fact that the ancient Arabians also observed a similar festival in the spring. The old Hebrew feast, however, like that of the Arabians, had not the same meaning as the later Passover, which represented the offering of the tribute due to the deity from the herd. The peculiar ritual of the Passover points more particularly to the view that the feast, like all sacrifices, was originally intended, by means of the sacramental acts of eating the sacrificial meat and partaking of the blood of the victim, to strengthen the union of the members of the tribe both with each other and with the deity. In this way they thought to insure themselves against every harm and danger. Besides the feast of Passover, the festival of the New Moon also appears to go back to a period before the conquest of Canaan: it was originally simply astronomical and quite unconnected with agriculture. Its wide prevalence among the Semites, its great importance, and above all, its connection with the ancient family sacrifices (1 S. 20 5 *ff.*), speak for its high antiquity. The Sabbath, on the other hand, may very probably have had its origin in agriculture. A third feast, which the Hebrews may have brought over with them from their nomadic life, is the feast of sheep-shearing (1 S. 25 2 2 S. 13 23; cp Gen. 38 12). See further, PASSOVER, PENTECOST, SABBATH, TABERNACLES.

3. After settlement in Canaan. The introduction of the worship of Yahwè among all the Hebrew tribes, so far as we can judge from the oldest sources, appears to have altered the character of these feasts only in so far that they were now all celebrated in honour of the common God Yahwè, and no longer of the several tribal deities. Very important, on the other hand, were the alterations in these, as in other departments of religion, brought about by the settlement in the land of Canaan. Those feasts which were connected with pastoral life immediately fell very decidedly into the background.

The feast of sheep-shearing, for example, was important only for those districts of the country in which the nature of the land made cattle-breeding play an important part—*e.g.*, in the S. of

[1] Tg. substitutes רַבִּי for אָבִי where Israelites, and מָרִי where non-Israelites are the speakers.

[2] Onk. renders Abrech (Gen. 41 43) 'father of the king.' See, however, JOSEPH ii., § 6.

[3] EV might suggest the reading מַשְׁמַנִּים, cp Neh. 8 10.

[4] ['Feast.' For לֶחֶם, מִשְׁתֶּה (Eccles. 10 19 cp Dan 5 1), ἑορτή, etc., see MEALS; for מוֹעֵד (cp 2 Ch. 30 22 Lam. 2 -), see ASSEMBLY, 2; and for חַג, see below, §§ 4, 6, 9, 11; cp DANCE, § 3.]

Canaan. There it retained its position as a local feast down to the time of the kings (1 S. 25 2 2 S. 13 23); but as early as the oldest legislation it was no longer reckoned as one of the universal feasts. The same thing seems to have happened in the case of the Passover. This feast also fell very decidedly into the background and was subordinated to the countryman's spring-festival, the offering of the first-fruits of the harvest; and in the earliest legislation relating to feasts it is not counted as an independent feast at all (in Ex. 34 25 the name *pésaḥ* is a later insertion). Probably in particular districts, where there was little cattle-breeding, it fell out of observance entirely (cp 2 K. 23 21 *ff.*). Where it was celebrated it coalesced more and more with the feast of the beginning of harvest, as might easily happen since both harvests fell approximately about the same time. Lastly, the feast of the New Moon retained its high position among feasts in popular usage (1 S. 20 4 *ff.* Am. 8 5 Hos. 2 13 [11] Is. 1 13); but this feast also is entirely, and, it appears, purposely ignored in the legislation.

When the Israelites became settled. the old feasts were displaced by a new cycle closely connected with agriculture.. In the spring 'when the sickle is first put to the corn' (Dt. 16 9), the first-fruits of the new crop were offered at the feast of 'unleavened bread' (*ḥag ham-maṣṣōth*, המצות in). Seven weeks later the 'feast of weeks' or 'harvest-feast' (חג שבעות, *ḥag šābū'ōth* or in הקציר, *ḥag hak-ḳāṣīr*: Ex. 34 22 23 16) marked the end of the harvest. Between these two feasts was contained a great seven-weeks' harvest-festival (Is. 9 2 [3]). The end of the cycle of feasts in the autumn was marked by the feast of Tabernacles, termed in the old legislation 'the feast of ingathering at the year's end' (חג האסיף, *ḥag hā'āsīph*: Ex. 34 22 23 16). In the old law of feasts all three stood side by side as of equal authority and importance, all requiring a visit to the sanctuary. This can hardly have been the case in practice. At all events the historical books only testify to the autumn feast (Judg. 9 27 1 S. 1 1 *ff.* 1 K. 12 32 63 8). It is called merely 'the feast' or 'the feast of Yahwè' (החג, *heḥag*, or יהוה in, *ḥag Yahwè*: 1 K. 8 2 12 32 Judg. 21 19 Lev. 23 39 41 Ezek. 45 25 Neh. 8 14 Zech. 14 16 *ff.*). Its pre-eminence over the other feasts is easily intelligible: it was the concluding festival of thanksgiving for the whole of the harvest. The spring feasts, however, also came into existence fairly early, alongside of the Feast of Tabernacles, as is proved by the law and also by Isaiah (9 2 29 1 etc.). The other feasts, as Wellhausen remarks (*Prol.*(4) 94), were celebrated only in local circles, at home and not at the famous sanctuaries.

4. Become agricultural.

The harvest feasts were connected with the land of Canaan. Nothing exhibits more clearly than this fact the natural foundation of the ancient religious beliefs and observances of Israel. These feasts were connected, not with historical acts of deliverance by Yahwè, but with the products of the earth, which were Yahwè's gifts. Hence it clearly follows that they cannot have had their origin with a nomadic people of the desert, but must have sprung up in the country itself. We shall not he wrong in assuming that they were originally Canaanite feasts, which in common with so many other portions of the Israelitish worship of Baal were subsequently transferred to YahwB.

There is direct evidence for the Canaanite origin of the autumn feast: every autumn the citizens of Shechem celebrated their feast of *hillūlīm* (Judg. 9 27). The rites of this festival were in themselves neither gentile nor Israelitish: they only became one or the other when they were connected with a definite deity. The Canaanites regarded their god as lord of the country and the dispenser of its fruits, and accordingly gave him the tribute doe therefrom. For the Israelites, Yahwè was the 'Baal' of Canaan, to whom they owed their country and all that it contained; accordingly they kept the feasts in his honour.

5. Viewed as tribute.

The attitude of mind which dominated these agricultural festivals has thus already been indicated: the festal gifts and sacrifices were the tribute owed and paid to the lord of the country. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 111 *ff.* 244 458 *ff.*) has conclusively proved that this was not the genuine Semitic conception of sacrifices and feasts. Nevertheless it was a conception that was continually coming more and more into prominence. Even the old legislation extended the demand for tribute to the increase of the flock, and required that the first-born of cattle should be sacrificed on the eighth day after birth (Ex. 34 19 22 29). Further, after this conception had once become prominent, the Passover also was conformed to it, although its peculiar ritual was entirely contrary thereto. In Ex. 11 and 12 the narrative of JE is based on the conception that Yahwè took the first-born of men and cattle among the Egyptians as a compensation, because Pharaoh had not allowed the Israelites to sacrifice the firstlings of their cattle due to Yahwè. Hence the conception of a tribute from the herd had already found its way into the feast in ancient times, and this modification of the old feast may have considerably aided its coalescence with the feast of Maṣṣōth. The firstlings of the flock corresponded to the first-fruits of the field; the essence or foundation of either feast was now the same. Still it must be noticed, in contrast with the law in Deuteronomy, that the amount of the gifts was left to the freewill of the giver. Tithe was first required in Deuteronomy (cp TAXATION); before that nothing was specifically required except the firstborn. Further, in contrast to the festal ordinance of the Priestly Code, in ancient times and down to Deuteronomy the offerings and tributes coincide with each other. Nothing is said of any other offerings at the feasts except those which consisted of the tribute.

6. Their joyousness.

Corresponding to this natural foundation of the whole religion, an entirely cheerful tone characterises all the feasts. 'Thou shalt rejoice before Yahwè' is continually repeated in D. The main feature of the festivals was unquestionably the joyous sacrificial meal; that this was not always particularly solemn is proved by Eli's suspicion about Hannah (1 S. 1 14 cp Am. 28 Is. 28 7 *f.*). Dancing and processions also formed a not unimportant part of the festival, as is indicated by the name חג (*ḥag*) (see DANCE, §§ 3, 5 *f.*). At the autumn feast in the vineyards of Shiloh the young maidens performed choral dances (Judg. 21 19 *ff.*). Nowhere else is it more clearly seen that the key-note of the piety of the earlier Israelites was a feeling of joyful security. The ancient Israelite was contented with his God, and knew that his God was contented with him. This was attested to him by the gifts of the field and of the flock, by the prosperity of the community. On the other hand, the misfortune of a single individual could not come into account when compared with the wellbeing of the community as a whole. Thus there could not have been any permanent feeling of a need for atonement—apart from exceptional manifestations of divine wrath in the shape of drought, pestilence, or other national calamities; much less could there have been room for regular festivals of atonement.

7. Place in religious life.

The important part played by the feasts in the religion of ancient Israel is best seen from the representations of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. These prophets give the impression that the entire religious observances of the nation were contained in these feasts. Special cases apart, the individual Israelite saved up his offering for these feasts (1 S. 1 3 21), 'satisfying the religious feelings in the interval by vows to he discharged when the festal season came round' (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 254). Were the feasts allowed to drop, the whole of the divine worship would fall with them; this it is that gives the prophetic threat of exile its sting (Hos. 2 13 [11] *ff.* 9 1-6 Is. 32 9 *f.*). On this account a high estimate must also be set upon the influence of these feasts on the religious and national development of the people. Such feasts were continually reviving not only the religious life but also, and at the same time, the national feeling. If the pilgrims from the different tribes coming in this way from far and near to a famous sanctuary found themselves united in common festal

rejoicings and common thanksgivings to Yahwè, these meetings must have continually given fresh strength to the feeling of unity, which in Israel rested mainly on the basis of the common religion. The feasts brought home to each man's consciousness the fact that all Israel owed the produce of its land to *one* God. Besides this, various kinds of business and of trade no doubt attached themselves to these feasts (Dt. 33 18 *ff.*), as was the case among the ancient Arabians. On the other hand it is most important to observe—and this makes a substantial difference between the early feasts and those of the period after the Exile—that in ancient times there is no one vast and united festal community that offers its common sacrifices, but the separate sacrificial communities, households and families, unite for the sacrificial meal (cp 1 S. 1).

8. Minor feasts.

The three great annual festivals were not the only feasts of the ancient Israelites. Even the old law of feasts (Ex. 23 12) recognised the Sabbath as a day of rest from the busy toil of the working days, and also as a day of glad and joyful festivity (cp Hos. 2 13 [11] 2 K. 4 23 etc.). It has already been mentioned that the feast of the New Moon was celebrated universally, the passover and the feast of sheep-shearing in particular districts. A merely local importance also attached to the feast which the daughters of Israel celebrated in memory of Jephthah's ill-fated daughter (Judg. 11 40), a festival the original significance of which is obscure (see JEPHTHAH, § 6). The local cults up and down the country may have shown many instances of similar feasts celebrated in memory of some historical or legendary event.

9. Deuteronomic laws.

The introduction of Deuteronomy as the law of the state in the time of Josiah gave the impulse to a complete transformation of the ancient feasts. The author of D himself, it is true, neither intended nor was conscious of any such revolution. His injunction to celebrate **all** feasts in Jerusalem is designed to effect an alteration only in form, leaving the substance of the feasts untouched. Apart from this one requirement, D's attitude towards the ancient religious customs is throughout conservative. Like the old law of feasts, **it** ignores the new moon, and leaves the Sabbath what it had been hitherto, a day of rejoicing and gladness. Nor does it interfere with the three great feasts, at which all had to appear before YahwB. Their connection with agriculture remains undisturbed, except. in the case of the feast of Passover (see below). On account of this connection also, no alteration was made in the manner of determining the dates of the feasts (Dt. 16913) which had hitherto prevailed, though this was really demanded by their centralisation. The feast of weeks and the autumn feast continued to be as before the cheerful festivals, at which men ate and drank and made merry before Yahwè (Dt. 12 18 14 26 161114 2611). The celebration of the feast consisted, as hitherto, solely in the offering up of the first-fruits of the earth and the firstlings of the flock. D goes beyond the old legislation in fixing the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles to last for seven days, and Pentecost for one day : this however is hardly to be considered as an innovation, but rather as fixing the custom that had developed itself in the course of time.

Nor is there any real innovation in the fact that D employs fresh names ; besides *Maṣṣōth* it uses the designation *Pésaḥ* (פסח, *pésaḥ*, Dt. **16** 1 *ff.* 16); for the autumn feast it employs the designation *ḥag hassukkōth*, חג הסכות, 'feast of tabernacles' (Dt. 16 13 *ff.*). The latter is to be traced simply to the old custom (Is. 1E) of living out in the gardens and vineyards in huts made of boughs during the vintage and olive-gathering. In the spring feast, however, we meet for the first time, at all events in D, the completed combination of the Passover and Maṣṣōth (16 1), but in all probability it had already by degrees become fully established as a religious custom (see above, § 5). The connection of this feast with the Exodus also, the most important alteration in **D** (see below), finds at least some countenance in the old tradition **(Ex. 12 34** 39) according to which the Israelites at their exodus had no time to provide themselves with provisions for the journey, but were obliged to take away the dough unleavened and to make themselves cakes of it. On the other hand, the loss of the ritual peculiar to the passover appears to be an innovation (Dt. 16 1 *ff.*); this it is to be explained **as a** necessary consequence of its being celebrated no longer at home but in the temple at Jerusalem.

10. Further developments.

Although D thus spared the ancient religious customs in as far as this could be done consistently with its fundamental idea of the centralization of religious observances, it was eventually inevitable that this centralization should carry with it a train of consequences which the author of Deuteronomy had never thought of. The immediate result of the transference of the cultus to Jerusalem was the detachment of the feast from its natural basis. The common celebration of the feast on one day, which certainly was not originally required to be the same every year, severed its close connection with the harvest, since the latter in the various districts, differing so widely in climate, could not have been fixed in advance for one particular date. The ancient interpretation of the feast was gradually lost sight of by explanations (already begun in D) from historical events (above, § 9). 'History is not, like the harvest, an experience of the separate households, but rather an experience of the nation as a whole' (We. *Prol.*(4) 101). Further, if the feasts lost their individual character in this way, and gradually became days of commemoration of events in the religious history of the nation, there was no longer any reason for their retaining any peculiar ritual. The characteristic sacrifice of the firstlings, which moreover became impossible at the central sanctuary (as is already recognised in Dt. 14 24-26), came to be unnecessary, and could give place to the regular sacrificial service. With all this, and particularly with the decay of the old festival customs, disappeared also the old feeling in connection with them.

To celebrate a feast at the beginning and the end of harvest at home in the narrow circle of a sacrificial society, and there to eat the first-fruits before Yahwè, was a very different thing from the head of the family's taking with him to Jerusalem the proper tribute in money or in kind, there to deliver it at the temple, or to barter it for the things necessary for **a** sacrificial meal—a proceeding that has to be permitted as early as D (Dt. **14 24-26**). In Jerusalem **a** sacrificial meal properly so called was no longer possible ; only in the rarest cases could the pilgrim to a feast at Jerusalem have around him there his family, his relatives, and his friends, and all who formed the small religious society at home and at the sanctuaries scattered over the country (1 S. 1). He himself was completely lost in the vast national assembly of persons otherwise strangers to him. Thus the joyous character of the ancient nature-festival gave place to the seriousness suitable to days of commemoration of epochs in the religious history of the people, and nothing further prevented the attitude of mind that later dominated the whole divine service—penitent consciousness of sin—from making its way into the feast also.

11. The Priestly Law.

The legislation in P boldly carried out these consequences to their last results. The feasts were unalterably fixed by month and day (Lev. 23 5 *ff.* Nu. 28 *f.*). The new moon, as all the feasts were thus regulated by reference to it, acquired a new importance, and was itself also accordingly adopted into the cycle of feasts (Nu. 28 11 *ff.*). The Sabbath rest, from being recreation after labour, became inactivity pure and simple, and thus from being a pleasure became an ascetic service **(Ex 16** 27 *ff.* 31 12 *ff.* etc., see **SABBATH).** The Exile more than anything else contributed to the increase of its importance ; after the sacrificial service had fallen out of use, the Sabbath and circumcision remained the two sole 'signs of the covenant' (Ex. **31** 13 cp Neh. 10 30 *ff.*). **A** further extension of the sabbatical scheme led to the institution of the sabbatical year and of the year of Jubilee, which must be held to have been purely theoretical developments of the idea of the Sabbath, quite incapable of realisation in practice. The transformation of nature-festivals into festivals of religious history had not yet been achieved in the case of the feast of Pentecost, which therefore, on this account, was treated as more or less of secondary importance; only one day was given to it, whilst the Passover and the feast of Tabernacles had eight (Lev. 23 16 *ff.* Nu. 28 26 *ff.*). The feast of Tabernacles was

now interpreted as commemorating the fact that the Israelites dwelt in tents in the wilderness ; there was no longer any word about the first-fruits of the harvest (Lev. 23 33 *ff.* 39 *ff.* Num. 29 12). In the case of the Passover this tendency actually went so far that the festival came to be not merely the echo of a divine act of deliverance, but itself such an act ; it was now explained as instituted before the Exodus *in order that* Yahwè *might* spare the firstborn of the Israelites, not *because* he *had* spared them (Ex. 12 1-20). Finally, two new feast-days of purely ecclesiastical significance were introduced : the ecclesiastical new year and the feast of atonement on the 1st and 10th days respectively of the 7th month, that is, immediately before the feast of Tabernacles. That these feasts, of so wholly different a character, should have been placed on a level with the others shows in a striking manner how completely the meaning of the old feasts had faded out of memory.

It is easy to understand that the transformation of these *ḥaggīm* (dances) into feasts of atonement was never completely carried out, and therefore for the new and altered time a special feast of atonement came to be required. None the less the ritual of the several feasts betrays that all alike were reduced to the condition of purely ecclesiastical services. Only the Passover must, in accordance with its new interpretation, have the ancient rite of the sprinkling with blood restored to it (Ex. 12 1 *ff.*), however ill-suited to the new conditions. The ritual of the other feasts was perfectly uniform : a wearisome monotony of countless burnt-offerings and sin-offerings combined with Sabbath rest and vast gatherings at the sanctuary (Nu. 28 *f.*). Besides, these offerings are not, as formerly, voluntary gifts, but legally fixed dues paid by the community at large in which the individual has no direct share, but which are efficacious, *ex opere operato*, as acts of the priest, for the benefit of the whole.

So far as the old feasts had any further development at all in the later times after the Exile, this took place absolutely on the lines laid down by P.

12. Further modifications.

This is particularly obvious in the case of the Sabbath and of the feast of Pentecost. The idea of the Sabbath embodied in P became ever more predominant, and led to a number of statutory regulations, which prescribed down to the minutest detail what was to be done and what left undone on the Sabbath. Moreover, just as P had already transferred the idea of the Sabbath to the other feasts also, so strict Sabbath rest came more and more to be an essential part of all festivals. The feast of Pentecost became—after the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple—a feast of commemoration of the giving of the law on Sinai, thus completing the process of transformation of the nature-feasts that has been already indicated. In other respects the work of later Judaism was in the main confined to minute elaboration of the ritual of the feasts. In this respect alone did the law still admit (and require) any supplement. The rise of a double Celebration of the principal feast-days (with the exception of the day of ATONEMENT) among the Jews of the Diaspora, is characteristic of the spirit of legality that governed their celebration. Owing to the manner in which the new moon was fixed by direct observation (see NEW MOON), it was not possible to give the Jews of the Diaspora due notice beforehand of the dates of the feasts which were determined by it. On this account they celebrated the more important feasts twice over, in order that on one at all events of the two days the feast might be celebrated in common by all. The feast of the NEW YEAR (*q.v.*) could come to be celebrated twice over even in Jerusalem itself. In the case of Purim it might happen in the intercalary years that it had to be repeated in the second month Adar (*Meg.* 1 4 ; cp PURIM). There could be no clearer proof of the importance now set upon the exact date of the celebration.

To these ancient feasts, in the Maccabean period and later, were added the following

13. New festivals of the Maccabean period.

new feasts : (1) the feast of Purim in commemoration of the abortive machinations of Haman against the Jews of the Persian empire (Esth. 9 23-32 : see PURIM, and cp ESTHER, § 7); (2) the feast of the Dedication of the Temple (1 Macc. 4 59 Jo. 10 22), in commemoration of the reconsecration of the temple by Judas the Maccabee (see DEDICATION, FEAST OF) ; (3) the feast of Nicanor (1 Macc. 7 49 2 Macc. 15 36), celebrated on the 13th of Adar to commemorate the victory of Judas the Maccabee over NICANOR (*q.v.*, 1) at Beth-horon in 161 B.C. This feast was still kept in the time of Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 10 5); later it passed completely into oblivion and the fast of Esther (תַּעֲנִית אֶסְתֵּר) was transposed to its day (see PURIM). (4) The feast of the Capture of the Citadel (1 Macc. 13 50-52), instituted by Simon the Maccabee in memory of the recovery of the Akra, the Syrian citadel in Jerusalem, on the 23rd of Iyyar, 171 Sel. era (= May 142 B.C.). This feast is not mentioned by Josephus ; apparently it had already been forgotten. (cp silence of *Meg. Ta'ănīth*). (5) The feast of the Wood-Bringing (ἡ τῶν ξυλοφοριῶν ἑορτή, Jos. *BJ* ii. 17 6), according to Josephus celebrated on the 14th of Lōos (=the Jewish Ab: cp *BJ* ii. 17 7). The date of its origin is unknown.

As early as Nehemiah are recorded regulations in reference to the deliveries of wood to be made by 'the houses of our fathers' for the altar of burnt-offering (Neh. 10 34 13 31). In the Mishna nine days in the year are appointed for these deliveries of wood ; the chief day was the 15th of Ab, on which the priests and Levites brought their wood ; this seems to have given that day in some degree the character of a feast (*Ta'ănīth* 4 5 ; see Schür. *GVI* (2) 2 208 (3) 260 *f.* [ET 3 252], and cp CANTICLES, § 8).

(6) To the period subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem belongs the reintroduction of two fast days. Of the four fast days which were observed during the Exile

14. After destruction of Jerusalem.

and immediately after it (Zech. 13 5 8 19), those of the fourth and fifth months acquired a new meaning: on the 17th of the fourth month the city was stormed by the Romans under Titus: in the fifth month, on the 10th day, according to Josephus (*BJ* vi. 4 5), or on the 9th, according to the Talmud, the Romans destroyed the temple. Both days were observed ; at a much later date the feast of the Rejoicing of the Law with feasting and mourning.

(7) Lastly, there was instituted a 'feast of rejoicing for the Law' (חַג שִׂמְחַת הַתּוֹרָה, *ḥag śimḥath hattōrah*). It was celebratbd on the 23rd of Tishri immediately after the eight days of the feast of Tabernacles: It is on the Sabbath after the feast of Tabernacles that the reading in the synagogue of the fifty-four great *pārāshīm* into which the Pentateuch is divided begins. As for the antiquity of the feast, all that can be said is that the present cycle of *pārāshīm* was already an institution of very old standing in the first half of the eighth century (cp Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vortr.*, 37).

The foregoing sketch aims at giving a general picture of the character and development of the Hebrew feasts. For details as to their ritual, reference must he made to the special articles: ATONEMENT, DAY OF ; DEDICATION, FEAST OF ; NEW MOON NEW YEAR, PASSOVER, PENTECOST, PURIM, TABERNACLES: SABBATH. Cp also HEXATEUCH, § 21 *f.*

16. Literature.

The most important recent works are :—We. *Prol.*(4) ('95), 82-117 ; Stade, *GVI* 1 ('87), 497 3 ; Benzinger, *HA* ('94), 464-478 ; Nowack, *HA* ('94), 2 138-203 ; Kue. *Religion of Israel*; WRS *OTJC*; Buhl, art. 'Gottesdienstliche Zeiten im AT.' in *PRE*(3) 7 19 *ff.*, etc. These all accept the Grafian view of the post-exilic date of P. For the attitude of the opponents of this theory, who represent the traditional views, Oehler's art. 'Feste,' *PRE*(3) 4 538 *ff.*, and his *Theol. d. AT*, may he consulted ; also Green, *The Hebrew Feasts in their relation to Recent Critical Hypotheses concerning the Pentateuch* ('85). For further references see separate articles mentioned above. I. B.

FELIX (φηλιξ [Ti. WH]). Antonius Felix, of the court of Claudius, probably, like his brother Pallas, a freedman of Antonia (the mother of Claudius), succeeded Cumanus as procurator of Palestine (52-60 A.D.) ;[1] see ISRAEL, § 99. His whole career eminently befitted his origin and is thus tersely summed up by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5 9) : *per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit.* It is a striking illustration of the importance of freedmen at the court of Claudius that besides obtaining the procuratorship he was actually thrice married into royal families.[2] His tenure of office

[1] On the dates see CHRONOLOGY, § 66. According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 12 54) Felix had been administering Samaria and Judæa whilst Cumanns was procurator of Galilee; see on this the literature cited by Schür. *Hist.* 2 173, n. 14.

[2] Of his two wives who are known to us, one was a grand-daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra; the other, Drusilla, was the daughter of Agrippa I. (see HERODIAN FAMILY, 10).

was marked by interminable revolts and dissensions. The disturbances of the Zealots had been followed by the excesses of the Sicarii (see ZEALOT). Religious fanatics 'not so impure in their deeds but more wicked in their intentions,' fired by Messianic hopes and expectations, were ruthlessly put to the sword. Of such was the Egyptian prophet of Acts 21 38 (see Jos. *BJ* ii. 13 5, *Ant.* xx. 8 6). The latter period of his procuratorship was marked by two prominent events at CÆSAREA (*q.v.*, 1). Paul, who had been accused of defiling the temple (Acts 21 28), and of preaching the resurrection from the dead (*ib.* 22 3 *ff.*; cp 23 6 24 21), was sent hither for safety's sake by CLAUDIUS LYSIAS, and was accused in the presence of Felix (Acts 24). One hesitates to estimate the character of Felix from account of the trial: *v.* 22*a* is notably difficult, and it is not easy to decide whether the procurator already knew something of the teaching of Jesus, or whether he recognised the inner significance of Paul's speech. It is probable that to Felix Paul was no more than one of the many fanatics who had arisen in the past years, and it agrees with the general tendency of Acts to infer that the writer's aim was to indicate the neutral attitude of Rome to the new faith (cp ACTS, § 5).

At Cæsarea, again, a conflict arose between the Jewish and the Syrian inhabitants respecting equality of civic privileges. Felix interposed on behalf of the latter and silenced the Jews by military force. Deputations were sent to Rome, one demanding a speedy settlement of the question, the other, from the Jews, denouncing the conduct of the procurator. Felix was recalled and his place taken by FESTUS [*q.v.*]. Through the influence of Pallas, Felix escaped punishment, and the Syrian party, by bribing Nero's secretary Beryllus,[1] ensured the annulling of the privileges of the Jews of Cæsarea. See FESTUS, and cp Schür. *Hist.* 2 174-183.

S. A. C.

FELLOE. 1. *gabh,* גַּב, 1 K. 7 33 RV, AV 'nave'; Ezek. 1 18 10 12 RVmg., EV 'ring'; see WHEEL, 1 *(a)*. 2. *ḥiššūḳ,* חִשֻּׁק, 1 K. 7 33† AV, RV 'spoke.'

FERRET. The Heb. *ănāḳāh,* אנקה (Targ. אקמתא; cp Pesh. *āmaḳthā*), thus translated in Lev. 11 30† AV, is in RV rendered 'gecko,' and from the context it certainly looks as if some kind of lizard were intended. 𝔊BAFL, however, has μυγαλῆ (a shrew mouse, *Sorex*). The Rabbinical writers regard the animal as the hedgehog; but the latter is commonly taken to be the equivalent of the *ḳippōdh* (see BITTERN, § 1).

Six species of Gecko are described from Palestine, of which the Egyptian species *Ptyodactylus lobatus* is perhaps the most abundant. The peculiar conformation of their feet by means of which they are able to walk on walls and ceilings is well known. Geckos are commonly but erroneously regarded as poisonous. They are nocturnal in habit, concealing themselves during the day; and when more than one species lives in or around a house they keep separate and apart from one another. They utter curious clicking sounds, from which perhaps they derive their name. Cp LIZARD.

A. E. S.

FERRY BOAT, but RVmg. CONVOY (עֲבָרָה), 2 S. 19 18 [19]. Neither rendering is strictly justifiable. See FORD.

FESTIVAL (Wisd. 15 12 RVmg. πανηγυρισμός [BKAC]). On the subject of festivals generally see FEASTS.

'Closing festival' (𝔊 ἐξόδιον) is the rendering of RVmg. for עֲצָרָה, *'ăṣārah* (see ASSEMBLY, 1) in Lev. 23 36 Nu. 29 35 Neh. 8 18 (feast of tabernacles), Dt. 16 8 (the passover), 2 Ch. 7 9 (dedication of temple). For 'festival robes' (Is. 3 22 RV, מחלצות, *maḥalāṣoth*), cp DRESS, 5 8 (beg.), and see MANTLE.

FESTUS (φηστος [Ti. WH]). Porcius Festus succeeded FELIX as procurator of Palestine (60-62 A.D.). Since Josephus remarks on the contrast between him and his successor Albinus, we may assume that there were no great blots on his character. Paul, who had been left in prison at Cæsarea, was brought to judgment first before Festus, and then before Agrippa and Festus, and only on his appeal to Cæsar was sent to Italy (Acts 25 *f.*); see PAUL. The conflict, also at Cæsarea, between the Jews and the Syrians, had been settled in favour of the latter (see FELIX), and the hostile feeling thereby excited among the Jews was destined to play an important part in the disasters which began a few years later. The disturbed state of the popular mind still continued, and is reflected in the frequent troubles with the Sicarii (see ZEALOT). The only remaining incident of importance during the procuratorship of Festus concerns the quarrel between Agrippa II. and the priests of Jerusalem; see HERODIAN FAMILY, 8.

On the date of the arrival of Festus, see CHRONOLOGY, 5 65 *f.*; and on the discrepancies between Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 *f.* and *BJ.* ii. 14 4, see Schür. *Hist.* 2 185, n. 41.

FETTERS (EV rendering of כבל, *kébhel* [in plu.], Ps. 105 18; זקים, *ziḳḳīm,* Job 36 8; נחשתים, *neḥuštáyim,* Judg. 16 21, and πεδη, Mk. 5 4). See CHAINS.

FEVER (קַדַּחַת), Dt. 28 22 (πυρετος, πυρεσσω), Mt. 8 14 *f.* Mk. 1 30 *f.* Lk. 4 38 *f.* Jn. 4 52 Acts 28 8 (plur.). See DISEASES, 6, and cp MEDICINE.

FIELD. 1. *Śādeh,* שָׂדֶה (Phœn. שד): *(a)* the land outside of towns (*e.g.*, Mic. 4 10); (b) tilled land as opposed to the desert (*e.g.*, Josh. 8 24); also (*c*) of special localities, *e.g.*, the fuller's field (Is. 7 3 36 2); *(d)* hill-country, probably the old meaning of שדה (=Ass. *šadû*)—see Judg. 5 18 Dt. 32 13 Jer. 17 3 18 14 and especially Judg. 5 4 '*hill-country* of Edom,' Gen. 36 35 '*highland* of Moab'; 2 S. 1 21 (|| Gilboa; see JASHAR, BOOK OF, § 2). The transition to 'country' was easy, because the ancestors of the Hebrews and Assyrians came from a mountainous country. The character () representing *šadû* in Assyrian can also be read *mâtu* 'country.' See Peters, *JBL,* 1893, p. 54 *ff.*; Barth, *Etym. Stud.* 66; Wi. *AOF* 192.

2. שׁדמות, *šĕdēmōth* (once in sing. Is. 37 27; but see 2 K. 19 26), an imaginary word arising out of errors of the text. The fact, however that it occurs in MT five times (not counting Is. 37 27) shows that scribes supposed such a word to exist. Dt. 32 32 'fields of Gomorrah (ἡ κληματὶς αὐτῶν ἐκ Γ. [BAFL]; κληματίς also in Is. 16 8); 2 K. 23 4 (σαλημωθ [B], σαδ. [A], τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ τοῦ χειμάρρου [L]); Is. 16 8 (τὰ πεδία [BℵAQΓ], Aq. ἄρουραι, Sym. κλήματα, Theod. ἀγροὶ θανάτου [Qmg.]); Hab. 3 17 (τὰ πεδία); Jer. 31 40 Kt. שרמות (see KIDRON i., § 2). For emendations of some of these passages see GRAPE, 3.

3. *Ḥelḳāh,* חֶלְקָה, 2 S. 14 30 *f.* Am. 4 7 (cp חלקת השׂדה, *ḥelkath haśśādeh,* Gen. 33 19; [see no. 9 below], also the place-names HELKATH, HELKATH-HAZZURIM). 'Portion' in 2 K. 9 10 36 *f.*; 'plat' in 2 K. 9 26; 'wall' in 1 K. 21 23 (MT's חל, *ḥēl,* should be חלק, *ḥēleḳ*) Klo. emends into 'field.' On חלק, *ḥēleḳ,* 'field,' see Ges.-Buhl, *s.v.*, and cp ACELDAMA, 5 1.

4. בר, *bar,* 'open country,' Job 39 4, RV 'open field'; Dan. 2 38, etc. (Aram.).

5. יגבים, *yĕgēbhīm* [pl.], Jer. 39 10† (ὑδρεύματα [Theod. in Qmg.]). Though supported by יֹגְבִים, *yōgĕbhīm,* in Jer. 52 16 2 K. 25 12, the word does not seem to be quite correct. Probably we should read גַּנִּים, *gannīm,* 'gardens,' and גֹּנְנִים, *gōněnīm* (a new *verb. denom.*), 'gardeners.'

6. ארץ, *ereṣ,* Ezek. 29 5, RV 'earth.' ארץ and שׂדה (see 1) are equivalent (cp Gen. 12 4 with 3 1).

In NT: 7. ἀγρός = שׂדה [1 *(a)*; cp. *(c)*]. Cp 'the lilies of the field,' Mt. 6 28; 'the fields and villages,' Mk. 6 36; 'the potter's field,' Mt. 27 7.

8. χώρα, 'look on the fields,' Jn. 4 35; cp Lk. 12 16. χώρα and πόλις are often opposed in Polybius.

9. χωρίον, 'an enclosed piece of ground' (RV of Mt. Mk. mg.). Judas 'purchased a field'—*i.e.*, ACELDAMA [*q.v.*], Acts 1 18 *f.*). In 𝔊 χωριον represents כרם, *kérem,* 'vineyard' (*e.g.*, 1 Ch. 27 27, 2 Macc. 11 5 12 7 21 4 Macc. 15 20), which illustrates Mt. 26 36 Mk. 14 32. In Jn. 4 5 EV has 'parcel of ground' to produce a connection with Gen. 33 19 (AV 'a parcel of a field,' RV 'the parcel of ground'; see no. 3 above). Cp GETHSEMANE, § 1.

FIERY SERPENT (שׂרף, *śārāph*), Nu. 21 8; and **FIERY FLYING SERPENT** (שׂרף מעופף, *ś. me'ōphēph*), Is. 14 29. See SERPENT, § 1 (9).

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 9 βηρυλλος (Niese), *vulgo* βουρρος; see Schür. *Hist.* 2 184, n. 4.

FIG TREE (Dt. 8 8 Judg. 9 10 *f.* 1 K. 4 25 [5 5], etc.) and **FIG** (Nu. 13 23 20 5 etc.) are both denoted by the same Heb. word *tᵉēnāh*, תְּאֵנָה (pl. תְּאֵנִים), whereas Greek distinguishes them as ϹΥΚΗ and ϹΥΚΟΝ.

1. Derivation of Tᵉēnāh.

According to Lagarde (*Mittheil.* 1 58-75), the Semitic name for the fig tree means properly the tree near which another is planted or to which another is joined.[1]

Lagarde contends that the tree's oldest Semitic name was *tīn*, and, discussing its modification into Heb. *tᵉēnāh*, Aram. *tittā*, and Arab. *tīn*, he argues that the initial *t* is the same as the preformative of 3 s. f. imperf., and hence that a derivation from a root אנה is probable. This root occurs frequently as a verb in Arabic with the meaning 'it is time,' 'the time has come'; and probably the original sense was that of 'bringing near' or 'joining.

The name is explained by the practice of planting wild fig trees by the side of the cultivated trees, or of placing branches of the wild fig in flower upon the trees—a practice described by Aristotle (*HA* 5 32), Pliny (*HN* xv. 19 79), and others, and called by the Greeks *ἐρινασμός* and by the Latins *caprificatio.* The wild fig, which does not itself produce an edible fruit, is useful as harbouring hymenopterous insects which migrate to the cultivated tree and enter the receptacles within the figs. The object is to carry the pollen to the female flowers; but the irritation produced by the gall-insects in attempting to deposit their eggs in them hastens the maturity of the fruit. Linnæus rightly held that the fig has two sexes, the male being the 'caprifig' or wild fig, while the female is the cultivated fig.

This view was opposed by Miquel (who held the two plants to he different species), and by Gasparrini (who made them different genera). Graf zu Solms-Laubach maintained that the 'caprifig' was the wild stock from which the cultivated fig had developed. Fritz Muller reasserted the opinion of Linnzns, and Solms-Laubach made a journey to Java to re-examine the question in the genus *Ficus* generally, and as a result gave his adhesion to the Linnæan view. The 'caprifig' produces in its receptacles 'gallflowers'—*i.e.*, female flowers which have become the nidus of the insects. Certainly, from early times the Hebrews seem to have known the process of artificial stimulation as applied to figs (Am. 7 14, see below).

Diœcious plants occasionally revert functionally; possibly we have an instance of this in the barren fig-tree (Lk. xiii. 6-9). There is reason to think that the normal 'fruit-bearing' fig may sometimes revert to the caprifig condition. In that case its 'figs' would not swell hut would drop off early and (apparently) immature. Any one visiting such a tree would be disappointed (see, however, below, § 5).[2]

Lagarde maintains, moreover, that the name is not one of those which from the first belonged to all the Semitic languages—in other words, that the fig was probably unknown to the Semites in their original home.

2. Original home.

The same conclusion had, on quite different grounds, been reached by Guidi (*Della sede primitiva dei popoli Semitici*, 35 *f.*), and is generally accepted.[3]

On somewhat doubtful philological grounds, Lagarde argues that the name was borrowed alike by Heb., Aram., and classical Arab. from the dialect of the clan Bahrā, who had their original home in SE. Arabia. However, as Halévy shows (*Mél. Crit.* zoo), almost equally good reasons could be given for holding the word to be originally Hebrew or Aramaic. Although it must be admitted that Lagarde's argument is weakened by baseless philological assumptions,[4] his etymology has fair probability, and if accepted throws an interesting light on the great antiquity of the art of fig cultivation.

The original home of the fig is said by De Candolle (*Orig.*, 238) to have been the Southern Mediterranean shore, westwards from Syria. Thence the fig spread northwards and eastwards. Like the vine and olive, it must have been long an inhabitant of Palestine; we see this especially in such early references as Judg. 9 10 Mic. 4 4. At the present day it is found wild in all parts of the country (Tristram, *NHB* 351).

Guidi (*Della sede*, 35) cites a passage from an Arabic poet in which, as in the parable of Jotham (Jndg. 9), the olive, the fig, and the vine as typical of cultivated trees are opposed to the bramble.

3. Culture.

The fact that these three can be traced so far back in Hebrew literature is interesting for the history of fruit culture; and it is specially significant that the old phrase for possession of a country was that 'every man should sit under his own vine and fig-tree.' The medicinal use of the דְּבֵלָה, *dᵉbhēlāh*, or cake of figs, as a poultice (Is. 38 21 2 K. 20 7) is known both to classical (Pliny, *HN* xxiii. 7 122) and to Arabic writers (Di. *ad loc.*).

The meaning of the expression בּוֹלֵס שִׁקְמִים, *bōlēs šikmīm*, in Amos (7 14) is still uncertain. The verb בלס does not occur elsewhere in Hebrew or in any other Semitic language (𝔊 *κνίζων*, Aq. *ἐρευνῶν*, Sym. *ξύων*, Theod. *χαράσσων*); but *balas* is a common name of the fig in Arabic and Ethiopic and is held by Lagarde (*Mittheil.*, *l.c.*) to be the oldest Semitic name for the fruit, though even he thinks it may have been originally borrowed, perhaps from an Indian source. This being so, the reference is most probably to the cultivation of sycamore figs (the fruit of *Ficus Sycomorus*) by incisions made in the immature fruit. See also SYCOMORE.

The early unripe fruits which first appear on the fig tree in spring are in Cant. 2 13 denoted by פַּגִּים,[1] *paggīm*, where 𝔊ᴮℵᴬᶜ has ὀλύνθους, a word which occurs once in the NT (Rev. 6 13). *Fijj* in Ar. may denote any kind of immature fruit; Syr. *paggā* or *pāgā* (see BETHPHAGE) is the unripe fig. So ὄλυνθος is explained by Hesychius as τὸ μὴ πεπαμένον σῦκον. On the other hand, the early ripe fig, which was (and is) highly esteemed on account both of its peculiarly fine flavour and of its early appearance, is denoted by בִּכּוּרָה, *bikkūrāh* (Is. 28 4 Jer. 24 2 Hos. 9 10 Mic. 7 1).

The use of 'fig leaves' to make 'aprons' in Gen. 3 7 has given rise to unnecessary difficulty, on the ground of the softness of the leaves and the difficulty of sewing them together into a continuous covering.

4. Gen. 3 7.

Lagarde, who justly remarks that the mention of fig leaves must have been an element in the *original* form of the story,[2] has discovered for them an allegorical and religious meaning which would (as Dillmann remarks) have done honour to Philo. Celsius, Gesenius, Knobel, and others suppose that the banana or Musa is referred to, as this plant is called a fig by the natives of Malabar; it is urged that its leaves, which may be ten feet long, would provide an effective covering. It is quite inadmissible, however, to suppose that the Hebrew narrator had a Malayan plant in his mind; the banana was not known to the Egyptians, and its introduction into India (whence it was known to the Greeks and Arabs) was more recent (cp De Candolle, *l.c.* 245). Though later this plant became somehow associated with the Eden narrative (witness Linnæus's name for it, *Musa paradisiaca*) there is no ground for supposing that תאנה could have its meaning extended to cover a plant totally different from the fig. Probably the use of fig leaves seemed natural because these are among the largest to be found on any Palestinian tree. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

The NT references to the fig tree are of great interest. When Jesus, according to the Fourth Gospel, speaks of having seen Nathanael 'under the fig tree' (Jn. 1 48 50), it is natural to think, in the first instance, of some prominent fig tree such as those which in Palestine often overshadow the wells beside which travellers halt, *e.g.*, 'Ain et-Tin, by Khān Minyeh (see, however, NATHANAEL). No tree is so widely spread in Syria and Palestine as the fig tree. Hence we cannot

5. NT.

1 *Tīn* having the same relation to אנה as תֶּבֶן has to בָּנָה (though this latter etymology is doubtful).

2 The point is elaborately discussed in the *Gardener's Chronicle* for July 7, 1883 (p. 22 *f.*) by W. E. Hemsley, F.R.S.

3 Guidi holds that Arabic probably borrowed the word from Aramaic.

4 See D. H. Müller in *WZKM* 1 26. Lagarde holds, for instance, that original *t* in Arab. must answer to original *th* in Aram. and *sh* in Heb., whereas there are undoubted instances of *t* remaining all through.

1 The Arab. verb corresponding to פגג signifies 'to spread apart (the feet)' and hence 'to hasten.'

2 Hehn (*Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere*(6), 96) brings it into connection with the *Ficus ruminalis* of Roman legend; but little can be made of such a comparison.

be surprised that on two recorded occasions Jesus drew a parable from it—(a) Mt. 24 32-35 Mk. 13 28-32 Lk. 21 29-33; (6) Lk. 13 6-9. The letter of these parables is clear; the briefest reference to it is sufficient. *(a)* The fig tree is one of the first trees to shoot, though the time of its coming into leaf varies according to the situation, and when the leaves appear there must already be immature fruit, and summer cannot be far off. (6) A fig tree that had borne no fruit for three years would seem to its owner (destitute of the practical knowledge of a gardener) to be useless, or even worse than useless. He would therefore at once cut it down, unless his gardener could persuade him that cultural treatment would be likely to restore the tree to normal fruit-bearing. The application of the parables is equally unmistakable. The first has reference to the speedy advent of the Messiah in glory; the second to the danger of destruction for the Jewish people.

A great difficulty, however, remains, and we must be careful to meet it in an unprejudiced spirit. There is a well-known story (Mt. 21 17-22 Mk. 11 12-14 20-23) placed immediately after the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, which irresistibly reminds us of the second of these parables. Is the association of ideas purely accidental, or does it point to some misunderstanding on the part of Mt. and Mk.? The improbabilities of the story are obvious, and cannot be explained away. Jesus, being hungry, came to a fig tree near Bethany, just before the passover, before the season for figs had come, and finding only leaves, cursed the tree, which immediately (παραχρῆμα) withered away (Mt.), or at any rate was seen to be withered on the following morning (Mk.). With this act, Jesus, according to the evangelists, connected an exhortation to the disciples to have faith in God, since even mountains (a proverbial expression) may be moved by prayer.

One inaccuracy in the report is too plain to be overlooked. Any exhortation which Jesus may have connected with this action must have related to the fate of the Jewish people, of which the fig tree is an image (Joel 1 7); the saying on faith is indeed genuine, but has received a wrong setting. Passing to the story itself, we cannot help being surprised at the curse ascribed to Jesus, for which there is no parallel in his life, arid which, if interpreted symbolically, is diametrically opposed to the statement in Mt. 21 41 Mk. 12 9.[1] This is the first difficulty. The second may be best expressed in the words of Augustine, 'Quid arbor fecerat fructum non afferendo? Quae culpa arboris infecunditas?'[2] What was the offence of the fig tree? Was it the not having preserved one or two figs from the last season? Or was it the not having produced one or two precocious figs before the time? Neither alternative appears reasonable, nor is it at all natural to suppose—as a last expedient—that what Jesus required was green, unripe fruit.[3] Surely there is a better explanation, and a slight acquaintance with human nature will show how reasonable it is. Parables and history are easily confounded, so that even Sir Philip Sidney speaks with mild surprise of theologians of his time who denied the historicity of the parable of the good Samaritan. In just the same way some early Christian must have misunderstood the parable preserved in Lk. 13 6-9, and transformed it into a narrative of an act of Jesus, giving the circumstances a somewhat different form in order to bring the story as near *as* possible to the death of Jesus, but forgetting (see below) that the passover season was not the time for figs.

It is a confirmation of this view that neither Mt. nor Mk. gives the parable in question, though they do record a parable of a vineyard (Mt. 21 33-46 Mk. 12 1-12) which is similar in its tendency, though it does not represent the vineyard as destroyed. It may be added that by giving up this difficult story we can the better appreciate the husbandman's loving intercession for the symbolic fig tree in the parable. It is not merely the accuracy of a detail in a narrative—it is the consistency of the character of the Saviour hiinself—that is in question.

The chapter on the withering of the fruitless fig tree in Trench's ***Miracles*** may still be read with profit for its subtlety and the abundance of its exegetical information. We learn there that D. Heinsius proposed to read (Mk. 11 13) ***οὗ yip ἦν καιρὸς*** *σύκων*, 'for where he was [in Judæa], it was the season of figs.' Trench also refers to the reading (adopted by Ti. and WH) ***ὁ yip καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σύκων*** (instead of ***οὐ γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς σύκων***), which, though very well attested, is not probable. The truth probably is that the words are a comment of an early reader which has made its way into the text (so first Toup).

N. M.—W. T. T.-D., §§ 1-4; T. K. *C.*, § 5.

FIGURED STONE (מַשְׂכִּית), Lev. 26 1 AV^mg. and RV. See IDOL, § 1 (*f.*).

FILIGREE WORK (מַשְׂכִּיּוֹת, Prov. 25 11 RV^mg., AV 'pictures,' RV 'baskets'; **cp** Nu. **33 52** Lev. 26 1 Ezek. 8 12). See BASKETS and cp IDOL, § 1 (*f.*)

FILLET in the AV occurs only as a technical term in architecture to render חוּט, *ḥūṭ* (Jer. 52 21), חֲשֻׁקִים, *ḥăšūḳīm*, etc., for which see PILLAR. On the use of 'fillets' for the purpose of binding the hair, see **CHAPLET**, DIADEM, TURBAN, § 1.

FINE (עֹנֶשׁ, 2 K. 23 33 RV^mg.; cp 2 Ch. 36 3; see TRIBUTE). On pecuniary fines or compensations for injuries (Ex. 21 22 Dt. 22 19 Ezra 7 26 ['confiscation of goods'=1 Esd. 8 24 'penalty of money'; cp 1 Esd. 6 32 'all his goods seized for the king'=Ezra 6 11 'let his house be made a dunghill']), see. LAW AND JUSTICE.

FINGER (as a measure of length, Jer. 52 21, אֶצְבַּע). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FIR, FIR-TREE, RV^mg. CYPRESS (בְּרוֹשׁ, 2 S. 6 5. 1 K. 5 8 10 [22 24] 6 15 34, etc.).

1. Name. *Bᵉrōš*, which once (Cant. 1 17) occurs in an Aramaised form as בְּרוֹת, is also found in Assyrian (*burāšu*) and Syriac (*bᵉrōthā*), and has probably passed through Phœnician into Greek as *βράθυ*, and into Latin as *bratus*.

The ancient interpretations are very varied.

Thus 𝔊 bas *κυπάρισσος* six times; **πεύκη** or **πεύκινος** five times, **κέδρος** or **κέδρινος, ἄρκευθος** [A] or **ἀρκεύθινος**, and **πίτυς**, each twice; and thrice an indeterminate rendering. Pesh. also is not altogether consistent, but generally renders *sharwainā*—*i.e.*, 'cypress'; whereas in Vg. the rendering *abies* greatly preponderates. Again, some Jewish authorities, as Maimonides and Kimhi, are quoted in favour of the 'box' (Cels. 1 761;). See Box **TREE.**

2. OT references. The OT references show that the *bᵉrōš* was a characteristic forest tree of large stature and spreading boughs (2 K. 19 23 Ezek. 31 8), evergreen (Hos. 14 8 [9]), a chief element in the 'glory of Lebanon' (Is. 60 13; cp 41 19 55 13), and specially associated with the cedar (Ps. 104 17 **Is.** 14 8 Zech. 11 2). Its timber ranked with that of the cedar as the best that could be employed in the building of houses and of ships (1 K. 5 8 10 [22 24] 6 15 34 9 11 Cant. 1 17 Ezek. 27 5).

Clearly then *bᵉrōš* is one of the large conifers—probably either (1) the cypress, or (2) the fir or pine.

3. Identifications. (1) The meaning 'cypress' has been accepted by most modern authorities, and might be regarded as established. were it proved that the equivalent in Phœnician meant the cypress. This is assumed, however, rather than proved in most cases—*e.g.* in the argument of Baudissin (*Stud.* 2 192-198; cp Hal. *Mél. Crit.* 30).

Even if it be granted that the representation on Phœnician coins and othbr monuments can be identified as the cypress and distinguished from other conifers (which in some cases Baudissin allows to be doubtful), the association of the tree with any particular deity such as the **βηρουθ** or the **βραθυ** of Philo Byblius is evidently precarious (cp *Rel. Sem.*(2) 206 *f.*), and still more so is the inference that these Phœnician names denote the cypress. The identification is possibly better supported (Ges. *Thes.*) by the fact that in Gk. **βράθυ** (Diosc. 1 104) and in Lat. *bratus* (Pl. *HN* xii. 17 78 xxiv. 11 102) denoted the *savin* (*Juni-*

[1] The anger of Jesus is not with Israel, but with its rulers.

[2] *Serm.* 98 3 (Trench, *Miracles*, 445 n.).

[3] So Post, Hastings, ***DB*** 2 6*a*. Weiss (*Leben Jesu*, 2 451) is singularly meagre, and thinks it enough to suggest that the action ascribed to Jesus was analogous to symbolic actions of the old prophets (cp 2 K. 2 21). He does not, however, quote a parallel.

perus Sabina, L.), of which one sort, according to Pliny, resembles a cypress; hut even this is not much to build on. Moreover, whilst the ancients are known to have highly prized cypress wood for its durability and its usefulness in building houses and ships (Blümner, *Technol. bei Griechen u. Römern*, 2 257 *ff.*), almost equal praise is bestowed by them on the fir and pine in these respects (*ib.* 283 *ff.*).

(2) More decisive arguments in favour of the *fir* are those adduced by Robertson Smith (*Proph.*(2) 413 *f.*).

'(1) Ebusus, the modern Iviza, is, according to the coins, אי ברושים=אי בשם, and what this means appears from the Gk. Πιτυοῦσαι (see Schroder, *Phön. Spr.* 99). (2) The *berōš* is, according to the OT, the characteristic tree of Lebanon along with the cedar. Now the cypress is (at any rate at present) not indigenous on Lebanon, hut a species of *Abies* is very characteristic of these mountains, and to judge from its present frequency, must have always been a prominent feature in the forests.'

Doubt may indeed remain whether *berōš* is a fir or a pine,' since, as Tristram tells us (*NHB* 353), the Aleppo pine is one of the most characteristic trees of Lower Lebanon, whilst *Pinus maritima* occurs occasionally on the coast and in the sandy plains.

In some passages the occurrence of בְּרוֹשׁ may be due to transcriptional error; in others it should possibly be restored.

4. Doubtful passages. (1) In 2 S. 6 5 we have the strange phrase 'playing before Yahwè on all kinds of fir wood; and on harps etc.' The parallel passage, however ('with all their might, and with songs, and with harps,' 1 Ch. 13 8), supplies a better reading (most after We., so 𝔊 ἐν ἰσχύι). (2) The phrase הַבְּרוֹשִׁים הָרְעָלוּ in the battle-picture of Nah. 2 3 [4] will hardly bear to be rendered 'the spears are shaken terribly' (RV). 𝔊 has οἱ ἱππεῖς θορυβηθήσονται = הַפָּרָשִׁים נִבְהָלוּ (Che.), though We. keeps the ἅπ. λεγ. הרעלו, and renders the clause 'the horses prance.' (3) In Ps. 72 16, for בראש הרים ירעש, 'on the top of the mountains shall it (the corn?) make a rushing noise,' Che. (*Ps.*(2)) reads כִּבְרוֹשׁ הָרִים יַשְׁרֵשׁ, 'like the pine of the mountains let it (justice) strike root.'

N. M.

FIRE (אֵשׁ, אוּר; πῦρ). No material phenomenon seemed to primitive man to be so plainly divine as fire (cp Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* 2 251 *f.*).

1. OT conceptions. (*a*) There was a flaming sword at the gate of Paradise (see CHERUB, § 7), and in the storm, flashes of divine fire ('fire of God,' 2 K. 1 12 Job 1 16) still lightened the world, betokening the passage of the divinity (Hab. 3 11 Ps. 77 18 [19]). It was also believed that in the olden time no human hand lighted the sacrificial flame, but fire from a well-pleased God (see Judg. 6 21 1 K. 18 24 38, and cp SACRIFICE).

(*b*) Not only, then, did fire become an essential element in the ritual (see INCENSE, §§ 1, 8, SACRIFICE, and cp ALTAR), and in imaginative descriptions of theophanies (see BUSH, § 2; THEOPHANY, § 5), but also a conception of God's nature was derived, partly at least, from the characteristics of fire. 'Yahwè is a devouring fire' to those who provoke him (see Dt. 4 24 9 3 32 22 Is. 30 27 Mt. 3 11 Heb. 12 29); he is a cheering light to those who obey him (Ps. 4 6 [7] 27 1 Is. 25). These two manward aspects of God's nature are combined in Is. 10 17, 'The light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame.'

(*c*) From the parallelism of the two expressions 'light' and 'Holy One' we see that the appearance of 'fire' or 'light' is the outward manifestation of the divine 'holiness' (cp CLEAN, § 1). To those who are not 'holy' the sense of God's nearness must be oppressive. When he approaches for judgment, such persons (who have hitherto been practically atheists) realise what he is, and exclaim, 'Who can dwell safely in the neighbourhood of the avenging God?'

Such at least is the usual interpretation of that remarkable passage Is. 33 14. Prof. Skinner, for instance, remarks, 'The word "dwell" means strictly "sojourn as a protected guest," and is the same as that used in Ps. 15 1.'

No one, however, has been able to make the phrase מי יגור לנו אש אכלה, 'Who shall sojourn to us devouring fire' (so it is literally) appear quite natural as Hebrew. The whole passage is so striking that even a faint gleam of fresh light may be welcome. In accordance with the newer style of textual criticism, which recognises the imperfections of MT more fully than used to be possible, we should most probably (with *SBOT* 'Isa.' Heb., 196) restore the original text thus,

'Who will *rebuke* for us (מִי יִגְעַר לָנוּ) the devouring fire?
Who will *rebuke* for us the everlasting burnings?'

To rebuke is to 'curb, quell,' or (when used of God) to 'annihilate' by an angry word; cp Ps. 106 9, 'He rebuked the Red Sea, and it dried up.'

Another difficulty, however, remains; and glad as one would be to recommend some explanation with confidence, it is not possible to do so. There are two current explanations.

(1) Comparing the description of the bush which burned and yet was not consumed (Ex. 3 2), some critics understand 'everlasting' as equivalent to 'divine' divine fire being necessarily eternal. This is plausible,[1] and kith a different context would be admissible. Here, however, we require a word which speaks for itself without exegetical subtlety. Besides, if 'rebuke' is right, 'divine' must of course be wrong.

(2) 'Everlasting' might, it is said, mean 'continual.' This view, however, seems to confound עוֹלָם *'ōlām* with נצח *nēṣaḥ* (see ETERNAL), and is rightly rejected by Kittel in his revision of Dillmann's commentary. Perhaps we should correct עוֹלָם into לְאֻמִּים 'peoples.' It is no ordinary siege of Jerusalem that Is. 33 presupposes, but a judgment upon the nations which will assemble (the later prophets say) to besiege Jerusalem at the close of the present age. Hence in *v.* 12 we read, 'And the peoples will become burned to lime: like thorns cut off, which are kindled with fire.' Where this fire comes from we learn from a neighbouring prophecy: it comes from Yahwè, 'who has a fire in Zion, and a furnace[2] in Jerusalem' (31 9). It is not the usual word for 'fire'; the word *'ūr* was, according to some critics,[3] selected to suggest Ariel ('Altar-hearth'), the name given by Isaiah to Jerusalem in 29 1; see ARIEL, 2. 'The fire is evidently that of the altar, not, however, of the visible but of the invisible altar, which Isaiah knows from his vision (chap. 6) to be really existent in the sanctuary' (*SBOT* 'Isa.' 154).

Fire, however, was not merely a destroying agent.

2. Refining influence. (*b*) In the hand of a refiner it separated the pure metal from the dross—a type of God's purifying judgments. It is said indeed once that the effect was not produced in the case of Israel; affliction brought no noble elements into view:—

'Surely, I have refined thee, hut without gain of silver: I have tried thee in the furnace in vain'[4] (Is. 48 10, *SBOT*).

However, the writer of these words is hardly the Prophet of Consolation; they appear to be an interpolation. The true Second Isaiah is an optimist, as the First Isaiah himself was when he wrote the words, 'I will smelt out in the furnace[5] thy dross' (Is. 1 25), and as Malachi was, when he said, 'He is like a refiner's fire' (Mal. 3 2), and another late prophet who declares, 'I (Yahwè) will bring the third part through the fire . . . they shall call on my name, and I will hear them' (Zech. 13 9).

(*c*) Of the purgatorial fire there is no trace in the Bible; an appeal was made at the Council of Florence (1439 A.D.) to 1 Cor. 3 15, 'he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire'; but the fire mentioned is the same as that in *v.* 13, which is plainly the fire of destruction. As in 1 Pet. 3 20 it is said that 'few persons were saved (passing) through the water' (δι' ὕδατος), so the unwise builder referred to will escape through the midst of the fire, safe himself, though with the loss of his work.[6]

On the unquenchable Gehenna (out of which the notion of a purgatorial fire grew among the later Jews), see ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 10 68 3 70 3 (also iii. *f.*).

Two special laws respecting the use of fire may be

1 Unless it were sufficiently general to include both.

1 See Duhm, *ad loc.*, and cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 169 *f.*

2 Lit. 'an oven' (see FURNACE, 5).

3 Such, at least, is the best of the usual views. For another theory (viz., that Ariel in 29 1 2 *a* should be Uriel), see ARIEL, 2.

4 Reading חִנָּם (Klo., Che.). Cp FURNACE, 2.

5 Reading בַּכֻּר (Lowth, Budde, etc.).

6 The ὡς is not comparative, but like the Heb. *Kaph veritatis*; ὡς διὰ πυρός means 'flying, as he does, through the midst of the fire.' Cp Job 24 14, ὡς κλέπτης.

mentioned. (1) According to Ex. 353, not even the work of lighting a fire was permissible on the Sabbath—a prohibition which agrees with the statement in Ex. 1623 that the manna in the wilderness might not be baked on the Sabbath. It is difficult to believe that this ascetic injunction which made household arrangements so difficult, was of early origin; in fact, critical analysis assigns it to P. (See Jos. *BJ* ii. 89, and cp SABBATH.) (2) Another special law impressed on herdmen the necessity of caution in the use of fire. If a fire, starting among thorns which were troublesome and had to be consumed (Is. 33 12*b*), should spread to another man's cornfield or orchard and damage it, restitution was to be made by the man who kindled the fire (Ex. 226 [5]; cp Judg. 9 15 15 5)—a most useful law in such a country as Palestine where the summers are so hot. In consequence of the material employed in the construction of houses no law was needed with regard to conflagrations in cities (see HOUSE, § 1).

3. Laws.

On the use of fire for domestic purposes see BREAD, § 2: COAL, COOKING (cp § 3 *f.*), FOOD. On 'passing through the fire' see MOLECH. On the 'pillar of fire' see PILLAR. On fire in metallurgy, see METALLURGY. T. K. C.

FIREBRAND. 1. *'ūd*, אוּד, Is. 7 4 Am. 4 11; also Zech. 3 2 (EV 'brand').
2. *zikkīm*, זִקִּים (of fire missiles), Prov. 26 18; also Is. 50 11 RV (AV 'sparks').
3. *lappīd*, לַפִּיד, Judg. 15 4 *f.* See LAMP, TORCH.
4. *mōkēd*, מוֹקֵד, Ps. 102 4 [3] RV (AV 'hearth'). See HEARTH, 3.

FIRE-PAN. (1) *maḥtāh*, מַחְתָּה (cp CENSER, 2; ALTAR, § 9), and (2) *kiyyōr 'ēš*, כִּיּוֹר אֵשׁ (cp COAL, § 3; HEARTH, 2). See COOKING, § 4.

FIRKIN (μετρητής, Jn. 2 6). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FIRMAMENT (רָקִיעַ, στερέωμα [ADEL]), Gen. 1 6, RVmg. 'expansion.' See STARS, § 1, and cp CREATION, HEAVEN.

FIRSTBORN, FIRSTLING, etc. That the first-fruits of the body—particularly the male—possessed an intrinsic sanctity was a belief which the ancient Hebrews shared with other divisions of the Semitic stock. The firstborn male enjoyed privileges of which he was not to be deprived (Dt. 21 16), and to barter away his birthright (בכרה, *bĕkōrah*, Gen. 25 23 *f.*), or to be deprived of it (1 Ch. 5 1), was deemed a disgrace; see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18. 'Firstborn' (πρωτότοκος) thus becomes an honourable title applied to Israel (Ex. 4 22) and Ephraim (Jer. 31 9), and, through the Jewish interpretation of Ps. 89 27 [28], designates also the Messiah (Heb. 1 6 Col. 1 15 Rom. 8 29). This character of the male firstborn finds analogies in the treatment of firstlings among a nomadic folk, and of the first-fruits of the field among a community which is essentially agricultural. The Hebrews, however, as we find them in the OT, had passed from the nomad to the agricultural state with the inevitable result that observances, primarily distinct, were inextricably fused together. See SACRIFICE, TITHES.

It is noteworthy that the Sem. √בכר, *bākar* ('to break forth') is not confined to the animal world, but can include the first-fruit; of trees or of the produce of the field. Thus, besides *bĕkōr* בכוֹר (Ass. *bukru*, Syr. *bûkrā*), used of individuals (Gen. 25 13 etc.) and animals (Ex. 11 5),[1] is found *bikkūrīm*, בכורים, first-fruits in general (Ex. 23 16), and *bikkūrāh*, בכורה, specifically the 'early fig' (Mic. 7 1 etc., see FIG, § 3). A similar root-meaning is possessed by the Heb. *peṭer*, פטר (√ to cleave,' cp Ass. *paṭâru*), 'firstling,' or, fully, *peṭer reḥem*, פ׳ רחם (διανοῖγον μήτραν), which is limited to man and beast (Ex. 13 2 12 *f.* 15 34 19 Nu. 3 12 8 15 Ezek. 20 26). Finally, *rēšīth*, ראשית (the first or best, 𝔊 ἀπαρχή) does not exclude the firstborn male (Gen. 49 3, בכורי ‖ ר׳אוני), but is commonly applied to grain, fruit, etc. (Ex. 23 19 34 26 Dt. 26 2 10).

Not only were the first-fruits as acceptable an offering as the firstlings, but when (in exceptional cases) a human victim was required it was a firstborn that was preferred (2 K. 3 27). Just as the fruit of a new orchard remained 'uncircumcised' for three years (Lev. 19 23 *ff.*, see FRUIT, § 2), and was dedicated to Yahwè before it could be eaten with impunity, so the firstlings possessed a specific character until they had been sanctified. Similarly we find that the eighth day after birth is set apart for the dedication of the firstling, and is at the same time a turning-point in the life of the firstborn. In the case of the firstborn the evidence is shrouded in obscurity. Certain features, however, deserve consideration. It appears that the laws regulating the redemption of the firstling (see SACRIFICE) find an analogy in the redemption of the firstborn, which P, in some way, connects with the consecration of the Levites. It would certainly be rash to infer that at one time the Hebrews habitually sacrificed their firstborn sons, although the valuable testimony of Mic. 6 7 shows that in Manasseh's time the offering of the firstborn for the sin of the father was not a novelty in the worship of Yahwè.[1]

Although the association of the offering of the firstborn with the PASSOVER is probably a late development (see EXODUS, § 3 iii.; FEASTS, § 2) certain features merit attention. Here the law (Ex. 13 12 22 28 [29]) unambiguously assigns the פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם, whether of man or beast, to Yahwè,[2] but commands that the firstborn of man shall be redeemed (Ex. 13 13 15*b* 34 20 Nu. 18 15 *f.*). The fact that in P the redemption is made by the Levites makes it probable that in later times the dedication was understood to be for the temple-service (cp Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(2) 282, n. 3). This is also the view of later Judaism (Targ. on Ex. 24 5, Mish. *Zebach.* 14 4), but is scarcely ancient.

No doubt, strictly, the offering of the firstborn to Yahwè was at one time considered to be as binding as the offering of firstlings and first-fruits, and, indeed, the evidence goes to show that in exceptional cases the offering was actually made. However, just as the first-fruits were offered as a part of the whole, it is conceivable that originally the rite of circumcision was instituted upon the same principle to typify the offering of the firstborn.[3] That in later times the rite was extended to *all* males, and was looked upon as a tribal mark (see CIRCUMCISION, § 5), does not preclude this theory.

See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 458 *ff.*, and cp TAXATION AND TRIBUTE. S. A. C.

FISH. Of freshwater fish from the Holy Land Tristram enumerates forty-three species, only eight of which are common to the more westerly Mediterranean rivers and lakes. Of the thirty-six species found in the Jordan and its system, but one (*Blennius lupulus*) is found in the ordinary Mediterranean freshwater fauna; two occur in the Nile, seven in the Tigris, Euphrates, and adjacent rivers, ten in other parts of Syria, and sixteen are peculiar to the basin of the Jordan. It thus appears, as Tristram points out, that the fish fauna is very isolated; it shows affinities, however, to that of the Ethiopian zoo-geographical region, and probably dates from a geological time when the Jordan and the rivers of NE. Africa belonged to the same system.

1. Species.

A few of the more interesting forms may be mentioned. The blenny (*Blennius*)—two species—and four species of gray mullet (*Mugil*) are found in the inland lakes and rivers *B. varus* being very abundant in the Sea of Galilee, which is unusually well stocked with fish. The members of the family *Chromidæ* are very many and are characteristic of this inland

[1] בְּכִירָה is fem. only, Gen. 19 31-37 29 26 1 S. 14 49†. For בִּכְרָה, specifically 'young camel,' see CAMEL, § 1, n. 1.

[1] Cp especially Ezek. 20 26. For human sacrifices generally see 2 K. 16 3 17 17 21 6 23 10 Jer. 7 31 Ezek. 16 20 *f.* 23 37, and cp ISAAC, JEPHTHAH.
[2] According to Ex. 13 2 (P) the firstborn is 'taboo' to Yahwè (the verb is *ḳiddēš*, cp CLEAN, § 1); note also the remarkable use of הֶעֱבִיר in *v.* 12, compared with Ezek. 20 26.
[3] According to the old writer in Ex. 4 24 *ff.*, Yahwè not only was appeased by a victim in the person of the firstborn? but, further, was satisfied by the offering of a part (the *'orlāh*) for the whole.

water. *Chromis tiberialis* is peculiar to the basin of the Jordan and very abundant. Numbers of this fish are carried down by the river and perish in the salt waters of the Dead Sea, thus affording food to the numerous fish-eating birds which congregate along the shores. In the larger expanses of water these fishes collect together in enormous shoals, and are captured by the fishermen in thousands, often bursting the nets by their weight. Other species of the same genus are also peculiar to the district but are less abundant. *C. niloticus* occurs in the Jordan basin and in the Nile, as does *Hemichromis sacra*, and these two genera are confined to the fresh waters of Palestine and Africa. When fish take any care of their eggs and young it is almost always the male that performs these functions; in the species *C. simonis* and *H. sacra*, and possibly in others, the male takes the ova into his mouth and they develop in large cheek pouches which swell to such an extent that the fish is unable to close its mouth. Even when hatched the young fry remain in the buccal cavity of their parent or amongst his gills until they are about four inches long.

Another remarkable fish described by Canon Tristram, *Clarias macracanthus*, is found in muddy bottoms in the Lakes of Gennesaret and Huleh and in the Upper Nile. Members of this species are in the habit of migrating up the small and dwindling streams to deposit their eggs in the upper pools, and in their course often have to traverse stretches where the water is insufficient to cover them or is absent altogether. They are able to live at least two days out of water,—a fact which may be correlated with the existence of an accessory branchial organ which stretches from the second and the fourth gill arch and is received into a cavity behind the gills. When out of water the fish makes a squeaking or hissing sound. Its flesh is considered excellent.

Four species of *Cyprinodon* are found in the marshes and salt springs of Palestine; they are small fish capable of living at high temperatures (up to 91° F.) and in very concentrated saline pools. The waters of the Dead Sea, however, are fatal to them, probably because some salts are present which are injurious to life, as they live freely in water of equal density hut of different composition. The males are very much smaller than the females, in fact are perhaps the smallest fishes known.

Anguilla vulgaris, the common European eel (it also occurs in N. America), is abundant in the Lake of Antioch and in some rivers, but Canon Tristram did not find it in the Jordan; it reaches a length of 44 feet and is much appreciated as an article of food.

The remaining twenty-three species of fish found in Palestine belong to the Cyprinidæ or Carp family. A few may be mentioned. *Capœta damascina* is common in the Jordan, which carries them down to the Dead Sea where they perish in large numbers. *C. fratercula* is a sacred fish to the Mohammedans of N. Africa. Its flesh is said to be excellent. *Barbus canis* (Barbel) is the most abundant of the many fish in the Sea of Galilee. Tristram speaks of having seen 'thousands of these fishes in the Jordan, when an army of locusts has been attempting to cross the river, standing almost upright in the stream with their heads partially out of the water, and their mouths wide open, devouring the locusts with inconceivable rapidity.' *B. beddomii* is confined to the Sea of Galilee, and rare. *B. longiceps* is peculiar to the same lake hut extends into the Jordan. It is abundant. Several species of the genera *Leuciscus* (White fish), *Alburnus* (Bleak), and of *Nemachilus* (Loach) occur in the lakes and rivers, and many of them form articles of diet.

2. Hebrew terms.

In Hebrew aquatic animals are comprehensively defined by the expression in Gen. 1 21 :—'every living creature that creeps (הָרֹמֶשֶׂת) and with which the waters swarm' (שָׁרַץ). The usual term, however, for 'fish' is *dāgh*, *dāghāh* (דָּג, דָּגָה, cp also דְּגֵי הַיָּם Gen. 9 2; דְּגַת הַיָּם, *ib.* 1 26 28), from which is derived the denominative דוג*, 'to fish' (Jer. 16 16), and possibly דָּגָה, to multiply (Gen. 48 16). Strange to say, neither the OT nor the NT furnishes us with the specific name of a single fish. There are, however, many references to fishing.

3. Fishing.

The art of fishing (דִּוּגָה, Am. 4 2) was pursued all the world over in three different ways.

1. The first and historically the oldest method was spearing, of which a full description is given by Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.*, ed. Birch ['78], 2 120 *f.*).

'The bident was a spear with two barbed points which was either thrust at the fish with one or both hands as they passed by or was darted to a short distance, a long line fastened to it preventing its being lost and serving to secure the fish when struck. . . . Sometimes a common spear was used for the purpose' (2 121). At other times the spear was furnished with feathers, like an arrow (as in the illustration, *op. cit.* 2 107). In most cases, however, it resembled the modern harpoon, and in hippopotamus-hunting was even furnished with a reel (*see* illustration, 2 128 *f.*). This is the instrument mentioned in Job 41 7 [40 31] as צִלְצַל דָּגִים, 'fish-harpoon' (EV 'fish spears'). According to Tristram (*NHB* 292) 'the fish spear is much used in the smaller streams and the northern rivers of the Lebanon.'

2. A second mode of fishing was by means of a line and hook, with or without a rod (the latter probably Mt. 17 27), of which many illustrations have been preserved on the monuments of Egypt and Assyria. These ancient anglers (cp דַּיָּגִים, Is. 19 8) used bait—never, so far as is known, the fly. That angling was familiar to the Hebrews is evident from its frequent use as a telling metaphor in the OT. The line (חֶבֶל) is mentioned only in Job 41 1 [40 25]. The HOOK (*q.v.*) receives various names,

3. Professional fishermen, however, had at all times recourse to nets. The Egyptian nets were made of threads prepared from flax,[1] and were of various kinds—all explained and illustrated by Wilkinson (see 1 292 *f.*, 2 117 *ff.*). Most or all of these were. no doubt, employed by the fishermen of Phœnicia and Palestine. Of the many Hebrew words for 'net' the most usual, *réšeth* (רשת), is confined in the OT to the hunter's and the fowler's nets (see FOWL, § 8); but this is probably an accident. It is most probably the best equivalent of the general term δίκτυον, *rete* (Mt. 4 20 Lk. 5 4 *ff.* Jn. 21 6 *ff.*), applicable to a net of any description.

On the other hand, two special varieties of fishing nets are found in the NT certainly, and in the OT very probably.

(*a*) The one is the hand-net or casting-net (ἀμφίβληστρον), still used on the Phœnician coast and on the sea of Galilee (*ZDPV*, 1886, p. 102).

'The net is in shape like the top of a tent, with a long cord fastened to the apex. This is tied to the arm, and the net so folded that, when it is thrown (cp βάλλοντες, Mt. 4 18), it expands to its utmost circumference, around which are strung beads of lead to make it drop suddenly to the bottom. Now . . . he spies his game. . . . Away goes the net expanding as it flies, and its leaded circumference strikes the bottom ere the silly fish knows that its meshes have closed around him. By the aid of his cord the fisherman leisurely draws np the net, and the fish with it' (Thomson, *LB* 402). Cp Wetzstein's description in Delitzsch, *Ein Tag in Kapernaum*, 146 *f.*

This net corresponded to the *funda* of the Romans (for classical references see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, 'Rete'). 'Twenty-eight large fish were caught with a small hand-net at a single cast near Tiberias in 1884 (*ZDPV*, *l.c.*).

(*b*) The second net mentioned (σαγήνη) is the large drag, draw-net, or seine (from Lat. *sagena*). See an excellent representation of the drag-net at work in Wilkinson (1 291, also in Erman, *op. cit.* 238, 401).

It was similar in form and construction to the drag still in use, 'with wooden floats on the upper, and leads on the lower side, and was worked in precisely the same way.[2] The net of the parable in Mt. 13 47 *ff.* was of this sort. With the two nets just described, it has been usual to identify the חֵרֶם (ἀμφίβληστρον, 'net') and the מִכְמֶרֶת—in Is. 19 8 pointed מִכְמֹרֶת—𝔊 σαγήνη, or ἀμφίβληστρον, EV 'drag,' of Hab. 1 15 *ff.*; see NET, 3. The basket or reed trap (see Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, 307), in the Mishna אקון (*Kelim*, 12 2 23 5), and the stake-net (Tristram, *op. cit.* 292) are not mentioned in OT or NT.

The most favourable time for fishing was the night (before sunrise and after sunset, according to Aristotle);

4. Fishermen.

this illustrates Lk. 5 5 and Jn. 21 3. On returning to land, the fishermen collected the marketable fish into baskets (Mt. 13 48), washed (Lk. 5 2) and mended their nets (Mt. 4 21 Mk. 1 19), and spread them out on the shore to dry (Ezek. 26 5 14 47 10, מִשְׁטַח חֲרָמִים, 'a place for the spreading of nets'). Fishermen seem to have formed a partnership among themselves either for some temporary purpose, or on a more permanent basis as a guild. Thus we read in the OT of the partners (חַבָּרִים, bands of fishermen, Job 41 6 [40 30]), and in the NT we are told that James and John were partners (κοινωνοί) with Simon (Lk. 5 10; in *v.* 7 they or others are called μέτοχοι).

[1] For illustration of mode of spinning at the present day see Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, 305.

[2] Pieces of the ancient Egyptian drag-nets may be seen in the British and Berlin Museums.

5. Fish-ponds. The wealthy Egyptian under the Pharaohs, like the wealthy Roman of a later day, had a *piscina* or fish-pond attached to his residence, where fish were fed for the table and where the owner was wont to amuse himself by angling or spearing the fish (Wilkinson, 2 115, with illustration ; Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, 196, 239). The name by which these fish-ponds are known in the Talmud (בִּיבָרְיָא, בִּיבָר, *βιβάριον*, *vivarium*) shows the late date at which the institution became known to the Jews.

It is true, AV (but not RV) speaks of 'ponds for fish' (אגמי נפש, Is. 19 10) and of 'fish-pools' (Cant. 7 4 [5]); on the former error *see* Del. on Is. *l.c.*; on the latter BATH-RABBIIN. In Job 41 2 [40 26] the question 'canst thou put a bulrush (אַגְמוֹן, RV 'rope') into (leviathan's) nose?' is sufficiently explained by the ordinary procedure of anglers in carrying their fish (Wilk. 2 118). The crocodile, as Budde explains,] is no small fish which can be slung upon a rush.

6. Supply of fish. With regard to the sources of the fish supply, Egypt has in all periods of its history been noted for the fish that abound in its waters. Fish was the cheapest of all foods, and it was always the great desire of the poor that the price of corn should be as low as that of fish (Erman, *op. cit.* 239). Compare the complaint of Israel (Nu. 11 5). 'we remember the fish, which we ate in Egypt *for nought* (חִנָּם).' In the so-called 'Blessing of Moses' (on the date of which see DEUTERONOMY, § 26) we seem to have a reference to the fishing industry on the coast of the Mediterranean carried on by Zebulun and Issachar[2] (Dt. 33 18 *f.*). At a later period we find that a considerable trade in fish—no doubt cured. not fresh (see below)—was carried on by Tyrian merchants with Jerusalem (Neh. 13 16). There must have been a fish-market, which may have dated even from pre-exilic times, in the northern part of the city. It gave its name to a neighbouring gate (Neh. 3 3 *ff.*) ; see JERUSALEM.

7. Fish as food in NT times. In the time of Jesus there were still thriving fisheries from the Dog river to the Bay of Acre,—'to carry coals to Newcastle' is in later Hebrew 'to take fish to Acco,'—but more especially by the Sea of Galilee (cp Mk. 8 5 *ff.* Lk. 9 13 *ff.* Jn. 21 9). Much of the fish caught on the lake must have been used in a fresh state by the thriving populations on its western and northern shores ; but at the period in question there was also a large export trade in cured or salted fish. From this industry the town of Taricheæ (*ταριχεῖαι*, salting-places) received its name. The process of curing by cutting open the fish, removing the viscera, salting thoroughly, and exposing to the sun, was much in vogue in ancient Egypt (see illustration in Wilkinson, 2 118, and cp Herod. 2 92). The fishes of the two well-known miracles, were in all probability of this sort, fish cured in the way indicated (*τάριχοι*, Herod. 9 120, Heb. מְלוּחִים—opp. טְפֵלִים, *Nedarim*, 64—or חֲלִילִיחַ שֶׁל דָּג), already half-cooked in the sun, being in great demand for *ἐπισιτισμός* or provisions for the journey (Lk. 9 12 *ff.*). Cured fish was also imported from Egypt (where there were several places named Ταριχεῖαι), and from Spain. Thus in Mish. *Makhshīrīn*, 63, mention is made of 'Egyptian fish that comes in baskets (or barrels?)' and of the Spanish *colias* (קולים, *κολίας*) or tunny (cp *Shabb.* 22 4).[1]

Fish preserved in hrine (מורייס, *muries*) was also an important article of commerce ('*Abōdā Zārā*, 26, *Ned.* 6 4), especially the fish called in the Talmud טְרִית, which some identify with the tunny, others with the anchovy or the sardine (Herzfeld, *op. cit.* 105 *f.*, and note on p. 305 *f.*). Other preparations from fish were צִיר, often mentioned along with מוריים, and הַרְסָנָה, which was kept in a pot (*Bābā bath.* 144 *a*) ; hut their precise nature is unknown.

Fresh fish' was prepared for the table in a variety of ways. One passage of the Talmud (*Ned.* 20 *b*) mentions four methods : it may be eaten pickled (see above), roasted, baked, or boiled. The most common of these methods was probably roasting or grilling. The ancient Egyptians roasted their fish by means of a spit through the tail (Erman, 189). The fish might also be laid directly on the charcoal (Jn. 21 9). Fish was also boiled (*Ned.* 6 4), and might be eaten with eggs atop (דָּג וּבֵיצָה שֶׁעָלָיו, *Bēṣā*, 21). Compare the riddle, from *Mō'ēd Ḳāṭōn*, 11 *a*, cited by Hamburger (vol. i., 'Fisch').

8. Clean and unclean fish. Although the use of fish as an article of diet is allowed, by the Noachic covenant (Gen. 9 2 P), limitations are put upon it in Deuteronomy and Leviticus. 'All that have fins (סְנַפִּיר) and scales (קַשְׂקֶשֶׂת) ye may eat ; but of those that have not fins and scales ye may eat none ; they are unclean (טָמֵא) unto you' (Dt. 14 9 *f.* ; cp Lev. 11 9-12, where the forbidden fish are styled שֶׁקֶץ, 'an abomination '). By this provision no distinction is made between salt-water and fresh-water fish—'in the seas and in the rivers' (Lev. 11 9)—provided the necessary criteria are present. Excluded, on the other hand, are all scaleless fishes, such as the important group of the siluridæ or sheat-fish—the flesh of which is said to be 'excellent eating, firm and rich like an eel's' (Tristram, *FFP*, 170, 173)—skates, lampreys, and, 'of course, eels, and every variety of shellfish.[2] Similarly the author of the epistle to Barnabas (chap. 10) mentions as forbidden the *σμύραινα* (lamprey). *πολύπος* and *σηπία*; and Jer. *Epist.* 151, *Quæst.* 10, besides the *Sepia* adds the *Loligo* (a kind of cuttle), *Muræna*, and *Anguilla* (eel). The fundamental requisite of fins and scales specified in the Law was somewhat simplified in later times. Thus in Mish. *Khull.* 37 end, we read : Rabbi Yehudn says, 'At least two scales and one fin.' Experience, however, having proved that all fish with scales have also fins, it was permitted to use as food part of a fish on which only scales were visible (*Nidda*, 51 *b*).[3]

A. R. S. K.

9. Ichthyolatry. Analogies for the prohibition of certain fish are met with elsewhere. The distinction between fishes with and without scales was made in Egypt and survived in certain rites of early Rome (cp Pliny, *HN* xxiii. 2 10). In Egypt the oxyrhynchus, phagrus (eel), and lepidotus were not only forbidden in certain districts (Plut. *de Isid.* 18), but were actually looked upon as sacred. Similarly Hyginus (*Astr.* 2 41) states that the Syrians look upon fish as holy, and abstain from eating them (*ib.* 2 30) ; and according to Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4 9) the fish in the Chalus near Aleppo were regarded as gods. Ichthyolatry was associated especially with the cult of Derceto (see ATARGATIS), who, in spite of the euhemeristic attempts of later legends, seems to have been partly a fish goddess. In a pool at the temple at Hierapolis were sacred fish

1 [Budde's view of Leviathan has been controverted (see EEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 3). His interpretation of אַגְמֹן in Job 41 2 [40 26] differs from that of Duhm, who renders (cp RV) 'Canst thou lay a rush (*i.e.*, *a* rope of rushes) to his nose?' Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 49), however, is afraid that leviathan would soon bite through such a rope, and thinks that Theod. (*κρίκον*), Vg. (*circulum*), and Tg. (אונקלה) presuppose a different reading. Che., agreeing with this, would read נֶזֶם (‖ חוֹחַ) ; ז and ן, נ and ג, confounded. This would give a perfect parallelism, 'a ring in his nose,' 'his jaw with a hook.' So too Beer.]

2 Cp the paraphrase of Ps.-Jon. quoted by Dr. *l.c.* ; and notice the coincidence between the meanings of TOLA and PUAH [*qq.v.*], and the trade they are here represented as carrying on. [Di., however, hesitates to define the reference exactly, and the correctness of the text has been disputed on critical grounds ; cp GLASS, § 2.]

1 For these fish see Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. d. Juden*(2), p. 121 ('94).

2 The distinction made (Mt. 13 48) between good and bad (*σαπρά*) fish proceeds on different lines, the 'had' fish including not merely the legally unclean, but also those for which, from their size and condition, or from the prevailing taste in these matters, the,-e was no demand in the market.

3 For this and other authoritative de-isions regarding clean and unclean fish—of these last there were 700 species according to the Talmud—see Hamburger, vol. i., art. 'Fisch'; Wiener, *Die jüdischen Speisegesetze* ('95), 310 *ff.*

which wore ornaments of gold (cp Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 45), like the eels of Zeus at Labraunda in Caria. Another pool at Ascalon contained fish sacred to Atargatis, which were daily fed, but never eaten, since it was believed that any one who ate of them (the sprat and anchovy are especially mentioned, Selden, *de Dis Syr.* 23) would be afflicted with ulcers. On the other hand, Mnaseas (ap. Athen. 837) states that fish was daily cooked and eaten by the priests of the goddess, the idea doubtless being to bring deity and servant into closer relationship. In connection with this it is interesting to notice that *a* practical identification of deity, servant, and fish, takes place in the representations on Assyrian cylinders where the priest, clothed in a large fish-skin, stands before the fish which is laid upon an altar (cp Menant, *Glyptique*, 253). Examples of the sacred character of the fish could be easily multiplied. Mummified fishes have been found in Egypt (Budge, *Mummy*, *357)*. The Egyptian *abtu* and *ant* are mythological fishes which accompanied the boat of the sun, and similar mythical fish perhaps survive in the stories of JONAH and TOBIT (*qq.v.*).[1] Nor are traces of ichthyolatry wanting at the present day. Sacred fish are still to be found in consecrated fountains in Syria (Thomson, *LB* 547), the most important being at the mosques of Tripolis and Edessa (Sachau. *Reise*, 197).

10. Its origin. The origin of ichthyolatry must be sought in a primitive state of totemism. The Egyptian Oxyrhynchites, and the nomes and cities of Oxyrhynchus, as well as those of Phagroriopolis and Latopolis, derive their names clearly from the sacred Egyptian fishes (cp Wilk. 3 340 *ff.*). The penalty for eating a sprat *or* anchovy mentioned above (§ 9) finds analogy in Samoa where the cuttle-fish clan avoid eating the cuttle-fish, in the belief that if they did so one of the species would grow in the stomach and cause dcath (Frazer, *Totemism*, 18). The dressing of the worshipper in a fish-skin is in accordance with the habits of all totemistic clans. A member will assimilate himself to his totem by disguising himself so as to resemble it.[2]

That a fish believed to be unwholesome was forthwith invested with a sacred character so as to prevent, in the most effectual method possible, its use as food, will not account for the prohibition of such fish as eels, lampreys, and others. Such a theory completely reverses the facts, since the evidence above adduced shows that it is the sanctity of the fish (which may have arisen from its being a totem, or else from its association with a deity) that makes it prohibited, and thus accounts for the (apparently) arbitrary *taboo* upon various fishes.

11. Israelite analogies. In Israel nothing is said of sacrificial fish (see CLEAN, § 11); but that certain fish were sacred among them can hardly bc denied. That Dagon was a fish-god is doubtful (see DAGON), and the name of Joshua's father admits of another explanation than 'fish' (see NUN).[3] Still the law in Dt. 418 (cp also Ex. 204 and see DECALOGUE) against the making of images of fish shows how prevalent the custom must have been. Such a cult, however, would not be likely to spring up among desert-people or nomads ; it was doubtless of Canaanite origin and adopted by the Israelite immigrants.

Finally may he noticed the frequent occurrence of the fish in early Christian inscriptions; whatever may have been the true meaning of its introduction, it was always popular from the accidental circumstance that the word ἰχθύς is composed of the initial letters of the words Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ ; see APOCALYPTIC, § 91; and cp Hans Achelis, *Das Symbol des Fisches u. d. Fischdenkmäler d. römischen Katakomben* ('88).

1 For the zodiacal 'pisces' cp the Bab. *nunu*, fish of Ia, and *see* Jensen, *Kosmol.* 81. For further evidence of the sanctity of fish cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 173 *ff.*, 292 *ff.*, Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Unt.*, 3 138-180.

2 Numerous examples of this custom will he found in Frazer, *op. cit.* 26 *ff.*; see generally CUTTINGS, §6.

3 On the other hand the father of Bardesanes was called ܢܘܚܡܐ (*so* with Hoffm. *Auszüge*, etc., p. 137)—*i.e.*, 'my fish *is* mother,' the reference being to Atargatis; cp WRS *Kin.* 304.

For FISH-HOOK see HOOK ; for FISH-POOL, see above, § 5; for FISH-GATE, cp above, § 6 (end), and see JERUSALEM.

A.E.S., § 1; A.R.S.K., § 2 *ff.*; S.A.C., § 9 *ff.*

FITCHES. 1. This word in Is. 28 25 27 stands for *ḳéṣaḥ*, קֶצַח (μελάνθιον [𝔊BNAQΓ]; *gith*). RVmg., however, prefers 'black cummin' (*Nigella sativa*, L.), the seeds of which, like those of cummin, are used in the East, as they anciently were used by the Greeks and Romans, as condiments, not only in sauces, but a'so in bread. The cognate noun in Arabic is *ḳazḥ*, and the verb *ḳazaḥa* means 'to use as a savoury in food.'

2. In Ezek. 49, AV gives 'fitches' for כֻּסְּמִים, *kussĕmīm*, pl. of *kussémeth*, כֻּסֶּמֶת (𝔊 ὄλυρα, Aq. Sym. ζέα). 'SPELT,' however, is RV's rendering, which is preferable (*Triticum Spelta*, L.).[1] The same Heb. word occurs in Ex. 9 32 (ὄλυρα [Aq. Sym. ζέα]) and Is. 2825, where AV has 'RIE,' RV 'spelt.'

The verbs כסם (Ezek. 44 20) and its congener כרסם (Ps. 80 13 [14]) each occur once in OT in the sense of 'crop' or 'shear'; the grain may have its name from its comparative smoothness as compared with other kinds (Ges.). Whatever be its origin, *kussémeth* is certainly to be distinguished (Low, 104 *ff.*, Fleischer in Levy, *NHWB* 2 450) from Arab. *karsana*, 'vetch'—a word probably of Indo-hump. origin, and still the name of the vetch in Palestine (*ZDPV* 9 11)—with which Lagarde (*GA* 59, *Amr. St.* 2367) and Wetzstein (Del. *Isa.*(2) 707) have confounded it. This latter word answers in meaning to Syr. ܟܘܫܢܐ, whereas כֻּסֶּמֶת answers to ܟܘܢܬܐ. Jewish tradition even so late as Maimonides correctly distinguished the two words (Low, 105).

In Ex. 9 32 spelt is mentioned along with wheat as a later crop than **flax** and barley. See EGYPT, § 8. In Ezek. 49 it appears with wheat, barley, beans, lentils, and millet, as a constituent in the symbolic bread ahich the prophet was commanded to bake. In Is. 28 25 the husbandman is described as sowing spelt in the border-round wheat and barley.

De Candolle (*Orig.*, 291), following Vilmorin, classifies together three species of Triticum[2]—viz., *T. Spelta*, **L.**, *T. dicoccum*, Schrank., and *T. monococcum*, L.—as having the common peculiarity that when ripe they are tightly held in their sheath, which has to he removed by a special operation. He is against the identification of *kussémeth* with *T. Spelta* (*ib.* 292), which was **a** plant of temperate countries. *T. dicoccum* he regards as an ancient cultivated race of *T. Spelta* (*ib.* 293). *T. monococcum* was a plant of Asia Minor; Schliemann found at Issarlik **a** grain which Wittmack identified as *T. monococcum*, var. *flavescens;* he says—'que j'avais pris d'abord **pour** un petit *T(riticum) durum* ou *dicoccum*' (*Journ. de la Soc. Nat. d'Hort. de France* ['97] 157). כֻּסֶּמֶת may then well have been *T. monococcum*.

N. M. —W. T. T.-D.

FLAG. Two Hebrew words call for consideration :

1. סוּף, *suph* (Ex. 2 3 5 Is. 19 6 Jon. 2 5 [6] †) is in EV rendered 'flags' in **Ex.** and **Is.**, and 'weeds' in Jon. ; 𝔊 has ἕλος (Aq. παπυρεών) in Ex. and πάπυρος in Is.; in Jon. 𝔊 Sym. (Aq. ἐρυθρά) have wrongly connected the word with סוֹף, *sôph*, 'end.' Vg. has the renderings *carectum* (Ex. 2 3), *papyrion* (*ib.* 5), *iuncus* (Is.), *pelagus* (Jon.). According to W. M. Miiller (*As. u. Eur.* 101) and Steindorff (in *Beitr. z. Ass.* 1 603) סוף = **Eg.** *ṭwfi* ; Muller, however, thinks that it is more probably a Semitic word borrowed by Egyptian than the converse. It is sufficiently general to denote both the freshwater reed-growths along the Nile hanks and the sea plants 'wrapped about the head' of one cast into 'the deep, in the heart of the seas.' On יַם־סוּף as **a** proper name, see RED SEA.

2. אָחוּ, *'āḥū* (ἄχει, ἄχι : Gen. 41 2 18 ; βούτομον : Job 8 11 †) is rendered by **AV** 'meadow' in Gen. and 'flag' in Job; RV has 'reed-grass' in the former and 'flag' (with mg. 'reed-grass') in the latter. The word is Egyptian and derived from **a** root denoting greenness; the Egyptian noun was specially applied to the reed-meadows on the banks of the Nile (Ebers, *Äg. und die Bücher Mos.* 338 *f.*; Wiedemann, *Sammlung*, 16). Ἄχι also occurs in the Greek of Is. 19 7 and Ecclus. 40 16. In the former placer 𝔊 ἄχι τὸ χλωρόν renders עָרוֹת, *'ārōth* (prob. 'open meadows'), in the latter the newly discovered Heb. text has, corruptly, קרדמות, axes. Following the Syr., Cowley and Neuh. would read קרומיות, 'reed-stalks' (see Lévi's note, and cp Low, *Aram. Pfl.-namen*, 202). This has suggested an emendation of

1 This is the ζέα or ὄλυρα of the **Greeks** (for distinction see Theophrastus, *HP* viii. 13), and *probably* the *far* of the Romans (hut on the latter *see* De Candolle, *Orig. d. Pl. Cult.* 291).

2 He says, however, that this classification is 'plus agricole que hotanique.'

the difficult passage, Ps. *3514*, where in the letters כאמקרר Che. (*Ps.*[2]) detects כקרומיות; in the parallel clause he finds אחו in the mutilated form אח. The whole verse becomes—

Like bulrushes by the river's bank [so did I bend the head
Like reeds by the streams, | (so) bbwed down I went along.

For 'flag' in the sense of 'standard,' see ENSIGNS. N. M.

FLAGON. 1. 'Flagon' (Fr. *flacon*), or large bottle, occurs five times in AV, viz., 2 S. 6 19 1 Ch. 16 3 Is. 22 24 Hos. 3 1 Cant. 2 5. RV, however, substitutes 'cake (or cakes) of raisins' or (in Cant.) 'raisins,' except in Is. 22 24, where it retains 'all the vessels of flagons.' RV's rendering 'cake of raisins' (for אשישה) is, however, probably not less incorrect than 'flagon'; the passages with אשישה appear to need critical emendation (see FRUIT, § 5). In Is. 22 24 the 'flagons' of EV corresponds to נבלים, *nᵉbhālīm*; earthenware bottles are meant. (See BOTTLE, § 2 [*b*], and cp POTTERY.)

2. In two places RV has introduced 'flagons,' contrary to AV, viz., Ex. 25 29 37 16 (AV 'covers'; σπονδ[ε]ῖα [BAFL]). This sense is confirmed by the cognate dialects (see Ges.-Buhl, *s.v.*; and Di. *in loc.*), also by 𝔊, and by Nu. 4 7 (RV 'cups' AV 'covers'), where the same vessels are expressly termed קְשׂוֹת הַנָּסֶךְ—*i.e.*, libation-flagons. For representations of these or similar flagons on Jewish coins of the first and second revolts, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 198 *ff.*

FLAX (פֵּשֶׁת,[1] *pēšeth*, or פִּשְׁתָּה, *pištāh*, pl. פִּשְׁתִּים, *pištīm*). The Hebrew word rendered 'flax' in Ex. 9 31 Josh. 2 6 Judg. 15 14 Prov. 31 13 Is. 19 9 42 3 (quoted Mt. 12 20, with λίνον) Ezek. 40 3 Hos. 2 5 9 [7 11] is translated 'linen' in Lev. 13 47 *f.* 52 59 Dt. 22 11 Jer. 13 1 Ezek. 44 17 *f.*, and 'tow' (RV 'flax') in Is. 43 17.

𝔊 has generally λίνον but once, λινοκαλάμη (Josh. 2 6), once στίππυον (Judg. 15 14), and twice στιππύινος [etc.] (Lev. 13 47 59). In Ezek. 40 3 𝔊 reads οἰκοδόμων, in Hos. ὀθόνια.

Ex. 9 31 mentions the growing plant as budding or flowering (see BOLLED) at the time that barley comes into ear (cp Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 2 398); but in most places the reference is to a finished product, flax (*Linum usitatissimum*, L.) or linen, which is often coupled or contrasted with wool; in Is. 42 3 43 17 Mt. 12 20 the use of flaxen wicks for lighting is probably alluded to.

The cultivation of flax in Egypt is referred to in Is. 19 9, 'those that dress combed flax' (פשתים שריקות)—an expression which is illustrated by the two combs for parting and cleansing the fibres of the flax referred to by Wilkinson (*op. cit.* 2 174). The phrase פשתי העץ, *pištē hā'ēṣ*, in Josh. 2 6 has by some been taken to mean cotton (*sc.* 'tree flax'), but is obviously 'flax in stalk,' as opposed to 'flax that has been beaten'; thus 𝔊 λινοκαλάμη.

De Candolle (*Orig.* 95 *ff.*) maintains that of the two best distinguishable species of flax, the annual (*Linum usitatissimum*) had its original home in Asia, while the perennial (*L. angustifolium*) was that which first grew in Europe. The former however, he thinks, reached Europe from Mesopotamia and Persia at a very early prehistoric period, and was, almost certainly, the flax cultivated by the Egyptians.

See also LINEN; and on the use of flax for nets, see FISH, § 3. N. M.

FLEA (פַּרְעֹשׁ: ψγλλος). In 1 S. 24 14 [15] 26 20, according to Smiths *BD*[2] (*s.v.* 'Flea'), 'David, addressing Saul, compares himself to [the flea], as the most insignificant and contemptible of living things.' The statement is incredible, and the reports of travellers among the Bedouin do but make it more so. For these insects (*Pulex irritans*, Linn.) swarm in the dust of caves. That David should refer to hunting 'a single flea' is absurd. Did he wish to preach resignation to king Saul? The question suggests itself whether the text is correct. Considering that the Flea-clan turns out to be imaginary (see PAROSH), we may well doubt it.

An explanation lies close at hand. For פרעש אחד we should read פֶּרֶא מִדְבָּר, 'wild ass of the desert'; cp Job 24 5, and especially Gen. 16 12 (where פרא אדם should be פרא מדבר [Grätz]). David asks if Saul has come out to chase a wild pariah dog (see DOG, § 3) or a still wilder desert-ass. In 1 S. 26 20 the reference to the 'flea' is due to a misreading; 𝔊BA has ψυχήν μου, נַפְשִׁי (see Dr. *ad loc.*). The word 'fleas' (plur.) occurs in RVmg. of Ex. 8 16 for כִּנִּם. See LICE. T. K. C.

[1] This form is inferred (see Ges. *Thes.*) from the twice occurring פִּשְׁתִּי (Hos. 2 5 9 [7 11])

FLESH. i. *OT usage.*—The Hebrew *bāśār* (בשׂר)[1] in the most literal sense signifies flesh as distinct from the outer skin (Lev. 9 11), the living flesh of human beings (Lev. 13 10) and of brutes (Gen. 41 3), as well as the dead flesh in the one case (Gen. 16 8) and in the other (Gen. 40 19). Hence by a natural extension of meaning 'flesh' is used for the whole body (Lev. 14 9 and so frequently in P; but cp also 1 K. 21 27). Further, although the Hebrews from ancient times distinguished between flesh and soul (נֶפֶשׁ) they did not at first draw any sharp line of demarcation between the two; much less were they conscious of painful contrast between the flesh in its weakness and sinfulness on the one hand, and the eternal, holy God upon the other. Naturally, therefore, 'flesh' is employed to signify not only the whole body, but also the whole man as a personal being; at least in Neh. 5 5 Job 21 6 Ps. 63 2 we appear to meet with the survival of this usage.

1. Meaning of Bāśār.

It is also used of the male αἰδοῖα (Ezek. 16 26 23 20 Lev. 15 2 16 4). Again, marriage is said to make the man and woman 'one flesh.' Kinsfolk, and even compatriots, have the same 'bone and flesh' (Gen. 29 14 37 27 1 S. 5 1 19 13 *f.*), and it is of the bond of common lineage in Israel that the later Isaiah is thinking when he exhorts his countrymen (Is. 58 7) not 'to hide themselves from their own flesh. Indeed 'flesh,' like the Arabic *bašarun*, becomes a synonym for mankind (Ps. 65 3 Jer. 12 12), or may include all creatures that live and feel (so P in Gen. 7 15 etc.).

Next, 'flesh' is regarded as united in the case of the living man with soul, so that the whole man consists of flesh and soul (Ps. 16 9 63 2), though in one passage—where, however, both text and meaning are uncertain—the book of Job (14 22) apparently ascribes some dull feeling even to the flesh separated by death from the soul. The flesh, moreover, and especially the heart, is the receptacle of the spirit (Gen. 6 3) which is the principle of physical and spiritual life, or in a more special sense the endowment of Yahwè's chosen servants and in the Messianic age of all Israel (Joel 3 1). Therefore when Yahwè recalls his people from their disobedience, he begins, according to Ezekiel (11 19 36 26), by giving them a heart of flesh—*i.e.*, one which is human and susceptible—instead of a heart of stone—*i.e.*, one which is hard and inhuman.

Lastly, in the prophetic writings, man as flesh is contrasted with God as spirit. This opposition first appears in Isaiah (31 3, written, as seems most likely, in 702, with a view to the Egyptian alliance; see ISAIAH i., § 14): 'The Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses are flesh and not spirit; and Yahwè will stretch out his hand, so that the helper shall stumble and the helped fall, and both of them perish together.' In this passage, the nearest approach to a dogmatic conception of God in the prophetic writings, God is represented as the absolute spirit, who exists without dependence on creatures, unaffected by national disaster. All else is flesh; the same God who gives them breath at his will withdraws it. The heathen gods are simply ignored, and it is apparent that the Divine Spirit must in the end conquer that which is mere flesh. Like thoughts recur in subsequent literature. 'Cursed is the man,' says Jeremiah (17 5), 'who trusts in human beings and makes flesh his arm, while his heart withdraws from Yahwè.' All flesh, according to Zechariah (11 17), is to be hushed into silence before Yahwè in his temple. Job asks if God has 'eyes of flesh' (10 4)—*i.e.*, whether he is really ignorant and impatient like short-

2. As a synonym of 'mankind.'

[1] Cp Ar. *bašarun*, 'the external skin,' with the Syriac *besrā*, 'flesh' and with the Assyr. *bisru*, used of relations by blood. Probably the Arabic word best preserves the original meaning, *bāśār* being the outer, as opposed to שְׁאֵר (=Ar. *thār*), the inner flesh. See Hoffm. *ZATW* 3 107.

sighted and short-lived men. *So*, on the contrary, God is said in Ps. **78** 39 to remember that his people 'are but flesh'—*i.e.*, weak and fleeting. Here we reach the threshold of the NT idea of σάρξ. The theological use of this word is confined to Paul's employment of it to denote the seat of sin in man. Outside of this, it is used in a merely popular sense to designate the material part of man in its various contrasts with the spirit (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 102). W. E. A.

ii. *NT usage.*—Paul's use, however, becomes part of a system of theological thought which is carried through the subject of sin and redemption (instances are so frequent and familiar as scarcely to need citation : the most obvious are Rom. 7 5 18 25 ; 8 6-13 ; Gal. **5** 13-24). This system, therefore, must be briefly described.

3. Paul's use of the word.

In the first place, since the seat of sin is in the flesh, the punishment of sin is mainly, not wholly, physical death. The final redemption of man, of which the spirit is only the pledge, is therefore the restoration of the body (Rom. 8 10 *f.* 23). Moreover, since sin has its seat in the flesh, the resurrection is not only a re-creation of the body, but a change from a body of sin and death to one fitted for the higher spiritual part of man, and incorruptible (1 Cor. **15** 42-49).

This localising, not only of sin, but also of the punishment of sin, in the body, explains how it is that, in the apostle's thought, redemption is through Christ's death and resurrection. As long as both punishment and cure were thought of as purely spiritual these physical means of the cure in the apostle's thought were inexplicable. It is incongruous to make Christ's physical death in some way take the place of man's spiritual death, or Christ's resurrection effect man's spiritual resurrection (Rom. 5 10). If, however, physical death is the main element in punishment, then the physical death of Christ can take the place of that of the sinner; and if resurrection is essentially corporeal, the physical resurrection of Jesus may become its appropriate cause.

Again, the placing of sin in the flesh, in the body and its members, makes it superficial, not identified with the essential man, which is in subjection to the law of God.

It is not the ego, the human personality, that sins, but sin, seated in the man as an alien principle, penetrating only the flesh not the spirit of the man (Rom. 7 14-25). At the same time: since sin dwells in the flesh, and the flesh is resolved into the body and the members, which are the executive parts, it is sin that gets itself done in spite of the protest of the inner man (*ib.*).

This does not mean, of course, that it is not the man himself that sins, but that it is the man dominated, not by his inner real self, but by an alien principle of sin, in a way external to himself. The remedy is to be found in the first place in the displacement of sin as the dominant principle in the man, by the spirit. The apostle represents the dominion of sin as amounting to a law to which the man is subject, but from which he is freed by the law of the spirit of life. Sin is dispossessed, not of power, but of supreme power in the very flesh which has been its stronghold (Rom. 8 1-10).

This, however, is not all. If it were, there would be a state of strife incompatible with the apostle's idea of the completeness of the work of Christ.

4. Resurrection of the body.

To be sure, sin is no longer the dominating principle even in the flesh : it is met and overcome by the stronger spirit. However, it is there still, and keeps up its fight against the spirit (Gal. 5 16-26) ; the flesh being the part of man which is vulnerable to sin, the final act of redemption must be the deliverance of the man from the flesh itself. This occurs, accordingly, at the resurrection, when the body of another sort, another material, fitted for the higher part of the man, is substituted for this body of flesh (1 Cor. **15** 42-49). An analysis of the statement will show that the flesh of which this is said is simply the flesh itself in its primary meaning.

In the first place, the resolution of the flesh into body and members, which we find commonly in Paul, is enough to show this, unless we find rebutting testimony (Rom. 7 5 23 *f.*). Then the apostle's account of the way in which his good will is frustrated points to the same conclusion. He himself wills the good, but does not find any way to bring it to pass; because the members, which accomplish things, have within them a principle of evil instead of good (Rom. 7 14-25). The final remedy for this state of things is the redemption of the body. The pledge of this is the spirit, which helps the situation as long as the flesh complicates it; but the final cure is the change of material of the body into something befitting the spirit instead of clogging it (Rom. 8 23). This it is that achieves for man at last the condition of sonship.

We must now seek the rationale of this theory of sin. In the present state of this question, it is enough to say that it is probably not the Greek dualism, which affirms evil of matter as such.

5. Rationale of Paul's theory.

(1) The Jewish philosophy which mediates between Judaism and Hellenism is Alexandrian, and Paul was not an Alexandrian (cp HELLENISM, § 9). He says of himself that he was excessively zealous for the ancestral traditions. That is to say, he was a Pharisee; and Pharisaism and Alexandrianism do not coalesce : they are opposites (Gal. **1** 14 Phil. 3 5).

(2) The apostle's doctrine of the resurrection of the body involves for it a change of material, not the substitution of a body that is immaterial.

When Paul says that the resurrection body is spiritual, he is not speaking of its material (if one may speak of 'spiritual material') but of its adaptation. The contrast is with the psychical body, the psyche being the lower spiritual part of man; not of course the material of the present body, but its inhabitant. In the same way, the pneuma, which is the higher spiritual part, would be, not the material of the future body, but its spiritual principle. In 2 Cor. 5 1-8, the apostle expresses a dread of the disembodied state—what he calls its 'nakedness'—a dread that is repugnant to the essential spirit of Alexandrianism, which regards the body as a clog to the spirit, not as a covering for its shivering nakedness.

(3) Finally, Paul deprecates Greek wisdom or philosophy, speaking of it as worldly and opposed to the foolishness of the cross (1 Cor. **1** 17-31).

This, again, can scarcely refer to anything else than Alexandrianism : that Jewish adaptation of Platonism is the only form of Greek thought familiar to the Jews. When a Pharisaic Jew, Paul, in a controversy with an Alexandrian Jew, Apollos, speaks in this way of Greek wisdom, the reference is plain. This applies generally to the attempt to make Paul cover the Alexandrian as well as the Jewish tracts of thought in traditional Paulinism.

The apostle shared, however, the depreciation of the body common to all races, which is due to its actual seductions and misdemeanours. The grosser and more obvious sins have there not only their seat but also their occasion. It is the side of man which is vulnerable; not actually evil, but susceptible to appetites which run easily to evil (Gal. **5** 19-21 24). Then, not only is it the seat of the most obvious sins, but also in it are located the most apparent and obtrusive results of sin. The mind reacts within itself, and the moral nature in its own sphere, and in these cases the reactions of transgression are subtle; but in the case of physical transgression they are visible. This is sufficient to account for Paul's use, which is not singular except as its peculiarities are emphasised by their place in the system he has wrought out.

W. E. A., § 1 *f.* ; E. P. G., § 3 *ff.*

FLESHHOOK (מִזְלָג) Ex. 27 3, etc. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 5 (ii.).

FLINT. So much of Palestine consists of cretaceous strata that we are not surprised to find flint often referred to. The terms used for it are :—

1. צֹר, *ṣōr* (Ex. 4 25 [ψηφον], Josh. 5 2 *f.* [πετρα ἀκροτομος], Job 22 24 [πετρα], Ps. 89 44 [43], where MT's צוּר is corrupt [𝔊 τὴν βοήθειαν ; see Che. *ad loc.*], Ezek. 3 9 [πετρα]). In Is. 5 28 read צר for צֹר [στερεα πετρα]. Plainly generic=rock, stone. On Josh. 5 2 see KNIFE.

2. חַלָּמִישׁ, *ḥallāmiš* (ακροτομος, στερ. πετ. On Tg. see ADAMANT, § 4), flint, and, with צוּר, rocky flint and flinty rock (Dt. 8 15, quoted in Wisd. 11 4 Dt. 32 13 Job 28 9 Ps. 104 8 Is. 50 7). Emblem of hardness or unfruitfulness; hence the marvel of 'oil' or 'water' from the flinty rock (see OIL). Also of moral stedfastness (Is. 50 7 Ezek. 3 9). Cp also HAMMER, 2.

Ḥallāmiš is etymologically identical with Ass. *elmēšu* or *elmēšu*, the hardest and costliest of precious stones, the name of which probably underlies a corrupt Hebrew name of a precious stone (see TARSHISH, STONE OF). See Del. *Prol.* 86, and cp

Hommel, *PSBA*, May '93, p. 291, who connects *elmēšu* (= *algamēšu*) with *gilgamiš* or *gibilgamiš*, according to him a name of the Fire-god.

3. κόχλαξ, 1 Macc. 10 73 EV, 'in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint' (rather, 'pebbles'). κ. also in 𝔊 1 S. 14 14. On both passages see SLING.

FLOCK, TOWER OF THE (מִגְדַּל־עֵדֶר) Mi. 48. See EDER, THE TOWER OF.

FLOOD (מַבּוּל), Gen. 617. See DELUGE.

FLOOR (גֹּרֶן), Gen. 50 11. See AGRICULTURE, § 8.

FLOUR. (1) קֶמַח, Judg. 6 19 RV 'meal'; (2) סֹלֶת, Ex. 29 2; (3) בָּצֵק, 2 S. 13 8 RV, 'dough.' See BREAD, § 1, FOOD, § 1 *f.*

FLOWERS. Four Hebrew words for 'flower' or 'blossom' correspond to the single Greek word ἄνθος (taking the LXX for our guide). The NT therefore could not (even if the love of flowers were more perceptible in it than it is) be expected to do justice to the floral beauty of the landscape of Palestine in spring (Cant. 2 12). It is true, the neighbourhood of Jerusalem has not a rich flora. Still, all the hills of Judah have bright though small spring-flowers; nor, since Isaiah (*If* 11 18 5 see *SBOT*) refers to it, must the vine-blossom (see GRAPE) be forgotten. Samaria was probably better favoured (cp Is. 28 1). Two of the most beautiful of the flowers of Palestine compete for the honour of being referred to by Jesus in his saying on the lilies (see LILY). The tulip, poppy, hyacinth, cyclamen, asphodel, star of Bethlehem, crocus, and mallow may also be mentioned among the many attractive flowers. Wild roses and wild jasmine also perfume the air in some parts. Lebanon and the deserts have floral beauties of their own. Delitzsch, though he had never been in Palestine, fully realised this variety in the flora of that country (*Iris*, 18). That flowers should be an emblem of evanescence is natural (Job 14 2 Ps. 103 15 Is. 40 6 Jas. 1 10).

1. פֶּרַח, *péraḥ*, Ex. 25 31 *ff.* (κρίνον) Is. 18 5 (AV 'bud,' RV 'blossom,' *i.e.*, of the vine), expresses an early stage of inflorescence. Cp ALMOND, CANDLESTICK, § 2.

2. צִיץ צִיצ, *ṣīṣ*, צִיצָה *ṣīṣāh*, Nu. 17 8 [23] Is. 28 1 4 40 6 Job 14 2 etc. Root-meaning 'to glitter'; cp MITRE, § 3 *f.*

3. נִצָּה, *niṣṣāh*, Is. 18 5 Job 15 33, of the early crude berries of the vine and olive respectively. See GRAPE, 2.

4. נִצָּן, *niṣṣān*, Cant. 2 12, of the spring flowers.

On the 'sweet flowers' of AV (RV 'hanks of sweet herbs') in Cant. 5 13, *see* SPICE.

FLUE NET (מִכְמֶרֶת), Hab. 1 15 AV^mg. See NET, 3.

FLUTE (מַשְׁרֹקִיתָא), Dan. 3 5 7 10 15†. See MUSIC, § 4 (*b*).

FLUX, BLOODY (ΔΥϹΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝ), Acts 28 8. See DISEASES, 9.

FLY. Two Hebrew words are rendered 'fly':

1. זְבוּב, *zĕbūb* (μυῖα, *musca*), cp Ass. *zumbu* [see LICE, end]. Everyone knows the divine name Baalzebub, according to some so called as being a god who averts flies (cp the fly-god Myiodes in Plin. xxix. 6 34); see, however, BAAL-ZEBUB. Elsewhere the word only occurs in Is. 7 13 Eccles. 10 1. In Isaiah 'fly' and 'bee' (the Assyrians) are parallel; the fly is an apt emblem of the dwellers in the Nile valley where noxious insects abound. Can the fly intended be identified? Perhaps, at least if Delitzsch and Cheyne (in *Proph. Is.*) are right in connecting the צִלְצַל כְּנָפָיִם (Del. 'land of the whirring of wings') of Is. 18 1 with the tsetse-fly. The tsetse-fly (*Glossina morsitans*) is the most dreaded insect of S. and Central Africa; it was described by the traveller Bruce as long ago as 1790.

This fly acts as a carrier of disease. It conveys a blood parasite from one animal to another and the parasite causes the disease or death of most cattle. We know of no evidence that this disease ever visited Egypt.

We might also think of the seroot fly of Upper Egypt and Nubia, which is apparently a species of *Pangonia* (*Tabanidæ*), and allied to our horse-flies. This insect is about the size of a wasp, with an orange-coloured body striped with black and white. Its very powerful mouth-organs inflict a painful wound from which blood flows freely, and in which other flies attempt to lay their eggs. During the rainy season in Upper Egypt, Nubia, etc., it is a plague both to man and to beast. At any rate, the seroot may be taken as exemplifying the category to which the dreaded insects referred to belong.

The obscure and rather lengthy proverb about 'dead flies' in Eccles. 10 1 (EV) is well emended by Siegfried, 'A poisonous fly brings corruption to the perfumer's ointment; (so) a little folly destroys the worth of wisdom. 𝔊 (θανατοῦσαι) at any rate supports the sense of 'deadly' or 'poisonous'[1] though like MT it has 'flies' (plur.). Flies in Egypt and Syria are indeed pernicious. They propagate diseases such as ophthalmia, and transmit some of the parasites which live in blood, etc.

2. עָרֹב, *'ārōb* (κυνόμυια), the name of the insect or insects of the plague of Egypt (Ex. 8 21 [17] *ff.* Ps. 78 45 105 31, EV *swarms* of flies). It is impossible to specify what particular insect is intended.

The rendering 'dog-flies' (𝔊, Ge. Kn.) implies a derivation from עָרַב, 'to suck.' These flies have a reputation for their voracity. The rival rendering 'swarms' (cp RV) suggests a connection with עָרַב, 'to mix.' So Pesh. ܥܪܒܐ; other early interpretations (see *Ges. Thes.*) need not be cited.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

FODDER (בְּלִיל), Job 6 5. See CATTLE, § 5.

FOLD (נָוֶה), Is. 65 10, or **Folds** (גְּדֵרוֹת), Nu. 32 24. See CATTLE, § 5.

FOOD

A. VEGETABLE KINGDOM.
Cereals, §§ 1-3. Vegetables, §§ 4-6.
Condiments, § 7.
B. ANIMAL KINGDOM.
Restrictions, §§ 8-13. Other details, § 14 *f.* Cattle as food, § 14 *f.*

A historical treatment of the food of the Hebrews would eventually shape itself into a history of their social and economic progress from the condition of nomads in prehistoric times, through centuries of agricultural and pastoral life in Canaan, to the latest days of Jewish independence, when the choicest products of neighbouring countries found a ready market in the cities of Palestine. It suits our present purpose better, however, to treat the subject of food in Old and New Testament times with reference to the natural kingdom to which the various food-stuffs belong. Of the three familiar divisions, the *vegetable* kingdom (§§ 1-7) supplied the inhabitants of Palestine, as it still supplies the peoples of Eastern lands, with all but an insignificant proportion of the ordinary daily food. To this day the Syrian *fellāḥīn* are practically vegetarians, tasting meat (§§ 8-16) only on the occasion of some religious or social festival. (On the price of food see § 17.)

A. VEGETABLE KINGDOM.

1. Wheat. I. *Cereals*.—In every period of Hebrew history the most important food-stuffs were those classed by Hebrew writers under the general name *dāgān* (דגן), corn, which comprised the grains of a number of common cereals.

i. In the Mishna treatise *Challa*[2] 1 2 (cp *Pĕsāch.* 2 5), whoso takes a vow to abstain from *dāgān* has to abstain only from the following five kinds: wheat, barley, spelt (כוסמים), 'fox-ears' (שִׁבֹּלֶת שׁוּעָל), and *šīphōn* (שִׁיפוֹן), of which only the first three are mentioned in the OT.[3]

[1] The analogy of phrases like כְּלִי מָוֶת, 'a deadly weapon,' is decisive.

[2] This treatise deals with the various contents of the kneading-trough, subject or not subject to the dough dues (חלה; see Nu. 15 20 *ff.*, and cp BAKEMEATS, § 2), as they may be called, which for the ordinary housewife amounted to one twenty-fourth, for professional bakers one forty-eighth of the whole.

[3] For the two remaining grains see below, § 3, and cp the list in Ezek. 4 9.

The most highly esteemed of these cereals, universally used by rich and poor, was wheat.

(a) Wheat,[1] *ḥiṭṭāh* (חטה, more often חטים), appears in the OT as a food-stuff under various forms. The most primitive custom—the only method practised in Rome, tradition says, till the days of Numa (see 'Cibaria' in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq.* 11426)—was to pluck the ears (*mᵉlīlāh*, *'ābīb*) when filled but not fully ripe, to remove the husk by simply rubbing the ears in the hand, and to eat the still juicy kernel.

This the Hebrews were allowed to do in passing through a field of standing corn (Dt. 23 25 [26]). It was disallowed on the Sabbath, however (Mt. 12 1 Mk. 2 23 Lk. 6 1), inasmuch as plucking and rubbing were legally regarded as special forms of reaping and winnowing (cp *Shab.* 7 2). Ears, whether of wheat or of barley, eaten in this way seem to have been known as *karmel* (כרמל, RV 'fresh ears'; Lev. 23 14 2 K. 4 42).[2]

The same 'fresh ears,' crushed in a mortar or otherwise, produced the גרש כרמל, *gérés karmel*, of Lev. 2 14 16 (RV 'bruised corn of the fresh ear'). Much more common was the method of roasting the ears, before they had hardened, on an iron plate or pan.

This parched corn (קָלִי—more fully אָבִיב קָלוּי, Lev. 2 14; קָלוּי alone Josh. 5 11) is repeatedly mentioned in the OT as an article of diet common among all classes of the people (Lev. 23 14 1 S. 17 17 25 18 2 S. 17 28 Ruth 2 14), and is largely eaten at the present day in the East (cp Kob. *BR* 2394 [41]; *ZDPV* 9 3). This mode of rendering the grains of the cereals more palatable everywhere preceded the use of the mortar and pestle by which the grains were crushed, just as the latter method preceded, and was eventually superseded by the hand-mill or quern (see MILL). On the main use of wheat in the Hebrew food-supply see, further, BAKEMEATS, BREAD.

Among the modern Syrians the favourite mode of cooking wheat is as follows:—

The grain is boiled after it has been thoroughly cleaned (hence OT בַּר, see CORN, 3) by the female members of the family (see 𝔊, 2 S. 46, and cp *SBOT*) and freed from the impurities unremoved by the process of winnowing; it is then spread on the housetop to dry (cp 2 S. 17 19), after which it is ground and boiled to a thick paste. A similar dish seems to be intended by the obscure *'ărīsāh*, עֲרִיסָה (Nu. 15 20 *f.* Neh. 10 37 [38] Ezek. 44 30). EV renders 'dough' (𝔊 φύραμα in Nu. σίτων in Neh., om. in Ezek.; other authorities 'kneading-trough'), but *'ărīsāh* is more probably to be identified with the Talmudic *'arsān*, a porridge or paste, made from the meal of barley or wheat (see mod. Lexx. and especially Lag. *GGN*, 1889, p. 301). Wheat, sodden and crushed as above described, the modern *burġul*, added to mutton which has been pounded to shreds with a pestle and mortar, forms *kibbeh*, the national dish of Syria (see COOKING, § 3). The modern *smīd*, the finest of the wheat meal, got by bolting the ordinary flour (*ḳemaḥ*, קמח, RV 'meal') with a fine sieve (cp *Pirḳē Aboth*, 5 15), corresponds to the Hebrew *sōleth* (סלת; 𝔊 σεμίδαλις; RV 'fine flour'). A poetical designation of this fine flour is 'the kidney fat of wheat' (Dt. 32 14 Ps. 81 16 [17] 147 14).[3] Its price was, at one period, twice that of barley (2 K. 7 1 16 18). The distinction between these two kinds of Syrian flour (*ḳémaḥ* and *sōleth*) was familiar to the Egyptians of the New Empire, who made soldiers' bread from the former, and princes' bread from the latter (Erman, *Anc. Egypt*, 188).

(b) The second place among the food grains of the Hebrews was occupied by barley. A brief summary of what is more fully stated elsewhere (see BARLEY) will suffice. In the list of foods offered to David and his friends (2 S. 17 28) we find wheat and barley not only in the grain but also ground and parched (קֶמַח וְקָלִי). Commonly, however, barley, like wheat, was consumed in the form of bread (Judg. 7 13 2 K. 4 42 Ezek. 4 9 12); it formed the bread of the peasantry, and the low esteem in which it was held seems to be the ground for the sole instance of the admission of barley meal among the sacred offerings (Nu. 5 15 *ff.*). In NT times barley bread was still in use (Jn. 6 9 13, and Mishna *passim*), and it is common among the Bedouin of N. Arabia now.

2. Barley.

[1] In AV Nu. 18 12 and Jer. 31 12 the rendering 'wheat' is too special for דָּגָן, RV 'corn,' but Amer. Revision 'grain' (so always for דגן).

[2] AV here, 'full ears of corn in the husk thereof' (בְּצִקְלֹנוֹ); RV, with the best authorities, 'fresh ears of corn in his sack.'

[3] Also probably in the original text of Ecclus. 39 26 (Bacher in *JQR*, July 1897).

(c) The third of the cereals mentioned above as included under corn (*dāgān*) in Mishnic times (*Challā*, 1 2 *Pésăch.* 2 5) is *kussémeth* (כסמת; hardly 'rie,' as AV except in Ezek. 49). See FITCHES. From Ezekiel (4 9, plur. AV 'fitches') we learn that it was, at least occasionally, employed by his countrymen to make bread. In the Mishna it is repeatedly mentioned with wheat and barley.

3. Spelt, etc.

The two remaining cereals are not mentioned in the OT.

(d) The *šibbōleth šū'āl* (lit. 'fox's ear') has been identified by the Jewish scholars (Rashi, etc.) with oats; by Low (129) with the ægilops, a grass closely allied to wheat (cp Post, *Flora of Syria*, etc., 899).

(e) The *šīphōn* is probably a species of oats (the *Avena barbata* of Post, 871, which by the Arabs is called *šeifūn*). From the frequent mention in the Mishna, both *(d* and *e)* must have been cultivated and used as food by the Jews of Palestine in the first and second centuries of our era.

ii. In the Mishna treatise (*Challā*, 14, cp *Shebī'īth* 27) cited above (§ 1, beginning), mention is made of four food-stuffs that were not subject to the dough dues. Three of them may be identified with certainty as the rice plant, millet, and sesame. (α) Rice, *'ōrez* (אורז ὄρυζα), was introduced into Palestine in the Greek period (see Hehn, *Kulturpfl.*[(6)] 485 *ff.*). (β) Millet, *dōḥan* (דחן, Ar. *duḫn*; see MILLET), is mentioned in Ezekiel's list (4 9), where 𝔊 has κέγχρος, by which 𝔊 (BQ[mg.]) also represents the obscure and perhaps corrupt נִסְמָן of Is. 28 25. (γ) Sesame is still largely cultivated in Syria, mainly for the oil-producing quality of its seeds (see OIL). The seeds are used also like carraway seeds in western lands, sprinkled on the housewife's bread, and even mixed with sugar and flour of rice, to produce a species of confection. (δ) The remaining plant of the four may be the familiar *dura* of the Syrian plains (cp Low, pp. 101-3), which in the present day supplies the black bread of the peasant. Mixed with wheaten flour, it is said to keep longer soft (*ZDPV* 9 8). It is not mentioned in the OT or NT.[1]

II. *Other vegetable products.* (α) *The pulse family.* —We pass now to another important group of food-stuffs, the *Leguminosæ* or pulse family. It is somewhat remarkable that *out* of the many hundreds of species belonging to the natural order *Leguminosæ* which are found at the present day in Syria (see Post, *op. cit.* 208-299) only two are mentioned in the OT or the NT, (1) the lentil, and (2) the bean. Still, we may be sure that the pulse plants in all periods furnished an important part of the Hebrews' diet. If EV rightly renders זֵרֹעִים, *zērō'īm*, and זֵרְעֹנִים, *zēr'ōnīm* (Dan. 1 12 16), the diet preferred by Daniel and his companions was confined to PULSE [*q.v.*]. Probably, however, 'herbs' (as RV[mg.]) is a more accurate rendering; the context suggests a contrast between vegetable food-products generally, and the sacrificial and therefore unclean meat (flesh) from the royal kitchen. Various designations of the products we are now to consider occur in the OT, the most precise being the general term *yārāḳ* (ירק, in the Mishna ירקות [*Ab. Zar.* 3 8]); thus גַּן יָרָק (AV 'garden of herbs') is the equivalent of our vegetable or kitchen garden (Dt. 11 10 1 K. 21 2; cp אֲרֻחַת יָרָק, 'a vegetable diet,' Prov. 15 17). Like Daniel, Judas Maccabæus and his associates are said to have lived on a vegetable diet (τὴν χορτώδη τροφήν, 2 Macc. 5 27; cp 4 Esd. 9 26 12 51). For the same reason—the avoidance of food ceremonially unclean—Josephus and his fellow-deputies lived at Rome on figs and nuts (*Vit.* 3).

4. Leguminosæ.

[1] In the Aramaic inscription of Panamu from Zenjirli (*l.* 6) occur the names שורה ושאה (cp שׂוֹרָה, Is. 28 25), שערה חטה. Sachau in his edition of the inscription proposes to identify שורה with the modern grain called *dura*. So also Dr. *Authority and Archæol.* 132. See, however, Che. 'Isa.' (Heb. *SBOT* 99).

Regarding the antiquity of the pulse group of foods and its importance among the peoples of Eastern and classical countries—with the curious exception, noted by Plutarch (*Is.* §§ 5, 8), of the Egyptian priests [1]—we may refer to Hehn's great work (*Kulturpfl. u. Hausth.*(6) 208 *ff.* ['94]).

1. The first place in the group may be assigned to *lentils*, *'adāšīm* (עֲדָשִׁים). The staple diet of the Egyptian pyramid-builders, according to Strabo (xvii.1 34; cp Wilkinson, 2 24), lentils were cooked by the Hebrews from the earliest times to the latest (see LENTILES).[2] Now, as in Ezekiel's time (4 9), they are sometimes ground and mixed with wheat flour to make bread; but they are 'more generally used as a pottage or cooked as the Spaniards cook haricot beans, stewed with oil and flavoured with red pepper' (Tristram, *NHB* 462).

2. The bean, *pōl* (פּוֹל), occurs only in 2 S. 17 28, and as one of the numerous ingredients of Ezekiel's bread (4 9). Several different species of bean were cultivated in Palestine for consumption in the first two centuries of our era. For example, in chap. 1 alone of the Mishna treatise *Kil'áim*, at least four varieties are mentioned; among these is the Egyptian bean, at present one of the most extensively cultivated leguminous plants of Syria. Next, indeed, to the preparations of wheat we may place the bean in its various forms (*fūl, lūbiyah*, etc.) as the most useful food-stuff in the Syria and Egypt of to-day (cp *ZDPV* 9 4, Landberg, *Proverbes et Dictons*, etc. 250). Either the pods are boiled and eaten entire, like our French beans, or the seeds alone are eaten after being roasted, or are boiled to a thick soup. Bean meal, painfully ground in the handmill, is sometimes mixed with wheat flour and baked into bread. Landberg (*op. cit.* 77-88) gives various native recipes for favourite Syrian dishes in which lentils and beans are the main ingredients.

3. Another popular food is the ***chick-pea*** (***Cicer arietinum***, Arab. *ḥummuṣ*), known in early Talmudic times as אֲפוּנִים[3] (*Pēāh* 3 3, etc.). It is cooked in the same manner as the bean. Roasted, the *ḥummuṣ* furnishes an esteemed delicacy, called *ḳuḍāmi*.[4]

4. Here, too, may be mentioned the vetch (*Vicia ervilia*), the modern *kirsenneh*, which is sometimes identified with the *kussémeth* of Is. 28 25 (RV and *SBOT* 'spelt', see § 3 [*c*]). It is now, as doubtless it was formerly, grown as fodder; only in times of scarcity, according to Pliny, was it used as food by man.

(*β*) ***The** gourd family*.—The principal members of the gourd family (*Cucurbitaceæ*) have at all times been prized as food in the East. Next to the fish of the Delta, the Hebrews looked back with regret to Egypt's 'cucumbers and melons' (Nu. 11 5; see CUCUMBER, MELON). At the present day bread and melons or cucumbers form the main food of the poorest class in the large cities, from Constantinople to Damascus and Cairo, for months together.

5. Cucurbitaceæ.

The cucumber (Mish. קִשּׁוּת; Nu. 11 5 קִשֻּׁאִים) is largely consumed in the raw state, but also prepared with vinegar as a salad. Equally popular at all times was the water-melon, *ăbhaṭṭīăḥ* (אֲבַטִּחַ; plur. Nu. 11 5), the modern *baṭṭīkh*, now cultivated by the acre in certain parts of the East, besides which we frequently find in the Mishna the sugar-melon (מִילָפְפוֹן, *μηλοπέπων*), which came to the Jews, as its name shows, from the Greeks. The seeds of the melon are roasted and eaten like those of the chick-pea. Various gourds are included under the דִּילּוּעִים of the Mishna, among them perhaps the favourite *kūsa* or vegetable-marrow.[5] A popular modern dish is prepared by removing the seeds of the *kūsa* and stuffing with rice, minced mutton, and other ingredients. For the 'wild gourds' of 2 K. 4 39 see GOURDS, WILD. Post (*Flora*, 324), with some older authorities, suggests that 'the colocynth may be intended by the gall [רֹאשׁ] in Dt. 29 18 [17] Ps. 69 21, etc.' See GALL, 1.

(*γ*) ***Leeks**, etc.*—Conspicuous among the vegetables enjoyed by Israel in Egypt were 'the leeks, the onions, and the garlic' (Nu. 11 5), all three familiar members of the genus *Allium*.

6. The genus *Allium*.

Marcus Aurelius's description of the garlic-smelling Jews (fœtentium Judæorum) whom he met in Palestine has often been quoted (Amm. Marcell. xxii. 5 5). The leek, *ḥāṣīr* (חציר, Nu. 11 5; in the Mishna generally כְּרֵישָׁה), was at all times highly esteemed in Egypt (cp Pliny's 'laudatissimus porrus in Ægypto,' 19 33) and Syria. ONIONS, *bĕṣālīm* (בצלים), and garlic, *šūm* (שׁוּם), Herodotus was told (2 125), held a chief place among the food supplied to the builders of the pyramids, and their universal cultivation in later times is attested by contemporary monuments. All three species were usually eaten raw as a relish (*ὄψον*) to bread, occasionally as now, no doubt, roasted or boiled with meat to form a stew (cp Palmer, ***Desert of the** Exodus*, 1 184). In Syria onions are also preserved like cucumbers (*ZDPV* 9 14). For a more ambitious treatment of the onion, see Landberg, *op. cit.* 77-79.

In times of famine, no doubt, recourse was also had to other and less familiar herbs. Such was the plant (מַלּוּחַ, *mallūăḥ*, AV 'mallows,' RV 'salt-wort'; see MALLOWS) mentioned in Job 30 4.[1] Though this plant, from its etymology, is more likely to be the saltwort than the mallow, it is true that, according to Conder, the mallow—in Syria *khubbeizi* (so called from its fruit resembling in shape the native bread, *khubz*; cp Low, 360)—is eaten in time of scarcity 'cooked in sour milk or oil' (*Tentwork*, 317). Cp, further, HUSKS.

This probably exhausts the greens (יָרָק) mentioned by name in the OT as articles of food.[2] A glance, however, at any of the Mishna treatises dealing with the legal requirements as to the sowing, tithing, etc., of the fruits of the soil, shows that those above enumerated are but a fraction of the plants cultivated for food in Palestine in the first century A.D. Here we can mention only a few of the commoner greens, such as lettuce (חֲזֶרֶת), various species of chicory and endive (עוֹלְשִׁין), which furnished the main ingredients of the bitter herbs (מְרֹרִים, Ex. 12 8) at the Passover,—as is shown by the list in *Pĕsăch.* 2 6—the lupine, still known by its Græco-Hebrew name *turmus* (תּוּרְמוֹס, *θέρμος*), expressly stated to have been a food of the poor (*Shabb.* 18 1); the *ḳolḳas* (קוֹלְקָס, colocasia), still extensively cultivated as food (Post, *op. cit.* 829), and the *lūf* (לוּף), both members of the Arum family, and used, with mustard and lupine together, to form a pickle (see Löw, 240); the turnip (לֶפֶת, modern *lift*), the radish (צְנוֹן), the cabbage (כְּרוּב), and the asparagus (אִיסְפַּרְגּוֹס).

Most of the vegetables we have discussed were not only used in the fresh state (לַח)—or in some cases dried (יָבֵשׁ)—but also laid in vinegar or in brine and used as pickles. Such preserved vegetables were called כְּבָשִׁים (*Shĕbīʿīth*, 9 5) or כְּבוּשִׁים (*Pĕsăch.* 2 6).

Of the remaining contributions of the vegetable kingdom to the Hebrew kitchen and table, the fruits are of sufficient importance to claim an article for themselves (see FRUIT), leaving only the various condiments for brief mention here.

7. Condiments.

(For fuller treatment of these see the separate articles.[3]) Hehn (*op. cit.* 205) has rightly emphasised the fact that 'before pepper was discovered or came into general use, seeds like cummin, black cummin, *Nigella sativa*, the coriander, *κορίαννον*, etc., naturally

[1] Cp Herodotus' statement about their special abhorrence of the bean (*κύαμος*), 2 37. The *flamen dialis* at Rome, also, according to Aulus Gellius, was forbidden to touch the bean.

[2] They have been found in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland.

[3] Vg. inserts it at the end of 2 S. 17 28 for the intrusive קָלִי (see Bu. in *SBOT*).

[4] In the streets of Damascus this delicacy is thus praised by its vendors: 'Tattooed, warm and soft! Make a night of it, O Barmecide!!' (Wetzstein, 'Der Markt in Damaskus,' *ZDMG* 11 519).

[5] Low and Post give the following equations:—דלעת, *Cucurbita Pepo* (Low); Squash, *kūsa*, *Cucurbita Pepo* (Post, *PEFQ*, 1881, p. 119).

[1] On this verse, as a whole see Budde, and in opposition to the current explanations of *v.* 4 6, see JUNIPER.

[2] RVmg. introduces the purslain into Job 6 6; but see PURSLAIN.

[3] Salt, the prince of condiments, belongs elsewhere, and must, in any case, receive special notice (SALT).

played a more important rôle' in the coolcery of antiquity. Of these, the first which meets us in the OT is the coriander (גַּד, Ex. 16 31 Nu. 11 7; κόριον; also Ex. 16 14), to the greyish-white seeds of which the manna is conipared. Under the name of כּוּסְבַּר the coriander was cultivated in later times both for its seed and for its leaves (*Ma'ăśēr*, 45); the seeds are still very largely used 'as a spice to mix with bread in the East, as well as to give an aromatic flavour to sweetmeats' (Tristram, *NHB*, 440). Black cummin (so RV^mg. for קֶצַח; 𝔊 μελάνθιον) occurs in Is. 2825. Its black seeds are still used in Syria to sprinkle over bread. In the NT mint, anise, cummin, and rue are associated with Jesus' denunciation of the Pharisees. Of these cummin —the 'fastidiis cumminum amicissimum' of Pliny—was held in the highest esteem by the classical peoples. Like salt it was used proverbially as a symbol of friendship; the phrase, οἱ περὶ ἅλα καὶ κύμινον, is synonymous with 'confidential friends' (Plutarch, quoted by Hehn). The textual variation of 𝔊 in Is. 28 27, 'and the cummin shall be eaten with bread,' is interesting in the light of Pliny's observation that cunimin seeds were so used by the Alexandrians of his day (19 47). The anise of Mt. 23 23 is undoubtedly the *Anethum graveolens* or 'dill' (so RV^mg.; Mish. שֶׁבֶת, modern *shibith*). The tithe was levied on the seeds, leaves, and capsules (זֶרַע וְיָרָק וְזִירִין) of this plant (*Ma'ăśēr*, 4 5)—*i.e.*, 'when its seeds are collected, or when its leaves are used as vegetable. or when its pods are eaten' (Jastrow, *Dict.*, *s.v.* זִיר). Its use as a condiment is attested by' *Ūḳṣīn*, 34. According to the Mishna (*Shĕbī'īth*, 91) no tithe was levied on the rue (פֵּיגָם, πήγανον, Lk. 11 42), which seems to show that the form given to Jesus' words by the first ('Jewish') evangelist (Mt. 23 22) is the more accurate of the two. To the category of condiments must also be reckoned the mustard (σίναπι, חַרְדָּל), which, according to a recent authority (see 'Condimenta' in Daremb. and Saglio), does not appear to have been used in the form with which we are familiar; rather the leaves 'were cut up and mixed with the dish to be seasoned' (Athen. 9 366 *a*). We have already found that the mustard leaf was used in making pickles. The best mustard, according to Pliny (19 54), came from Egypt, the *??? $:,! of *Kil'āim*, 1 5.

Ginger (*Zingiber officinale*) does not seem to have been known in Palestine within our period (for חָמָם, '*Ūḳṣīn*, **35**, which Jost reads חֲמָם and renders 'ginger,' see SPICE); pepper (פִּלְפֵּל), on the other hand, had found its way into common use during the Roman period. The esteem in which this familiar condiment was held at a later date is shown by the Talmudic saying, 'As the world cannot exist without salt and pepper, neither can it exist without the Bible, the Mishna, and the Talmud' (Low, 318). Pepper, carried in the mouth, is mentioned along with a grain of salt (גַּרְגֵּר שֶׁל מֶלַח), apparently as a cure for toothache (*Shabb.* 65). It was ground in a metal hand-mill (*Bēṣā*, 2 5), and was used not only to season the ordinary table food, but also as a spice in the concoction of mead (יינמילין, οἰνόμελι; see WINE AND STRONG DRINK).

B. ANIMAL KINGDOM.

Whilst the Hebrews were free to make full and unrestricted use of the products of the vegetable kingdom, they were limited as regards the *animal kingdom* by various restrictions, most of them, in principle and origin at least, traceable to very early times.

8. Animal kingdom: restrictions.

(a) The most important was that by which the members of the animal kingdom were ranged under the two categories of 'clean' arid 'unclean,' those under the former, the so-called 'clean' animals, alone being available as food. For the origin and significance of this distinction, as well as for parallels among othcr ancient peoples, see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, FISH, and SACRIFICE. For our present purpose, the following summary will suffice. Of Mammals the *locus classicus* Dt. 14 3 *ff.* names ten species as clean: viz., 'the ox, the sheep and the goat, the hart, and the gazelle, and the roebuck, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the antelope, and the chamois' (so the RV; on the identifications see the separate articles); whilst the camel, the hare, the rock-badger (EV CONEY [*q.v.*]), and the sn-ine, are similarly named as unclean.[1] As regards birds the enumeration proceeds by the method of exclusion (Lev. 11 13 *ff.* Dt. 14 11 *ff.*), various birds, chiefly birds of prey—among them the bat—being specified as forbidden or taboo (to adopt the cnrrcnt scientific term), in Hebrew technically *šéḳeṣ* (שֶׁקֶץ, a detestation, object of abhorrence [see ABOMINATION, 2]; Dt. 7 26 Lev. 7 21 11 10 *ff.*, etc.). Of fishes only those having both scales and fins were regarded as clean (FISH, § 8 *ff.*), whilst, from the invertebrates, a few species of the locust family alone are admitted as food.

(6) Of equal antiquity, probably, is the prohibition as food (taboo) of the blood of the clean, *warm-blooded*, animals (hence *not* of the blood of fish). This taboo holds a foremost place in the Hebrew dietary legislation (cp Dt. 12 16 23 25 15 23 Lev. 17 10 *ff.* [H] Gen. 94 Lev. 3 17 7 26 *f.* [P], etc.), whilst its antiquity is historically attested at a period much earlier than the promulgation of any of the codes now referred to (see 1 S. 14 32-34).

9. Prohibition of blood.

The discussion of the idea or ideas ultimately underlying this prohibition—one by no means confined to the Hebrews—belongs elsewhere (see SACRIFICE). In the above passages of the OT the prohibition is mainly based on the gronnd that the blood was the seat of the 'soul' or *népheš* (נֶפֶשׁ, properly the vital, sentient principle; cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 12). It was therefore too sacred for ordinary use, and was to be reserved for, and restored to God, the author of all life. In early times among the Hebrews, when as yet 'all slaughter was sacrifice,' this dedication of the blood was a matter of course; but when, on the suppression of the local sanctuaries, as the result of the Deuteronomic legislation, it became necessary to authorise slaughter for domestic purposes elsewhere than at the sanctuary, it was expressly enacted that the blood of the animal slaughtered should be allowed to flow away (Dt. 12 15 *f.*; see Dr. *in loc.* and cp *OTJC*(2), 249 *ff.*). The same held good of the 'beast or fowl' taken in the chase; the hunter 'shall even pour out the blood thereof and cover it with dust' (Lev. 17 13). To this abstention from blood the Hebrews have at all times remained faithful (cp Mohammed's prohibition: Ḳuran, *Sura* 2 167). Only on an occasion such as that in the time of Saul referred to above (1 S. 14 32 *ff.*; cp the interesting addition of the Old Lat. and the Vulg. in Judith 11 12, 'to lay hands upon their cattle *to drink their blood'*), and in a period of great religions declension, did they imitate their neighbours the Philistines (Zech. 9 7) and 'eat with the blood' (Ezek. 3325). The attitude of the early Christian Church and of the later Jews to this part of the dietary laws will be referred to later.

Another restriction, closely associated in P with that now discussed. had to do with the intestinal fat of the three sacrificial species, the ox, sheep, and goat (Ex. 29 13 22 Lev. 3 3 *ff.* 7 22 *ff.*; cp Jos. *Ant.* iii. 9 2 *f.*), to which was added 'the fat tail' (אַלְיָה, '*alyāh*, Ex. **2922** Lev. 39 RV) of the sheep of the country (see SHEEP).[2] Deuteronomy

10. Prohibition of intestinal fat.

[1] On the question whether the Israelites in time of famine ever ate ass's flesh (2 K. 6 25), see HUSKS.

[2] The custom of fitting this tail in extreme cases to a small wheeled cart, which has often been ridiculed, is referred to in the Mishna; see *Shabbath*, 5 4, and cp Herod. 3 113.

is silent with regard to this taboo; but its antiquity is vouched for by the incidents of 1 S. 2 15 *ff.* The prohibition, it should be observed, has reference only to the חֵלֶב, *ḥēlebh*, 'the fat of the omentum and the organs that lie in or near it' (*Rel. Sem.*(2), 379 *f.* which see for probable reason of this abstinence;[1] cp SACRIFICE), and not to the fatty deposits (probably the מַשְׁמַנִּים or 'tit-bits' of Neh. 8 10) in other parts of the animal, about which there was no restriction. It is important also, in view of later usage, to note that this abstinence from the fat of the intestines applies only to the case of an ox, sheep, or goat offered in sacrifice. The inference is that if any of these were slaughtered privately the 'fat' might be eaten; in any case the prohibition does not extend to the fat of non-sacrificial animals (game, etc.), provided these are 'clean' and duly slaughtered. On the other hand the 'fat' of animals coming under the two categories of *Nĕbhēlah* and *Ṭĕrēphah* (see next paragraph) might be used for any domestic purpose other than that of food (Lev. 7 24). The eating of the 'fat,' as of the blood, entailed the death penalty (Lev. 7 25; for details see treatise *Kĕrīthoth*, especially chap. 3; for blood, chap. 5).

Of more importance is the taboo placed by the Pentateuchal legislation on two kinds of meat known technically as (*a*) *Nĕbhēlāh* (נבלה, Lev. 7 24 17 15 22 8 Dt. 14 21; cp Ezek. 4 14 44 31) and (*b*) *Ṭĕrēphāh* (טרפה, Ex. 22 31 [30] Lev. 7 24 17 15 22 8; cp Ezek. *l.c.*). In view of the extensive development of later Jewish jurisprudence with regard to these two categories of forbidden meat, it is essential to understand clearly the original significance of the terms.

11. Prohibition of Nĕbhēlāh and Ṭĕrēphah.

(*a*) The first, *Nĕbhēlāh*, denotes the dead body of a person (1 K. 13 24 *ff.*) or the carcase of an animal; in its technical sense it means the *flesh of an animal that has* succumbed to an organic disease and *died a natural death.* In this sense it is opposed to the carcase of an animal that has been properly slaughtered and the blood drawn off.[2] (*b*) The second, *Ṭĕrēphāh*, as its etymology shows, denotes an animal that has died through being torn (טרף, Gen. 31 39) by wild beasts, in other words 'torn flesh.'[3] Of these, *Ṭĕrēphāh* was forbidden even by the earliest code (Ex. 22 31 [30]), which requires that it shall be cast 'unto the dogs'; the prevalence of this custom near the time of Jesus is confirmed by the lines of the Pseudo-Phocylides (148 *f.*, λείχανα λεῖπε κυσὶν θηρῶν ἀπὸ θῆρες ἔδονται). *Nĕbhēlāh* appears first in the legislation of D (Dt. 14 21), which allows it to be given away to the 'stranger' or to be sold to the foreigner. By the later regulations of P (H), however, its use is forbidden to native-born Israelite and stranger alike (Lev. 17 15).

With the increasing attention to the requirements of the Levitical legislation in matters of ceremonial purity that marked the later pre-Christian period, and the ever-growing eagerness of the Scribes to 'make a fence round the Torah' (*Ābōth*, 1 1), the two *termini technici* under discussion gradually assumed other significations widely different from those originally belonging to them. Hence we may assume that in NT times tliey already possess the significance assigned to them respectively by the authoritative definition of the Mishna.

'Every animal that has to be rejected (technical term נִפְלָס = פָּסוּל) on account of (a defect in) the method of slaughter (שְׁחִיטָה) is *Nĕbhēlāh*; every one slaughtered according to rule but rejected for some other cause is *Ṭĕrēphāh*' (Mish. *Chullīn*, 2 4). In the same treatise (3 1) we find the *Ṭĕrēphāh* category so estended as to include meat vitiated by the animal suffering from any one of a large numher of fatal ailments, so that we have this other definition;"' every animal in similar circum. stances that cannot live is *Ṭĕrēphāh*.

By means of this casuistry the original prohibition of the flesh of an animal dying of itself has now been transferred to the flesh of one not slaughtered according to rabbinic prescription. In the present work it would be out of place to enter into the minutiæ of the Jewish laws of *Šĕḥīṭāh* or ritual slaughter, even were this, for an outsider, possible. One other reference to the Mishna, however, may be permitted, because of its bearing on an important passage of the NT. In the same treatise (*Chullīn*, 1 2) we read, 'Any one may slaughter and at any time and with any instrument except a harvest-sickle, a saw, etc., *because these strangle*'—*i. e.*, they do not make the clean incision required for the proper slaughter. We have here the explanation of the 'things strangled' (τοῦ πνικτοῦ), from which, we are told, the first Gentile Christians were advised to abstain (Acts 15 20 29 21 25; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM). They were to abstain not only 'from blood,' that is from meat killed by any method other than that of blood-letting (see [*b*] above), but also from the flesh of anima's from which the blood had been drawn in any way othcr than that sanctioned by the Jewish authorities of the time.[1]

A word must suffice for a last limitation implied, not formally enjoined, in the oldest legislation. The Hebrews, on the ground of Ex. 34 15, in later times at least, consistently abstained from meat that had formed part of an offering to a foreign deity, or might be even suspected of such an origin. We have seen (above, § 4) how Daniel, Judas the Maccabee, Josephus, and their respective companions preferred a modest vegetable diet to the risk of defilement by heathen food. On the recommendation of this form of abstention attributed to the Council of Jerusalem (Acts, *l.c.*) by which the eating of 'meats offered to idols' and of blood is classed with 'fornication,' precisely as in an earlier age the eating of the blood is ranked in the same category with murder and idolatry (Ezek. 33 25), see COUNCIL ii., § 11.

12. Of heathen's food.

Having examined in detail the restrictions which the Hebrew dietary laws placed on the use of animal foods, we proceed to another interesting taboo.

At the close of the early narrative (J) of Jacob's experience at Penuel, the redactor (R_{JE}) has added, 'Therefore the children of Israel eat not of the גִּיד הַנָּשֶׁה (RV 'the sinew of the hip,' AV 'the sinew that shrank'; cp 𝔊, τὸ νεῦρον ὃ ἐνάρκησεν) which is upon the hollow of the thigh *unto this day*' (Gen. 32 32 [33]). We have here the first reference to a popular taboo of (evidently) great antiquity, which, strangely enough, has not found a place in the dietary legislation of the Pentateuch. The sinew in question is the great muscle of the leg known to anatomists as the *nervus ischiadicus*. Whatever may have been the original significance of the abstinence here referred to (cp *Rel. Sem.*(2) 380), it is given by the writer as use and wont merely.. It must soon afterwards have been raised to a formal prohibition.

13. The hip-sinew.

The Greek translators appear to have so regardedit, rendering the narrative tense of the original by οὐ μὴ φάγωσιν, 'are by no means to eat' (cp Lk. 1 15, οὐ μὴ πίῃ, 'shall by no means drink'). The next witness is Josephus, who, after informing us that Jacob himself abstained from the flesh of this muscle, adds, 'and for this sake it is taboo for us' (οὐδ' ἡμῖν ἐδώδιμον, *Ant.* i. 20 2). This is confirmed by the Mishnic legislation, by which

[1] This was certainly not due to any thought of these portions being prejudicial to health, still less to the fantastic notion of Michaelis that the fat was forbidden in order to encourage the culture of the olive!

[2] Cp 𝔊's θνησιμαῖον throughout; Vg. *cadaver morticini*; EV 'that which dieth of itself.'

[3] Cp 𝔊's θηριάλωτον; EV 'that which is torn of beasts.'

[1] The whole ritual minutia: of 'slaughter' are referred in the Talmud to God himself, on the ground of Dt. 12 21, where the true reference is of course to *v.* 15. Details of the process by which 'kosher' meat (*i.e.*, כָּשֵׁר, 'meat prepared according to prescription,' the opposite of פָּסוּל) is secured at the present day would be out of place here; suffice it to say that the custom of rubbing salt into the newly-killed meat in order to remove as much as possible of the venous blood is said on good authority to have been introduced by a Babylonian doctor of the name of Samuel in the early Talmudic period (*circa* 220 A.D.—*i.e.*, later than the Mishna). See Wiener, ***Die jüdischen Speisegesetze***, 206; Strack, *Das Blut*, 87 *f.* (1900).

the *nervus ischiadicus* ' of domestic animals and wild animals, of the right leg and the left leg' is formally forbidden (*Chullīn*, 7 1) and the minimum punishment of forty stripes decreed for the transgressor (*ib.* 3).

This taboo is still faithfully observed by orthodox Jews. For the important dietary law against seething the kid in its mother's milk (Ex. 23 19, etc.), see COOKING, § 8; MAGIC, § 2.

From this study of the more important laws by which the use of animal food generally was regulated in OT and NT times, we proceed to review in detail the evidence of the OT regarding the individual animals.

14. Cattle as food.

We have adverted to the fact that the enjoyment of animal food was much less frequent among the Hebrews than among ourselves, more especially in the more primitive times when meat was available only on the occasion of a sacrifice. Such occasions might be offered not only by the recurring family and tribal festivals (זֶבַח מִשְׁפָּחָה, 1 S. 20 29; cp 1 3 *f.* 21), but also by the arrival of an honoured guest (Gen. 18 1 *ff.*, and often), or by some event of more than usual significance (1 K. 19 21). Only at the tables of royalty and of the great nobles, we may suppose, was meat a daily luxury (1 K. 4 23 [5 3] Am. 6 4; cp Neh. 5 18). In the Greek period and onwards, however, the standard of living rose with the growth of commerce; indeed the table of a wealthy Jew of the first century would astonish us by the variety and elegance of its dishes.

The source of the ordinary meat supply was at all periods the domestic animals—cattle (בָּקָר), sheep, and goats. The minimum age at which any of these species was available for sacrifice, and therefore for food, was eight days (Lev. 22 27). Sacrificial meat, if not previously consumed, had to be destroyed on the third day at latest (Lev. 7 16 *f.* 19 6 *f.*),—probably because in the warm climate of Syria decomposition sets in rapidly. The dam and her offspring must not he killed on the same day (Lev. 22 28; cp the similar humanitarian legislation of Dt. 22 6 *f.*). From this passage and others (*e.g.*, 1 S. 16 2) we see that the cow, as well as the ox, was eaten by the Hebrews, whilst their neighbours the Egyptians and the Phœnicians 'would as soon have eaten human flesh as that of the cow' (*Rel. Sem.*[1] 280).

The animals slaughtered might be taken directly from the herd (Gen. 18 7)—these are the בְּקַר רְעִי (βόες νομάδες), 'oxen from the pasture,' of 1 K. 4 23 [5 3]—but the custom of specially fattening them for the table also was in vogue (Prov. 15 17). These 'fatlings' were known as מְרִיא, *mĕrī'* (2 S. 6 13 1 K. 1 9 etc.), or בָּרִיא, *bĕrī'* (1 K. 4 23 [5 3] Ezek. 34 3 20 Zech. 11 16). A more expressive term is derived from the fact that the creatures were tied up (רבק) and doubtless fed with special fattening stuffs, as was the case with the oxen and geese of Egypt (Erman, *Egypt*, 43 8, 444); this term is עֶגְלֵי מַרְבֵּק (Jer. 46 21—𝔊 26 21, μόσχος σιτευτός = the 'fatted calf' of Lk. 15 23, and the σιτιστά of Mt. 22 4—1 S. 28 24 Am. 6 4 Mal. 4 2 [3 20]).[1] The method of slaughtering for the table probably differed little from that practised by the Egyptians as illustrated by Wilkinson (*op. cit.* 2 265). The throat of the animal was cut in such a manner as completely to sever the great arteries and veins of the neck, in order that the blood might flow as freely as possible (see § 9). The choicest portions (see 1 S. 9 24), and those probably first removed (cp Wilkinson, *l.c.*), were the right hind-quarter (שׁוֹק, κωλέα, AV 'shoulder,' RV 'thigh'), and the 'shin' or upper portion of the right fore-leg (זְרֹעַ, *zĕrō'a*, Dt. 18 3 Nu. 6 19 [P]; cp Ezek. 24 4), both of which, in the case of sacrificial victims, were the perquisites of the priests (Lev. 7 32 *f.*).

[1] The MT of 1 S. 15 9, הַמִּשְׁנִים (AVmg. 'of the second sort'), is explained in Jewish tradition by an alleged popular belief that the young of the second bearing are superior to the firstlings. Modern editors, however, read הַשְּׁמֵנִים, 'the fat ones' (cp Ezek. 34 3).

The goat and (especially) the kid were held in more esteem in former times in Syria (Gen. 27 9 Judg. 6 19 13 15 19 1 S. 16 20 etc.) than at present, when mutton is the principal animal food.

15. Of sheep and goats.

Yet the variety of lambs known as כָּרִים, *kārīm*, is mentioned with special honour (Dt. 32 14 1 S. 15 9 Am. 6 4). Both Syrians and Arabs now set great store by the fat tail of the native sheep, 'a swagging foot-lap wide' (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 502), which was no doubt equally relished by the Hebrews. If the sheep was offered in sacrifice, however, the tail, as we learned above (§ 10 *beg.*), was consumed on the altar. The ancient Egyptians, on the other hand, had a decided prejudice against mutton (see Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, 1878, 2 30, with Birch's note). At the present day the goat is prized chiefly for its milk. The flesh of the kid is said to be 'tender and delicate, especially when boiled in milk' (Van Lennep); but this favourite Arab dish (see especially Thomson, *LB*, 94 *f.*) was forbidden to the Hebrews (see COOKING, § 8 end). A special article will be devoted to MILK and its preparations, butter, cheese, etc.

The daily supply of meat for Solomon's table included, we are told; besides 'ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred sheep, harts, and gazelles, and roebucks, and fatted fowl' (1 K. 4 23 [5 3]), for which see VENISON and FOWL respectively. The category 'fowl' included at least the following:—pigeons, turtle-doves, quails, perhaps also geese—the national food-bird of Egypt—and in later times the domestic fowl and the sparrow. For the prominent place occupied by FISH in the Hebrew food supply, and for the methods of catching and cooking them, as also for the preparation of the LOCUST and the use of HONEY, see the separate articles. For EGGS see FOWL, § 4.

Of the tabooed or unclean animals by far the most important is the pig. The Jews' abhorrence of swine's flesh, which is mentioned by many of the classical writers (see references in 'Cibaria,' Daremberg and Saglio, 1 1159 *a*, n. 537).

16. Tabooed animals.

more than anything else brought them into contempt with their heathen neighbours.[1] The martyrs of 2 Macc. 6 18 *ff.* preferred death to eating the loathsome food. It is apparently inconsistent with this feeling that swine's flesh was eaten sacramentally, though doubtless in secret, when Is. 65 4 and 66 17 were written. See SWINE, and on the mystic eating of 'mice' see MOUSE. It was not, however, an obscure religious tradition, but the pressure of famine that led to the eating of the unheard-of foods mentioned in 2 K. 6 25 29.[2]

A few observations regarding the price of provisions, more particularly in the NT period, would form an appropriate close to this article.

17. Price of food.

Unfortunately the data at command—incidental statements, for the most part, in OT and NT, in Josephus and the Mishna—are so conflicting, not to dwell on the uncertainty as to the measures and moneys, that, beyond a few *relative* values, no certain results can be secured. Thus all we may safely infer from 2 K. 7 1 16 is that when the siege of Samaria was raised, the price of flour stood to that of barley in the ratio of 2 : 1. The ratio of wheat to barley at a later period was 3 : 1 (Rev. 6 6). Similarly, from *Mĕnāchōth*, 13 8 we gather that the relative values of ox, calf, ram, and lamb were 100, 20, 8, and 4 *denarii*. Josephus, again, supplies some details, which are difficult to reconcile, regarding the price of oil in his day (*Vit.* 13, *BJ* ii. 21 2), whilst the familiar words of Jesus have made the cheapness of sparrows proverbial (Mt. 10 29 Lk. 12 6).[3]

[1] See the passages from Greek and Roman authors collected by Wiener, *Speisegesetze*, 462 *ff.*, and Reinach, *Les Juifs chez les auteurs grecs et romains.*

[2] See, however, DOVE'S DUNG.

[3] A large amount of material regarding prices generally in Talmudic times has been collected by Herzfeld in an appendix to his *Handelsgesch. der Juden*(2) ['94].

All that requires *to* be said under the head of beverages will be found in the articles MILK, VINEGAR, WATER, WINE AND STRONG DRINK. For some remarks on the methods of preparing food mentioned in OT or NT, see COOKING ; on the mode of serving and the etiquette of the table, see MEALS; and on the facilities for purchasing the necessaries of life, either in the natural state or prepared as food, see SHAMBLES. Besides the articles already named, see BREAD, MANNA, OIL, SALT.

A. R. S. K.

FOOL, FOLLY. The antithesis of wisdom and folly is characteristic of the late ethical or humanistic movement. Of the numerous words rendered 'fool' in EV it ought to be noticed that for two of them 'fool' is not **an** exact equivalent. Take especially (1) נבל, *nābhāl*, which, as Driver (on Dt. **2221** I S. 25 25) agrees, ought not to be translated 'fool'; for an examination of passages see Cheyne (*Psalms*[(2)]), on Ps. 14 1. The case is analogous to that of 'men of Belial,' a phrase which is generally taken as equivalent to 'unprincipled, good-for-nothing men,' but which really expresses reckless wickedness (see BELIAL).

נבל and איש בליעל are in fact synonymous, as Abigail's speech in I S. 25 25 shows. The origin and meaning of נבל are treated elsewhere (see NABAL) ; here, therefore, we need only caution the reader against rendering נָבָל, 'fool,' though this interpretation is as old as 𝔊 (ἄφρων; Pesh. Ps. **141** 531[2], *awwālā*). The *nābhāl* is not *adequately* described even as one who has 'moral and religious insensibility' (Driver, *Dt.* 256); he is **a** dangerously bad man, violent, destructive, or—a rendering which suits well in Ps. **14** 1 (**53** 1 [2]) 398 [?] 74 18 22—an 'impious' man. See also Dt. 326 (μωρός), **21** (ἀσύνετος), I S. **25** 25 2 S. 3 33 **13** 13 Is. **32** 5 *f.* (μωρός), Jer. 17 11 Ezek. 18 3 (𝔊 om.) Prov. 17 7 21 **30** 22 Job 2 10 308 (hut נָבָל, Prov. 30 32, is corrupt).[1] The denom. verb נִבֵּל means 'to treat as a נָבָל is treated' (Nah. 36 Mic. **76** Jer. **14** 21 Dt. **32** 15).[2] The noun נְבָלָה also expresses the same disregard of moral and religious law, the same nihilism we might almost call it (see NABAL on derivation); it is used, *e.g.*, in speaking of sexual offences (Dt. 2221 Judg. **20** 6 [‖ זִמָּה], 2 S. 13 12 Job **42** 8 Is. **9** 17 [16]).

(2) The other word misrendered 'fools,' 'foolish,' is הוללים, *hōlĕlīm* (Ps. **55** [6] 733 755). RV better, 'the arrogant' ; but the 'mad' or 'raging ones' (see I S. 21 13 [14]) can also be defended (see on the respective renderings, BDB, *s.v.* הלל, and Che.[(2)] on Ps. 56).

Certainly הוֹלֵלוֹת and הוֹלֵלוּת in Eccles. mean neither arrogance, nor *mere* folly, but madness (see EV), and in Job 12 17 יְהוֹלֵל—'he deprives of reason.'

The other terms generally (as in EV) rendered 'fool,' 'folly,' 'foolishness,' do not imply more than an inveterate moral and religious insensibility, which issues in disorderly actions (cp Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 136).

(3) כְּסִיל, *kesīl* (root idea, fatness **or** thickness), often in Prov. and Eccles., thrice in Pss.; K'sīl, the constellation, may be connected (but cp STARS, § 3; ORION). See especially Prov. **26** 1 3-11; also **Ps. 49** 11 [10] **92** 7 [6] **94** 8 (‖ בער, 'brute') Prov. **8** 5 (‖ פתאים, 'simple'). The verb כסל in Jer. **10** 8 (‖ בער; late passage).

(4) סָכָל, *sākhāl* (root idea, stopped up? cp סכר with **Ass.** *saklu*, *sakku*, 'deaf'—*i.e.*, stopped up; see Del. *Ass. HWB*), Jer. **42** 2 **5** 21 Eccles. 2 19 7 17 etc., whence סִכְלוּת, שִׂכְלוּת in Eccles. only (syn. הוֹלֵלוֹת, כְּסִילוּת); נִסְכַּל (2 S. 24 10) and הִסְכִּיל (I S. **26** 21), 'to play the fool'; סִכֵּל, 'to befool,' Is. **44** 25 ; סֶכֶל, 'folly,' Eccles. 10 6, and, by emendation, **7** 25 3 (MT כֶּסֶל).

(5) אֱוִיל, *'ěwīl* (same root idea as in כסיל), often in Prov.; also Hos. **9** 7 (‖ מְשֻׁגָּע) Jer. **4** 22 Is. **19** 11, but not Ps. **107** 17 (*see* We., Che.); probably too אויל in Job 5 3,[4] and אֱוִילִים in Is. **35** 8 should be עֲוִילִים, עֲוִיל=עָוֶל, עַוָּלִים; the noun is אִוֶּלֶת, 'folly,' Prov. 5 23.[6]

(6) בַּעַר, *ba'ar* (prop. 'brutishness'), Ps. **49** 10 [11] 73 22 **92** 6 [7] (‖ כסיל), Prov. 12 1 30 2.

(7) פְּתָאִים, *pĕthā'īm*, Prov. **9** 6, hut elsewhere 'the simple' (prop., 'the open'), and so uniformly RV.

(8) תָּפֵל, *tāphēl* (prop. 'insipid'), Lam. **2** 14, and תִּפְלָה, Job 1 22 (AV 'foolishly'; RV 'with foolishness'), **24** 12 ; both these passages are corrupt.[1]

On the idea involved in this group of ethical terms, cp ECCLESIASTICUS, § **23** ; WISDOM LITERATURE.

Passing to the NT, we find in EV 'fool' for (9) ἀνόητος Lk. **24** 25, cp ἄνοια 2 Tim. 3 9, (10) ἄσοφοι Eph. **5** 15 (KV 'unwise'), (11) ἀσύνετος Rom. 1 21 (RV 'senseless'), (12) παραφρονῶν 2 Cor. 11 23 (cp RV); (13) ἄφρων, a strong term, I Cor. 15 36 2 Cor. 11 16 19 12 6 11 ; cp ἀφροσύνη 2 Cor. 11 1 : and finally (14) μωρός Mt. **7** 26 23 17 (μωροὶ καὶ τυφλοί) 19 (Ti.' W H om.) 25 2 *ff.* I Cor. 3 18 **4** 10 etc. , cp μωρολογία Eph. 5 **4** (between αἰσχρότης and εὐτραπελία, cp Col. 3 8), 'unedifying discourse' ; μωραίνω Rom. 1 22 (in a different sense Mt. **5** 13 etc.). μωρέ (Vg. *fatue*) Mt. **5** 22 also belongs here ; it is not, as Alford supposed, the Heb. מוֹרֶה, *mōreh*. In Mishnic Heb. מורא, מורים, מוֹרֶה represent μωρός, *popé*; 'Never call any one *more*, that is, fool,' says **a** certain king, in entrusting his son to **a** pedagogue (*Pesik. Shim'u.* 118). We cannot indeed prove that the word was already common in the time of Jesus ; but such colloquial expressions would become naturalised first. (**On** the exegesis **of** Mt. *5 22*, see RACA.) See, further, HYPOCRISY.

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

FOOTMAN (רַגְלִי), I S. 4 10 15 4, see ARMY, § I ; (רָץ) I **S. 22** 17, RV GUARD, cp ARMY, § 4, and see RUNNERS.

FOOTSTOOL. (1) כֶּבֶשׁ, 2 Ch. 9 18 ; (2) הֲדֹם רֶגֶל, Is. 66 1 ; (3) ὑποπόδιον, Mt. 5 35. See THRONE.

FOOT-WASHING. See MEALS, § **4**, and WASHINGS.

FORAY (גְּדוּד), 2 S. 3 22 RV, AV '[pursuing] a troop.' See WAR and cp ARMY, § *3*.

FORD, the equivalent of מַעֲבָר, *ma'ăbhār*, מַעְבָּרָה, *ma'ăbhārāh* (𝔊 generally διάβασις) in EV of Gen. 32 22 [23] Josh. **2** 7 Judg. 3 28 Is. 16 **2**, also in RV of 2 S. 15 28 17 16 (𝔊 αραβωθ) and in Kau. *HS* (with which We., Dr., H. P. Sm. agree) of עֲבָרָה, *'ăbhārāh*, in 2 S. 19 18 [19].

The last three passages are of great interest ; they come into the narrative of David's flight and subsequent return from Absalom. In all, the text needs some emendation. In 15 28 and 17 16 neither AV's 'the plain [plains] of the wilderness' (= Kr.) nor RV's 'the fords of the wilderness' (= Kt.) is a natural phrase. Read probably בֵּית הַמִּדְבָּר 'the house of the wilderness' (a local name like Beth-arabah). In 19 18 *f.* read וַיַּחֲלִיפוּ לִפְנֵי המלך להעביר את־בית המלך את־הירדן. The closing words (except בית) are dittographed in *v.* 16 (end) ; לְהַעֲבִיר (*v.* 19) is written three times over, and each time incorrectly ; probably the closing words of *v.* 16 originally stood in the margin **as** a correction. Render 'And they relieved one another (in going) before the king to escort the household of the king across the Jordan.' The ford was presumably the well-known one not far from Gilgal (2 S. **19** 15 [16]); cp JORDAN, §§ *2, 7*. **T. K. C.**

FORECOURT (προαύλιον), Mk. 14 68† RV[mg.], EV PORCH. See TEMPLE.

FOREIGNER (נָכְרִי, Dt. **15** 3 ; תּוֹשָׁב, Ex. 12 45). See STRANGER.

FORE-RUNNER (πρόδρομος), Heb. **6** 20 Wisd. 12 8. The phrase רוּץ לִפְנֵי (𝔊 προτρέχειν) is used of one who 'runs before' a chariot (I S. 8 11 2 S. 15 1 [παρατρέχειν] ; see CHARIOT, § 10), or of **a** member of the royal body-guard (I K. 1 5 [παρατρέχειν] ; see ARMY, § 4). In I Macc. 16 21 the Gk. equivalent is used of a messenger (see RUNNERS).

𝔊[BA¹FL] in Nu. 13 21 gives πρόδρομοι for בִּכּוּרִים (see FRUIT, **5** 4 [2]).

FORESHIP (πρῷρα) Acts 27 30 EV. See SHIP.

FORESKINS, HILL OF THE (גִּבְעַת הָעֲרָלוֹת) Josh. 5 3. See CIRCUMCISION, § **2** ; GILGAL ; HELKATH-HAZZURIM (end).

FOREST. The first of the three words represented **by** 'forest' **is** unfortunately very doubtful.

I. חֹרֶשׁ, *ḥōreš*; δρυμός, 𝔊 in 2 Ch., also given for

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[1] Here and in Dt. 32 6 we should perhaps read סָכָל, סְכָלְתָּ.

[2] [וְ]נִבֵּל should perhaps be read also in Is. 28 3 (Ruben, Che.) ; the word now appears mispointed (נְבֵל) and misplaced (in *v.* 4).

[3] **Ps. 49** 13 [14] (כֶּסֶל) and 85 8 (כִסְלָה) are also corrupt (see Che. *Psalms*[(2)]).

[4] Job **5** 3 is probably **a** later insertion ; it interrupts the context (see Bickell ; Che. *JQR* **9** 575 ['97]).

[5] Cp also the verb נואל Is. 19 13 Jer. 5 4 Nu. 12 11.

[1] In Job **12** 2 תפלה should probably be תּוֹעָה, cp Is. 32 6 (Che.) ; on 24 12 see Budde and Duhm. **As a** compensation תְּהִלָּה, Job 4 18, should probably be תִּפְלָה (so Hupf. ; but cp Dillm.).

HAROSHETH; cp Ass. *ḫuršu*, 'mountain,' NH חוֹרֶשׁ = Aram. חוּרְשָׁא, 'wood, thicket.' The readings in 2 Ch. 27 4 Is. 17 9 Ezek. 31 3, however, are all probably corrupt. In 2 Ch. read פְּרָזוֹת, 'level country' (see PERIZZITES); in Is. probably הַגִּרְשִׁי, 'the Girshite' (see GIRZITES); in Ezek. 31 3 מֵצַל win (𝔊ᴮ om.; EV 'with a shadowing shroud') should be תְּאַשֵּׁר מ׳, 'a shadowing fir tree' (a variant to אשור ארז). On 1 S. 23 15 *ff.*, see HORESH.

2. פַּרְדֵּס, *pardēs*, *παράδεισος*, Neh. 2 8 (RVmg. 'park'), Eccles. 2 5 (AV 'orchard,' RV 'park'), Cant. 4 13 (EV 'orchard,' RVmg. 'a paradise'). A rare and late word, see GARDEN.

3. יַעַר, *yaʿar*, *δρυμός*; Ass. *âru*, Aram. יערה; usually rendered 'forest,' occasionally 'wood'; √יער, to be rugged, difficult.

Some of the many references to forests, bushes, and thickets are mentioned here, partly because EV has not always preserved the colouring of the original.

(a) The phrase '*the forest* in Arabia' (Is. **21** 13, in RV; 𝔊 *ἐν τῷ δρυμῷ ἑσπέρας*) is infelicitous; probably 'thickets in the desert country' would he a better rendering (see Del. *ad loc.*, and cp *SBOT*). The thorns and stunted trees and shrubs of the desert are to supply the only shelter for the fugitives. Cp Aram. יערה.

(b) For 'forest of Carmel,' 2 K. 19 **23** **Is.** 37 **24**, read with RV 'the forest of his fruitful field'—*i.e.*, paraphrasing (with *SBOT* 'Isa.'), 'where its rich woods are thickest (𝔊 *εἰς ὕψος μέρους τοῦ δρυμοῦ*).'

(c) In Jer. ***5*** ***6*** 'A lion out of the forest shall slay them,' and 12 8 'mine heritage is (become) unto me as a lion in the forest,' are slightly misleading. It is the tangled jungle on the banks of the Jordan that is meant (see Tristram, *NH* 118); יַעַר is often not 'forest' but 'thickets.'[1]

(d) The 'forest in the midst of Carmel' (Mic. 7 14 RV; AV 'the wood . . .) is due to an exegetical error. The Jews cannot have described their ideal hope in such terms as RV presents (cp Keil). To live in a forest would mean being constantly surrounded with the greatest hindrances to comfort. It is a picture not of future happiness hut of present misery. Faithful Israel which is now (in post-exilic times) condemned to make shift with the wildest and least productive parts of Palestine will in the great coming day occupy Bashan and Gilead as before. The heathen will have been cast out, and Palestine will be the Holy Land (so Wellh., Nowack).

(e) Part of the royal palace built by Solomon at Jerusalem, and used as an armoury was called the 'house of the forest of Lebanon' (1 K. 7 2 *f.* **16** 17-21 2 Ch. **9** 16-20). Entering it, one seemed to be in the midst of the cedar-groves of Lebanon. The house had 'four rows of cedar pillars, with cedar beams upon the pillars, and it was covered with cedar above upon the beams.' Hence, in all probability, its name.

(f) In Jer. **4** **29** (EV) we read of 'thickets' ***so*** dense and large that the population of a city could take refuge in them from an invader. This view of the text implies perhaps *too* high an estimate of the woodland in S. Palestine. Ewald seems to be right in reading 'the whole land' (𝔊 *πᾶσα [ἡ] χώρα*) for 'the whole city,' and Gk. in substituting 'into the caves' (בַּמְּעָרוֹת) for 'into the thickets' (בֶּעָבִים).[2] For a similar mistake see 1 S. 13 6, where EV, following MT, says that the Hebrews fled before the Philistines into 'caves and thickets, but 'thickets' (חֲוָחִים) should be 'holes' (חוֹרִים). See **Bu.** *SBOT*, ***ad loc.***

(g) In Zech. **11** 2 AV's 'forest of the vintage' is most enigmatical. Vineyards and Bashan can hardly have been mentioned together. RV substitutes 'strong forest.' The Revisers, however, were sensible of the difficulty of the phrase, and retain the mg. 'defenced forest' (*ὁ δρυμὸς ὁ σύμφυτος*, *saltus munitus*). Probably the true reading is 'the forest shall come down by the axe' (*i.e.*, Kt. הבצור and **Kr.** הבציר are both wrong; read בְּרִיעָצַד with Che. (*Exp. T.*, March 1899); cp Duhm's emendation of במערצה in Is. 10 33.

(h) For 'forest of Ephraim,' see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF.

(i) For 'forest of Hareth,' see HARETH.

Possibly some writers have exaggerated the woodland in ancient Palestine. The country was too well peopled for thick forests, except in the mountains and in parts of the Plain of Sharon. There is only one solitary grove of cedars on Lebanon; but fir trees are still abundant. Forests of oak may be seen in Gilead, and park-like woods in Bashan. In Carmel and in the N. and E. of Sharon oaks are abundant, and even elsewhere one still meets with a solitary oak or terebinth of huge dimensions, as at Hebroti, valley of Elah, Shiloh, and Dan. Cp PALESTINE, § 15; CARMEL, § 2; LEBANON, SHARON. T. K. C.

[1] Cp Jer. 12 5 Zech. 11 3 ('pride of Jordan' EV in Zech., RV in Jer.) גָּאוֹן, *φρύαγμα*, *superbia*.

[2] 𝔊 *εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλση* (a conflate reading).

FORFEITURE, the penalty for sowing divers seeds (תִּקְדַּשׁ; Dt. 22 9 RV; see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1). Forfeiture of substance (יָחֳרַם) is threatened in Ezra 10 8 (‖ 1 Esd. 9 4). See BAN; cp also CONFISCATION.

FORKS, the EV reading of שלש קלשון in 1 S. 13 21, taken apparently as meaning 'three-pronged'; but the text is certainly corrupt. Between אֵתִים and קַרְדֻּמִּים one expects כַּשִּׁילִים (Ps. 74 6)—*i.e.*, 'hatchets.' The word was written twice and twice corrupted. See AXE. T. K. C.

FORNICATION (תַּזְנוּת, Ezek. 16 29; πορνεια, Mt. 5 32). See MARRIAGE, § 4; also COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 11.

FORTRESS meant as a general rule a town surrounded by a defensive wall (חוֹמָה); cp CITY, VILLAGE.

The Hebrew terms are: מִבְצָר, *mibṣār*, 'fortress' (**Is.** 17 3 25 12 Dan. 11 39 AV), 'strong hold' (Nu. **13** 19 2 K. 8 12 Jer. 48 18 EV Dan. 11 39 RV); עִיר מָצוֹר, *ʿīr māṣōr*, 'strong city' (Ps. 60 9 [11] EV); עִיר מִבְצָר, *ʿīr mibṣār*, 'fenced city' (Nu. 32 17 Josh. 10 20 **19** *35* 1 **S.** 6 18 EV). There also occur. קִרְיָה בְצוּרָה, *kiryah bĕṣūrāh*, 'a defenced city' (**Is.** 25 2 EV), and עָרֵי מִבְצָרוֹת, *ʿārē mibṣārōth*, 'a well fenced city' (Dan. **11** 15 EV).

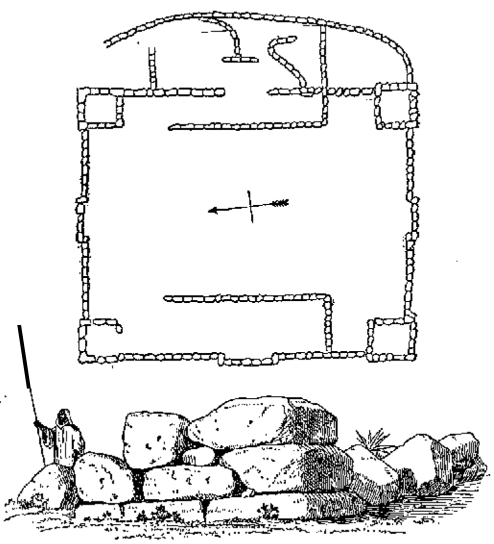


FIG. I.—Plan and illustration of an ancient wall at Hazor. After De Saulcy.

Fort represents various Hebrew terms: (1) דָּיֵק, *dāyēk* (prop-a 'look out'?, cp Smend *ad* Ezek. 4 2), 2 K. **25** 1 (‖ Jer. 52 4) Ezek. 4 2 17 17 21 22 [27] 26 8†; (2) מָעוּזִים (pl.), *māʿūzzīm* (lit. 'place of refuge'), Dan. **11** 19 **AV** (RV 'fortress'); *(3)* מֻצָּב, *muṣṣāb*, Is. 29 3 RV (AV 'mount'); **(4)** מְצָדוֹת (pl.), *mĕṣādōth*, Ezek. **33** 27 (RV 'strong holds'); (5) מְצוּרוֹת (pl.), *mĕṣūroth*, Is. 29 3 AV, RV better 'siege **works**'; (6) מִשְׂגָּב, *miśgāb*, Is. **25** 12 (elsewhere 'high tower,' 'refuge,' etc., cp Ps. 9 9 [10] 18 2 [3] 46 7 [8] RVmg.); (7) עֹפֶל, *ʿōphel*, Is. 32 **14** AV, RV 'hill'; cp OPHEL, and see TOWER.

1. Of the Canaanites.

Defensive walls, at an early stage in the history of Canaanite civilisation, consisted of great unhewn stone blocks; specimens of these may, it has been suggested, still be seen in Peræa and Galilee. The illustration[1] (fig. 1) represents a fragment of an ancient wall at Hazor (Baḥr el-Ḥûleh) in Upper Galilee, and is borrowed from De

[1] From Perrot and Chipiez, ***Hist.*** *of* ***Art*** **in** *Sardinia*, *Judæa*, ***and Syria.***

Saulcy's *Journey 'round the Dead Sea*. It is not easy to say whether the walled towns or fortresses that confronted the Israelites when they entered Canaan were of this primitive character; it is possible that some at least may have had walls of hewn stone analogous to those depicted on Assyrian and Egyptian monuments. Babylonian influence had already been long prevalent in Palestine when the Amarna letters were written by the prefects of the Canaanite towns to the Egyptian Pharaoh (1400 B.C.); we should therefore have a right to assume that such places as Byblus (Gebal), of which Rib Adda was governor, as well as Zemar (Ṣumur), Ashdod, Jerusalem (Urusalim), and Lachish, were provided with fortifications of a more finished character.

This assumption has been thoroughly justified by the excavations conducted by Bliss at Lachish (Tell el-Hesy) which hare brought to light a cuneiform document contemporaneous (as the contents clearly prove) with the Amarna despatches.

The LACHISH of this period had crude brick walls 9 or 10 ft. in thickness; the words ascribed by J to the Israelite spies were therefore. justified : the cities of the southland were 'fenced and very great' (Nu. 13 28 *f.*; cp Dt. 1 28 Nu. 32 36 Josh. 19 29 35). Fortresses such as Lachish the nomadic Hebrews could hardly take by storm, not possessing the arms and engines of war requisite for the purpose. Consequently they must have remained encamped in open spots, and when pressed by overwhelming numbers or disciplined troops must have betaken themselves to caves and hollows in the rocks, as we find they did (1 S. 13 6) when they were confronted by the better-equipped Philistines. It was only by an act of supreme daring, and probably with great loss of life, that such a stronghold as Jerusalem, the citadel of which was Zion (מְצֻדַת צִיּוֹן), was captured by David (2 S. 5 6 *f.*).

2. Of the Hebrews. The reigns of David and Solomon marked an onward step in Hebrew civilization. From 2 S. 5 11 (cp 1 K. 5 1 [15] 7 13-51) we should infer that the fortifications erected around Millo (2 S. 5 9 1 K. 3 1 9 15 11 27) were built by Phœnician—most probably Tyrian—workmen. For many generations the Phœnicians had the reputation of being the most skilful craftsmen in the world. Compare Herodotus' tribute of admiration to their skill in the construction of the canal near Mount Athos (Herod. 7 23). During the regal period the Hebrews became thoroughly grounded in the arts of Canaanite civilization.[1] Whilst the fortifications of Gezer, Beth-horon, Baalath, Hazor, and Megiddo were probably erected by Solomon with the aid of foreign (especially Phœnician) labour (cp 1 K. 9 15 17 *f.*), we may assume that the fortresses erected in the Southern Kingdom by Asa—viz., Geba and Mizpah (1 K. 15 21 *f.*)—to resist Northern aggressions were built by the Hebrews themselves, and the same thing might perhaps be said of Shechem and Penuel which Jeroboam fortified (1 K. 12 25).

It would seem that Moab in the time of king Mesha likewise was dominated by this advancing civilization; we may infer this from the ruins of Rahbath Moab which exhibit floral forms of ornamentation like those of the sacred plant of Assyria.[2]

The most notable fortress in the Northern Kingdom was Samaria, built by one of its greatest kings, Omri, whose name the Assyrians attached, as we learn from the annals of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon (Schrader, *KB* 2 32 42), to *the* Northern Kingdom (bit Ḫumri[a]). This renowned fortress withstood all the assaults of the Assyrian armies—equipped (as we know they were) with engiueering appliances, battering rams, and towers—for upwards of two years (724-722).

Among the fortified towns of the Southern Kingdom, Jerusalem occupied the most prominent place from a very early period (so the Amarna despatches would lead us to conclude).[1] It is essentially a mountain city and stands on the southern extremity of a spur cr plateau enclosed by two ravines, Kedron and Hinnom. A third ravine joins the Kedron at the pool of Siloam to the SE. NW. between the Tyropœon and Hinnom valleys is the steep hill of Zion (see Perrot and Chipiez). This fortress, strong by nature, was regarded by the Egyptians as forming with Samaria and Ashdod important strategical outposts against Assyrian aggression. That Sargon and Sennacherib regarded them in the same light is obvious.

During the strong military rule of Azariah (Uzziah), Judah was well provided with fortresses. The statements in 2 Ch. 26 6-9 are sustained by the Taylor-cylinder recording Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine in 701 B.C. In col. 3 13 we read that forty-six of these fortified towns (*maḫāzī dannūti* [*bitu*] *durāni*) were reduced by Sennacherib's officers. From line 22 we learn that the fortified city of Jerusalem was provided (as we might expect) with a gateway which was probably of massive masonry. Egress from this was barred, as we gather from this passage, by the intrenchments which enclosed the beleaguered town.[2] These strong gateways were furnished with doors of great strength provided with bolts of iron and bronze (1 K. 4 13; cp Dt. 3 5 33 25). Occasionally the gates may have been plated with bronze, as were the gates of Balawāt erected by Shalmaneser II. (cp Is. 45 2). Shalmaneser's plates contained representations of his military expeditions.[3]

3. Assyrian representations. It must be confessed that the lack of monumental records and figures having direct reference to Palestine renders it impossible to give as vivid and precise details respecting its fortresses as could be desired. We can only derive illustrative materials from the copious stores of graphic Assyrian representations furnished by its monumental portrayals and the ruins of Khorsabād and Nineveh. The illustration, fig. 2 (next page), taken from the reliefs belonging to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727) preserved in the British Museum, represents the general type of fortification of the towns of Western Asia.

It is hardly possible to accept the high figures given by Herodotus in his description of the walls of Babylon (1 178 *f.*).

Still, they may not have been so far in excess as we might imagine. Herodotus' measurements (178 *ad fin.*), 200 royal cubits for the height and 50 for the breadth—*i.e.*, over 380 ft. for the former and over 80 ft. for the latter, are probably excessive; but Layard excavated one of the chief gates of ancient Nineveh, and according to the scale of his plan the walls were about 110 ft. thick. Probably, however, the strength of the walls at special points (and especially near the gateways) was exceptional. The Nineveh gateway was built by Sennacherib. Two pairs of winged bulls were placed by it—one pair looking toward the city and the other facing the exterior.

The extraordinary thickness and solidity of the walls were doubtless designed to neutralise the effect of the battering rams.

The fortified town erected by Sargon, Dūr Šarrukin or Sargon's town, was considerably smaller than Nineveh. It stood upon a parallelogram, two sides of which measured 1950 yards, whilst the other two measured 1870 yards. As there was no proper *akropolis*, the king's palace with its massive gates and dominating towers formed a quasi-citadel into which the inhabitants could fly for refuge when the outer walls were captured or a breach was made through them. Perrot and Chipiez in their description of this interesting fortress give the following details :—

'The parapets of the towers were corbelled out from their walls and pierced with loopholes, as we can gather from the

[1] In proof of this statement note the contrast between the condition of civilization as depicted in 1 S. 13 19 and in 2 K. 24 16.

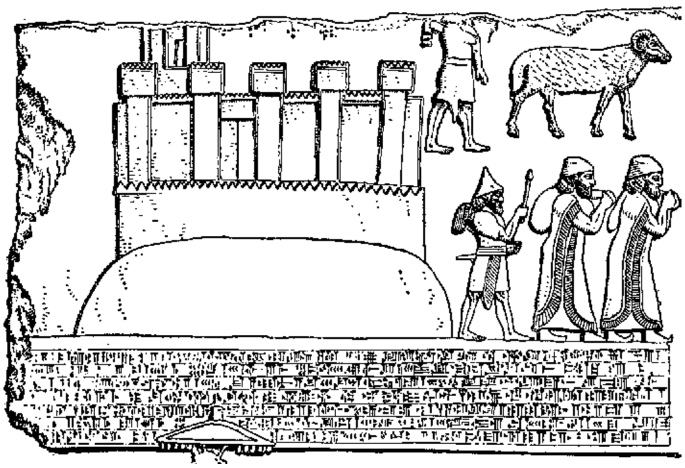
[2] Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. *of Art in Sardinia, Judæa, Syria*, 308 *f.*, based on De Saulcy's discoveries.

[1] See the letters of Abd-ḫiba of Jerusalem in *KB* 5, no. 180 *f.*

[2] *Ḫalṣī elišu urakkis*, the current expression, which again occurs in Ašur-bāni-pal's description of the siege of Baal of Tyre (Rassam cyl., col. 2 52).

[3] See *The Bronze Ornaments of the Gates of Balawat*, edited with introduction by Samuel Birch, and descriptions and translations by T. G. Pinches (*Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*, 1883).

reliefs. Each doorway was flanked by a pair of towers, the wall between them being only wide enough for the entrance. We have no trace of a ditch, though it might easily have been supplied by the two mountain streams that flow past the mound[1] . . .



Owing to the massive thickness of the walls in the more important fortresses, such as Nineveh, their summit would afford ample room for a large number of defenders. According to Place (*Ninive*, 1 65 ; 2 11), throughout the circumference of the *enceinte* the curtain was strengthened by rectangular flanking towers separated by intervals of go feet or double the front of a tower.

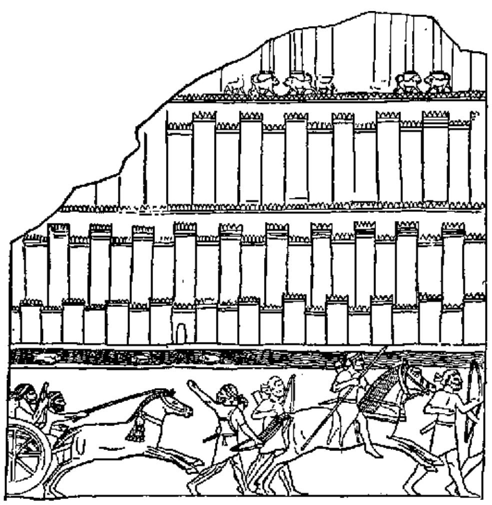


FIG. 3.—Assyrian fortress.
From a slab in the British Museum.

From the scale of the figures in the sculptures we conclude that the head of the towers averages one-fourth or one-fifth the height of the curtain. Place gives to the towers a total height of 105 feet[2] to the top of their crenellations.

4. Egyptian re-

From ancient Egypt we have a useful store of illustrative material. One of the most valuable is the fortress of Semneh in Nubia, belonging

wall when the outer one was broken through. The towers like the rest of the walls consisted of a rampart and parapet, which last was crowned by the usual round-headed battlements . . The fortress was usually square with one or occasionally two entrances: but generally with one and a sally-port or a water-gate if near the river . . . One great principle in the large fortresses was to have a long wall on the side most exposed to attack, projecting from 70 to 100 ft. at right angles from and at the same height as the main wall, upon which the besieged were enabled to run out and sweep the faces or curtain by what we should call 'a flanking fire. In order to keep the enemy as far from the main wall as possible, it was raised on a broad terrace or basement, or had an outer low wall of circumvallation parallel to the main wall at a distance of from 13 to 20 feet.'[1]

5. Palestinian copies.

That many of the details in the above descriptions hold good of the Palestinian fortresses during the royal period is undoubtedly true. Both Babylonian and Egyptian civilization exercised considerable influence in Canaan from very early times. The impress of the Babylonian, however, was deeper and more permanent.[2] We should, therefore, expect to find a closer approximation to the Babylonian-Assyrian model. Thus the Migdal or TOWER [*q.v.*] was a characteristic feature of Palestine from the earliest times. There were small, simple towers, and there were others of great size, solid and durable, such as would serve as landmarks and give their names to places (see MIGDAL-EL, MIGDAL-GAD). These erections in some cases go back as far as the fifteenth century B.C. at least. Compare (*alu* or *maḫazu*) Magdali in the Amarna despatches,[3] the determinative clearly showing that it was the name of a place (in one case Migdol on the NE Egyptian frontier). Moreover, we have frequent references to strong doors or gates in Canaanite fortified towns (Judg. 16 2 *f.* 1 S. 23 7 2 S. 18 24 33 [19 1] 2 Ch. 14 6 [7] Neh. 2 8 3 36 1 Macc. 13 33 15 39). From 2 S. 18 24 we gather a few picturesque details. The gateway of the town had an inner and also an outer gate, and the king was sitting

1 The great defensive value of trenches filled with water was, however, thoroughly understood. In Sargon's description (great Khorsabad inscr. 127 *ff.*) of his siege of Merodach-baladan in Dūr-Yākīn he narrates how Merodach-baladan made a formidable trench 200 cubits wide in front of the wall and filled it with water from the Euphrates.

2 This is nearly the same height as that assigned by Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 47) to the walls of Larissa (the Assyrian Resen near Nimrūd). Xenophon's measurements are: height 100 ft., thickness 25 ft., stone foundation (κρηπίς) 20 ft. in height, the circuit of the walls 2 parasangs (or about 6¾ m.); the walls themselves were built of clay bricks. In the case of Mespila, described by him in § 10 *f.*, the dimensions are considerably greater.

Respecting the fortifications of Nineveh proper and Kuyunjiḳ consult Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* (abr. ed. '74), 395 *ff.*

1 Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 268 *ff.* ('78).
2 Nowack, *HA* 1 98 *ff.*, 200 *ff.*, 206 *ff.*
3 *KB* v., 159 28 237 26 281 14.

between the two in the shade. There was a porter to the gate and a watchman on the roof above the gateway, who announced to the king the approach of messengers.

With these fortified gates we may compare bit hillāni (places of windows, see LATTICE, § 2 [2])—the name given by the Assyrians to the two towers in front of the city gate, connected by an open porch with two pillars or sphinxes, which they adopted from Syrian models in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. On the bīt-ḫillāni, the ruins of which have been found at Zenjirli, see *Ausgrabungen in Senjirli*, Heft II., 1898, and Rost's review, *OLZ* 1 197 *ff.*

In front of the main wall there was frequently a lower rampart (חֵיל, *ḥēl*), or *glacis* called in Syriac *bar šūrā* and in Greek περίτειχος or προτείχισμα (Is. 26 1 2 S. 20 15 1 K. 21 23 [?]). Moreover, battlements were erected on the walls[1] (פִּנּוֹת, *pinnōth*, 2 Ch. 26 15 Zeph. 1 16; שִׁמְשֹׁת, *šemāšōth*, Is. 54 12 [AV 'windows,' RV 'pinnacles']). Of course, *migdālīm* (see TOWER), rendered πύργοι in 1 Macc. 5 65 Judith 1 3. formed a characteristic feature of Hebrew (as they did of other) fortified towns in Western Asia (Ezek. 26 4 27 11). Ezek. 27 11 and Cant. 4 4 (cp AKMOURY) may perhaps suggest that it was customary to affix shields (שְׁלָטִים, *šelāṭīm*) to the walls for greater protection against the missiles of the enemy. On the methods by which fortresses were stormed, see SIEGE. O. C. W.

FORTUNATUS (φορτογνατος [Ti. WH]), a member of the Corinthian Church. Along with Stephanus and Achaicus he brought news of the Corinthians to Paul at Ephesus which gladdened and refreshed him (1 Cor. 16 17 *f.*). See CORINTHIANS, §§ 3, 13.

FORTUNE (גַּד; το δαιμονιον [BA], ο δαιμων [ℵQ]; *fortuna*), and DESTINY (מְנִי, ἡ τύχη [BKAQ]; *super eam;* Pesh. unites the two as *gaddē*, 'the fortunes'). Two deities (Gad and Mĕni) worshipped by Jews who had 'forsaken Yahwè and forgotten his holy mountain' (Is. 65 11†). Obviously, though both are male deities, they form a pair, and if Gad be early Canaanitish, Mĕni can hardly be a late variation of an important Nabatæan god Manōt (= the Arabian Manāt, Koran, 53 19-23.

The antiquity of the worship of Gad is shown by the names BAAL-GAD, MIGDAL-GAD, the one localised in the far north, the other in the territory of Judah; less certainly by the exclamation of Leah (Gen. 30 11 J), for בְּגָד in בָּא גָד or גָּד is perhaps more naturally taken as an appellative (so the same word often in Syriac [Baethg.]) than as a divine name (see, however Ball in *SBOT*). The tribal name GAD is also probably a borrowed divine name. Of the prevalence of the cultus of Gad or Tyche in Syria in later times there are abundant proofs (see Mordtmann, *ZDMG* 31 99-101; Nöldeke, *id.* 524 74, 478 *f.*; Baethg. *Beitr.* 77 *f.*), nor can we doubt that it was part of the primitive Aramaean worship. Of the Syrian cultus of Mĕnī we have only the evidence of some Aramæo-Persian coins of the Achæmenidæ (Ges. *Thes.*, 'Addenda,' 97 *b*); but if there was really a Babylonian god Manu,[2] we may assume that it was not less ancient than that of Gad.

It has often been held that Gad and Mĕni are the planetary gods, Jupiter and Venus. This view is supported from Arabic usage, in which Jupiter is called 'the great fortune,' and Venus 'the little fortune,' but lacks further confirmation. There were no doubt several varieties of Gad or Fortune (and consequently of Mĕni or Destiny). Thus in early times there was one at a well-known point of the Hermon range (Baal-gad), and a Christian writer (Jacob of Serūg) tells us that in his time many mountain-tops were crowned with temples of Fortune (Mordtmann). Moreover, there was also the domestic Fortune or good genius.

In *Ber. Rabba*, par. 71, Leah's joyful cry is explained, 'The Fortune of the house—the Fortune of the world—is come,' and in *Ned.* 56 *a*, *Sanh.* 20 *a* אַרְסָא דְגַדָּא means the couch of state reserved for the Luck of the house, and covered doubtless with foods in his honour (cp Ball's note on Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 3). This refers to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.; but we may assume that the same custom was in vogue in the fifth century B.C. when Is. 65 was written.

The people accused of worshipping Gad and Mĕni are most probably the half-Jews commonly called Samaritans and those in the Jewish community who sympathised with them (see Duhm's *Jesaia*; Che. *Intr. Isa.* 364 *ff.*). To emend מני (Mĕni) into ננּי (Nani or Nanai; see NANEA) with Lagarde (*Ges. Abhandl.* 16), is arbitrary (see *v.* 12). T. K. C.

1 It is uncertain whether פִּנּוֹת and שְׁמָשֹׁת are quite synonymous, or whether the latter word denoted a special form of battlements, of pointed shape, to resemble solar rays. [On פִּנָּה see CORNER-STONE.]

2 Lenormant, *La Magie*, 110; Davis, *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, Oct. '92, p. 773; Johns, *Exp. T.* 10 526 (Aug. '99). See however Hommel, *Exp. T.* 10 566 *f.* (Sept. '99).

FOUNDATIONS (מוֹסָדוֹת, *mōsĕdōth*, מוֹסָדִים, *mōsĕdīm*, etc., θεμελιοι).

(*a*) Of the earth: 2 S. 22 16 (‖ Ps. 18 15 [16]), Ps. 24 2 etc. Mic. 6 2 Is. 13 13 etc. Job 38 4 Ecclus. 10 16 16 19. (Cp passage from legend of Ištar on the ocean-foundations of the earth; Karppe, *Journ. Asiat.* 9 101.) *a* and *b* (see below) are practically synonymous. This usage may be connected with the primitive Babylonian idea of the earth as a huge mountain.

(*b*) Of the mountains: Ps. 18 7 [8] (‖ 2 S. 22 8 wrongly 'of heaven'), Dt. 32 22 Job 18 4 (𝔊BℵC ὄρη [𝔊A ἡ γῆ] ἐκ θεμελίων: see Duhm).

(*c*) Of the temple: 1 K. 6 1 *f.* 7 9 Ezra 3 10. See TEMPLE.

(*d*) Of Jerusalem: Ps. 87 1 (or less probably of the temple, Aq. Jer. Ba. ?), Is. 14 32 etc.

(*e*) Of the wall of the new Jerusalem: Rev. 21 19.

Laying the foundation of a new building was a sacred rite; how else could the presence and favour of the divinity be secured? Hence a foundation-stone was to be goodly and valuable. This is set forth with great fulness in the later Babylonian inscriptions. Together with the stone, we are told that gold, silver, and stones of the mountains and the sea were deposited (*KB* 3 6, p. 5); a cylinder (*temenu*) containing a written record of the foundation was also indispensable. The most interesting account is that given by Nabu-nahid (Nabonidus), the last of the kings of Babylon (556-538 B.C.). After a long search for the foundation-stone of the ancient temple of Ištar of Agadè built by Sargon I. (3800 B.C.), he found it (*KB* 3 *b*, p. 87). Such discoveries were common; they gave confidence to later builders who knew that a spot once sacred was always sacred, and that the divine power did not love changed altars. The foundation-stone might in fact be called an altar, as the primitive rite of laying the foundation in blood (see HIEL, § 3) sufficiently shows. According to Hilprecht, the cylinders and deposits in primitive Babylonia were at first placed under the threshold, and afterwards under the four corners of the building.[1] There is therefore a close connection between the sacredness of the threshold-stone and that of the corner-stone; and one remembers that 'corner-stone' and 'foundation-stone' are synonymous terms in the Hebrew Scriptures (see CORNER-STONE).

We can now understand better why the foundation-stones of Solomon's temple and of the wall of the New Jerusalem are so carefully described. Also the reference in Is. 54 11 Rev. 21 19 to precious stones, and the description of Yahwè's self-manifestation in Zion as a 'precious foundation corner-stone' (Is. 28 16). It is noteworthy that the Israelites avoided such fantastic titles for their temple as 'foundation-stone of heaven and earth' (E-temen-an-ki), borne by one of the Babylonian zikkurrats (Jastrow, *Bab. and Ass.* 639).

Attention was drawn long ago to a curious use of θεμέλιον in 1 Tim. 6 19. Men do not 'lay up a good foundation.' Clericus suggested κειμήλιον, which must surely be right. In the Epistle to Hero attributed to Ignatius, we read τὰς παρθένους φυλάττετε ὡς Χριστοῦ κειμήλια. A common word among church writers. 'Laying up a fair jewel' is a natural expression. T. K. C.

FOUNTAIN (מַעְיָן), Gen. 7 11 etc. See SPRINGS.

FOWL (AND FOWLING). Under this head it is proposed to group those members of the family *Aves* (Birds) which are mentioned in the OT or the NT as used for food (§§ 1-5), and to add some observations on the methods then in vogue of

1. Edible.

1 Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 22.

catching the wild (§§ 7-12) and of rearing the domestic fowl (§ 5 f.).

I. Food.—'Of all clean birds ye may eat' (Dt. 14 11, see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 9, and FOOD, § 8). The Pentateuchal legislation contains no list of the birds allowed as food; it gives, instead, two lists, practically identical, of the species tabooed (Lev. 11 13-19 Dt. 14 11-18), prominent among which are the birds of prey (הָעַיִט, Gen. 15 11). Of the birds that remain, 'clean' and available for food, the first place belongs to the *Columbidæ* or pigeon family, comprising the turtle-dove and the pigeon (as to the originally sacrosanct character of which see DOVE, SACRIFICE). The various species of PARTRIDGE (קֹרֵא) were hunted for the same purpose (1 S. 26 20; cp Ecclus. 11 30, for which see below). The use of the nearly allied QUAIL (שְׂלָו), we may be sure, was not confined to the period of the desert wanderings (Ex. 16 13[1] Nu. 11 31, cp Ps. 78 27 [26] 105 40). In NT times, and doubtless for long before, the SPARROW (*q.v.*) was caught and sold at an exceedingly low price (Mt. 10 29 *ff.* Lk. 12 6 *ff.*).

2. Domestic fowl.

In 1 K. 4 23 [5 3] the list of provisions furnished daily for Solomon's table closes with בַּרְבֻּרִים אֲבוּסִים (ὀρνίθων [ἐκλεκτὰ] ἐκλεκτῶν σιτευτά [BA], ὀρ. ἐκ. καὶ νομάδων [L], *aves altiles*, whence our EV 'fatted fowl'; cp Kimchi's 'capons'), a phrase of uncertain meaning, and not free from critical suspicion (see FOWL, FATTED). If the reading is correct are we to take the phrase as including various species of food-birds, or as denoting only a particular species? In the latter case, the identification of the bird with the goose (so Targ. Jer.) has perhaps most in its favour. The goose (אַוָּז) was certainly a common domestic bird in NT times, since it is several times mentioned in the Mishna with poultry and house-pigeons (*Shabb.* 24 3 *Chull.* 12 1). Like the duck, of which also mention is made in the Talmud, the goose, from the nature of its food, can scarcely have been a popular food-bird with the more punctilious of the Jews. It was quite otherwise with the ancient Egyptians; the flesh of the goose has been called their 'national dish.'

The introduction of the domestic fowl into Palestine can hardly be dated beyond the Persian period, even should the ancients be right (see COCK) in identifying the obscure זַרְזִיר of Prov. 30 31 with the cock (𝔊 Aq. Theod. ἀλέκτωρ; but cp COCK). By the first century, at all events, fowls had long been domesticated (see below, § 4). The touching words in Mt. 23 37 need no quoting; cp 2 Esd. 1 30.

3. Method of cooking.

We have no express indication of the favourite methods of cooking fowls. Both roasting and stewing were doubtless in vogue among the Hebrews as among the Egyptians. Among the latter the goose was either roasted on a primitive spit 'stuck through the beak and neck of the bird' (Ernian, Egypt, 189), or stewed in a pan, as pourtrayed on the monuments (see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 35). Roasting probably remained the popular mode of cooking the smaller birds such as sparrows, which at the present day are roasted on skewers, like the gobbets of meat called *kebāb* (see COOKING, § 6).

4. Eggs.

The eggs (בֵּיצִים) of several of the birds named above, in particular those of the domestic fowl, entered largely into the diet of the Hebrews. The egg of the ostrich (Job 39 14) which 'dressed with *samn* and flour in a pan savoured as a well-tasting omelette' (Doughty, *Arab. Des.* 1 132) is much relished by the Arabs of to-day; but beyond the fact that a portion of a shell was found by Bliss in the mound of Tell-el-Hesy (Lachish) there seems to be no evidence that it was so used in Palestine. For the strict Jews, the egg, like the flesh, was doubtless taboo (שֶׁקֶץ). This objection did not apply to the eggs of the partridge, which also are eagerly collected for food by the Arabs; Jer. 17 11 *may* point to a similar custom among the Hebrews (cp PARTRIDGE). The eggs most in use (Lk. 11 12) were, as among ourselves, those of the domestic fowl (תַּרְנְגוֹלֶת). Job, according to Bickell, Budde, and Duhm who have revived the traditional interpretation, draws (Job 6 6) from the white of an egg a figure to express the strange unreasonableness of his affliction; Dillmann, however,[1] prefers the rendering, 'Is there any taste in the juice of purslain' (or some other plant)? [The text needs emendation; see PURSLAIN.]

There are frequent references in the Mishna—one of the treatises of which bears the name *Bēṣā* (egg[2])—to the use of eggs as food and to various methods of cooking them. They might be boiled (*Shabb.* 9 5), or broken and fried (צָלָה, *ib.* 1 10), or mixed up with oil and fried in a saucepan (*ib.* 8 5). A favourite dish (*Bēṣa*, 2 1) consisted of eggs (perhaps poached) spread upon fish.[3]

The law of D—from motives purely humanitarian or partly humanitarian and partly utilitarian—required that when the eggs were taken from under a wild bird the mother should not be interfered with (Dt. 22 6 *f.*).

5. Domestic pigeons.

II. *Supply.*—The requisite supply of fowls, in the wider sense of the word, was obtained (*a*) by the complete or partial domestication of pigeons and poultry on the one hand, and, on the other hand, (*b*) by the skill of the fowler, amateur or professional.

(*a*) The partial domestication of the pigeon was already accomplished when Is. 60 8 was written, where the reference in the 'windows' spoken of is clearly to the lattice-like apertures (אֲרֻבּוֹת) of the dovecote (see LATTICE, § 2). The fowls (צִפֳּרִים) prepared for Nehemiah's table were probably pigeons and the smaller species of edible birds (Neh. 5 18; cp Ps. 84 3 [4] and Tob. 2 10).

The usual name of the pigeon-house in later times was שׁוֹבָךְ (*Shabb.* 24 3, *Bāb. bath.* 1 6 and often). Another name was מִגְדָּל (lit. 'tower'), which suggests the pigeon-towers, so common in certain parts of the East at the present day. The Jews, it would seem, recognised a distinction between the semi-domesticated pigeon, which had its home in the dovecote or pigeon-house, and the more completely domesticated house-pigeon. The house-pigeons were called הרדיסיות or רודסיות after Herod, who is said to have introduced them into Judæa. It was permitted on the Sabbath to provide them (along with the geese and poultry) with water, whilst less completely domesticated pigeons, like the bees, were supposed to be able to find water for themselves (*Shabb.* 24 3). These Herodian pigeons evidently shared the living-room with the family, as is very often the case in the present day, and had their nests in the house (*Chull.* 12 1).

6. Fattening.

The art of fattening artificially the goose and other birds used for food was widely practised in ancient Egypt. 'The birds were fattened in the same way as the cattle; the fattening bolus was pushed down the throat of the goose in spite of its struggles' (Ernian, *Egypt*, 442). The process here described was not unknown to the Jews, as we see from *Shabb.* 24 3.

It was forbidden on the Sabbath, however, to feed the poultry in this way. Water might be poured over their bran (מוּרְסָן), but kneading or mixing was forbidden, and the animals were to be allowed to feed in the ordinary way (*ibid.*, cp for Passover time *Pĕsāch.* 2 7).

Hens then as now had the habit of laying outside their proper houses (*Chull.* 12 1).

The Talmudic precept (*Bāba Ḳammā*, 7 7) that poultry may not be reared in Jerusalem 'on account of the holy things' (or 'on account of the sanctuary') must be regarded as a pious dream in view of the express and repeated testimony of the NT. It is just possible, however, that the accoinpaiiying prohib tion

[1] The so-called Targum of Jonathan has converted the modest quails into pheasants (פַּסְיוֹנִין, φασιανοί) | Cp Targ. Ps. 105 40.

[1] 'The white of an egg was hardly familiar to the ancient Hebrews, who did not keep fowls' (Di.).

[2] For the curious discussion to which this treatise owes its name see Delitzsch, *Jesus und Hillel*, 22 *ff.*

[3] On a hen's egg as a pretended unit of the Hebrew measure of capacity, see Nowack, *HA* 1 206.

'nor by priests throughout the land of Israel because of (possible) uncleanness' (*ibid.*) may have been observed by the more scrupulous of the priesthood.

(6) For the supply of the non-domesticated birds, the Jews, like every other ancient people, were dependent on the art of fowling.

7. Fowling. The wide popularity of fowling may be inferred from the number and variety of the metaphors borrowed from it. The psalmists liken the evil machinations of enemies to the fowler's snare (cp Ps. 1405 [6] 1419 *f.* etc.), and the author of Job (*e.g.*, in 187 *f.*) describes the end of the wicked in metaphors borrowed from fowling and the chase. Indeed, Jesus himself emphasizes the suddenness of his parousia by a simile drawn from the same source (Lk. 2134 *f.* ; see below, § 10).

With regard to the fowler's equipment, the *bow* and the *sling* (קֶלַע)—the latter especially in such capable hands as those of the left-handed Benjamites (Judg. 2016)—at once suggest themselves as possible weapons; but according to Wilkinson the Egyptian fowler used them but seldom.[1]

The most effective, however, of all the fowler's apparatus was the NET (רֶשֶׁת, Prov. 117 Hos. 712 and often).

8. Nets. Fowling nets are of four kinds : the flight-net, which is hung up in a perpendicular position to intercept the birds in their flight; the drag-net (well-known to poachers), which is dragged across the ground where the birds are resting,—Ezekiel probably refers to this species of net (1213 1720 323); the bag-net, which is hung loosely between two poles, and is still in use in Syria ('The birds alarmed by a lantern held in front of their roosting places at once fall into it'; Tristram, *NHB* 163); and the most elaborate, and, to judge from the Egyptian practice, the most popular form of fowler's net, the clap-net.

The clap-net was in daily use for securing the geese and other wild-fowl frequenting the marshes of the Delta, and was 'from 10 to 12 ft. long, and about 5 ft. wide.' It was closed at the right moment by means of a rope pulled vigorously, at a signal from the fowler, by four or five attendants (for further details and life-like illustrations see Wilk. 2109 *ff.*, Erman, 236 *ff.*). The modern reversible horizontal fowler's net, of which a minute and lucid description with detailed illustration will be found in Payne-Gallwey's *The Fowler in Ireland*, does not differ in principle from the ancient Egyptian, and presumably the Palestinian, clap-net.

The art of trapping birds was doubtless practised by the ancestors of the Hebrews long before the latter entered Caanan.

9. Snares: *mōḳēš* and *paḥ*. In historic times we find a variety of traps and snares (cp especially Ps. 1405 Job 188-10); but two stand out as the trapper's special companions, the *mōḳēš* (מוקש) and the *paḥ* (פח). It is usual to describe the *mōḳēš* as the trigger (the σκάνδαλον or σκανδάληθρον [not in 𝔊] of the Greek) on which the bait was placed and by which the spring of the *paḥ* was released (see Hoffmann, *ZATW* 3101).

This view, however, is dependent on the MT of Amos 35*a*, which is here inferior to 𝔊 (*i.e.*, פַּח in 5*a* is an intrusion from 5*b*). Scarcely less dubious, in the present writer's opinion, is the view adopted in BDB (cp also Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 158) that *mōḳēš* originally signifies 'bait.'

A careful examination of the biblical data in the light of the practice of fowling among primitive peoples leads to the view that *mōḳēš* is the Hebrew name for the *noose* or *snare* known to bird-catchers, young and old, all the world over.

It is thus synonymous with חֶבֶל, *ḥébhel* (cord) in Ps. 1405 [6] which may have been used for larger birds—with the פַּלְצוּר of Mish. *Kēlīm*, 235 (see Levy, *Lex. s.v.*), and with the נֶשֶׁב of *Bāba Ḳammā*, 77. The last was clearly a snare by which pigeon; were caught, although it could not be set within 30 stadia of an inhabited place, and, according to the Talmud, was made of hair from the tails of horses and cows (Levy, *op. cit.*).

[1] The use of the sling was almost confined to gardeners and peasants, who thus frightened the birds from the vineyards and fields (*Anc. Eg.* 1381). The favourite weapon of the Egyptian sportsman was the *throw-stick*, a species of boomerang (*ib.* 2105).

The *paḥ*, on the other hand, we take to be a general name for any form of bird-trap.

It need not therefore, he identified (so Driver, as above) with the special f o h of trap so frequently depicted on the Egyptian monuments, and explained and illustrated by Wilkinson and Erman.

The most widely distributed form of bird-trap is probably that in which the native elasticity of a twig is utilized (naturally with almost infinite variety of detail) to draw a noose tight round the legs or head of the unwary bird.

10. Other bird-traps. The free end of the twig, to which the noose is attached, is bent down till it reaches the ground or some other suitable support, to which it is held fast by varying devices. The touch of the bird releases the twig, which rebounds, carrying with it noose and bird through the air. Some such springe was in Amos' mind when he asked : 'Does a bird fall to the ground when there is no snare (set) for him? Does a springe fly up from the ground and take nothing at all?' (35). A still simpler form of trap is also in universal use, and receives in the Mishna the name of מַדָּף or clap-board. It consists of a sloping hoard resting on two or more slender supports, the adjusting of which suits the verb (הִצִּיבוּ מַשְׁחִית) in the difficult verse, Jer. 526. When the bird, in search of the bait spread beneath, touches the supports, the board falls and maims or kills the bird (cp the Arab boys' method of trapping partridges in Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1433). Since the success of such an instrument depends on the almost instantaneous fall of the clap-board, the aptness of Jesus' words : 'that day [shall] come upon you *suddenly* as a snare' (Lk. 2134) is at once apparent.[1] Other forms of trap, such as the basket-trap, with its funnel-shaped entrance precluding egress, and the trap-cage, in which the bird on alighting frees a spring and shuts itself in, can only be mentioned, as there is no reference to them in OT or NT. We find, however, a solitary reference to the crate (see CAGE) in which the fowler collected the birds which he had netted, trapped, or snared (Jer. 527). 𝔊 in Am. 81 *f.* has ἄγγος ἰξευτοῦ (fowler's cage?) instead of 'a basket of summer fruit.'

The fowlers of the ancient world early learned the value of decoy birds. It would be out of place here to enlarge on their use as valuable auxiliaries to the methods of fowling already explained.

11. Decoy birds. In the Syria of to-day 'larks, linnets, pigeons, quails, and especially partridges' are employed as decoys (see for details Tristram, *NHB* 163 *f.*). The only mention in the older Jewish literature of this mode of fowling is in Ecclesiasticus: 'As a decoy partridge in a cage, so is the heart of a proud man' (1130 KV).

No fowler's equipment, however, can have been complete without the universal bird-lime (Mishna דבק *débek*).

12. Bird-lime. It was probably made from the cactus or the fig. Pliny gives a recipe for making it from the berries of the mistletoe (*HN* 1694). The Jewish fowler smeared with his lime the end of a long rod (שַׁבְשֶׁבֶת), and with this he cautiously approached the birds as they rested, touching them with the point of the rod, to which, of course, they adhered (*Shabb.* 84).

It only remains to add that by the Jewish Law the fowler, no less than the hunter, when he had brought down a bird that was intended for food, was required to 'pour out the blood thereof and cover it with dust' (Lev. 1713 *f.*). A. R. S. K.

FOWL, FATTED (בַּרְבֻּרִים אֲבוּסִים), or more plausibly 'geese' (cp Ass. *birbirru*, 'brilliance') 1 K. 423 [53]. See FOWL, § 2. When, however, we consider (1) that no other food-animal's name is given in the sing., and (2) that בְּרָאִים, which occurs earlier in the list (in apposition to בָּקָר), and

[1] Note especially the alternative punctuation ὡς παγὶς γὰρ ἐπεισελεύσεται ἐπὶ πάντας κ.τ.λ. and the recurring preposition.

אֲבוּסִים are synonymous, it is not improbable that the true reading is בְּרָאִים אב׳, and that the words are a gloss, and should be rendered 'for בְּרָאִים read אֲבוּסִים' (a rare word, which the previous scribe had altered into בְּרָאִים). T. K. C.

FOX. The Hebrew term *šū'āl* שׁוּעָל seems to include both 'fox' and 'jackal.'

Hence some writers think thnt Samson's *shū'ālīm* (Judg. 15 4) may have been jackals, for 300 *shū'ālīm* are said to have been caught by Samson, and this is thought not to accord with zoology (see helow). It has also been remarked that jackals may have abounded in Samson's country for Hasselquist (*Voyages and Travels*, 1766, p. 119) found 'the little eastern fox jackal in large numbers' near Jaffa. Even Hitzig is not averse to this view, and he accordingly interprets the words of Ps. 44 19 [20] ('that thou hast sore broken us in the place of jackals,' RV) as referring to the neighbourhood of Jamnia—not far from Samson's country—where Joseph and Azarias were defeated early in the Maccabean period (1 Macc. 5 56-62). Such rationalistic arguments are quite needless.

If the story in Judg. 15 is a legend, we need not consider the respective claims of the fox and the jackal, and unless any one can prove that Philistia had been laid waste and been given up to jackals, it is useless to argue from Ps. 44 19 [20] that the event referred to is the real occasion of that psalm. Presumably this passage, like so many others, is corrupt.[1] At any rate, in Ps. 63 10 [11] 'jackals' (RV^mg.) is clearly more correct than 'foxes' (EV), for it is characteristic of the jackal to be ever on the watch for the bodies of the dead. In Neh. 4 3 [3 35] Lam. 5 18, and, according to Cheyne (*Ps.*(2)), Ps. 74 14*b* (emended text[2]), the jackal appears to be referred to. Foxes (ἀλώπηξ), however, are certainly meant in Mt. 8 20 Lk. 9 58 13 32.

There are, according to Tristram, two species of fox inhabiting Palestine : *Canis niloticus* (the Egyptian fox) and *C. flavescens*. The former is common in the central and southern regions ; the latter is found in the wooded districts round Galilee and in the N. The *C. flavescens*, however, is regarded by some authorities (*e.g.*, Blandford, *Fauna of Brit. Ind.; Mammalia*, 88) as simply a local variety of the common fox, *C. vulpes*, from which it differs in coloration.

The fox, unlike many other species of *Canidæ*, is solitary, and does not associate in packs, which is a point to be considered by translators and commentators (see above). Foxes excavate holes in the ground (Mt. 8 20), in which they live and bring up their litter (usually from four to six) of young. Frequently they take possession of the burrow of some other animal, such as a badger, and thus save themselves the trouble of digging. They are omnivorous. Their fondness for grapes is proverbial (Cant. 2 15), and, when crowded out by the more powerful jackal, they are confined to a vegetable diet. They usually lie concealed during the day ; but as evening comes on they make their appearance, and are everywhere to be seen prowling amongst the ruins.

T. K. C.—A. E. S.

FRANKINCENSE (לְבֹנָה; λιβανος, λιβανωτος;[3] rendered 'frankincense' Ex. 30 34 Lev. 2 1 *f.* 15 *f.* 5 11 6 15 [8] 24 7 Nu. 5 15 1 Ch. 9 29 Neh. 13 5 9 Cant. 3 6 4 6[4] 14 Mt. 2 11 Rev. 18 13, rendered 'incense' [RV 'frankincense'] Is. 43 23 60 6 66 3 Jer. 6 20 17 26 41 5†) is a fragrant gum-resin, technically called *olibanum* (M. Lat., apparently from Ar. *al-lubān*), which is yielded by trees belonging to certain species of the genus

1 Che. renders (*Ps.*(2)), with an emended text :

'For thou hast made ns to dwell in dark places,
And enveloped us in gloom (of Deathland).

See, however, Duhm, *KHC ad loc.*, who thinks that the 'place of jackals' may he a phrase for the wilderness, and compares 1 Macc. 9 33 62. This, however, does not snit the parallelism.

2 Ba. admits that the jackal is referred to, hut supposes an obscure allusive term to be used,

'Hast given him for food to a people—dwellers in the wilderness.'

Duhm omits לְעָם. Read rather, for לְעָם לְצִיִּים, לְשֻׁעָלִים (Che.). Cp Behemoth and Leviathan, § 2 *f.*

3 The latter only twice in 𝔊 (1 Ch. 9 29 [BℵA]; 3 Macc. 5 2); λίβανος is the word in Mt. 2 11 Rev. 18 13.

4 [The 'hill of frankincense' in Cant. 4 6, however, should probably be the 'bill of Lebanon,' and the 'smell of Lebanon (*v.* 11) should he 'the smell of frankincense'—לבונה and לבנון being confounded. Cp Canticles, § 15.]

Boswellia.[1] These are now met with chiefly in Somaliland about Cape Guardafui ; but the most famous growth in ancient times was in the central district of Ḥaḍramaut in S. Arabia. The Heb. *lᵉbhōnāh*, which denotes *whiteness*, appropriately refers to the form of milky exudation in which the gum issues from the tree ; the same word is found in Arabic (*lubān*) and has passed into Greek.

Of the two forms in Greek, Lagarde (*Mitt.* 2 357) holds that λίβανος = a supposed Hebrew לֵבָן *lēbhān*, and λιβανωτός = לְבָנוֹת *lᵉbhānōth*; he infers that the word had its origin in Hebrew rather than in any of the cognate languages ; hut it seems more likely that the name arose in the dialect of a people who were acquainted with the tree itself.

Pliny's interesting account of the manner in which the gum is obtained from the tree (12 14) may be compared with the following modern description of the operation as carried out in the Somali country.[2]

'Ahout the end of February or beginning of March, the Bedouins visit all the trees in succession and make a deep incision in each, peeling off a narrow strip of bark for about five inches helow the wound. This is left for a month, when a fresh incision is made in the same place, but deeper. A third month elapses and the operation is again repeated, after which the gum is supposed to have attained a proper degree of consistency. The mountain sides are immediately covered with parties of men and boys, who scrape off the large clear globules into a basket, whilst the inferior quality that has run down the tree is packed separately.'

This mention of two kinds differing in quality reminds us that the frankincense employed in making the holy incense and in connection with the shewbread was a specially 'pure' kind—לְבֹנָה זַכָּה (*lᵉbhōnāh zakkāh*).

Wellhausen (*Prol.*(5) 65) and Nowack (*HA* 2 247) point out the comparative lateness of all the passages where frankincense is mentioned in OT. Still the Egyptians at an early period imported fragrant resins—and among them probably myrrh and frankincense—from the land of 'Punt,'—*i.e.* (as most scholars agree), Somaliland. Thus in some of the paintings of Deir al-Baḥri (see Memoir, *Egypt Exploration Fund*), trees of the sort that yields these gums are portrayed as being brought to Egypt about the seventeenth century B.C.

In the developed Levitical ritual, frankincense appears with stacte, onycha, and galbanum, as a constituent of the holy incense (Ex. 30 34), and is also placed upon the shewbread (Lev. 24 7), but is oftenest mentioned as an accompaniment of the מִנְחָה, *minḥāh*, or cereal offering (Lev. 2 etc.), with which also it is repeatedly associated in the language of the prophets (Is. 43 23 66 3 Jer. 17 26 41 5). The offering of which it forms a part, and in one place (Lev. 24 7) the frankincense itself, is called an אַזְכָּרָה, *'azkārāh* (EV 'memorial,' but the root idea may be that of fragrance; see Sacrifice). The S. Arabian origin of the frankincense known to the Hebrews is indicated in Is. 60 6 Jer. 6 20. Naturally frankincense and myrrh are often mentioned together (Cant. 3 6 4 6 Mt. 2 11 etc.). Cp Myrrh. N. M.

FRIEND (רֵעֶה; 𝔊 εταιρος), a title applied to Ahuzzath, a courtier of Abimelech, Gen. 26 26 (מֵרֵעַ ‖ שַׂר צָבָא; 𝔊 νυμφαγωγός); to Hushai the Archite (constantly), 2 S. 15 37 16 16 (רֵעֶה), 1 Ch. 27 33 (רֵעַ, 𝔊^BA φιλος; but see Hushai); and to Zabud ben Nathan, 1 K. 4 5 (רֵעֶה), who was also *probably* called סֹכֵן, 'chief minister' or 'administrator' (see Minister, Chief).

In Gen. 26 26 (and elsewhere) מֵרֵעַ should probably he מֹרֵעַ, 'kinsman.' The title 'friend' often occurs in 1 and 2 Macc.—*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 2 18 'so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's Friends' (cp 2 Macc. 7 24). This is a bribe held out to Mattathias. 1 Macc. 10 65 : 'And the king gave him honour, and entered him among his Chief Friends' (τῶν πρώτων φίλων); Jonathan is referred to. It was a title in use at the courts of thd Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ (cp Polyb. xxxi. 3 7); 𝔊 thought

1 The species are enumerated by Flückiger and Hanhury (*Pharm.*(2) 134 *f.*). Sir G. Birdwood says (*EB*(9) 12 718), 'the gum-resin of *Boswellia Frereana* and *B. Bhau-Dajiana* of the Somali country, and of *B. Carterii* of the Somali country and the opposite coast of Arabia.'

2 Cruttenden in *Trans. Bombay Geograph. Soc.* 7 121, quoted by Fluck. and Hanb.(2) 137.

of it in rendering שָׂרִים, 'princes,' by φίλοι, 'friends' (Esth. 1 3 2 18 6 9; cp 1 Esd. 8 26). It must not be considered a novelty. Diodorus (16 50) speaks of the 'friends' of Artaxerxes; from Persia the title was adopted by Alexander. A similar title was also in use at the court of the old Egyptian kings, where there were several grades of Friends (Maspero, *RP*(2) 2 18).

The title may have lingered on traditionally in Palestine from the long-past Egyptian rule; at any rate, there were kings of countries adjoining Judah who must have adopted this court-title before David. The name was not merely honorific; the friends of David and Solomon were those whom ties of race or of personal gratitude had made absolutely devoted to the king; hence the surprise of Absalom in 2 S. 16 17 (see HUSHAI). T. K. C.

FRINGES, the EV rendering of גְּדִלִים, *gᵉdīlīm* (στρεπτα [BAFL], *funicula* [Vg. adding *in fimbriis*]). According to D, they were to be worn by every Israelite upon the four borders (*kānāph*, כנף, κρασπεδον) of the garment as a distinctive mark (Dt. 22 12). The RVmg. 'twisted threads' is probably better (cp Dr. *ad loc.*, Bab. *gidlu*, 'a string' [*e.g.*, of onions]); the word is used in 1 K. 7 17† of festoons of chain-work upon the capitals of columns. Corresponding to this is the law in Nu. 15 37 *ff.* (P, or perhaps in particular H [Dr.]) which goes more into detail over the nature and object of these appendages.

This law enacts that *ṣīṣīth* (צִיצִת, Sam. ציציות) EV 'fringes' RVmg. 'tassels,' κράσπεδα, *fimbriæ*) are to be worn upon the borders (כנף, πτερύγια RVmg. 'corners') and that upon the ציצת הכנף (κράσπ. τῶν πτερ.) is to be set a blue cord.[1] There can be little doubt that here again in spite of 𝔊 the RVmg. is preferable, and that ציצית, *ṣiṣith* (in Ezek. 8 3 'lock' of hair) is to be connected with *ṣīṣ*, a 'flower' (Is. 40 6 etc.).[2]

The Jewish *ṭallīth* (טלית) of later times, an oblong cloth with a hole in the middle for the head, and its tassel at each corner, is well known.[3] Its excessive size led to Christ's rebuke (Mt. 23 5); but the form of the forerunner of the *ṭallīth* in post-exilic and pre-exilic times must remain uncertain.

Jehu's tribute-bearers, portrayed upon the black obelisk of Shalmaneser II. (860-824 B.C.), wear a garment with a sort of fringed border (see illust. Moore, *SBOT*, 'Judges,' ET 58) similar to those depicted in Assyria (cp Perrot-Chipiez, *Art. in Chald.* 2 221, fig. 118); and fringed borders were not unknown in Egypt (see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 174 *f.*, 323 and 324, figs. 1 7 9),[4] and W. Asia (see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 341 [Champ. 191]). The early existence of tassels is nevertheless vouched for by representations found upon the ruins at Persepolis (see Riehm, *HWB* 1 898) and by the pictures of Asiatic tributaries depicted upon the tomb of Rekhmara (see *As. u. Eur.* 297 [Leps. *Denkm.* 116], 299 [Leps. *Denkm.* 136]; and more fully Wilk. 1, pl. ii.*b*). It is interesting to observe that these tassels (in some cases numbering five) are coloured *blue*.

The origin of the custom of wearing such appendages is not clear. That originally, like the frontlets, the fringes had a sacred significance, is not improbable; Robertson Smith acutely finds an analogy in the goat-skins (*ægides*) fringed with thongs worn by Libyan women. He also compares the old Ar. *raḥṭ* or *ḥauf*, a girdle or short kilt of skin slashed into thongs, worn by some women and also by worshippers at the Kaaba (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 437). See DRESS, § 7, and cp TUNIC. S. A. C.

FROCK (ωμολινον [BℵAC], . . שמלת), only in Ecclus. 40 4†, where he that is 'clothed[5] in a linen (RV, hempen) frock' is contrasted with him that 'sitteth upon a throne.' 𝔊's reading points to a kind of unbleached flax (cp LINEN). Pesh. reads 'garment of poverty' (cp Vg. *ligno crudo*); so perhaps originally the Heb. which is unfortunately incomplete. See MANTLE.

FROG (צְפַרְדֵּעַ; Βατραχος). Frogs are mentioned as one of the plagues of Egypt (Ex. 7 27 [8 2] *ff.* etc.), and in Rev. 16 13 workers of false miracles are virtually likened to frogs.

Various species of Anurous Amphibians are found both in Egypt and in Palestine; we can hardly venture to single out the *Rana esculenta*, or edible frog, as that referred to in the Bible. A. E. S.

FRONTLETS (טוֹטָפוֹת; ασαλευτον [BAFL], ασαλευτα [L] in Dt. in allusion apparently to their being *firmly* bound). In Dt. 6 8 *f.* (cp 11 18) it is commanded: 'thou shalt bind [these my words] for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes, and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.' The corresponding expressions in Ex. 13 9 (זִכָּרוֹן), 16 (טוֹטָפֹת), a passage closely related to Deuteronomy, are plainly metaphorical; but in the present instance the context (writing upon the door-posts and gates) makes it quite clear that by טוטפות, *ṭōṭāphōth*, certain external sacred signs are intended (see CUTTINGS, § 7). In the last resort the origin of these 'frontlets' (as of מְזוּזוֹת, the boxes fastened on the doors) is to be sought in the use of amulets which prevailed among the old Israelites as a matter of course, and, as it could not be wholly done away with, was in this way turned to holier purposes.

In later Judaism also, frontlets were employed as amulets (see below). The Jewish interpreters, accordingly, are not far wrong when they find the use of phylacteries of some kind already alluded to in Prov. 3 3 6 21; in any case we must at least suppose a literal binding of words of the law round the neck to be meant. On the other hand, however, Ezek. 24 17 (פְּאֵר) is to be understood as referring to a head-tire or TURBAN (*q.v.*), and not, as the rabbins held, to prayer-bands (cp Jer. on Ezek. 24 17 Rosenm. on Ex. 13 16). The Karaites, however, explain the passages in Dt. figuratively; as also do the older Christian interpreters (Jer., Lyra, Calvin, Grotius) and, among the moderns, Hengstenberg, Knobel, and other.

We do not know when out of the law in Dt. first arose the standing practice in accordance with which every one at morning and evening prayer (except on Sabbaths and festivals) was required to wear the two prayer-bands known in the Talmud as תְּפִלִּין and in Greek as φυλακτήρια (Mt. 23 5). In the form in which it still prevails the custom cannot be traced further back than to the first century B.C. These *tĕphillīn* consist of two leather satchels or capsules each fastened to a band. The one band (תְּפִלָּה שֶׁל יָד or תְּפִלָּה שֶׁל זְרוֹעַ) is fastened by the worshipper round his left arm so as to bring the satchel towards his heart; the arm after receiving the *tĕphillah* is again covered with the sleeve. The other band (תְּפִלָּה שֶׁל רֹאשׁ) is so fastened round the head as to bring the satchel into position between the eyebrows. The satchel of the head-tiphillah is divided into four compartments in which severally are placed four strips of parchment containing certain words of the law (Ex. 13 1-10 11-16 Dt. 4 4-9 11 13-21). The satchel of the arm-*tĕphillah* is simple, containing a single parchment slip on which the same passages are written. Jesus censures it in the Pharisees, as characteristic of their tendency to dwell on the external acts of worship and to vain display of piety, that they 'made broad their phylacteries' (Mt. 23 5)—that is, that they wore the satchels larger and the bands broader than was customary.

The rabbins hold the *tĕphillīn* in special sanctity and place them, in their reverence almost on a level with the sacred writings (*Yad.* 3 3); like these, they may be rescued from a fire on the Sabbath day (*Shabb.* 16 1). They are holier than the frontal of the high priest's MITRE (*q.v.*), inasmuch as this last contains the name יהוה only once, whilst on the *tĕphillīn* in the aggregate it occurs twenty-three times. They are held to be highly effectual in protecting against demons; whence their name φυλακτήρια (amulets; see Targ. Cant. 8 3). They are sworn by, by touching them. God himself, in the Talmudic

[1] Apparently for the purpose of suspending the *ṣīṣīth* (so *e.g.*, Dr.); otherwise, following EV, we may suppose that many such cords were hung along the border. Vg. affords a simpler text, reading, in 6, *ponentes in eis vittas hyacinthinas.*

[2] Cp König, *Lehrg.* 2 *a* 60. Similarly ܓܕܠܐ, a 'tassel' and 'lock of hair'; and Eg. (loan-word) *ḏī-ḏī*, 'flower' and 'fringe or tassel' (cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 104, 299).

[3] Each fringe is made of eight threads, of which one is wound round the rest with double knots at prescribed intervals. No *blue* is now used. The tallith is usually made of wool or silk, with a striped border. Many Jews also wear under their clothes an oblong scarf of wool, with an opening for the head. The scarf hangs over back and breast, and fringes are added at its 'four corners' (hence the name of the garment ארבע כנפות).

[4] Cp the Eg. καλάσιρις (Herod. 2 81), a garment with a fringe running round the border.

[5] עוטה. The mg. has עושה 'he that maketh.'

view, wears *tĕphillīn*, swearing by them when he swears by his holy arm. Such being the sacredness attached to phylacteries, it is easy to understand why their production and application should have become matter of minute and elaborate prescription down to the minutest detail. They ought to be so arranged as to represent the divine name Shaddai (שַׁדַּי); the head-satchel contains, upon two little pieces of wood, a three-cornered and a four-cornered ש; the loop of the head-band is so arranged upon the neck as to figure a ד; the loop of the arm-band represents י.

Only male Israelites of thirteen years old and upwards may wear phylacteries; women, lepers, mourners, and unclean persons of every kind are forbidden to do so. In putting them on and taking them off they ought to be kissed.

The Rabbinical precepts are collected in the extra-canonical tractate *Tĕphillīn*, published by Raph. Kirchheim, *Septem libri Talmudici parvi Hierosolymitani*, Frankfort, '51; Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, 21, 'de Phylacteriis Hebræorum'; Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.*, *s.v.* פלל, and *Synag. Jud.* 170-175; Carpzov, *Apparatus hist.-crit.* 190-197; Spencer, *De leg. Heb. ritualibus* ('De natura et origine Phylacteriorum'); Lundius, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligtümer*, 798 *ff.*; Lightfoot, Wolf, and other commentators on Mt. 23 5; Hamburger *Realencykl.* art. 'Tephillin'; Klein, 'Die Totaphoth nach Bibel u. Tradition' in *JPT*, '81, pp. 666-689; Schürer, *Gesch.*(2) 2 406-408 (where further literature is cited).

Literature.

I. B.

FRUIT TREES, FRUIT. From the settlement in Palestine onwards fruit was an element of the first importance in the dietary of the Hebrews. That this is true of the later days of the monarchy is sufficiently evident from the injunction of the Dt. code requiring the trees in the orchards of a besieged city to be spared[1] (Dt. 20 19), which so strikingly contrasts with the unscrupulous procedure of an earlier age (2 K. 3 19 25). The most convincing evidence, however, of the large place filled by fruit in the social and religious economy of Judaism is supplied by the rules so painfully elaborated in numerous Talmudic treatises for the use, under religious sanction, of the fruits of the field and of the tree (see references below, *passim*).

1. Lists of fruit trees.

Canaan was, from early times, distinguished as 'a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; a land of oil olives and honey' (Dt. 8 8). To the fruit trees here specified Joel adds the palm tree and the *tappūăḥ* (1 12). More extensive lists are found in later Jewish literature—as, *e.g.*, in the Mishna treatises *Pē'ā* (1 5) and *Ma'ăsĕroth* (1 2 *f.*).

Ma'ăsēroth mentions, as subject to tithe, figs, grapes (two varieties), sumach (? see below, § 14), sycamine berries, pomegranates, dates, peaches, nuts, almonds carob beans, pears (two varieties), quinces, and medlars; these) as in all probability in use in Palestine in NT times, will be briefly noticed here, along with some others, such as the *tappūăḥ*, the sycomore fig and the citron. A still more extended list of fruit trees is given in the so-called 'Alphabet of Ben Sira' (11th cent.; cp Schür. *Hist.* 5 28, *GJV*(3) 3 161). Ben Sira, in reply to a test question put by Nebuchadrezzar as to the number of trees in the royal garden, replies, 'There are thirty varieties: ten bear fruit which is entirely edible, ten fruit of which only the inner portion may be eaten, and ten fruit of which only the outer portion may be eaten.'[2]

2. Legislation.[3]

Before we proceed to inquire into the use of the individual fruits. let us notice the law regulating the date from which the owner of an orchard might enjoy its produce. By the legislation of H (Lev. 19 23 *ff.*), all food trees (עֵץ מַאֲכָל) or fruit trees (עֵץ פְּרִי; so always in P) were to be allowed three years to come to maturity. The fruit during that period was technically said to be 'uncircumcised'; hence the title of the treatise *'Orlah* (עָרְלָה, 'foreskin'), comprising the later Talmudic legislation on this subject. The fruit of the fourth year[4] was to be exclusively reserved as an offering to God, and only from the fifth year onwards was the owner free to employ the fruit for his own use (Lev. 19 23-25; cp Dt. 20 6).

3. The vine.

The first place among the fruit trees of Palestine must be given to the vine (for varieties, mode of cultivation, etc., see VINE). Although the greater part of the produce of the vineyards was made into wine (see WINE), whence wine was spoken of as 'the fruit of the vine' *par excellence* (Mt. 26 29 and parallels; פְּרִי הַגֶּפֶן of contemporary Hebrew, Mish. *Ber.* 6 1), grapes were as much relished as among ourselves. They appear as an article of commerce alongside of wine in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 13 15).

In the Mishna (*Nidd.* 9 11) it is said of wine that 'some is red (אָדֹם) and some is black (שָׁחוֹר).' The dark red grapes suggested the phrase 'blood of the grape' for wine[1] (Gen. 49 11 Dt. 32 14 Ecclus. 39 26 50 15), and comparisons like those in Is. 63 2 *f.* Rev. 14 20 etc.

The pure juice of the grape also is once described as 'the blood of grapes' (1 Macc. 6 34). The bunches or clusters of grapes (see GRAPE) were gathered in baskets (see BASKET) to be carried to the wine-press or to market (so too in Egypt; Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* ['78] 1 379 *ff.*). Under certain restrictions, passers-by could help themselves from their neighbour's vineyard (Dt. 23 24 [25])—a privilege afterwards extended to other fruits (*Ma'ăsēr.* 2 7); fallen grapes were the perquisite of the poor and of the resident alien (Lev. 19 10). The Pharaoh is represented as drinking the juice of the grape pressed by hand into the cup (Gen. 40 11). To squeeze the grape for this purpose, even to drink the juice that flowed out of itself, was forbidden on the Sabbath (*Shabb.* 22 1). This 'liquor of grapes' (Nu. 6 3 RV) was forbidden—as were also grapes themselves—to those under the Nazirite vow (Nu. 6 1 *ff.*). The Mosaic legislation is in this point more drastic than the Mohammedan, which allows the use of the grape whilst forbidding wine (Koran, 2 216 592).

At the present day in Syria large quantities of grape juice are boiled down to make grape syrup or grape honey (Ar. *dibs* = דְּבַשׁ, *dĕbaš*), the *sapa* and *defrutum* of Pliny (*NH* 14 11). This seems to be referred to in such passages as Gen. 43 11 Ezek. 27 17 (see HONEY, § 1 [3]).

4. Dried grapes.

In addition to the grape in its natural state, the Hebrews from early times made large use of raisins (*ṣimmūḳīm*, צִמּוּקִים, σταφίδες), the 'dried grapes' of Nu. 6 3.

The freshly gathered grapes were laid out, precisely as at the present day (see Van Lennep, *Bible Lands* etc., 111), to be dried by the hot sun. The flat house-top or other suitable spot (מִשְׁטָח,[2] see Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.*) was spread with leaves (Mish. *Tĕhārōth* 10 4 *f.*), on which the grapes were dried in clusters. It is possible that, as at the present day, they were previously dipped in a strong lye (cp the elaborate processes mentioned by Pliny, *NH* 14).

In the form of raisins, the grapes were more convenient for transport, and hence, as we might expect, we find raisins appreciated by travellers and soldiers on the march (1 Ch. 12 40). Thus Abigail brought 'an hundred clusters of raisins' to David and his men (1 S. 25 18, cp 30 12), and the servant of Mephibosheth the same number (2 S. 16 1) with 'an hundred of summer fruits' (קַיִץ, for which see below, § 10).

Raisins are now exported in considerable quantities from Es-Salt, Damascus, and other parts of Syria (*ZDPV* 11 174). In ancient and in modern times we find an inferior sort of wine prepared from raisins (see WINE AND STRONG DRINK).

5. Fruit cakes.

Among the accompaniments of Baal worship Hosea (3 1) mentions אֲשִׁישֵׁי עֲנָבִים (𝔊 πέμματα μετὰ σταφίδος [ων]; Vg. *vinacia uvarum*). *'Ăšīšāh* (without עֲנָבִים, 'grapes') occurs also in 2 S. 6 19 (∥ 1 Ch. 16 3), Cant. 2 5 and Is. 16 7; RV everywhere renders it 'cake (or cakes) of raisins,' or 'raisins,'

[1] RV is here much to be preferred to AV. Point הָאָדָם for הָאָדָם (so most moderns, following Vss.).

[2] See Löw, *Aram. Pfl.-nam.*, for names and identifications.

[3] See also §§ 3, 14.

[4] Cp *ZDPV* 11 163. The vine-shoot is here said to begin to bear in the second year; but it does not produce mature fruit till the fourth year.

[1] Cp, however, WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 230.

[2] The word (cp Ezek. 26 5 47 10) corresponds to the Arab. *misṭaḥ*. One such 'spreading place' stood in the midst of the vineyards of eṭ-Ṭā'if (Ḳazwīnī, 264, quoted by Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 97). In modern Arabic *saṭaḥa* is 'to spread out figs or grapes.

(Cant. 2 5; mg. 'cakes of raisins'), or 'raisin-cakes' (Is. 16 7; mg. 'foundations'). Let us [first] try to explain the word on the assumption that MT is correct.

1. Robertson Smith (MS note on Hos. 3 1) would identify the *'ăšîšāh* with the later חביץ, *ḥābîṣ*, which was a confection of flour, honey (דבש), and oil. 'A cake baked with grape honey' would be almost, if not quite, the same as the אשישה. Most scholars, however, since Gesenius, have explained it 'a cake of pressed raisins' like the *dĕbhēlîm* or 'fig cakes' (see below, § 7). Perhaps a better explanation is 'a cake of flour kneaded with grapes (or with grape juice, which would ferment in the process of baking).' This suits the reference in Cant. 25, where a restorative is clearly meant. Such grape cakes would correspond to the calces still used at festivals in Cyprus ('Isa.' *SBOT* 170). The following are the grounds of this explanation :—

(a) The Greek translators, in all cases probably, understood a cake of mixed ingredients. Thus we find λάγανον ἀπὸ τηγάνου, a 'girdle cake' (𝔊BAL 2 S. 6 19), and ἀμορ(ε)ίτης 𝔊BℵA (1 Ch. 16 3; 𝔊L λάγανον τηγάνου), a cake made of ἀμόρα, which Athenæus and Hesychius define as 'fine flour baked with honey' (μελίττωμα).[1] *(b)* The Mishna speaks of אשישים, which the Gĕmārā explains as lentils cooked with honey (see Levy, *op. cit.*). *(c)* Tg. Ps.-Jon. uses the Aramaic form to render צַפִּיחִית דְּבַשׁ (Exod. 16 31), which was clearly a species of sweet cake or confection. *(d)* Offerings of sweet cakes are common to many ancient cults (see the commentators on Jer. 7 18 44 19, and cp QUEEN OF HEAVEN). *(e)* The Jews of a late time were familiar with the practice of mixing dough with the juice of various fruits (מֵי פֵּירוֹת, an expression frequent in the Mishna), which acted as leaven (*Tĕrūmōth*, 5 1 *ff.*; *Challah*, 2 2).

2. [No adequate philological justification, however, having been found for *'ăšîšāh*, 'cake,' it is legitimate to regard the word as probably corrupt.

In 2 S. 8 19 1 Ch. 16 3 the degree of probability is very great (the corruptness of אשפר just before is undeniable), and it is not much less in the other places. The emendations called for in the several passages are plain. David presents each Israelite with 'a cake of bread, a piece of flesh (פַּת בָּשָׂר), and a *sĕāh of lentils'* (וּסְאַת עֲדָשִׁים); cp the Mishna passage above cited (1 [*b*]). The bride (Cant. 2 5) asks to be 'stayed' or 'refreshed' with lilies (שׁוֹשַׁנּוֹת), not with 'raisin-cakes.' Evidently something which grows in the garden is meant and the context points to 'lilies' (‖ *tappūḥîm—i.e.*, 'quinces," see APPLE, § 2 [4]). The Moabites in the elegy (Is. 16 7) mourn, not for the raisin-cakes, but, as the context shows, for the 'fruit harvest' (אָסִיף) of Kir-hareseth; and the Israelites (Hos. 3 1) who 'look to other gods' would hardly be said to 'love cakes of raisins,'—'Ashērim and Ḥammānim' are the right words (*—i.e.*, אֲשֵׁרִים וְחַמָּנִים, not אֲשִׁישֵׁי עֲנָבִים). The emendation of Hos. 3 1 is due to Gratz (cp Is. 17 8 27 9). These are instructive specimens of necessary emendation. The lexicon loses one word (אשישה); but the exegesis of five passages gains. A reference to the use of 'sweet cakes made of pressed grapes and flour' (*SBOT* 'Isa.' 170, after Ohnefalsch-Richter) at festivals does not by any means prove the correctness of the disputed words. Such cakes would probably have been called צַפִּיחֹת עֲנָבִים, or פַּגִּים, or possibly חֲבִיץ; such a word as אֲשִׁישָׁה, 'cake,' lacks philological justification.—T. K. C.]

Next to the vine, among the fruit-bearing trees, stands the fig tree, 'the sister of the vine,' as a Greek poet has called it (συκῆν μέλαιναν, ἀμπέλου κασιγνήτην: Hipponax, quoted by Hehn, *Kulturpfl. u. Hausth.*[(6)] 94).

6. Fig tree. These two are repeatedly named together in the OT (see FIG, which see also for varieties raised, time of ripening, etc.). As an article of diet, indeed, figs must have been even more prominent than grapes, the range of their season being greater, although Josephus declares that about the Sea of Galilee figs and grapes alike were procurable for ten months of the year (*BJ* iii. 10 8). The place of the fig among the staple articles of food in NT times is well shown by the fact that, in the case of a fire on the Sabbath day, only three necessaries of life were to be rescued, viz., a basket of loaves, a cake of dried figs, and a jar of wine (*Shabb.* 16 3; cp FRONTLETS, *end*).

[1] The reading ἐν μύροις [BℵAC] of Cant. 25 is probably a corruption of ἀμόραις. In Isaiah all the Greek versions are at a loss.

The unripe figs (פַּגָּה, pl. פַּגִּים Cant. 2 13; ὄλυνθοι [BℵAC]; NT only Rev. 6 13; but see BETHPHAGE) were of course not edible; but as soon as they began to take on colour, they might, like half-ripe grapes, be eaten with bread (*Shĕbi'.* 4 7 *f.*). The early fig (בכורה, *bikkūrāh*), which appears on last year's wood, was clearly a choice delicacy, as we see from Is. 28 4, where the prophet speaks of the 'firstripe fig, which when he that looketh upon it seeth, while it is yet in his hand he eateth it up' (RV), and from the comparison in Jer. 24 2, 'very good figs, like the figs that are first ripe' (כִּתְאֵנֵי הַבַּכֻּרוֹת; cp Mic. 7 1 Hos. 9 10). When ripe the early figs were easily shaken from the tree (Nah. 3 12). The ordinary summer fig (תאנה, *tᵉ'ēnāh*, LXX and NT σῦκον—the *tree* is συκῆ) was a favourite in all periods of Hebrew history. The Hebrews at Kadesh missed the figs, vines, and pomegranates of Egypt (Nu. 20 5); the 'sweetness' and 'good fruit' of the fig were appreciated in the rough days of the Judges (Judg. 9 11); references abound in the prophets, whilst figs appear with grapes and wine in the markets of Jerusalem (Neh. 13 15) after the exile. In the first two centuries of our era—the period covered by the NT and the Mishna—figs were still one of the first articles of diet (see, for the Gospels, Lk. 13 6 *ff.* Mt. 7 16 21 19 *ff.* Mk. 11 13 *f.* etc., and the Mishna passim). Jewish prisoners at Rome in the time of Josephus lived on figs and nuts (Jos. *Vit.* 3).

Of the varieties of figs mentioned in the Mishna two are specially interesting, the so-called dark (שְׁחוֹרוֹת) and pale (לְבָנוֹת) figs (*Tĕrūmōth*, 4 8). These—more correctly dark purple and green—were, according to Hehn (*op cit.* 96), the favourite varieties of ancient times, corresponding to the *neri* and *bianchi* of the present day. 'The latter (he adds) are the sweeter and therefore better adapted for drying: the former, of greater acidity, are eaten fresh.'

7. Dried figs. Figs dried in the same manner as raisins were termed *gĕrōgĕrōth* (sing. גְּרוֹגֶרֶת, see Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.*, with Fleischer's note, 436 *f.*).

As ἰσχάδες and *caricæ* they 'were certainly the most extensively used of all fruits' (Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Antiq.*, *s.v.* 'Cibaria,' 1150 *b*) among the Greeks and Romans. They were not less popular among the Jews, to judge from their frequent recurrence in the Mishna.

Although, as it happens, they are not mentioned in OT or NT, we *do* find mentioned an equally popular mode of preserving figs by pressing them into a cake (דבלה, *dĕbhēlāh*, παλάθη), which was allowed to harden and was thus easily transported. This method of treating figs was known in Egypt from very early times (Maspero, Dawn of *Civilisation*, 66). Two hundred fig-cakes formed part of Abigail's present to David (1 S. 25 18; cp 30 12), and, as we should expect, they formed part of a soldier's rations (1 Ch. 12 40). One such fig-cake Judith took with her to the camp of Holofernes (Judith 10 5, EV 'lumps of figs').

When round in shape the fig-cake was termed עִגּוּל (Mishna frequently), also כִּכַּר דְּבֵלָה (*Shĕbi'.* 1 2); when square מַלְבֵּן (see *Tĕrūm.* 4 8) from the name of the brick-shaped mould (cp 2 S. 12 31; Kr. Nah. 3 14). From the Mishna we learn further that the *dĕbhēlāh* or fig-cake was *so* hard as to require to be cut with an axe (*Shabb.* 17 2).

A slice cut off (פֶּלַח, in late Hebrew, קְצִיעָה) was given to a sick 'Egyptian' (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*) by David's men (1 S 30 12).

One interesting use of the fig (although scarcely falling under the head of food) remains to be mentioned —viz., the medicinal. Pliny has much to say regarding the medicinal properties of the fig (*HN* 23 63 *f.*), and in the OT we find Isaiah prescribing a lump or cake of figs (דְּבֶלֶת תְּאֵנִים, παλάθη [ἐκ] σύκων) as a poultice for Hezekiah's boil (Is. 38 21 = 2 K. 20 7).

Next of kin., though not in importance, to the fig (*Ficus carica*) is the frnit of the sycomore or fig-mulberry (*Ficus sycomorus*).

8. Sycomore. For the nomenclature in Hebrew and Greek, and for the process by which the fruit is rendered edible, see SYCOMORE (for illustrations of fruit and fruit instruments see Henslow, *The Plants of the Bible*, 89).

The fruit of the sycomore was formerly held in high esteem by the Egyptians. Hence its use in the service of the altar (see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, '78, 3 419, illustration, and especially Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kupros*, pl. 71). At the present day, on the other hand, 'it is only the poorest, as well as children and dogs, that eat the sycomore figs' (Henslow, *op. cit.* 91). By the Jews the tree was, like the carob tree, valued more for its wood than for its figs (see the proof from the Talmud quoted by Anderlind in his essay on the fruit trees of modern Syria, *ZDPV* 11 100), which are said to be 'insipid or woody' to the taste.

The allied sycamine (*Morus nigra*, Lk. 17 6; see SYCAMINE) is still cultivated everywhere for its delicious berries (Post, *Flora*, 729; *ZDPV* 11 81 *f.*) under the name of *tūt shāmi* (Heb. תּוּת, *Ma'ăśēr.* 1 2). Their juice is of a bright blood-red colour, the αἷμα μόρων (EV 'mulberries') of 1 Macc. 6 34, by the sight of which the elephants of Antiochus were provoked to fight.

Returning to the more important fruit trees, we meet first with the olive (זַיִת, see OLIVE for details of culture,

9. Olive. etc.), the chief economic value of which is indicated by the fuller name it sometimes receives in the OT, the oil olive (זֵית שֶׁמֶן, Dt. 8 8; cp 2 K. 18 32). See OIL. From the earliest times to the present day the 'olive berries' (Jas. 3 12, AV for ἐλαῖαι) were beyond all doubt an important article of diet, although, singularly enough, there is no biblical reference to their use.[1] The fruit was plucked by the hand—the method recommended by Roman writers on arboriculture (cp Pliny, *HN* 15 3)—from the lower branches at least (מָסַק,[2] hence מָסִיק, the olive harvest, *Chall.* 3 9), or the branches were shaken or beaten (חבט, Dt. 24 20 Is. 27 12), probably with a long wand (cp Pliny, 'harundine levi ictu'), care being taken not to injure the tree. Hence the 'beating of the olive trees' (נֹקֶף זית, *nōkeph zayith*, Is. 17 6 24 13) became synonymous with 'olive harvest.'

The Mishna distinguishes between olives of three sorts according to their destination (*Tĕrūm.* 18 *f.*)—viz., olives destined for the oil-press, olives for preserving, and olives for eating (cp 2 6, זֵיתֵי כֶּבֶשׁ and זֵיתֵי שֶׁמֶן). The last-named must always have been the exception. The poor man would no doubt be glad to have the berry, even in its natural state, to eat with his morsel of bread, or dipped in salt (*Ma'ăśēr.* 4 3). Such were probably the dry olives (זֵיתִים נְגוּבִים) of *Ṭeb. Yōm* 3 6. The usual way, however, as in all countries, and in all periods, was to lay the olives to soak in brine (מֵי זֵיתִים, *Miḳwā'ōth*, 7 2). For this purpose, at the present day, the brine is formed by adding salt to water till an egg can float on it (Anderlind *ZDPV* 11 72). The olives are left for a period of twenty to tdirty days (according to the native authority quoted by Landberg, *Prov. et Dict. etc.* 16), at the end of which time they are soft and palatable.

Another method, also still practised in Palestine, was first to crush the olives (פָּצַע, *Ter.* 10 7 *Ma'ăśēr.* 4 1, and often in Mishna; for the term cp Dt. 23 2[1]), then to place them in a jar and preserve by the addition of salt.[3] The berries seem to have been occasionally pickled—the technical term for which is כָּבַשׁ—with the leaves (*'Ūḳṣ.* 2 5). From these and many other passages in the Mishna we are well entitled to affirm that the use of olives as a relish to the poor man's bread, and as a table requisite for the rich, was as universal among the Hebrews as among the other peoples of antiquity.

The same remark holds good of the fruit of the palm tree. Judæa, according to the testimony of classical

10. Palm tree. writers (Horace, Pliny, Tacitus), was famous in the ancient world for its palm trees and its dates, yet, if we were to argue from the silence of the Bible, we should have to maintain that dates were never seen on a Jewish table. The word does not occur in EV. except once in the margin of AV as a mistaken alternative for honey (2 Ch. 31 5).

[1] In every passage of the OT where זַיִת signifies the fruit of the olive (as, *e.g.*, Mic. 6 15) the reference is to its oil-producing properties.

[2] See Buxtorf's *Lex. s.v.* for the later Hebrew *termini technici* for the gathering of the chief kinds of fruit.

[3] For further details of present-day methods, see the references given above to Landberg and Anderlind.

𝔊^BA also in one passage (2 S. 16 1 *f.*) gives φοίνικες, dates, as the rendering of קַיִץ, *ḳayiṣ*, usually rendered 'summer fruit' generally. Joel, however, ranks the palm with the vine and the fig among the fruit-trees of the land (1 12).[1] In this, as in similar cases, the later testimony of the Mishna must he admitted as throwing light on the habits and tastes of preceding centuries, although the abundance of other fruit prevented the date from assuming the same unique place in the dietary of the Hebrews as it had in that of the ancient Egyptians (Wilk. *op. cit.* 1 398 *f.*), and still has in that of the Bedouin of modern Arabia, who live for weeks at a time on dates and milk.

Still it is significant that in one passage of the Mishna three varieties of dates are mentioned as forbidden to be sold to the heathen, one of them the famous Nicolaus date, so named by Augustus after the friend of Herod, Nicolaus of Damascus, who, on the occasion of a visit to Rome, had presented the emperor with dates of this choice species (cp Pliny, *HN* 13 9). Pliny also connects with Palestine two other varieties, the *Caryotæ* and the *Chydæoi* (*ibid.*).

Dates (תְּמָרָה, תָּמָר; also דֶּקֶל, from which it has been proposed to derive *date* through δάκτυλος), like figs, were eaten either in their fresh state,[2] or dried in clusters (*Ṭĕb. Yōm* 3 6), or pressed in the form of cakes. To secure the fruit it is necessary to climb the tree and let down the clusters by a rope (see the description of the date-gathering at Teimā in Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 557 *f.*; cp Plin. 13 7). The dates were dried on the housetop, or on some other exposed flat surface such as the threshing-floor (Fleischer in Levy, *op. cit.* i. 437 *b*), the better sorts being used for dessert (cp Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3 15). According to Doughty, dates eaten alone as a meal are 'overheating and inwardly fretting' (*op. cit.* 1 148). Pressed date-cakes of great antiquity have been found in Egypt (see illustration, Wilk. 2 43), and they are still the most convenient form for export and for travellers. It has even been suggested that קַיִץ should be rendered 'date-cakes' in 2 S. 16 1 *f.* (Nowack, *HA* 1113).

The oriental practice of eating the sweet, juicy crown or 'cabbage' of the growing palm (τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος) is known to us from Xenophon (*Anab.* ii. 3 16), who was also aware that it meant the destruction of the tree. It was also known to the later Jews (Mishna, *'Ūḳṣ.* 3 7), whose rabbis were much exercised as to whether the 'cabbage' (*ḳōr*, *ḳōrā*, lip, קוֹרָא) should be classed as fruit or as vegetable (Löw, 116 *f.*). On the much-esteemed date-syrup see HONEY, § 1 (3). Dates were also one of the principal fruits from which wine and vinegar were prepared (see WINE).

The pomegranate (רִמּוֹן, ῥόα; for description of fruit see POMEGRANATE) remains to complete the choicest

11. Pomegranate. productions of Canaan (Dt. 8 8). The tree is represented in the tombs of Egypt (illustration therefrom, Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 1 376), and the Hebrews are said to have there enjoyed its fruit (Nu. 20 5). The pomegranate might be eaten in its natural state (cp Cant. 4 3: 'thy temples are like a piece [פֶּלַח, perhaps 'slice'; but see Wetzstein in Del. Comm. *in loc.*] of a pomegranate'), or it might he first cut up and dried in the sun (*Ma'ăśēr.* 1 6; see פֶּרֶד in Levy and the Tosephta quoted in Surenhusius *in loc.*; another interpretation [Maimonides] explains the word as the *seeds* of the pomegranate; so also Low, 363). The somewhat acid juice of the pomegranate mixed with water is a favourite cooling drink in the East. A species of 'sweet wine' (עָסִיס, νᾶμα ῥοῶν [BSA]) also was prepared from this fruit (Cant. 8 2); Pliny calls it 'rhoites' (*HN* 14 19).

With the pomegranate is associated, in Joel's list of fruit-trees (1 12), the much-debated *tappūăḥ* (תפוח), which is not improbably used somewhat loosely in the

[1] In Cant. 7 8 [7], אשכלות evidently means 'clusters of dates' (note the parallelism). RV, however, 'clusters of grapes' (cp Siegfried, *ad loc.*).

[2] For the special Hebrew names for the various kinds of dates (*e.g.*, רוֹטֵב, the fresh ripe date, כּוֹתֶבֶת, the dried date), see Löw, *op. cit.* 122-4.

OT to include the apple, quince, pomegranate, etc. (but cp APPLE).[1] As a fruit the *tappūăḥ* is spoken of as sweet to the taste (Cant. 2 3), as of a pleasant smell (7 8), and as a favourite restorative (2 5, 'comfort me with apples'). It was one of the commonest fruits in NT times (see Mishna *passim*). Besides its ordinary table use, the juice was used to mix and leaven dough (*Terum.* 10 2). Cider or apple-wine (יין תפוחים) was a favourite drink (*Nĕd.* 6 9 *Tĕrūm.* 11 2 *f.*). The quince (*Cydonia vulgaris*), which many authorities since Celsius have identified with the *tappūăḥ* of the Bible, was named פְּרִישׁ by the later Jews. It can scarcely have been eaten raw, like the apple, bnt only when made into a preserve. That it was so treated we know from an attempted etymology of the word in Talm. Jer. (see Levy, *s.v.*, and Low, 144). The name χρυσόμηλον for the quince (see Pliny, 15 10) suggests the 'golden apples' of the Hesperides (quinces according to Hehn), and the 'apples of gold in baskets of silver' of Prov. 25 11 (RV).[2] In several Talmudic lists of fruit trees, the quince follows the pear (*Pirus communis*. אַגָּס), many varieties of which were known to the ancients, and are still grown in the orchards of Syria (Post, *Flora*, 309). This fact notwithstanding, the Greek translators were mistaken in identifying the baca tree (בָּכָא; see MULBERRY TREE) with the pear tree (ἄπιος, 1 Ch. 14 14 [𝔊^BCA]), a mistake repeated in Vg. both in this passage and in 2 S. 5 23 *f.* (so also Aq. in *v.* 23; but Aq. Symm. in *v.* 24 φρούρησις). Pliny has mnch to say of the methods in vogue in his day for preserving apples and pears; both of these were sometimes boiled with wine and water to make a preserve to be eaten with bread (*pulmentarii vicem*), 'a preparation never made of any other fruit with the exception of quinces' (*NH* 15 17; cp 'Cibaria' in Dar. and Saglio, *op. cit.*).[3]

12. Apple, quince, pear, apricot, citron, etc.

The introduction of the citron (*Citrus medica cedra*, אֶתְרֹג), as of various other Eastern fruits, was one of the many results of Alexander's conquest of the East (see Hehn and Candolle, *opp. citt.*).

Our earliest witnesses to its cultivation among the Jews are perhaps the copper coins usually assigned to Simon the Maccabee (*circa* 138 B.C.), on which an *ethrōg* (citron) figures either alone or with other accompaniments of the solemn procession at the feast of Tabernacles (see TABERNACLES). In view of the uncertainty as to the real date of these coins, all the more importance attaches to the incident related by Josephus from the reign of Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B.C.). His angry subjects are said to have pelted him with their citrons (κιτρίοις, *Ant.* xiii. 135). The fruit is too sour ever to have been in request, except as a preserve. At the present day the pulp is never eaten in any shape (Post). From the Mishna (*Mĕʿīl.* 6 4) we learn that a citron or a pomegranate might be bought for a *pĕrūṭah* (the NT λεπτόν), an infinitesimal coin of which probably twenty to twenty-four were the equivalent of an English penny.

[1] Cp the use of μῆλον in Greek. It is still disputed, however, whether μῆλον had first this general and then the special application (apple)—so Hehn—or *vice versa*, as Hehn's latest editor suggests (*Kulturpflanzen*(6), 594 *f.*). For the same comprehensive use of *malum* see Pliny 15 11.

[2] Cheyne thinks the passage corrupt, hut believes that the true reading can he recovered (*JBL* 1899, pt. ii.; cp BASKETS). Assuming the phrase 'apples of gold'—*i.e.*, 'apples bright as gold'—to be correct, we must, at any rate, reject the claims of the orange to be the fruit referred to, since the orange did not reach Syria from India by way of Arabia till the middle ages. See especially Hehn, *op. cit.*, with the evidence of Mas'iidi, 430 *f.*; De Cand. *Orig.* 184; Wildeboer (in *HK*, 1897) has overlooked this.

[3] The apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) was unknown in Syria in Bible times, though to-day it enjoys the highest popularity in the East (see Wetzstein, *ZDMG* 11 517 *f.*, and, especially for modern preparations of the fruit, Anderlind, *ZDPV* 11 75 *ff.*). Few fruits, it is true, are so highly esteemed in the East to-day as the delicious *mishmush*; but the fact remains that the apricot was unknown even to the Jews of the second century A.D. Of its congeners, the peach (*Prunus persica*, פַּרְסְק; but cp Schür. *Hist.* 343) was known to the authorities of the Mishna (*Kil.* 1 4 *Maʿăsēr.* 1 2), the famous Syrian plum (*Prunus domestica*, דּוּרְמַסְקִינָא, δαμασκηνά, whence our 'damson'), on the other hand, only to those of the Gĕmārā (Löw, no. 105).

Many fruits of less importance were no douht as popular as at the present day, such as the fruit of the Christ-thorn (*Zizyphus spina-Christi*), which is eaten fresh or dried, with sour milk (Tristram), the service tree (*Sorbus domestica*), medlar (*Mespilus germanica*), hawthorn (*Cratægus*)—for references to which in later literature see Löw, *op.* tit.—not omitting the humble bramble[1] (*Rubus*). The nutritious properties of the bramble berries (עִנְבֵי הַסְּנֶה, Toseft. *Tĕr.* 1 14, the μόρα ἀπὸ τοῦ βάτου of Hippocrates; cp Lk. 644) are not overlooked by the encyclopædic Pliny, *HN* 24 73).

A very early list of 'the choice fruits' of the land of Canaan closes with 'nuts and almonds' (Gen. 43 11 [J] בָּטְנִים וּשְׁקֵדִים; 𝔊 has τερέβινθον τερ[έ]μινθον καὶ κάρυα [ADBFL] probably 'berries of the *Pistacia Terebinths* [so Hehn] and walnuts'). The *boṭnīm* of the original are now generally identified, since Bochart, with the nuts of the *Pistacia vera*, which are still, both fresh and roasted, a delicacy among all ranks in the East (cp Wetz. *ZDMG* 11 520). The 'garden of nuts' (אֱגוֹז) on the other hand, of which we read in Canticles (6 11), produced not pistachio nuts but walnuts.

13. Nuts and almonds.

These it was forbidden to crack (פָּצַע) with a hammer on the sabbath (*Shabb.* 17 2); nor was a merchant allowed to give such delicacies as parched corn and nuts to children 'because he might accustom them to come to him' (*Bābā Mĕṣ.* 4 12). Acorns and walnut shells were children's playthings (*Kēl.* 17 15). It has already been mentioned that certain Jewish prisoners at Rome lived on figs and walnuts (καρύοις) to avoid pollution from eating heathen food (Jos. *Vit.* 3). An excellent oil was (*Shabb.* 2 2), and still is, manufactured from the green nuts.

Of the almond we may say that the OT references (Gen. 43 11 Jer. 1 11 Nu. 17 8 [23] Eccles. 12 5) form successive links in a chronological chain of evidence for the familiarity of the Hebrews with this favourite fruit till we reach the writings of the Mishna.

Here we find two varieties distinguished, the bitter almonds and the sweet (*Maʿăśēr.* 14). Classical writers recommend that the sweet should he roasted, while 'bitter almonds in the whole of antiquity were supposed to prevent drunkenness if eaten before drinking' ('Cibaria, *op. cit.* 1155 b). The modern Syrians use almonds extensively, not only as a dessert fruit but also in the preparation of a great variety of toothsome confections (see Landberg, *Prov. et Dict. etc.* 123-126, for a list of modern confections into most of which almonds and nuts enter).

The Carob or locust tree is said to be indigenous in Palestine, and yet we have in the Bible but a single incidental mention of its fruit (Lk. 15 16; see, however, HUSKS). The carob tree, however, is frequently named in the Mishna. As food trees to which the law of the 'corner' (פאה, *pĕʾāh*; see Lev. 19 9 *f.*) applies we find enumerated 'the Og-tree (אוג, see below), carob trees, walnut trees, almond trees, vines, pomegranates, olives, and palms' (*Pĕʾāh* 1 4 *f.*). The carob tree was also among the trees whose fruit had to be tithed (*Maʿăśēr.* 1 3), and was accepted and presumably eaten hy the priests as part of the 'heave-offering' (*Tĕrūm.* 11 4). Although we further hear of the pods being preserved in wine (*Shĕbīʿ.* 7 7), which points to their fairly general use as an article of diet, their great abundance and consequent cheapness made them a special food of the poor. It is only those of the cultivated species that are edible by man.

14. The Carob.

The Og-tree above mentioned is the sumach (*Rhus coraria*), still common in Syria, not, as some have thought, the cornel, whose habitat is too far to the N. (cp Post, *Flora*, 377 *f.*). The red (*Maʿăśēr.* 1 2) berries of the sumach are said to make an excellent acid drink. By the Jews they were probably used chiefly as a condiment (cp ῥοῦς ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄψα, Dioscor. 1 147) like the berries of the myrtle (בְּנוֹת הֲדַס). These, we learn

[1] The *rubus* in later Hebrew is סְנֶה (cp BUSH, § 1 [1]); the אָטָד (EV 'bramble,' RVmg. 'thorn') of Jotham's fable is the *Rhamnus* or buckthorn (cp BRAMBLE 1). A singular ignorance of the history of plants is betrayed by Gratz in his attempt (*MGWJ* 21 390) to identify the *ʾāṭād* with the *Opuntia ficus indica*, the Indian fig or prickly pear (which now forms so conspicuous a feature of an Eastern landscape), whose 'figs hold a place almost second to none in the summer dietary of the Syrian peasant.' This species of cactus is a comparatively recent importation from America.

from Pliny (15 35), were largely employed as a seasoning before the introduction of pepper (cp FOOD, § 7). Myrtle berries are still a favourite delicacy of Syrian ladies (Wetz. *ZDMG* 11 480 524). A similar pnrpose was served by the CAPER BERRY (אֲבִיּוֹנָה, Eccles. 12 5 RV), the young berries of which are still used as a condiment in Syria. On the *dūdāīm* see MANDRAKES.

A. R. S. K.

FRYING PAN (מַרְחֶשֶׁת) Lev. 2 7. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 7.

FUEL ([אֵשׁ] מַאֲכֹלֶת, Is. 9 5 19; אָכְלָה, Ezek. 15 4 6 21 32 [37]). See COAL, § 2.

FULLER (מְכַבֵּם, lit. 'treader'[1] [πλυνων, BℵAQΓ] Mal. 3 2; γναφευς Mk. 9 3). In the preparation of woven woollen materials there are two processes, both of which are now termed 'fulling' (from the Low Lat. *fullare*); probably at one time a common operation sufficed for both. The primary sense is to cleanse or bleach, and this is undoubtedly the sense in Mk. 9 3. The secondary is to mill or felt the wool together in such a way as to minimise shrinkage in the finished article. This is done by heating or stamping the woven fabric in hot water. Cp LYE, NITRE, SOAP.

The Fuller's **field** (שְׂדֵה כוֹבֵם, ἀγρὸς τ. γναφέως [BAL], *ager fullonis*) is mentioned only in defining the locality of the conduit of the upper pool. Its exact position is obscure. Stade (*GVI* 1 592 *f.*) suggests that it lay to the SE. of Jerusalem. From Is. 36 2 (= 2 K. 18 17) it would appear to have been situated on the road to Lachish, whereas in Is. 7 3 a N. or NW. position is looked for. At all events it must have been near the wall (36 11); see JERUSALEM, The 'fuller's monument' (τὸ τοῦ γναφέως μνῆμα) with which it has been associated, lay near the NE. corner of the third wall (Jos. *BJ* v. 4 2).

It is perhaps an objection to the usual rendering of the name that elsewhere the Piel form of כבם is regularly met with, the Kal particip. כֹּבֵם finding its only analogy in the Punic כבם a washer(man). For another supposed resort of fullers, see EN-ROGEL.

A. E. S.-S. A. C.

FURLONG (σταδιον), Mt. 14 24, etc. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FURNACE. Of the words enumerated below, nos. 1-4 are names for smelting furnaces, though no. 3, if a genuine word, rather means 'crucible.' All except no. 3 are rendering by κάμινος, which is also used in Ecclus. 38 28 Rev. 1 15 of the smelting furnace, and in Ecclus. 27 5 and 38 30 of that of the potter.[2] Κάμινος 'furnace' in Mt. 13 42 50 is a symbolic term for Gehenna, which was imagined as a fiery furnace, on the ground that, according to Is. 31 9, God had 'a furnace in Jerusalem' (*'Ērūbīn* 19 *a*), cp TOPHET; ESCHATOLOGY, § 70, 3 [v]. In Dan. 3 a 'fiery furnace' is mentioned as used for the punishment of great offenders, and 'roasting in the fire' is the anticipated punishment of two Jews in the Babylonian period (Jer. 29 21-23). That this was a Babylonian practice is undeniable (see, *e.g.*, Smith, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, **163**; cp AHAB, 2). It has also been reported as found in Persia down to the seventeenth century (Chardin).

1. Hebrew terms.

1. כִּבְשָׁן, *kibšān*, √כָּבַשׁ, *to subdue*; κάμινος [καμιναία] *fornax*; Gen. 19 28 Ex. 9 8 10 19 18†. See METALLURGY, and cp POTTERY; NIBSHAN. Allusions to the smelting furnace or brick-kiln (κάμινος) are found also in Ecclus. 2 5 22 24 27 5 31 26 38 28 30 43 4; see also Wisd. 3 6 (χωνευτήριον).

2. כּוּר, *kūr*, derivation uncertain; κάμινος, *fornax*; Dt. 4 20 1 K. 8 51 [here χωνευτήριον], Prov. 17 3 27 21 [here πύρωσις], Is. 48 10 ('the furnace of affliction [עֳנִי]; text doubtful), Jer. 11 4 Ezek. 22 18 (𝔊 om.) 20 22; also Ecclus. 43 4 (Heb. difficult). כּוּר is also to be read, perhaps, in Is. 1 25 (בַּכֻּר for כַּבֹּר: Lowth, etc.)

3. עֲלִיל, *'ălīl*; δοκίμιον; Tg. כוּרָא; Ps. 12 7 [6]. The older critics think that עליל may possibly mean 'crucible'; 𝔊 gives δοκίμιον in Prov. 27 21 for מַצְרֵף. The phrase, however, in which עליל occurs is plainly corrupt. It becomes in Che. *Ps.*(2), 'in the toils of the wicked'; if this is so, the phrase must have got in from the margin, where it was placed by a corrector, with reference to v. 6 [7]. See SILVER.

4. אַתּוּן, *'attūn*, probably an ancient loan-word; Ass. *atûnu*, *utûnu* (see Del. Ass. *HWB* 158 *b*; Muss-Arn. 131 *b*); cp Syr. Ar. Ethiop.; κάμινος, *fornax*; Dan. 3 6 11 15 17 19-21 23 26†. See METALLURGY.

5. תַּנּוּר, *tannūr*, Ass. *tinûru* (Del. Ass. *HWB* 711 *t*); κλίβανος, *clibanus*; rendered 'furnace' in Gen. 15 17 and Is. 31 9; also in the expression 'tower of the furnaces' in Neh. 3 11 12 38 [ναθουρειμ (BℵA), θαννουρειμ (AL), θεννουριμ (ℵ$^{c.a}$) θανουρειμ (L in 12 38)].

2. The tannūr.

The last term (*tannūr*) is much more frequently rendered 'oven.' *Tannūr* is in fact the special term for a baking-oven. In Mal. 4 1 [3 19] Ps. 21 9 [10] RV has sought to give dignity to the figure by changing 'oven' into 'furnace.' This is done quite needlessly, even in Ps. 21 9 [10], where one is glad to hope that the emended text which makes 'thorns of the wilderness' the objects burned in the *tannūr*, not human beings, may be right.[1] In Is. 31 9 EV's rendering 'furnace,' though more dignified, is less accurate than 'oven.' The passage is probably not Isaiah's work (see Che. *Intr. Is.* 204), and is based on Gen. 15 17, where the divine appearance is likened to a smoking oven and a flaming torch. The oven intended is the ordinary baker's oven, for a description of which see BREAD, § 2 (c). Such ovens have been found at Tell el-Hesy, with sides baked hard, showing use (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 114 *f.*). Modern Syrians still use the same primitive kind of oven.

From the phrase 'the tower of furnaces' (Neh. 3 11 12 38) it has been supposed that a number of public furnaces stood together near one of the towers of Jerusalem. It is possible, however (ני or נו are often confounded with ם), that מגדל התנורים is a very early corruption of מ׳ תְּמָרִים, 'tower of the palm trees' (Che.): even now 'several fine and ancient [palm-] trees still wave among the buildings of Jerusalem within the walls' (Tristram, *NHB* 383). Cp also Neh. 8 15 Jn. 12 13.

FURNITURE, CAMEL'S (כַּר־הַגָּמָל), Gen. 31 34. See CAMEL, § 2.

1 'Fuller' comes ultimately from Lat. *fullo*. The true Eng. term is 'walker' (also in Germ.), for which cp Wyclif, Mk. 9 3: 'a fullere or walkere of cloth.

2 For the Egyptian potter's furnace see illustration in Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 108.

1 Thou wilt make them as [thorns of the wilderness
In] a heated oven at the time of their punishment.
(Che. *Ps.*(2)).

G

GAAL (גַּעַל, 'dung-beetle'? — § 68; cp Ar. *ju'al* [Wellh.]; ΓΑΛΑΑΔ [BA; A has also ΓΑΑΔ constantly, and once in *v.* 36 ΓΑΔ]; ΓΑΑΛ [L]; Jos. ΓΥΑΛΗΣ, and other forms), an early demagogue with a striking story (Judg. 9 26-41). To understand the rôle he played we must seek to determine the vexed question whether he was an Israelite or a Canaanite. Those who adopt the view that he was an Israelite appeal (1) to the name of his father (Judg. 9 26), (2) to the speech assigned to him in Judg. 9 28 (γααδ [BA]).

1. Nationality.

1. It is true, Gaal is described in MT as 'son of Ebed', but in 𝔊B he appears as υἱὸς Ιωβηλ, and Kuenen (*Ond.* 1 r g n. 5) Stade (*GVI* 1 194), Budde (*Ri.* 117), Kittel (*Gesch.* 2 77),[1] and W. R. Smith (*Th.T* 1886, p. 197) identify this 'Jobel' with 'Jobaal' (יובעל), a possible Israelitish name meaning 'Yahwè is Baal.' According to these scholars 'Jobaal' is the correct name of Gaal's father, which was altered contemptuously into 'Ebed' (slave) out of repugnance to the divine name 'Baal' (cp Ishbosheth for Ishbaal). This theory, however, though widely accepted of late, is certainly erroneous;[2] Ιωβηλ, as Moore has abundantly proved, is simply עובד (Obed), a synonym of עבד (Ebed), and Obed or Ebed is a shortened theophorous name—*i.e.*, the second and omitted part of the name which began with Obed or Ebed was that of a god.

2. As to Judg. 9 28, it is no doubt a difficult passage, but so much is clear that Robertson Smith's view of it as 'a Hebrew declaration of revolt against the king of Shechem (9 6), who for three years has by the aid of his mercenaries tyrannised over Israel (9 22),' is opposed to the context. Unless (with this scholar) we transfer *v.* 28 *f.* elsewhere (viz. to a place after *v.* 22), it is undeniable that Gaal identifies himself with the Shechemites, and appeals to their pride of race against the half-Israelite king Abimelech, who maintains himself on the throne (as appears from 9 55) by Israelitish warriors. A demagogue who talks thus cannot possibly be an Israelite.

It is almost equally important to recognise that the account of the doings of Gaal in *vv.* 26-29 stands in no connection with *vv.* 22 (23)-25. It is not the organised brigandage set on foot by the Shechemites that tempts Gaal (as We, represents) to place himself and his kinsmen at the service of the Shechemites. The sequel of *vv.* 22 (23)-25 is to be sought in *vv.* 42-45, whilst in *vv.* 26-41 we have an independent, parallel account of the hostilities between Abimelech and the Shechemites which issued in the victory of the former. It is a writer symbolized by J who has preserved the tradition of Gaal's short-lived greatness; the other account may be assigned to E (Moore, Bu.). The occasion which the newly-arrived Gaal seized to make his fortune was the annual vintage-festival (27*a*), or, as another report says, a solemn sacrificial meal[3] in the 'house of their god' (see BAAL-BERITH). The temper of the people was already hostile to Abimelech. After cleverly stirring up race-prejudices[4] he came boldly to the point and proposed himself as the leader of a Shechemite revolt (9 28 *f.*). This part of the narrative is an admirable specimen of the traditional Hebrew folk-stories. The festival scene has been justly praised by Robertson Smith (*l.c.*); but the scene between Gaal and Zebul (*vv.* 36-38) is hardly less striking. For the issue of Gaal's attempt, see ABIMELECH. 2. T. K. C.

2. Story.

GAASH, THE HILL OF (הַר־גָּעַשׁ), in the hill-country of Ephraim, had TIMNATH-HERES (*q.v.*), the burial-place of Joshua, on its northern slope or at its northern base; Josh. 24 30 (ΤΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ [ΤΟΥ] ΓΑΛΑΑΔ [BL], Τ. Ο. ΓΑΑΣ [A]), Judg. 2 9 (Τ. Ο. ΓΑΑΣ [BAL]). 'The brooks [or 'wadies'] of Gaash' are also alluded to in 2 S. 23 30 (απο χειμαρρων γαδ [B], εκ ναaλεας [A], ο ἐξ νεχαβαι ταλσ[αβιης], L), and 1 Ch. 11 32 (εκ ναχαλει γαας [B], εκ ναχαλη y. [A], απο ναχαλι y. [L]; see HURAI), and may perhaps be found to furnish a clue for deciding between the claims of *Tibneh* and *Ḥāris* respectively to represent Timnath-heres.

[1] Note, however, the qualification in ET (*Hist.* 286).

[2] Wellhausen, who argued for it in 1871 (*TBS* p. xiii.), has now abandoned it (*IJG* (1) 26 ['94]). Hothenberg (*TLZ*, 1891, p. 371), Moore, and Budde (commentary differs from *Ri.-Sa.* 117) adopt the form Obed, which is found in some MSS (30, 56; cp 63 [σ]ωβηδ), and (see above) is probably 𝔊's true reading. A and other MSS, quoted fully by Moore, give αβεδ. For the prefixed ι in ιωβηλ, cp 1 Ch. 2 12 37 *f.* 26 7, 2 Ch. 23 1, where 𝔊B has ωβηδ, 𝔊A ιωβηδ.

[3] Namely, that in which Gaal was admitted to full religious rights as a Shechemite (Budde, *Ri.* 75).

[4] See ABIMELECH, 2; but cp We. *CH* (2) 353, n. 2; *IJG* (1) 27.

GABA (גֶּבַע), Josh. 18 24, Ezra 2 26, Neh. 7 30 AV, RV GEBA.

GABAEL (ΓΑΒΑΗΛ[ΟΣ] [BℵA], also ΓΑΜ. [A];—*i.e.*, perhaps גבאאל, 'God has chosen out' (see NAMES, § 27).

1. The great-great-grandfather of Tobit (Tob. 1 1).

2. (Γαβαηλω [BℵA], -βηλω [ℵ*, 1 14], γαμα. [A, 4 20]) brother of Gabrias, the Jew of Rages to whom Tobit lent his money (Tob. 1 14 4 20).

GABATHA (ΓΑΒΑΘΑ [BKALB]), Esth. 121. See BIGTHAN.

GABBAI, SALLAI (גַּבַּי סַלָּי), the name (in spite of the comma after Gabbai) of a Beujamite clan among the inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*] § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 8 (γηβη σηλει [B], γηβεει ς. [A], γηβεις ηλει [ℵ; ? γηβει σηλει, so HR Conc.], ιεβουε σηλεει [L]). In 1 Ch. 9 8 the corresponding name is IBNEIAH (יבניה), no doubt the more authentic reading of Gabbai. It is conjectured that SALLAI came into the text from the margin, where SALLU (*v.* 7) had been written to explain the word ואחריו ('and after him').

GABBATHA (ΓΑΒΒΑΘΑ [Ti. WH], the 'Hebrew' equivalent of ΛΙΘΟΣΤΡΩΤΟΣ in Jn. 19 13) is the Greek transcription of the Aram. גַּבְּתָא (emph. st. of גַּבָּא 'height, hack, ridge'; cp Kautzsch, *Aram. Gram.* 8 n. 2, 10).[1]

A similar Heb. word גַּבָּה is doubtless to be read instead of the difficult גַּבָּה 'height' in Ezek. 41 8 (so Davidson, Kautzsch, Bertholet; cp RV 'basement'), see PAVEMENT.

GABBE (ΓΑΒΒΗΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 20 RV, AV **Gabdes** = Ezra 2 26 GEBA.

GABRIAS (ΓΑΒΡ[Ε]ΙΑ [BA] ΓΑΒΡΕΙ [ℵ]—*i.e.*, גַּבְרִיָּה 'man of Yahwè'), brother of Gabael [2], Tob. 1 14 4 20.

GABRIEL (גַּבְרִיאֵל—*i.e.*, man of God, ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ [87 and BAQΓ Theod.; Ti. WH]) is the name of the angel who was sent to Daniel to explain the vision of the ram and the he-goat, and to communicate the prediction of the Seventy Weeks (Dan. 8 16 9 21). He was also employed to announce the birth of John the Baptist to Zechariah, and that of the Messiah to the Virgin Mary (Lk. 1 19 26). Both Jewish and Christian writers generally speak of him as an archangel—a habit which is readily accounted for when Lk. 1 19 is compared with Rev. 82, and also with Tobit 1215. In Enoch (see Charles, *Enoch*, notes on chap. 40) he is spoken of as one of the archangels; his task is that of intercession, and he is set over 'all the powers.'

His name frequently occurs in the Jewish literature of the later post-biblical period. Thus, according to Targ. Ps.-Jon., the man who showed the way to Joseph (Gen. 37 15) was no other than Gabriel in human form; and in Dt. 34 6 it is affirmed that he, along with Michael, Uriel, Jophiel, Jephephiah, and the Metatron, buried the body of Moses. In the Targum on 2 Ch. 32 21 he is named as the angel who destroyed the host of Sennacherib; and in similar writings of a still later period he is spoken of as the spirit who presides over fire, thunder, the ripening of the fruits of the earth, and similar processes. See ANGEL, § 4, n. W. R. S.

[1] According to Bar-Hebraeus γαββαθα is from ܓܦܦܬܐ, the Syr. ܦ being equivalent to the Gk. β). See Duval *Syr. Gram.* 22, n. 3, 30.

GAD

1. Name. Gad (גָּד, ΓΑΔ)[1] was a name borne by inhabitants of eastern Palestine. In 1 S. 13 7, indeed, we read of the '*land* of Gad' (ארץ גד); but neither this nor the phrase 'men of Gad' in the inscription of Mesha (line 10) need imply that Gad is a geographical name like Ephraim.

'Land of Gad,' if the text is sound,[2] is most naturally explained on the analogy of 'land of Naphtali' (1 K. 15 20), 'the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali' (Is. 9 1 [8 23]),[3] and the recurrent 'land of Israel' (2 K. 5 2, etc.), just as 'land of Aṭaroth' in the inscription of Mesha (*l.c.*), doubtless means the land controlled by Aṭaroth, which 'the king of Israel had [re]built for himself.'

Similarly the phrase 'men of Gad' (אש גד; see below), although it might no doubt be interpreted on the analogy of 'men of [the town] ŠRN,' and 'men of [the town] MHRTh' (lines 13 *f.*) and of 'men of Jabesh' (1 S. 11 9), may be explained just as well otherwise.

We might compare 'people of Chemosh' (עם כמוש) and 'his sons' (Nu. 21 29 ‖ Jer. 48 46) and suppose that Moab was, in the 9th century, still conscious that 'Gad' was abbreviated from some such phrase as 'sons of Gad'[4] (cp ISSACHAR, §§ 3, 6, and see below). It is more probable, however, that we should follow the analogy of the frequent OT expression 'men of Israel'[5] (1 S. 13 6 etc.).

Gad is therefore, probably, a people, not a district. The name of the district may have been Gilead, with which Gad is sometimes confused (see next paragraph, and col. 1580 note 4, and cp GILEAD).

EV speaks once (2 S. 24 5) of a *wddy* (נחל; AV 'river,' RV 'valley') of Gad; but 𝔊L confirms Wellhausen's restoration: '. . . in the midst of the *wddy* to Gad [𝔊L 'the Gadite'] . . .' The only question is whether 'Gad' does not represent an original 'Gilead' (cp *v.* 6*a*).

Popular etymology as usual supplied the name Gad with several explanations. According to one version, it contained a reference to bands of freebooters: in the 'blessing' of Jacob, as we have it (Gen. 49 19),

> Gad—raiders [*gĕdūd*] raid [*yĕgūdénnu*] him
> But he raids [*yāgūd*] their rear,[6]

the people might think of the bands of Jephthah. According to another version the accession of Gad to the ranks of the Leah tribes was a piece of 'good fortune' (Gen. 30 11, J).

So RV rightly, following 𝔊ADE [7] (ἐν τύχῃ). Holzinger wisely rejects Ball's theory that we should render 'by the help of [the god] Gad'; although the tribal name is no doubt in fact dependent on the divine name (see below): it was, probably, the possibility of this reading that led MT, Targum Onkelos, Aq. (ἦλθεν ἡ ζῶσις), Symm. (ἦ. Γαδ) and Peshiṭta to read בָּא 'there has come,'[8] for בְּ 'with.'

The fact is, Gad bears the same relation to Gaddiel (Nu. 13 10) that Dan does to Daniel. Alongside of Gaddiel, we find the abbreviated form Gaddi (as a Manassite, in the same list of 'spies'; *v.* 11), and, strange to say, the still more abbreviated form Gad (next art.).[9] The gentilic would naturally be גַּדִּי, 'Gaddite.' The Massoretic form גָּדִי, EV **Gadite,** is doubtless a late euphemistic device (cp above). 𝔊 has preserved the correct form (γαδδ[ε]ι [BKAF]; but γαδ Deut. 3 15 [B*AF], 1 Ch. 5 18 [B], 12 8 [A]).

Other readings in 𝔊 are: γαδ [L; except 2 K. 15 14, 1 Ch. 5 26, γαδδι; and 2 S. 23 36, αγηρει], γαλααδδει [B, 2 S. 23 36; A, 2 K. 10 33], γεδδει [B, 1 Ch. 12 8, γαλλει [Avid. 2 K. 15 17], γαδδειν [א 1 Ch. 12 37], A, 2 K. 15 41. Peshiṭta has ܓܕ like 𝔊L, or (twice)[1] ܓܕܐ.

In the inscription of Mesha (*l.* 10) the expression used is אש גד, 'men of Gad' (see above).

The evidence, lacking in the case of DAN[2] [*q.v.* 1], that the tribe-name was a divine title is conclusive (see FORTUNE). In Gilead, indeed, beyond the tribe-name the worship of the god Gad seems to have left no trace; but he was honoured in the farthest N. (BAAL-GAD) and in the S. (MIGDAL-GAD) of West Palestine (see also AZGAD), and, at a later date, in the central highlands (cp FORTUNE).

2. Connected with Aram? As Gad is known to us best as an Aramaean deity (cp Baethgen, *Beitr.* 76 *ff.*; but see also We. *Ar. Heid.*(2), 146 and PHŒNICIA), it is natural to inquire whether there is anything to suggest that the Gadites were Aramæan.

The name of a prominent figure in the East Palestinian episode in the reign of David suggests that its bearer was Aramæan (see BARZILLAI),[3] and later there were others in Gilead who bore the same name; Gaddiel, also, occurs as an Ar.-Ass. name (גדאל); and, as we shall see (§ 9), East Jordan came more and more under Aramæan influence. Did the imperious Aramæan, then, impose his deity on the people of Gilead? It is a fact that our earliest reference to East Palestine has nothing to say of Gad: it was 'Gilead'[4] that abode beyond Jordan (Judg. 5 17), and the same peculiarity is to be noticed in the story (or stones) of Jephthah. Further, the genealogical system followed by J and E made Gad a son of Zilpah, which has been supposed to be Aramaean (see, however, ZILPAH).

That Gad was of a stock somewhat different from Joseph is likely enough; this seems to be true of its 'brother' tribe in the highlands of Galilee (see ASHER i., § 1).

Whatever may have been the affinities of Asher, however, it can hardly have been Aramaean. The linking together of the two tribes may have to be explained otherwise. Asher and Gad are deities of Good Fortune. It may be that the grouping of the tribes under a common name is a memorial of the worship of those related deities (see ZILPAH). The trihal name Manasseh is perhaps a parallel to this; Siegfried has ingeniously explained Manasseh as a memorial of the worship of Meni (Is. 65 11), a deity akin to Gad (see MANASSEH). If the Song of Deborah as we have it has been changed (as some have argued) to suit later views about Yahwè, may the objectionable tribe-names Gad and Manasseh have been suppressed (in Judg. 5 14 'Machir apparently takes the place of Manasseh)?[5] Asher might escape the censure for some reason unknown to us. It is at least a plausible conjecture, however, that the explanation of the variety of nomenclature is to be found in the exceedingly mixed character of the population of Gilead.

When the Gileadites began to ask themselves whence they came, they would not unnaturally think of the Aramaean districts towards the north. The northern Aramaic, we know, was much nearer to Hebrew than it became later (cp ARAMAIC, § 2, begin.). There were constant dealings with the Aramaeans; and there was no physical barrier to be an obstacle. In fact, one of the most important features of the history of Syria in general, during the centuries that elapsed from the time when Israel began to become a nation to the time when it finally lost its independence, is the advance southwards of the Aramaeans.

Accordingly we find traditions of the kind just suggested. At the important sanctuary (and fortress) of MAHANAIM[6] it seems to have heen told that the divine host, from the alighting of which the place had received its name, met the immigrating Jacobites after they had severed themselves from the Aramaeans (Gen. 32 1 *f.*, E). Elsewhere also there were places that did honour to the immigrant Jacob (see SUCCOTH, PENUEL, and especially RAMOTH-GILEAD).

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1 For the gentilic see below (§ 1).
2 'Gad' and 'Gilead' may be mere variants, the original having heen simply 'the land of Gilead.'
3 On 'land of Benjamin' see BENJAMIN, § 1.
4 בני גד; thirteen times in Nu., fifteen times in Josh.; also 1 Ch. 5 11 12 14.
5 Compare the parallel phrase 'men of Judah' in 2 S. 19 17 and other early passages (also in the post-exilic insertion 1 S. 11 8). See Moore on Judg. 7 14.
6 C. J. Ball, *PSBA* 17 171 ('95).
7 𝔊L probably differs only apparently: εὐτύχηκα καί is doubtless a miswritten ἐν τύχῃ καί, not a rendering (as Holzinger thinks) of בגדי.
8 *Ber. rabb.* sect. 71 explains: בא מי שעתיד לגדר משתיתן של אומות, which, it says, refers to Elijah.
9 Manasseh is the only other tribe-name said to have heen borne by an individual in pre-exilic times.

1 1 Ch. 5 26 and 12 8. 2 Cp Kuenen, *Th.T* 5 291.
3 On his son's name see CHIMHAM.
4 Unless we should read 'Gad' for Gilead; cp 2 S. 23 36 [B], 2 K. 10 33 [A]. The whole clause is commonplace and hot beyond suspicion (cp C. Niebuhr, *Gesch.* 254).
5 In the Chronicler's list of David's tribe rulers (1 Ch. 27 16 *ff.*) Gad and Asher are selected for omission to make way for two half-Manassehs and Levi; so, in Ezek. 48, Gad to make room for Levi. Cp also ISSACHAR, § 3.
6 Perhaps 'Ajlūn; but it has been suggested that there may have been more than one trans-Jordanic Mahanaim. See MAHANAIM.

It must be remembered, however, that the relations of Israel as a political power with Aram were unfriendly (below, § 9), and the Jacob-story is evidently influenced by later events. We have no more reason *to* expect to find a genuine tradition of the settlement of the various tribes and clans in Gilead than of settlements elsewhere. Indeed, everything in Gilead was so unstable that memory would more probably go back an exceptionally short distance.

It was well known that the people living in Gilead were of diverse origin. Whether any considerable element in the population was recognised as being Amorite (see below, § 11) or Rephaite[1] we cannot tell. It is clear.

3. Mixed Population.

however, that people were distinctly conscious of a Reubenite strand (Judg. 5 15 *f.*). How far the Reubenites were settled in any one portion, or were represented by families here and there (so, perhaps, the writer of Nu. 32 34-38),[2] or were nomadic shepherd clans, is uncertain (see REUBEN) : naturally the conditions changed.[3]

We must turn now to extra-biblical sources. Unfortunately we cannot hope for much light. The Egyptian expeditions aimed at Lebanon and the N., which did not naturally take them into Gilead. It would seem, indeed, that as early as the time of Thotmes 111. they were not unacquainted with the country N. of the Yarmūk, if no. 28 ('A-si-ti-ra-ty) in the Rṯnu list is Tell ʿAshterā (ASHTAROTH), and no. 91 ('O-ta-ra-'a) is EDREI ;[4] Flinders Petrie has even conjectured that the same list names two places farther S., in ʿAjlūn,[5] where also W. M. Muller places no. 16, Ḥamāt. Of the inhabitants, however, this (were it certain) would tell nothing. On the other hand, three or four generations later, if letter 161 of the Amarna collection tells us nothing more than that Artamanya ruler of Zir-Bašan (Zi-ri-ba-ša-ni : a trans-Jordanic place?) professed readiness to be loyal to the Egyptian arms, another letter (*KB* 5 145) in the same collection tells the Pharaoh of that time that one of his caravans (?) has been led by the writer to Buṣruna (BOZRAH ?), whose king, along with the king of Ḫalunni,[6] is accused by the writer of letter 142 of being in league with Biridašya, a ruler who had handed over Aštarti[7] (ASHTAROTH) to the SA.GAS. Habiri, therefore, if we may identify SA.GAS and Habiri, were already getting a hold in the district where a late Hebrew story told of the fate of Og, seizing his very city. Farther S., in Gilead proper, of which we hear nothing, they may have been already present in force.[8]

4. Egyptian evidence.

We should have evidence that the condition of things implied in letter 145 was still present in the time of Amenhotep IV. if we could accept the conjecture of Flinders Petrie ahout the letter (no. 11) in which that Pharaoh is requested by a Babylonian king (Burnaburiaš) to make reparation for the plundering of a caravan, on the ground that the Pharaoh is suzerain. Petrie proposes to identify Hinnatuni in Kinaḫḫi (cp HANNATHON), where the attack was made, with Ḳanawāt (KENATH) in Ḥaurān. However that may be, letter 196 (l. 32) suggests that Egyptian authority at Hinnatuni was weak.

By Seti I., however, of dyn. 19, Egyptian authority was reasserted in Palestine; and in the time of Ram(e)ses II. it was so far effective over East Palestine that civilians could erect monuments with hieroglyphic inscriptions (the 'stone of Job' at esh-Sheikh Sa'd : the reff. are given in col. 1241, n. 1). There is no evidence, however, that his son Me[r]neptaḥ made his power felt E. of the Jordan, and Egypt disappeared below the horizon for more than two centuries (see below, § 6).

5. Character of land.

Of the state of things just described we could not have guessed from what has survived of the East Palestinian traditions. Their confused and fragmentary character is an inevitable consequence, as we have already hinted (J 2, end), of the physical conditions of life in the uplands E. of Jordan.

6. Insecurity.

No doubt it was a goodly land to live in. Writers have vied with one another in praising its well-wooded hills and valleys green with corn (cp GILEAD). Its streams, too, call forth general admiration, the Yarmiik especially, which is as large as the Jordan which it joins, and which may (see JABBOK) once have played an important part in Hebrew legend. There was one blessing, however, that it lacked — security. Its uplands were in direct contact with the eastern desert. From year to year, from century to century, from millennium *to* millennium, the desert of North Arabia has driven its waves of hungry nomads westwards as a devastating flood. So it has been, and *so* it must be till some strong hand intervenes to bid the flood hold back. It is probably only because the centre of observation lay W. in Ephraim that we do not bear more about the endless conflicts with nomadic tribes ; what we read in Judg. 6 *ff.* (incursions of Midianites)[1] owes its preservation to its connection with an Ephraimite tale.[2]

According to MT there was a place called Kamon that boasted of containing the remains of one of the ancient heroes (JAIR ; see, however, CAMON). The Chronicler (1 Ch. 5 19) at any rate preserves the names of desert tribes that must have contributed, at one time or another, to the general unrest (see HAGAR, § 2, ISHMAEL, § 4 [7]).

There was not wanting, however, another source of unrest — the danger of invasion by other tribes settled in the east. It is true, invasion might come even from the west. In proof of this see JEPHTHAH, J 5, and note Shishak's claim to have included in the sweep of his incursion trans-Jordanic cities such as Mahanaim (no. 22 : Ma-ha-n-ma) and Penuel[3] (no. 53 : Pe-nu-'a-ru) ; see SHISHAK. These, however, were isolated events. Gad usually looked to the west for fruits of peace.

What people is referred to in the stories of Jephthah and Jair is not clear (see JEPHTHAH, where it is suggested that the people lived in Ḥaurān) ; but we know of three enemies that gave little rest.

7. From Ammon.

(i.) Whether the inroads of the Ammonites began with the time of Saul we do not know certainly. The legend about the relationship of Ammon (Moab) and Israel may he late (see LOT). The measures taken by DAVID (§ 8, *a*) must have given Gad some relief ; but there is no evidence that the relations with Ammon established by him continued long ; and it is not clear what they were.

Winckler thinks (*GI* 1 214) that Shobi (2 S. 17 27) was a king of Ammon appointed by David. Its king Ba'sa, however, is mentioned by Shalmaneser II. (*COT* 1 127) as a vassal of Bir'idri of Damascus. Indeed, he seems to have been an Aramæan from Beth-rehob (Wi. 1 214). Ammon probably remained dependent on Aram for long. Ultimately the place of Aram was taken by Assyria. Winckler therefore suggests that the attacks on Gilead, also subject to Arani, complained of by Amos (1 13-15) were instigated, or at least countenanced, by Assyria, just as

[1] It has been conjectured that there may at one time have heen a people called Girshite settled on both sides of Jordan (see GILEAD, § 6, GIRZITES).

[2] The cities assigned to Reuben seem to form a group surrounded by cities assigned to Gad (see REUBEN).

[3] Perhaps the most striking example is the case of Heshbon : Amorite (Nu. 21 25), Reubenite (Nu. 32 37 Josh. 13 17), Gadite (Josh. 13 26 [?] 21 39 = 1 Ch. 6 81 [66]), Moabite (*Is.* 15 4 16 9 Jer. 48 2), Ammonite (Jer. 49 3). Cp § 12.

[4] Flinders Petrie conjectures, further, that no. 29 ('A-no-r-po) is the modem Rafah and no. 30 (Ma-ḳa-ta) the modem Tell Miḳdād, farther N.

[5] Esh-Shuni (no. 24 : 'A-ma-ša-na), and Fahil (PELLA ; no. 33 : Pa-ḥu-ra).

[6] A name connected conjecturally by Petrie with Golan and the river Allān.

[7] Mentioned also in 237 21. Is '(*alu*) Ya-bi-ši' in line 28 JABESH?

[8] Cp Ernst Trampe, *Syrien vor dem Eindringen der Israeliten*, 16 ['98].

[1] Elsewhere it is suggested that Jernbbaal was a Gadite, and the city of Succoth which he took, the frontier-fortress towards the desert better kdown as Ṣalḫad (see GIDEON).

[2] The literary history, and therefore the meaning, of the references to unfriendly relations with Midian in Nu. 22 25 is obscure.

[3] On Jeroboam's fortification of Penuel see PENUEL.

Nehuchadrezzar may have been responsible for the raids that are said to have occurred in the reign of Jehoiakim (2 K. 24 2).

(ii.) We have no means of determining with certainty whether Moab or Gad arrived from the desert earlier.

8. Conflict with Moab. In later times there prevailed in Israel a belief that it was Moab; but it has been maintained[1] that Moab thought it was Gad (*MI l.* 10; but see below, § 8).

A priori, perhaps, the probability is in favour of Gad's being the earlier (Wi. *GI* 1 203 *f.* 45 *f.*). The story of Eglon, indeed, which has been thought (Wi. *GI* 1 204 *f.* 48, n. 1) to refer to the first arrival of Moab, nowhere mentions Gad. In its present form, however, the scene is laid W. of the Jordan.[2]

Whichever of the tribes arrived first, Winckler's argument that a considerable interval must have intervened between their arrivals seems to be valid. The tribes had become too dissimilar to unite. The conflict of interests must, therefore have led to struggles.

What relations prevailed in the time of Saul we cannot say definitely (1 S. 14 47 is not authoritative; see SAUL); but the fact that, after the disaster at Gilboa, the royal seat was in Gilead (MAHANAIM = 'Ajlūn ?), could not be indifferent to Moab. When we come down to the time of David we seem to reach an actual tradition of a subjugation of Moab (DAVID, § 8), which must have relieved Gad of one source of anxiety. The subjugation cannot have been as thorough as that of Edom (Wi. *GI* 1 206); but Gadites and other Israelites may at this time have settled north of the Arnon (*MI l.* 10: מעלם). At what times this quiet prevailed, through Israel's being able to make its suzerainty effective, we do not know. Omri and Ahab were able to maintain the upper hand, by the confession of Mesha himself.[3] On the story of a punitory expedition by Ahab's younger son see JEHORAM (1); Moab continued to be a thorn in the flesh to Gad. Whether Moab was ever again subject to Israel is not clear (see JEROBOAM, 2). That during the reign of the house of Jehu, Moab assumed the rôle played in the days of Gideon by Midian, could not be stated on the authority of 2 K. 13 20; it is not for such things that Amos threatens Moab (Am. 2 1-3). On the other hand, Winckler argues somewhat plausibly for an intervention on the part of Moab in the time of turmoil that preceded the fall of Samaria (*GI* 1 208 *f.*). See, further, MOAB.

(iii.) On the other side were the Aramaeans. The struggle with them involved all North Israel (indeed, at times, South Israel also) and is one aspect of its history; but the details are obscure.

9. With Syria. On the history of the relations with nearer tribes, such as Maacah. Geshur, etc., see MACHIR. The great historic struggle was with Damascus, which was in the main successful in Gilead. The writers who brought the Book of Kings into the shape in which we read it[4] knew nothing of the horrors experienced across the Jordan in the bitter struggle, and did not care to preserve a connected account of the contest.[5] Omri may have been, Baasha probably was, Ahab certainly was, a vassal of Damascus. This in no way interfered with Israel's relations towards Moab. The spirit that inspired the struggle with Benhadad was a desire to assert independence. Accordingly we need not suppose that Gilead was detached from Ephraim. Both were attached to Damascus (see OMRI, AHAB). If it was the accession of Hazael that tempted JEHORAM (*q.v.*, 1) to revolt, he paid the penalty with his life.[6] Whether or not 2 K. 10 32 warrants the statement that from the time of Jehu East Palestine belonged to Damascus (so Winckler), it is noteworthy that in Shallum, Menahem (PEKAHIAH ?) and Pekah, Gilead apparently set revolutionary kings on the throne of North Israel, Pekah receiving the active support of Rezin (because Menahem [or his son ?] remained loyal to Assyria ?).[1]

Inhabiting a tract of country ever exposed to the ravages of peoples of the desert (§ 5), Gad could provide

10. Character and history of people. a refuge for fugitives from the W. (ISHBAAL, DAVID) and rear a race of daring spirits (MENAHEM, PEKAH, SHALLUM) such as those whose warlike skill is praised in the poetical fragment preserved by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 12 8); occupying a land fitted by nature for the rearing of cattle (§ 4) it could offer a home for the accumulation of wealth (BARZILLAI); but, if the primitive society which we may suppose to have lived on in such a retreat was able to produce a religious enthusiast and send him forth to champion the old against the innovations of an Ahab (on the question of the origin of ELIJAH see col. 1270, n. 1), there is at least no evidence of its ever having made any contribution to the literature of Israel.[2] It is not so certain, however, that it may not have had a contribution to make to the development of its civilisation. The very insecurity of life may have produced a greater willingness to submit to the limitations of monarchy than is characteristic of Ephraim (Jephthah, Saul, David; see Wi. *GI* 1 51 n.). If Winckler's solution[3] of the mystery of Jabesh-Gilead should be accepted (for a different view see SAUL) the true foundation of monarchy in N. Israel, and consequently in all Israel, was really laid east of Jordan.

Communication between the trans-Jordanic lands and the highlands of Ephraim being easy (see EPHRAIM, § 3 *f.*, JORDAN, § 7),[4] the eastern tribes, although they took no part in the fight celebrated in Judg. 5, became closely linked with northern Israel.[5] When at last Ephraim succumbed before the advance of Assyria, Gad shared or rather anticipated its fortunes (see TIGLATH-PILESER). The change thus produced was radical (see AMMON, § 5 *f.*, MOAB, ISRAEL, § 32).

Henceforth we hear of Gilead as a land where Israel used to dwell (Mic. 7 14) and whither it might return (Zech. 10 10), where later there were Jews (1 Macc. 5)—but not of *Gad*: Gad was a tradition of the past,[6] or a dream of the future (Ezek. 48 Rev. 7 5).

An unfortunate consequence of the failure of the Eastern Israelites to leave any literary remains is that

11. Sanctuaries and theories about settlement. we are almost entirely confined, for our knowledge of them and their traditions, to such hints as western writers have chosen to give. From what has been said (§ 5, begin.) it is obvious how little we can hope to learn of the actual condition of things east of Jordan from any of the contributors to the Hexateuch.

Most of the legends about the early settlements of Israel in western Palestine seem to be connected with some sanctuary or other. In the E. too there were of course sanctuaries: Penuel, Succoth, Ramah of Gilead (its very name shows its character: see RAMOTH-GILEAD), Mahanaim (probably); see further, SHITTIM, PISGAH, NEBO, BETH-PEOR (on Goren Ha-Atad see ABEL-MIZRAIM), ZEPHON, MIZPAH. We have perhaps contemporary testimony to such local sanctuaries in Hosea (6 8 12 11 [12]; but the text is doubtful: see GILEAD, 2). There are seldom, however, the clear local traditions that we find in the W.

1 G. H. B. Wright, *Was Israel ever in Egypt?* 252; Guthe, *GVI* 46.

2 On the question of the position of Seirath see SEIRATH. Winckler thinks that in one version of the story Eglon was slain somewhere on the eastern side. See further EGLON.

3 Mesha claims to have recovered 'the land of Medeba' (*MI l.* 8), Ataroth (10) Nebo (14), Jahaz (19), and Horonen (31). For the twelve towns that he rebuilt see lines 9 *f.* 13 *f.* 21 *f.* 26 *f.* 30.

4 Israelitish writers might have had more to tell us about Gad.

5 Hence the conflicting theories as to the identification of the city which was repeatedly the object of contention (see RAMOTH-GILEAD).

6 The indignation against the Aramæan policy felt in Israel appears in Am. 1 3.

1 Guthe, however, argues conversely that the Gileadite kings represented the anti-Aramæan party (*GVI* 188).

2 See, however, EZEKIEL i., § 1.

3 In the forthcoming second vol. of his *GI*.

4 On the strange genealogical linking of the Zilpite Gad with the Leah tribes see ZILPAH, REUBEN.

5 When David succeeded to the Benjamite kingdom therefore, his rule extended in time across the Jordan. In the list of Solomon's prefects we read (see 𝔊) of one for the land of Gilead (see GEBER, 2), one at RAMOTH-GILEAD (*q.v.*), and one at Mahanaim.

6 We can understand how one of the writers called P said (Josh. 13 25) that Gad inhabited half the land of the sons of Ammon (see, however, AMMON, § 3).

Probably the reason is one we have referred to already : our literature was all produced in the W. If any old tradition underlies the story of the altar in Josh. 22, it has been quite obscured. It is even a question on which side of the river the altar is represented to have been. JABESH [*q.v.*], which may have been a sanctuary, and must have been a place of considerable influence, is linked strangely with Benjamin (see above, § 10).

It would appear that the writers of the Hexateuch, who regarded the eastern population as a part of Israel just as truly as the western, were much perplexed to account for their not being in 'the land of Israel' :[1] Ezek. 4718 (Co. *Ezechiel*) seems to regard Jordan as separating 'the land of Israel' from Gilead. Such a problem had its attractions. It is all the more necessary to be circumspect in dealing with the solutions that were offered.

Where the writers formally give a reason they agree in suggesting that the East-Jordan tribes were (in some unexplained way) distinguished from the other tribes by being pastoral and that they asked for, and received permission to settle in, the pre-eminently pastoral eastern plateau. We need not wonder at this inversion of cause and effect : it is inevitable in such naïve philosophy of history. A question that seems to have awakened considerable interest was whether there was in this settlement beyond Jordan any blame. The answer given was that it would have been blameworthy had the tribes simply remained behind, but that as a matter of fact they crossed over with their brethren and then returned. According to one version, however, they did this after censure by Moses at their own suggestion (Nu. 32 6 16), whereas according to another it was at the direction of Moses (Dt. 3 18-20).

A favourable view of the conduct of the eastern tribes finds hearty expression in the saying incorporated in the 'Blessing of Moses' (Dt. 33 20 *f.*).

The text is uncertain in places. It may have read somewhat as follows :—

Blessed is he that gives room for Gad.
[Gad] has let himself down[2] [but] like a lion(ess) ;
He rends arm and crown.
He looked him out the first-fruits of the land,
For a portion [fit] for a leader was there ;
But he came [hither] at the people's head :
Yahwè's righteous acts he wrought
And his ordinances with Israel.

It might be asked : Are we to connect these stories with other hints of a movement eastwards (see MACHIR, REUBEN), and infer from them that there was a theory that the Israelites E. of the Jordan reached Gilead from the Ephraimite side? It is not very likely ;[3] and if there was it was no doubt a pure guess. On the other hand, the degree of probability of the story that the settlement of Gad was earlier than the entrance of Joseph into W. Palestine will be estimated variously by different minds. It may be asked, Must not the tribes farthest E. be those that arrived last?[4] It is not impossible, on the other hand, that Gad came no later than Joseph, but was content, or was forced, to remain in Gilead while Joseph pressed over.

The view prevailing among the various writers who have contributed to the Hexateuch is that Gad obtained possession of its home E. of the Jordan by conquest. Every one of the peoples whom Israel knew on the E. of the Jordan is represented in some story or other as unfavourable to the settlement ; see AMMON, MOAB, MIDIAN. The most popular story, however, seems to have been that most of the territory was found in the possession of Amorites.

According to J,[5] Moses, after sending to spy out Jaazer, drove the Amorites out of its towns (Nu. 21 32) and took them and settled in all the Amorites' cities : in Heshhon and all its towns (*v.* 25 ; on *v.* 26 see below). According to E, Israel asked Sihon to allow them to traverse his territory (Nu. 21 21 *f.*), and when he refused defeated him at Jahaz and occupied his territory from Arnon to Jabbok (21 23-24*a*).

There were historical difficulties, however : the most prominent trans-Jordanic element was Moab ; moreover Israel obtained possession of lands far N. of the Heshbon district.

A later writer, therefore, explains that the district of Heshbon as far S. as the Arnon had been won for the Amorites from Moab (*v.* 26) ; and in later documents it is represented that the northern portion was ruled by a certain Og whose chief cities were Edrei and Ashtaroth (see Oc).

That at Jahaz and about Edrei tradition told of great battles once having been fought near by is not unlikely. On the other hand, the story that the fights were with Amorites[1] has been variously estimated.[2] What we have learned of the Amurri from the Amarna letters makes it more plausible than it was (cp Wi. *GI* 1 51-54); see SIHON.

In contrast with the prevailing story that 'Heshbon and all the towns thereof' (Nu. 21 25, J), or 'Jaazer and the towns thereof' (*v.* 32, J), were taken from the Amorites by all Israel we find the statement that [all] Gilead was taken from thd Amorites by Machir 3 (Nu. 32 39-41; ultimate source uncertain). On Josh. 13 25 see above, col. 1584, n. 5.

The later historiographers had lost the thread of events in the trans-Jordanic territory, and until (or unless) some further sources of information become available, all we can regard as certain is that the population among which Gad and the other clans and tribes ultimately reckoned to Israel were settled, was very heterogeneous.

As has been hinted (§ 8), Winckler thinks that the earliest story represented Gad and Reuben as settled in territory that had been Midianitish (cp *GI* 1 48), not Moabitish.

Some addition to our stock of local traditions would be obtained if we could regard the mention of certain places in the stories of the arrival of Israel E. of the Jordan as owing their origin to traditions actually current at those places. To do so, however, seems somewhat precarious. We cannot be sure, for example, that there was really any place that boasted of being the burial-place of Moses ; Gad may have been content to assign the figure of that hero to the twilight period preceding the arrival of their fathers in the home known to history (see MOSES). On the question of the date of the arrival of Gad, see above (§§ 11, 8).

12. Geographical details.

To attempt to assign to Gad a definite territory is useless. The conflicting statements found in the Hexateuch and the references to the same subject in the historical books are, in their present form at least, the work of men who had no real knowledge of the early conditions E. of Jordan.

According to Nu. 32 Reuben and Gad were impressed with the desirableness of 'the land of JAZER and the land of Gilead (*v.* 2), 'the land which Yahwè smote before the congregation of Israel' (*v.* 4) as 'a place (land) for cattle,' and Gad and Reuben asked Moses and Eleazar the priest and the princes of the congregation that it should be given to them: *v.* 3 identifies the land with nine towns: 'Ataroth, Dibon, Jazer, Nimrah, Heshbon, Elealeh, Sebam, Nebo, Beon.' According to *v.* 33 (minus the interpolation) Moses actually gave them 'the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan' ; an interpolator adds that they were given to Gad, Reuben, and half Manasseh. In *vv.* 34-38 we read that the nine towns asked for in *v.* 3 were rebuilt, the last five by REUBEN, the first four (which appear elsewhere, Is. 15 *f.* Jer. 48, as Moabitish) by Gad, who also built four others : AROER, ATROTH-SHOPHAN (unknown), JOGBEHAH (cp Judg.

1 Compare the contrast between 'land of Canaan' and 'land of Gilead' in Josh. 22 9 [P] ; also 22 11 (end), whatever view of the position of the altar be taken.

2 Taken, perhaps, from the saying in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5 17).

3 Judg. 12 4*b* could not be cited in confirmation ; the text is corrupt. See SHIBBOLETH, and cp Bu. Moore, *ad loc.*

4 Compare Winckler, *GI* 1 45.

5 According to Stade a late addition.

1 To suppose that there was really at Ashteroth-Karnaim a local tradition of an early Elamitic invasion (Gen. 14) would be unwise (see CHEDORLAOMER).

2 Favourably by Wellhausen, Winckler and others, unfavourably by Meyer, Stade and others.

3 [It may be asked whether the story of Machir who took Gilead and dispossessed the Amorites is not due to a misunderstanding of an old tradition that Manassites possessed themselves of the strong city of Ṣalḥad, both Machir and Gilead being very possibly corruptions of Ṣalḥad. The process of corruption of names seems to have begun very early, and different corrupt fragments of the same name were actually taken to represent different persons not only in the genealogies of Chronicles, but even in earlidr writings. The occurrence of 'Machir' in Judg. 5 14 is a problem which requires fuller consideration.—T. K. C.]

8 11†), and BETH-HARAN (cp Josh. 13 27) of which the first is Moabite elsewhere (Jer. 48 19). The) first of each group is claimed by Mesha as Moabite (Daibon, *MI ll.* 1 28; Aroer, *l.* 26), and Ataroth as a conquest, whilst Josh. 13 16 *f.* assigns Aroer, Daibon, and Heshbon to Reuben.

Finally, an attempt is made in the Hexateuch to delimit the territory given by Moses to Gad.

Apparently it is made to include the whole of the E. side of the Jordan valley, and the uplands between Heshbon and RAMATH-MIZPEH reaching as far E. as the upper course of the Jabhok (Josh. 13 24-28). See further REUBEN, MANASSEH, MACHIR. According to one of the writers called P, Ramoth-Gilead, Mahanaim, Heshhon, and Jaazer were Gadite levitical cities (Josh. 21 38 *f.*).

For a list of Moabite cities referred to in the prophetic writings, see MOAB.

13. Genealogies. The genealogy of Gad in Gen. 46 16 = Nu. 26 15 contains seven names.[1]

Zephon suggests the place-name ZAPHON [*q.v.*]; Haggi might be the clan from which came the mother of Adonijah (see, however, HAGGITH): David was well received E. of the Jordan when the son of Maacah rebelled against him; Shuni (שׁוּנִי) may be a corruption of Sharonite (שָׁרֹנִי; cp 1 Ch. 5 16; *MI l.* 13; see SHARON); Ozni (Nu.) and Ezbon (Gen.) may be merely variants, 'Eri' (עֵרִי) may be half of 'Aroerite' (עֲרֹעֵרִי' Josh. 13 25);[2] Arel may be really Uriel (cp JERUBBAAL, who was perhaps a Gadite).

The passage in which the genealogy in 1 Ch. 5 occurs is plainly corrupt.

Possibly Gad's genealogy really begins at *v.* 13 (see REUBEN) with a group of seven names (one of which is שֶׁבַע!). 71.14 appears *to* say that these seven are sons of a certain Abihail, whose genealogy is then traced. Among the links we find Gilead and Michael (both, it is maintained elsewhere [ZELOPHEHAD], corruptions of the same name—Salhad),[3] Jeshishai (corrupted from Manasseh[4]), Jahdo Buz-Ahi (𝔊BA Ahibuz[5]; see KEMUEL, Uz, and cp AHI), Abdidl, Guni. All these 'dwelt in Gilead in Bashan, and in her towns,' etc.; whether 'Gilead' is the original word is disputed (see ZELOPHEHAD).

Not many personal names are definitely assigned to Gad.

The list of eleven attached by the Chronicler to the poetical fragment referred to above (§ 10) does not seem to be of value. In P's list of 'spies' we have Geuel, son of Machi. The omission of a prince (נָשִׂיא) of Gad (and Reuben) from P's list of dividers of *western* Palestine in Nu. 34 17-28, needs no explanation. H. W. H.

GAD (גָּד, § 57; γαδ [BAL]), a seer (cp PROPHECY) especially devoted to the interests of king David, to whom he gave warning of the divine displeasure at the famous census, and whom he afterwards directed to raise an altar on a certain threshing-floor (2 S. 24 11 *ff.* = 1 Ch. 21 9 *ff.*). In the description of him as 'the prophet Gad, David's seer,' the title 'the prophet' seems to be a later insertion (H. P. Smith, following 𝔊L and Ch.), derived from 1 S. 22 5 where 'the prophet' Gad is represented as warning David to seek a refuge in Judah (see MIZPEH, 3). The latter passage is, according to Budde, a late addition. In 2 Ch. 29 25 Gad appears as concerned in the regulation of the musical service in the temple, and in 1 Ch. 29 29 as a historian (see Driver, *Introd.* 528 *f.*, and cp CHRONICLES, § 6 [1], HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 14). T. K. C.

GAD (גַּד), Is, 65 11 EVmg., RV FORTUNE (*q.v.*).

GADARA (τα γαδαρα), **Gadarenes,** Mk. 5 1 Lk. 8 26 37, AV; Mt. 8 28 (RV). For Greek readings see GERASENES.

It has been shown elsewhere (GERASENES) that, though 'Gadarenes' is probably correct in Mt., the original tradition spoke of 'the country of the Gerasenes.' The vigorous defence, however, of the reading 'Gadarenes' by Keim (*Jesu von Nazara,* 2 531) is reason enough for devoting some space *to* the famous city of the Decapolis called Gadara (now *Mkēs*), which, moreover, plays a certain part in Jewish history. Gadara lies 1194 feet above sea-level, near the western edge of the Bashan plateau, 4½ miles from the Jordan, about midway between the Yarmūk (Hieromax) and the Wādy el-'Arab. It was captured by Antiochus the Great in his first invasion of Palestine in 218 B.C. (Polyb. 5 71) and again, after a ten months' siege, by Alexander Jannæus (Jb. *Ant.* xiii. 3 3, *BJ* i. 4 2). Under Jewish rule it does not seem to have flourished; Pompey restored it, after his Syrian campaign in 64-63 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4 4, *BJ* i. 7 7), and Augustus gave it to Herod in 30 B.C. (*Ant.* xv. 7 3 *BJ* i. 20 3). After the death of Herod it came under the immediate suzerainty of Rome (*Ant.* xvii. 11 4, *BJ* ii. 6 3). At the beginning of the Jewish war it was laid waste by one of the Jewish generals (Jos. *BJ* ii. 18 1); but at a later stage the Gadarenes asked and received from Vespasian a Roman garrison (*BJ* iv. 7 3). Josephus speaks of it as πόλις Ἑλληνίς (*Ant.* xvii. 11 4, *BJ* ii. 6 3), and μητρόπολις τῆς περαίας (*BJ* iv. 7 3). That its territory extended as far as to the sea of Galilee seems to be shown by the frequent occurrence of the figure of a ship on its coins, and perhaps also by the mention of a ναυμαχία upon one coin.

Gadara was for several centuries the seat of a bishopric (*Geogr. Sac. S. Paul.* 307; Rel. *Pal.* 776). It fell to ruins soon after the Mohammedan conquest and has now been deserted for centuries save for a few families of shepherds, who occasionally find a dome in its rock-hewn tombs. The ruins occupy a narrow and high ridge, which projects from the mountains of Gilead. On its northern side is the deep valley of the Hieromax, now called Sheri'at el-Manādireh; on the west is the Jordan valley; and on the south is a glen called Wādy el-'Arab, running parallel to the Hieromax. The ruins crown the ridge, and as it declines in elevation towards the east, the site is strong and commanding. The space occupied by the city is about two miles in circuit; and there are traces of the ancient wall all round.

GADDI (גַּדִּי, § 57, abbrev. for GADDIEL (?); γαδδ[ε]ι [BAL]), a Manassite (Nu. 13 11 [12]). See MACCABEES i., § 3, n. Cp GAD i., col. 1579, end.

GADDIEL (גַּדִּיאֵל, 'God is Fortune,' § 31; Hommel, very unhappily, 'my grandfather is God' [*AHT* 300] after Ar. *jaddun*, 'grandfather'; γουδιηλ [BAL], γουζι. [F]), a Zebulunite (Nu. 13 10 [11]). Cp. GAD i., col. 1579, end.

GADDIS (γαδδιc [VA], γαδδει [א]), surname of John the Maccabee. See MACCABEES i., § 3, n.

GADFLY is the plausible rendering of RVmg. for קֶרֶץ, *ḳéreṣ*, Jer. 46 20 (EV DESTRUCTION), following Hitzig, Graf, Keil; cp Chrysostom, Field's *Hex.* 2 708. Mic. 2 13, however, suggests that *ḳéreṣ* was originally פֹּרֵץ, 'an invader.'

The versions have: ἀπόσπασμα [BאAQ], ἐγκεντρίζων [Aq., Symm.], *stimulator* [Vg.], ܓܝܣܐ [Pesh.]—*i.e.*, 'a host.' Schultens compares Ar. *ḳāris*, a species of *Cimex*. See Ges. *Thes.* add. III. T. K. C.

GADI (גָּדִי; γαδδ[ε]ι [BL], γεδδει [A *v.* 14], γαλλει [Avid. *v.* 17]), father of Menahem (2 K. 15 14 17).

The analogy of 'ben Jabesh' (see SHALLUM, 1) in *v.* 13 suggests that 'Gadi' expresses the local or tribal name of Menahem. Render 'a Gadite' (Klo.); but cp NAMES, § 57. T. K. C.

GADITE (הַגָּדִי), Deut. 3 12. See GAD, § 1.

GAHAM (גַּחַם; ταaμ [AD], γααμ [L], γααμοc [Jos.]), a Nahorite clan (Gen. 22 24). From its position between Tebah (*Tubiḫi*) and Tahash (*Teḫis*), Gaham should be a disguise of Hamath. The loss of the final ת is intelligible, but the prefixed ג remains a riddle. T. K. C.

GAHAR (גַּחַר; γααρ [A]), family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (*see* EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 47 (γαελ [B], γαηρ [L]) = Neh. 7 49 (om. Bא, γαηλ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 30 (γαηλ [L]), EV possibly CATHUA (*q.v.*) or GEDDUR (but cp GIDDEL, 1).

GAI (גַּיְא, without the article, therefore representing a place-name; γαι [A], but γεθ [BL]—*i.e.*, גַּת), the spot to which the men of Israel pursued the Philistines after the death of Goliath (1 S. 17 52). Wellhausen, Driver, Budde, Klostermann, and others agree in reading 'Gath' for 'Gai.' Whether the verse is even then restored to its original form is doubtful (see We. *ad loc.*). Cp GATH, SHAARAIM, 1.

GAIUS (γαιοc [Ti. WH]).

1. A Corinthian, baptized by Paul (1 Cor. 1 14). In grateful

[1] The Book of Jubilees (44 21) calls them eight, but the present text has only six names. Gad's wife's name is given: Māha.

[2] Compare, however, the Benjamite name Iri (עִירִי), also following Ezbon in 1 Ch. 7 7 (BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. *a*).

[3] More strictly of Salhad and Salecah respectively. For Michael Pesh. reads 'Machir.' [In fact, מכיר itself might he a corruption of סלכד = Ṣalḥad, and אביחיל of Zelophehad.—T. K. C.]

[4] מנ fell out after בן.

[5] 𝔊L omits Ahi, and Pesh. omits several names.

acknowledgment of his hospitality to Christians Paul calls him 'my host, and of the whole church' (Rom. 16 23). According to Origen *(ad loc.)* this Gaius afterwards became bishop of Thessalonica; the grounds of this statement are unknown. The list of the seventy disciples by pseudo-Dorotheus contains a Gaius, who is said to have succeeded Timothy as bishop of Ephesus. It is not worth while to support this by the theory that Rom. 16 where Gaius is referred to, was addressed to the Ephesiad Church.

2. A Gentile Christian, who went with Paul to Miletus (Acts 20 4). As the Gk. text stands, he was of Derbe; but this seems inconsistent with 19 29, where Gaius and Aristarchus are represented as both Macedonians (the reading Μακεδόνα—'Aristarchus a Macedonian'—being very ill-supported). Many scholars (*e.g.*, Salmond, in Hastings' *DB* 2 80*a*) suppose two different persons to be referred to; but the two passages stand so close together that this is improbable. It is necessary to read either Δερβαῖος δὲ Τιμόθεος (Blass, after Valckenar) or καὶ Δερβ. Τιμ. (Lachmann). That Timothy was of Lystra, is no doubt a common opinion, but it is not certain that καὶ εἰς Λύστραν is not an interpretation (see Blass, and cp TIMOTHY).

3. Gaius 'the beloved' (ὁ ἀγαπητός), to whom 3 Jn. is addressed; cp EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 7. Of his personality nothing is known. T. K. C.

GALAAD (γαλααδ [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 5 9 etc., RV GILEAD [*q.v.*, 1].

GALAL (גָּלָל; γαλααδ [B], γωληλ [A]).

1. A Levite, apparently in the line of Asaph, in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5 [b], § 15 [1] a), 1 Ch. 9 15 (γαδερ [L]). The name is, however, corrupt, see HERESH and cp MATTANIAH, 2.

2. A Levite in the line of Jeduthun in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii., § 5 [b], § 15 [1] a), 1 Ch. 9 16 (γαλαλ [L]) = Neh. 11 17 (γαλελ [ℵ^c.a mg. sup.], γαλεκ [L], BA om.).

GALATIA[1]

CONTENTS

A. HISTORY OF GALATIA

MAP.

A. HISTORY OF GALATIA.

1. Settlement of Celts. The migration which left a settlement of Celts islanded in Asia Minor was the last phase of a movement of which the inroads into Italy (390 B.C.) and Greece (279 B.C.) were episodes; but its history is known only in outline.

In 280 B.C. the Celtic bands overran Macedonia, killing the brave Ptolemy Ceraunus who rashly opposed them with inferior force. The main horde under Brennus and Acichorius penetrated Greece proper, but, being repulsed in Ætolia and before Delphi retired northwards again, and uniting with their brethren in the 'neighbourhood of Byzantium determined to cross into Asia Minor. In this design they succeeded, being assisted by Nicomedes I. of Bithynia, who concluded a treaty with the seventeen Celtic chiefs, securing their aid against his brothers.

The invaders must have seized immediately at least some part of the country known afterwards as Galatia. Our authorities represent its seizure as coming somewhat later; but the survival of the Celts as a nation implies the possession of some place of deposit for their wives and children during those early years.

With their settlement on the uplands of the interior the Celts entered upon the second stage of their history, forming a true robber-state, from which bands of marauders issued systematically to fall upon the rich city-territories of western Asia. According to Livy (38 16), the three tribes cast lots for the region in which each plundered: this may not be true, but certainly all Asia Minor within the Taurus was at their mercy for the next fifty years, and the kings were fain to purchase partial immunity from their raids by the hazardous device of employing them as mercenaries in their armies (Polyb. 5 53 65; Justin, 25 2).

A change came with the victories of the Pergamene kings (especially those of Attalus I. gained between 240 and 230 B.C. The inscriptions reveal several victories: cp Livy, 38 17, *Attalus eos rex sæpe fudit fugavitque*. They are closely connected with an important chapter of Greek Art). The main result was to confine the Celts within definite limits (Paus. i. 8 1; Strabo 567): henceforth they were restricted to Galatia proper, and their historical influence was exerted mainly indirectly.

The Celts occupied the NW. part of the great plateau constituting the interior of Asia Minor (cp Holm, *Gr. Hist.*, ET, 4 96 *f.*). The range having no distinctive name, of which the last member to the W. is the Mysian Olympus, separated them from Bithynia and Pontus. On the E. the Halys (*Kizil Irmak*), the greatest river of Asia Minor, on the W. the Sangarius (*Sakaria*), ran through deep gorges to the Black Sea, dividing the land of the Celts into three nearly equal portions.

The Trocmi settled E. of the Halys, round Tavium (*Nefez Keui*); the Tectosages between the two rivers, around Ancyra (*Angŏra*); the Tolistobogii[1] W. of the Sangarius round Pessinus (*Bala Hissar*). The territory of the three tribes formed a rough rectangle, extending about 200 m. from E. to W. On the S. lay the Axylon, or treeless steppes of Lycaonia, and the plateau of Iconium (*Konia*), in the E. part of which is the salt lake Tatta.

The importance of the Celts was due entirely to their geographical situation. The three tribes held in their hands the old Royal Road from Ephesus, by way of Pessinus, Ancyra and Pteria (*Boghaz Keui*, near Tavium), to the Euphrates (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 27 *f.*).

The alternative and more direct route following 'the one easy path that nature has made between the Ægean coast and the high grounds of the plateau' (*ib.*, and 49), through S. Phrygia and Lycaonia, was only in the infancy of its development; consequently the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, and those of Syria and Cilicia, were partially severed from one another, so that the former escaped the blighting shadow of Seleucid autocracy (Holm, *op. cit.* 4 98 *f.*).

Strabo (567) gives a sketch of the Galatian political organisation.

Each tribe was divided into four clans (cp the Helvetii, Cæs. *BG* 1 12), ruled by a tetrarch under whom were a judge and a general, the latter with two subordinates. The general council of the twelve tetrarchies consisted of 300 men, 'who met at a place called Drynemetum (=*Dryu-neimheidh*, the temple of the oaks' according to Perrot, *Expl. arch. de la Galatie*, 182, who locates it near *Assarli-Kaya*, 7 hrs. SW. of Ancyra. Holder, however [*Altkelt. Sprachschatz*], regards *Dry-* as merely an intensive prefix, and *nemeton* as=sanctuary. Cp Rams. in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1898, p. 234 *f.*). This assembly was principally a high court of justice; in other respects the clans were independent. By Roman times this old system had quite disappeared. (See especially on this subject Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. on Gal.* 72 *ff.*).

2. Roman intervention. The commanding position of the Galatians upon the old route, and on the flank of the new one, explains the necessity for the punitive expedition of the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso (189 B.C., Livy, 38 12 *f.*).

[1] Γαλατία [Ti. WH] only in Gal. 1 2 1 Cor. 16 1 1 Pet. 1 1; GALATIANS, Γαλάται [Ti. WH] in Gal. 3 1; GALATIAN, Γαλατικός [Ti. WH] in Acts 16 6 18 23.

[1] The form Tolistobogii is usual in inscriptions and coins of the Roman period and is found in early authorities. In early inscriptions the form Tolistoagii is given.

This broke their power, and apparently they partially succumbed to Ariarathes of Cappadocia and the rulers of Pontus (Van Gelder, *Galat. res.* 257 *f.*, Polyb. **31 13**). Their losses on this side were balanced, however, according to Rams. *Stud. Bibl.* 4 49 *f.*, by the conquest of the Lycaonian tetrarchy, containing Iconium and thirteen other cities (cp Pliny, *HN* 5 **95** ai id Ptol. v. 4 10 who calls it **προσειλημμένη**, 'the added territory'). This was probably about 160 B.C.

During the latter part of the second century B.C. the Galatians seem to have been under the ascendancy of Pontns—that is to say, the Pontic party among the Galatians themselves was triumphant. Then came a national reaction. At any rate the Romans in their struggle with the Pontic sultan found no allies more faithful than the Galatians, and 'by the side of the command of Mithridates to murder the Italians went the massacre of the whole Galatian nobility '(Momms. *Prov. & R. Emp.* [ET] **1339**). Only three tetrarchs escaped.

In 64 B.C., when the contest with Mithridates was ended, Pompeius established over the Celts three tetrarchs (a misuse of the title, see above). Of these, the most successful and prominent was Deiotarus of the Tolistobogii, who gradually made himself supreme over the other two tribes, and after temporary eclipse during Caesar's lifetime was finally recognised by the Romans as king of Galatia (died in 41 B.c.).

In 39 B.C., Amyntas, formerly a secretary of King Deiotarus, was made king of Pisidia (including Antioch) by Antonius, who between 39 and 36 B.C. disposed of kingdoms with a high hand in Asia Minor (App. *BC* **575**). In 36 B.C. Amyntas was given in addition Galatia proper, with Isauria, part of Pamphylia, and W. Cilicia, as well as the Lycaonian plain intervening between his Pisidian and his Galatian domains, *so* that Iconium and Lystra were both under his sway (Dio Cass. **4932**).

The manifest ability of Amyntas as an instrument of Roman policy caused Augustus to confirm the Celtic prince in his kingdom, notwithstanding that he had fought for Antonius at Actium. He was also given **a** free hand on the non-Roman part of his frontiers. Soon therefore he made himself master **of** Derbe, which had been seized by Antipater (once Cicero's friend; *Ep. ad Fam.* **1373**).

In 25 B.C. the whole question of Roman policy in central Asia Minor had to be faced anew, for Amyntas met his death unexpectedly in an expedition against the Homonades, an independent tribe in Mt. Taurus.

3. Galatia a Province. The death of Amyntas threw the burden of governing his vast territories upon the Romans themselves (Dio Cass. 53 26). Marcus Lollius was the first governor of the new province; but its organisation was not completed before 20 B. C. Pamphylia was separated from Galatia and put under a governor of its own (Dio Cass. 53 26). Various dynasts were recognised as rulers of the parts adjacent on the NE. and SE. frontiers : Polemon ruled over Pontus, whilst Cilicia Tracheiotis, with eastern Lycaonia, including Kastabala and Kybistra, the old eleventh *Strategia*,[1] was attached to the kingdom of Archelaus of Cappadocia (Strabo, 535 **537**; App. *B. Mithr.* 105). In course of time, however, these parts were absorbed one after another and attached to Galatia Provincia.

Additions to Province.

- **5** B.C. Paphlagonia (the district round Mt. Olgassys [*Ulgaz Dagh*] with the cities Gangra and Andrapa) after the death of Deiotarus brother of Castor (cp Rams. in *Rev. des Ét. Gr.*, **1894**, p. 251 ; Reinach, *Rev. Numism.* '91, p. **395**).
- **2.** B.C. Amasia and Gazelonitis, together with the domain of Ateporix (cp Rams. *Hist. Comm.* 121 *f.*).
- **34/35 A.D.** Komana Pontica. This region together with that of Amasia is called as **a** whole ***Pontus*** *Galaticus* (Ptol. **v. 63**) ,as distinguished from *Pontus Polemoniacus—i.e.* the part of Pontus governed by King Polemon.'
- **41 A.D.** Derbe and the Lycaonian part of the eleventh *Strategia* of Cappadocia transferred to Galatia by Claudius on the restoration of Antiochus IV. (see DERBE).
- ***63* A.D.** ***Pontus*** *Polemoniacus* the kingdom of Polemon II., which retained its 'title even after incorporation (Ptol. v. **04**).

[1] The eleventh *Strategia* dated probably from 129 R.C. (cp Justin, 371); it originally included also Derbe and Laranda. See Ramsay, ***Hist.*** *Comm.* 64 *f.* 106 *f.*

The core of the province was constituted by the old kingdom of Amyntas,—*i.e.*, the territory of the three Celtic tribes with eastern Phrygia, Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia,—so that all the towns mentioned in Acts 13 *f.* as visited by Paul (except those of Pamphylia) belonged at that time to the Province Galatia.

There is no literary evidence as to the constitution imposed upon the Province, and inscriptions other than epitaphs are rare in Galatia (see Anderson in *J Hell. Stud.* 19 52 *f.*).

The governor was **a** ***legatus Augusti*** *pro prætore—i.e.*, the province was imperial, but there were no legions within its borders. Ancyra, **as** being the old home of the Galatian kings, far exceeding then as now (cp Murray, *Handb. to AM* 18), the other towns'of the province in wealth, was the official capital. It had been an important city even before the Celts entered the country *(3H.S* **1948**). In *S.* Galatia, Antioch (*Colonia Cæsareia Antiocheia*) was **a** sort of secondary capital, for it was in this region that the work of Romanisation was specially active from 10 B.C. to 50 A.D., as **is** clear from the number of Roman colonies founded by Augustus about 6 B.C. (besides Antioch, Lystra and Parlais in Lycaonia, Cremna in Pisidia, Comama and Olbasa further **W.** Cp *CIL* **3**, Suppl. no. **6974**). 'These were connected by **a** system of roads which radiated from Antioch as the military centre of the whole of southern Galatia' (Rams. *Hist.* Geogr. *of AM* **398** *f.*). Under succeeding Emperors, especially Claudius, this policy was continued, and several cities (*e.g.*, Derbe and Iconium) were remodelled and renamed in Roman fashion.

In a special way the southern part of the province was important in Paul's time.

4. Settlement of Jews. The two main roads from Ephesus to inner Asia traversed it, dividing at Apameia in Phrygia, the one to go N. of the *Sultan Dagh* through Laodiceia Combusta and Cæsareia in Cappadocia to the Euphrates, the other to go S. of the range through Antioch and Iconium and the Cilician Gates. To this fact we must mainly attribute the presence of large numbers of Jews in the cities of this region (see DELUGE, § 20, end). The Jewish colonies, indeed, dated from the time of the Seleucid kings, who established them with special privileges and citizen rights in their garrison towns in Asia Minor (Jos. *Ant.* **xii. 3** 1 and **34.** Cp νόμος τῶν Ἰουδαίων in an inscription of Apameia, Rams. *Cities and* ***Bish.*** *& Phrygia*, **538**, 668. See also Schürer, *Hist. of Jews*, ET, ii. 2 252 *f.*). Hence Paul's experiences in Acts 13 14 14 1 Gal. 1 7 **417**. Ramsay has pointed out that the analogy between Jewish ceremonial and the entire native Phrygian and Lycaonian religious system would tend to increase the influence of the Jews (***St. Paul*****, 141**).

B. GALATIANS OF THE EPISTLE AND ACTS.

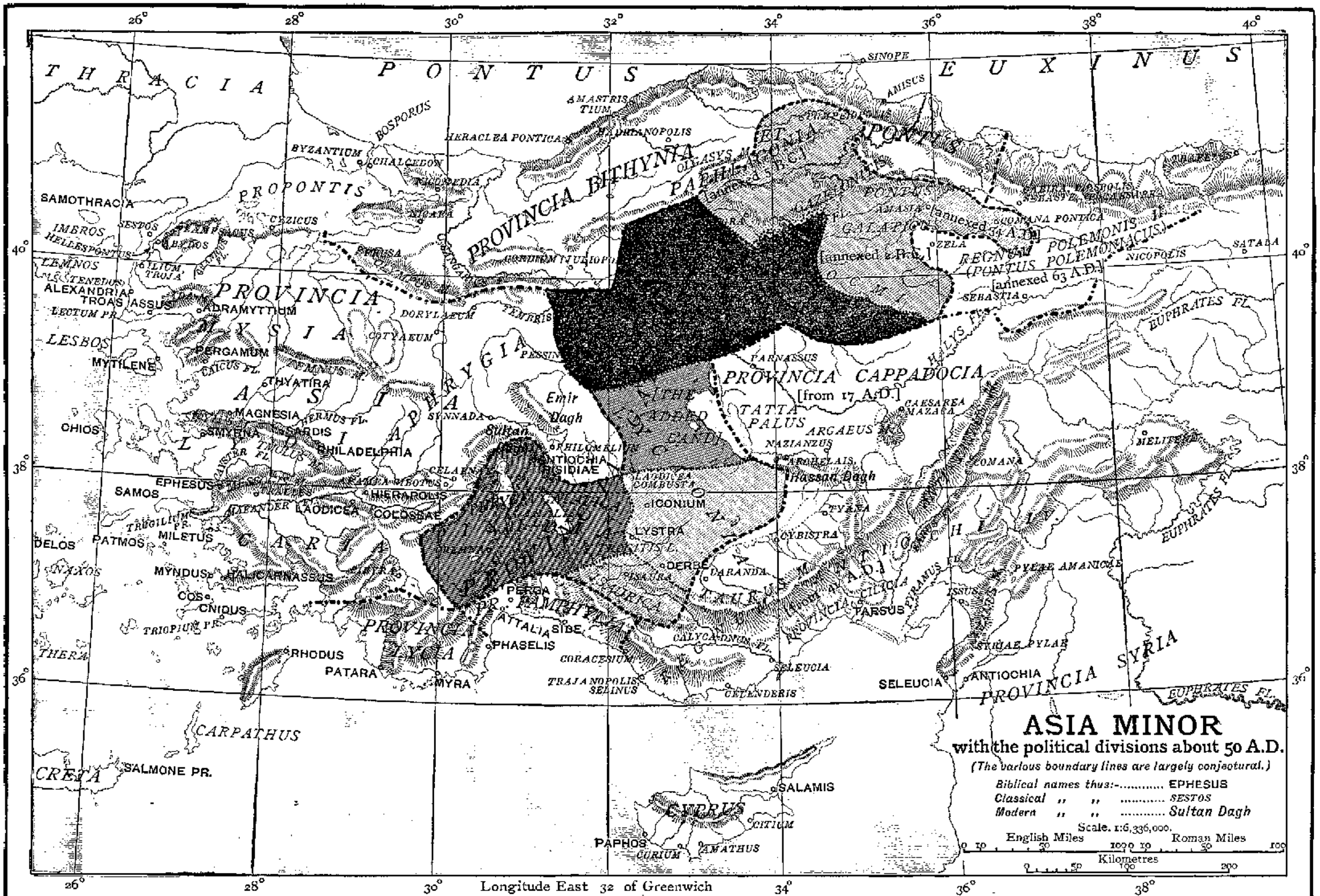
5. Galatians in NT. nomenclature. What remains of this article is devoted to the question, Where were the churches to which the epistle to the Galatians was sent?[1] The accepted opinion has been that they were in northern cities not mentioned in Acts. This opinion may conveniently be called the 'North Galatian theory.' The arguments in favour of it are discussed below (§§ 8-31). In recent years (see § 33) it has been proposed by many scholars to find the churches in the southern cities mentioned in Acts—Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra. This opinion may conveniently be called the 'South Galatian theory.' As Ramsay has said (*Expos.* '95 *b*, p. 34), 'The central question as to the two Galatian theories . . . is so fundamental, that it affects almost every general enquiry whether in regard to *Acts* as a history and as a literary composition, or in regard to Paul's policy and character.'[2] The question should not be taken in too narrow a sense (Ramsay, *Hist. Comm.* 9).

I. *Case for South Galatian Theory.*

The official title of the vast province we have described, extending almost from sea to sea, was 'Galatia.' This is proved by Ptolemy's enumeration of **Γαλατία** side by side with the other official titles of the provinces of Asia Minor, and by Pliny's definition of Galatia **as** extending S. to Pamphylia (*HN* 5 146 *f.*, ***attingit Galatia Pamphylia Carbaliam et Milyas***). It is also clear from Tacitus (***Hist.* 2 9**, *Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas Galba permiserat* [=68/69 A.D.]. Cp Rams. in *Stud. Bibl.* 4 21 *f.*).

[1] The references in 1 and 2 Macc. **also** are dealt with below, § 32.
[2] For **a** different view, **see** below, § 8.

ASIA MINOR.



Based on the maps of Kiepert, Ramsay, and other authorities.

Walker & Cockerell sc.

Galatia Proper.

Kingdom of Amyntas, 40-36 B.C.

Northern part of the old Lycaonian Tetrarchy, attached to Galatia, 64 B.C.

Regions belonging to the Province Galatia in 50 A.D.

For index to names see back of map.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BIBLICA, 1901.

MAP OF ASIA MINOR

INDEX TO NAMES

Ramsay, however, contends that the Greek-speaking natives did not habitually call the province 'Galatia'; they called it the 'Galatic Province' (cp *CIG* 3991, an inscription of Iconium which speaks of an ἐπίτροπος Γαλατικῆς ἐπαρχίας), or else enumerated its parts. The use of the single term 'Galatia' implied the adoption of the Roman point of view, in which national distinctions counted as nothing before the imperial organisation. To this antithesis between the Roman and the native standpoint is traced the difference in phrase between the Epistles and Acts.

On the other hand, whilst it is now admitted that 'Galatia' was the official name of the province,[1] it is still maintained by those who favour the North Galatian theory that the derivative name 'Galatians' could not be used in addressing Pisidians and Lycaonians as it is used of the readers of Galatians in Gal. *3* 1 (see below, § 29). This contention, however, is not convincing.

By the Romans the ethnic derived from the name of the province was regularly used to denote the inhabitants of that province, irrespective of internal national distinctions. This is conclusively proved by the exhaustive discussion of Ramsay (*Stud. Bibl.* 4 26 *f.*). On the other hand, the national appellations, such as *Phryx* or *Lycao*, were extra-Roman and servile (cp Momms. in *Hermes*, '84, p. 33 *f.*), and in their nature negative of that unity which was the imperial ideal. No general term for the whole population of the province Galatia other than 'Galatians' was possible for the Roman governor or for the Roman historian (Tac. ***Ann.*** 15 6, ***Pontica et*** *Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia*). The same is true, also, of the Roman Paul. Indeed no other address was possihle in the case of men belonging to Roman colonies like *Colonia Cæsareia Antiocheia* (hntioch) and *Colonia Julia Felix Gemina Lystra* (Lystra), and of semi-Roman towns like *Claud-Iconium* (Iconium) and *Claudio-Derbe* (Derbe). So long as we refuse to think of the four cities under these their Roman names in Paul's time, we obscure for ourselves their true position within the province, and fail to grasp Paul's own Roman character and attitude towards the imperial system (Rams. *St. Paul,* 135, *id. Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 52).

This argument can be met only by adherence to the old form of the North Galatian theory, that the 'Churches of Galatia' were the northern cities Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium (Lightf. *Gal.* 20; he doubtfully adds Juliopolis, which, however, belonged to Bithynia); but this view runs counter to the fact that the development of the northern part of the plateau resulted later, from the transference of the seat of government first to Nicomedeia and afterwards to Constantinople (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of A M,* 74 197 242). It further demands an erroneous interpretation of Acts 16 6 18 23 (on these verses, *see*, however, § 9 *f.* 12-14), otherwise no record can be found in Acts of the foundation of churches in N. Galatia.

It is a significant fact, however, that the history of the North Galatian theory shows a steady tendency to place the scene of the apostle's activity ever farther southwards. Zöckler maintains the impossibility of Ancyra or Tavium, and restricts the churches of Galatia to Pessinus and the villages of the Axylon (*St. Kr.* '95, pp. 59, 79). Others hold that whilst the S. Galatian churches mentioned in Acts are addressed in the Ep., it includes also foundations, otherwiseunknown, in N. Galatia. The South Galatian theory is that we have in Acts a complete list and a complete acconnt of the foundation of the Galatian churches, and that Paul never travelled in any part of Galatia proper.

The attempt to restrict the application of the nnme 'Galatians' (Γαλάται) to those of Celtic blood is futile, as the majority of the inhabitants of Galatia proper must have been descended from the old conquered races,—the Phrygians or the Cappadociairs together with, in Paul's time, Greeks, Romans, and Jews (cp, however, below, § 29, end). Especially in the towns must this have been the case (Van Celder. *Gal. res*).

It is true that even in the first century A.D. the Celtic element retained its distinctive characteristics (as late as the 4th cent. A.D., according to Jerome, the Celtic tongue, a dialect resembling that of the Gallic *Treveri*, was used side by side with Greek); yet no sound argument can be based upon the supposed correspondence between the characteristics of the Galatian converts (Gal. 5 19 *f.* 16) and those charged against the Gauls, though no doubt many passages may be quoted in support of such correspondence (cp Meyer-Sieffert, *Brief an Gal.*[9] 5). On this 'pedantic analysis' of Galatian character see Ramsay, *Hist. Comm.* 162.

The Roman provincial title 'Galatia' is not used in Acts; but in 16 6 we find the phrase τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (EV 'region of Galatia'), and in Acts 18 23, the phrase τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν (AV 'country of Galatia,' RV 'region of Galatia'). The phrases are ambiguous, and various explanations haw been proposed (see §§ 9 *f.* 12-14).

The question as to the precise significance of these phrases must he distinguished from that as to the locality of the Galatian churches. The latter question must be fought out on the field of geography and history; and the example of Zahu (*Einl.* 1 134) shows that essential acceptance of the S. Galatian theory is compatible with a desire to interpret the doubtful phrases as referring to N. Galatia. It is for the North Galatian theorists that the interpretation of the two expressions is of vital importance, if they wish to secure coincidence between Acts and the Epistles; otherwise they must fall back upon a theory of lacunæ which turns the edge of all criticism (Rams. *Stud. Bibl.* 4 16).

6. Difficulty of accepted view.

The holders of the accepted North Galatian view take the term 'Galatic country' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) to be simply a synonym for 'Galatia' (Γαλατία)—*i.e.*, Galatia proper. The argument against this is decisive: Why, if Paul and the writer of Acts both refer to Galatia proper, should they differ so remarkably as to the name, the writer of Acts employing a circumlocution which stands alone among all the references collected from ancient authors?[1] On the other hand, the adjective 'Galatic' (Γαλατικός) is used by Ptolemy and in the inscriptions[2] always in a definite special sense, to indicate the extensions of the original Galatia. Paul, writing as a Roman citizen, and from the Roman imperial standpoint, never uses any but Roman provincial titles[3] (coinciding, of course, in some cases with pre-Roman national designations), whilst the Greek writer of Acts adopts the popular and colloquial usage of the more educated classes (Rams. in *Expos.,* '98 6, p. 125 *f.* = *Hist. Comm.* § 23, p. 314 *ff.*).

The North Galatian view demands also that 'Phrygia' (Φρυγίαν) be a noun in both passages; but this only makes more pressing the question why the simple term 'Galatia' was not written.

Lightfoot (*Gal.* 22) correctly argued that the phrase of Acts 16 6 (see § 5, end) must denote a single territory to which the two epithets Phrygian and Galatian are applied—'it was, in fact, the land originally inhabited by Phrygians, but subsequently occupied by Gauls.' For the proof of this point as a matter of grammar, consult Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.* 486, *St. Paul,* 210). The historical justification of the phrase, however, given by Lightfoot, though true, is inadmissible here, being quite out of harmony with the style of Acts, and failing to explain why the writer should have hecn at the pains to use a cumbrous expression that serves no purpose.

7. South Galatian theory.

Accepting the unity of the expression in Acts 16 6, we may take it to be a 'general and comprehensive description rather than as the exclusive denoniination of any one particular district' (so Gifford in *Expos.* July '94, p. 12). It denotes then the borderlands of Galatia and Phrygia.[4] This certainly gives a perfectly intelligible route to the apostle, from Antioch northwards as far perhaps as Nakoleia, where, being forbidden to cross into Bithynia, he turned westwards (Acts 16 7).

The route from Antioch to Nakoleia, however, lay well within the borders of ***Asian*** Phrygia (since the boundaries of Asia fell E. of Troknades, Orkistos, and Amorion, according to Ramsay [*Hist. Geogr.* 172] and Wadd. [*Fastes,* 25]). The only road to which the description 'Phrygian and Galatian' is really applicable is the direct road from Iconium to Dorylaion (*Eski Sheher*), the modern *araba* route from *Konia* to Constantinople, lying many miles E. of that suggested by Gifford (cp Rams.

1 The untenable position that it was not, first assumed by Schiirer in *JPT*, '92, p. 471, was abandoned in *TLZ*, 30th Sept. '93, p. 506.

1 See Holder, *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz, s.v.* 'Galatia,' where most of them are given.

2 'Pontus Galaticus,' *CIL* 3, Suppl. 6818; 'Phrygia Galatica' in ***Acta*** *Sanct.* 28th Sept., p. 563, as emended by Rams. (*in urbe Antiochiæ Pisidiæ* ***ex*** *regione Phrygiæ Galaticæ*, where the MS has *Galaciæ*. See *Stud. Bibl.* 4 26). In *CIG* 3991, Γαλατικὴ ἐπαρχεία is the enlarged province (date of this inscr. = 54 A.D.).

3 So also, and for the same reason, are Roman provincial titles used in 1 Pet. 1 1, which sums up all Asia Minor within the Taurus. See Rams. *Church in R. Emp.* 110; Zahn, *Einl.* 1 124.

4 Lightfoot seems to approximate to this view in his *Coloss.*[9] 24.

op. cit. 198). From the supposition that Paul diverged N. from Iconium, the natural inference is that the prohibition to speak in Asia was given at Iconium, or at Lystra, and that Paul did not go on to Antioch (though his intention had been to visit all the churches, Acts 15 36 : *κατὰ πόλιν πᾶσαν*).

In the second place, Lightfoot is certainly right in his remark (*Coloss.* 26 n.) that the boundaries of the province Galatia were drawn with precision.

We must not take our own ignorance of the details of the frontier line **as** indicating any uncertainty as to the actual limits of jurisdiction of the various governors. Even though such uncertainty might obtain in particular districts, the question still remains unanswered, why here alone the writer of Acts has been careful to insist upon the ambiguity, if such there was.

Ramsay follows Lightfoot in the translation of Acts 166, rendering' 'the Phrygo-Galatic territory' (*so* RV 'the region of Phrygia and Galatia,' as against AV 'Phrygia and the region of Galatia'). He differs from him, however, in the explanation, holding that the various parts of the province were to some unknown extent distinct, and were termed *χῶραι*, *Regiones.*[1] Two of these *Regiones* were traversed by Paul in Acts **16**1-6 1823—viz., Galatic Phrygia and Galatic Lycaonia.

The 'Phrygia[n] region' (*Φρυγία χ.*; more fully 'the Phrygia[n] and Galatic region,' *ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, as in Acts 166 = *Phrygia Galatica*) was that part of Phrygia which belonged to the province Galatia, containing the cities Antioch and Iconium (cp Acts 146, where the E. boundary of the Phrygian part **of** the province is put between Iconium and Lystra).

Just as SE. Phrygia lay in Galatia Provincia, whilst NW. Phrygia lay in the province of Asia (hence called *Ἀσιανὴ Φρυγία* by Galen, 4 312), so E. Lycaonia formed part of the kingdom of Antiochus (hence called *Lycaonia Antiochiana CIL* **10** 8660), whilst W. Lycaonia **lay** in the province Galatia (and was probably called *Lycaonia Galatica*: cp *Pontus Galaticus*). It is obvious that these two sections of Lycaonia might also be spoken of respectively as the 'region of Antiochus' (*Ἀντιοχειανὴ χώρα*; so Ptol. v. 6 17) and the 'Galatic region' (*Γαλατικὴ χώρα*: Acts 1823).

In Acts 166 the Phrygo-Galatic district is given the full name; but in Acts 18 23 it is simply called *ἡ Φρυγία* (*χώρα*);[2] in the latter passage the Lycaono-Galatic region, cf the cities Derbe and Lystra (Acts 146), is also mentioned, under the title *Γαλατικὴ χώρα*.

Ramsay further holds that Paul was 'actually in Asia' when the prohibition to preach reached him (*Church* in *R. Emp.*(5) 75).

Ramsay refuses therefore to understand the participle 'having been forbidden (*κωλυθέντες*) **as** giving the reason for the step described in the words they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia (*διῆλθον . . . χώραν*), arguing that the order of verbs **is** also the order in time (*ib.* 89); in short, that **AV** 'and were forbidden' is correct (as though the Greek ran *διῆλθον . . . καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν*). This is not impossible, though harsh. It is noteworthy, however, that in his *St. Paul*, Ramsay **follows** Lightfoot (*Bibl. Ess.* 237) in retaining the reading (*διελθόντες*) **of** the inferior MSS, upon purely subjective grounds[3] that can have no weight against the authority of the great MSS. The aorist 'they went through' (*διῆλθον*) must be read, and the participle 'having been prevented' (*κωλυθέντες*) gives the reason! not so much for the action 'they went through . . . region (*διῆλθον . . . χώραν*), **as** for the suppressed verb implied in the emphasis put upon the expression 'the Phrygia[n] and Galatic region' as opposed to 'in Asia'—'they made **a** tour of the Phrygo-Galatic region (only, and confined themselves **to** that), having been forbidden,' etc.[4]

The point at which the prohibition was received is immaterial, and is in no wise indicated, but is most naturally assumed to have been Antioch.

In opposition to Ramsay, who, on grounds never **fully** explained, regards Acts 16 6-10 as 'the most remarkable, the most emotional, and the most instructive paragraph in Acts' (Church *in R. Emp.* 484), we must call attention to the hiatus between *διῆλθον* and *ἐλθόντες*.

All mention of entry upon Asian Phrygia is omitted, together with the reasons which led to such entry; for it is only by anticipation from the subsequent 'they assayed to go into Bithynia' that such reason (*i.e.*, the desire to evangelize Bithynia) can be adduced. Seeing that **at** the outset no intention of opening up new ground was expressed by Paul (Acts **15** 36; the implication seen by Ramsay in Acts 16 3 [*Church in R. Emp.* 75] is unjustifiable in the face of the words *τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις*), we require some explanation of his going **N.** instead of retracing his **ste**ps, or descending to Attalia, **as** on the first journey (Acts 14 25).[1] (Cp, however, below, § 10 n.)

Further, we must not demand **a** too rigid parallelism in meaning between the phrases of Acts 166 and 18 23. The North Galatian view makes them mean precisely the same thing, accounting for the difference in form by saying that the route was reversed on the third journey; and Ramsay, but for different reasons, regards 'Phrygia' (*Φρυγίαν*) of Acts 1823 as equivalent to the whole expression 'the Phrygia[n] and Galatic region' (*τ. Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*) of Acts 166. Acts 18 23, however, should rather be brought into closer connection than is usually the case with the resumption of the narrative in Acts 191 after the digression about Apollos. The word 'Phrygia' (*Φρυγίαν*) must be taken in Acts 1823 in the sense natural and obvious in this passage, as a noun (cp Acts **2** 10). It here indicates the *non*-Galatian part of Phrygia, the special region thereof being particularised as 'the upper country' (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη* of Acts 19 1) which, following Ramsay (Church in *R. Emp.* 94), we explain as the district traversed by the shorter hill-road by way of Seiblia and the Cayster Valley. In his most recent utterances Ramsay connects the introduction of Christianity into Eumeneia and this region with this passage (Cities and *Bish. of Phrygia*, 2502 715; cp *Expos.* '*95a*, p. *389).*

That 'Phrygia' in Acts 1823 is to be taken as including, or even solely signifying, *Asian* Phrygia is supported by the paraphrase given by Asterius, bishop of Amaseia, in Pontus, about 400 A.D.—*μετῆλθεν οὖν ἐκ Κορίνθου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Πισιδῶν χώραν· εἶτα τὴν Λυκαονίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Φρυγίας πόλεις καταλαβών, κἀκεῖθεν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπισκεψάμενος, εἶτα τὴν Μακεδονίαν, κοινὸς ἦν τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος* (*Patr. Gr.*, ed. Migne, xl., Hom. 8). The traditional confusion of the Syrian with the Pisidian Antioch does not justify Zahn (*Einl.* 1136) in setting this evidence aside as **a** mere false inference. The passage proves that Asterius, interpreted 'the Galatic region' (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν*) of Acts 1823 as Lycaonia (against the N. Galatian hypothesis); but it also proves that he took *Φρυγίαν* to signify the country between the Galatic region and Asia (using the latter term in the narrower Byzantine sense). A possible rejoinder might be based upon the words 'confirming all the disciples,' in Acts 1823—that, on the hypothesis expressed above, there could not have been any 'disciples' in Asian Phrygia at the time of Paul's passage through that region. Yet we **must** grant the probability of the expansion **of** the teaching from the Christian centres in Galatian Phrygia and Lycaonia, even as from Ephesus in Asia at a later date. Paul's work would he wrongly conceived as that of a pioneer simply. W. J. W.

II. *Case for* North *Galatian Theory.*

The following paragraphs are devoted to a statement of the reasons which in the view of the writer compel adoption of the North Galatian theory.

8. North Galatian theory: general case.

i. General case *for* North Galatian theory.—It may perhaps conduce to a dispassionate consideration of these if it is pointed out at once that the question is, after all, not one of first-rate moment. How comparatively subordinate in importance it is is illustrated even in the strange way in which it has severed allies and united opponents.[2]

It would be a great mistake to imagine that the establishment of the South Galatian theory would mean the vindication of the thorough credibility of the whole

[1] An inscription given by Sterrett, *Epig. Journey*, n. 92, mentions an *ἑκατοντάρχην ῥεγεωνάριον*, or centurion of the *Regio* in which Antioch lay, *i.e.*, Phrygia Galatica. St. wrongly alters his copy to *λεγεωνάριον*. In Str. 568 *ἡ Ἰσαυρική*, and Ptol. v. 6 17, *ἡ Ἀντιοχειανή*, the word *χώρα* is *to* be supplied.

[2] So Ramsay, taking *Φρυγία* as an adjective. It may he a noun and yet bear the same significance, for in inscriptions of Antioch the noun is often used = Galatic Phrygia, *CIL* 3, Suppl. 6818 and 6819.

[3] Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 195, 'The succession of participles suits *so* perfectly the strange and unique character, the hurry, and the deep-lying emotion of the passage . . . the unusual emotion demanded the unusual expression.'

[4] The explanation given by Askwith (*The Ep. to Gal.* 34), who takes the participle predicatively, 'they went through . . . forbidden,' seems to amount to the same thing.

[1] So also Zahn (*Einl.* 1 135) rightly protests against the invariable but unjustifiable assumption that Bithynia was Paul's goal from the moment that Asia was closed against him. 'Der Absicht aher, nach B. vorzudringen, wird erst in dem Moment gedacht, wo P. nahe an der Grenze B. und zugleich an einem Punkt stand, wo eine andere Strasse nach Mysien abging.'

[2] Thus we find conservative theologians like Zahn and Zöckler ranged on opposite sides, and similarly critical writers like Hansrath and Lipsius—Zahn and Hausrath supporting the South, and Zöckler and Lipsius the North Galatian theory.

of Acts, or 'that to prove the North Galatian theory would be to discredit the book entirely. Only a few sections of Acts are involved. The rest of the book has to be tried by other tests (ACTS, §§ 2 4-7 12-14; cp also such articles as APOLLOS, BARJESUS, CORNELIUS, CHRISTIAN, COMMUNITY, COUNCIL, SIMON **MAGUS**, THEUDAS). Nor can acceptance of the North Galatian theory be said to cast a reflection on the author of Acts that is excessively grave. He has not stated what is untrue; he has simply omitted to mention a subject at its proper place and touched upon it very slightly when he mentions it later — the subject, namely, of the founding of the Galatian churches. Much more serious (to confine ourselves to Galatia) is a shortcoming of a different kind — his total failure, namely, to mention another matter of which we learn from the epistle to the Galatians. The appearance of the Judaizers, their baleful influence, and Paul's polemic against them constitute one of the most important chapters in the history of early Christianity, and yet Acts does not mention them at all. Still this charge does not depend on the acceptance of the North Galatian theory; it is quite as serious from the point of view of the other. It is unnecessary, however, to anticipate here what will have to be said later (see § 19); we proceed accordingly to lay down a general basis for the discussion of the question which ought to be treated as purely historical.

It is established beyond dispute that in Paul's time the districts in which are situated Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antiochia Pisidia—*i.e.*, the cities visited by him on what is usually called his first missionary journey (Acts **13** *f.*) — belonged to Galatia Provincia (see above, § 3), and that in official usage the word *Galatia* also included them.[1]

Derhe and Lystra lay in that **part** of Lycaonia which had been added to the province of Galatia; Iconium and Antioch in the portion of Phrygia [2] which then belonged to the same province.

Thus it becomes in a general way not impossible that the epistle to the Galatians may have been addressed to the churches of South or New Galatia.

ii. ***Any*** churches *in North Galatia*?—The possibility would be changed into certitude if Paul had founded no churches at all in North Galatia. In that case Acts 16 6 18 23, the only places in Acts where mention is made of Galatia, would have to be understood of South Galatia, for churches in Galatia are presupposed in 18 23 at least.

Ramsay, the most recent and most cautious advocate of this theory in Great Britain, at the outset, and even

9. Acts 16 6 18 23 refer to South Galatia?

down to p. 77 *f.* of the 3rd ed. of his Church, identified the 'cities' traversed by Paul and Silas according to Acts 16 4 *f.* with the four we have mentioned — Derbe and Lystra (already visited in **16** 1), Iconium (incidentally mentioned in **16** 2), and Antioch (last named in 14 21). On this view he explained the 'And they went through' (διῆλθον δέ) of 16 6 as 'geographical recapitulation of the journey' through the second pair of these four cities, Iconium and Antioch — that is to say, through Galatian Phrygia.

On the other hand, in an appendix to the same book, p. xii†, he finds in 16 4 *f.* only the Lycaonian-Galatian churches, Derbe and Lystra named in **16** 1 together with the Syrian and Cilician, mentioned in 15 41, and ndlonger says of 16 6 that it recapitulates the journey, but that the journey 'is resumed from Lystra'— as from the last point which, according to the narrative, Paul and Silas had reached. In agreement with this, in *St. Paul*, chap. *8* 1 (180 *f.*), he expressly controverts the interpretation of **16** 2 according **to** which Paul had already reached Iconium by way of Lystra.

In both views of the matter, however, Ramsay takes 'the Phrygia(n) and Galatic region' (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χ.*) to mean the *regio*—*i.e.*, the portion of the province which by its ancient popular name is Phrygian, but by its new official designation is Galatian. Thus he takes 'and' (*καὶ*) as = *sive*, and 'Phrygia' as adjectival, just as 'Galatic' is. In 18 23, according to *Church*(3), chap. **5**, n. 1 (p. 90), 'the same territory' is intended as in 16 6; all that we have is a 'variation in form' (or 'in order') — 'the Galatic region and Phrygia' (***τ. Γαλατικὴν χ. καὶ Φρυγίαν***)—and this is 'correct and excellent, if "Phrygia" here is **a** noun.'

For further elucidation Ramsay refers to p. 93. There, however, we find him expressing another view, namely, that in 18 23 are included not only Iconium and Antioch but also Derbe and Lystra. 'If the writer wished to carry out this complicated phraseology he would have had to say: Lycaono-Galatic and Phrygo-Galatic. He avoids the difficulty by using the simple phrase: the Galatic country.' 'The Galatic region' thus, according to Ramsay, here inoludes the Lycaonian and the Phrygian portion of the province of Galatia. This is implied, also, in the expression immediately following the words quoted above: 'after traversing which, Paul would reach Asian Phrygia.' On this view, accordingly, 'Phrygia' in 18 23 denotes, not (as in 16 6) the portion of Phrygia belonging to the province of Galatia, but that which belonged to the province of Asia.

In the appendix (p. xii†) Ramsay expresses a third view — that in 18 23 'Galatic region' is only 'Lycaonia Galatica, whilst "Phrygia" is Phrygia Galatica.'[1]

Further, as regards the prohibition to preach in Asia —*i.e.*, according to Ramsay, in the province of Asia— Ramsay's former view (*Church*(3), 75; also app. p. xii†) was that Paul had already received it in Antiochia Pisidia. In the ***Expos.***, '95*a*, p. 392, and in ***Church***(4), ***75***, however, he maintains that it came to hini only after he had already entered the province of Asia. In either view, however, this 'being prevented' (***κωλυθέντες***) comes in point of time after 'they went through' (*διῆλθον*)—what Ramsay holds to be linguistically possible (***διῆλθον κωλυθέντες = διῆλθον καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν = διελθόντες ἐκωλύθησαν***; *Church*, chap. 4 *ad fin.*, p. 89 in 3rd and 4th editions, in 4th ed. also 485 *f.*; *St. Paul*, chap. 94, n. 2). At the same time, he declares (*Expos.* '95*a*, p. 393, n. 1; ***Church***(4), 486) his South Galatian theory to be 'perfectly consistent with taking ***κωλυθέντες*** ["being prevented"] as giving the reason for *διῆλθον* ["went through"].' It is hard to perceive how this can be; but, in any case, as has been noted above (§ 7), Ramsay has changed his position, inasmuch as now (*St. Paul*, ch. **9** 1 [p. 195 *f.*]), along with Lightfoot (*Bibl. Ess.* 237 *f.*), he follows the 'inferior manuscripts' (reading 'And having traversed . . . having been forbidden . . . having come over against Mysia, they attempted, etc.'; similarly AV; ***διελθόντες δὲ . . . κωλυθέντες . . . ἐλθόντες κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπείραζον***, etc.). This reading of TR 'suits the South Galatian theory admirably'; but the reason he gives for preferring it is purely subjective (see above, col.

1 See especially Pliny, *HN* v. **42** 146 *f.*; Ptol. v. 4 11 *f.*; also Pliny, *HN* v. 27 95; Tac. ***Ann.*** 13 35 15 6, cp ***Hist.*** 2 9; cp Ramsay in *St. bibl.* ***et*** *eccles.* 4 21-39, and ***Exp.***, '98*b*, p. 129 *f.* = ***Historical Commentary on Galatians***, 318-320 (chap. **24**).

2 At that time Iconium belonged, more strictly, to Lycaonia. Acts **14** 6, however, seems to represent Lycaonia as being first entered on the way from Iconium to Lystra. Ramsay, therefore (*Church*, chap. **2** 5), assumes that theauthor is here following the ancient popular usage in accordance with which Iconium belonged to Phrygia; so in Xenophon (***Anab.*** i. *2* 19) and even down to the second century A.D. According to Ramsay (chap. 2 3), Antioch in Paul's time belonged to Phrygia, and ought to have been called 'on the side of Pisidia' (ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ), to distinguish it from a city of the same name on the Mæander, on the border of Phrygia and Caria. From this, he considers, came the abbreviation (Acts **13** 14) 'Pisidian Antioch' (**Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Πισιδία**), whilst at **a** later date the conception Pisidia was so far extended that it ,included Antioch, and the reading of D, 'Antioch of Pisidia (Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Πισιδίας), came to he appropriate. The non-Galatian portion of Lycaonia constituted the kingdom of king Antiochus; the non-Galatian portion of Phrygia belonged to the province of Asia.

1 Similarly ***St. Paul***, chap. *5 4 6* (pp. **104**, 111 *f.*); *Stud.* ***bibl. et eccles.*** **4** *56*; ***Church***(4), 482 *f.* and 90*, whilst p. 93, word for word agreeing with ***Church***(3), follows the second view. And in *St.* ***Paul***, chap. 9 4, n 1 (p. 210 *f.*); *Stud.* ***bibl. et eccles. l.c.***; ***Church***(4), 90* 483; *Gal.* introd., § 19, **p.** ***209***, he holds '*Phrygia*' (Φρυγίαν) in 18 23 to be an adjective. See below, § ***13***. **He** has not changed his view of **16** 6.

1595, n. 3). Considerations of this kind do not admit of argument; but it may be said that the MSS HLP which support the reading have no weight.

With regard to the correct reading 'they went through, . . . being prevented' (διῆλθον, . . . κωλυθέντες), it has to be maintained that the participle must contain, if not something antecedent to 'they went' (διῆλθον), at least something synchronous with it, in no case a thing subsequent to it, if all the rules of grammar and all sure understanding of language are not to be given up.

10. No : to North Galatia.

Synchronism is what is denoted by the aorist participle (for example) in 12 4, where it precedes the verb, and in 17 26, where it follows it;[1] 23 35 and even 25 13 must be similarly taken if the text is to be accepted (WH conjecture some primitive error, and prefer with cursives, Vg., etc., the fut. ἀσπασόμενοι). In 16 6, however 'being prevented' (κωλυθέντες) could be conceived to refer to something synchronous with 'they went (διῆλθον) only if Asia (Ἀσία) could be taken to denote the same country as 'the Phrygia(n) and Galatic region' (ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα). In point of fact, however, only Phrygia can be taken to mean a portion of Asia, and that only in one case—viz., when 'Asia is understood as meaning the entire province of that name; yet Galatia, whether taken as designating a district of country or as the name of a province, is in any case distinct from Asia.

Thus 'being prevented' (κωλυθέντες) must be held to have been antecedent to 'they went' (διῆλθον). Again, as Ramsay himself assumes, the prohibition to preach in Asia cannot naturally be supposed to have been made until Paul had entered Asia, or (at least) was on the point of doing so. From Lystra, where we left him (16 2 [-5]), it is impossible to pass directly into Asia (the nearest portion of which would be Asian Phrygia); Asia could be entered only after traversing Galatian Phrygia (Iconium and Autioch). This region, accordingly, must have been passed through *before* the occurrence of the 'preventing' (κωλύεσθαι). Now, if a journey through this same Galatian Phrygia (as Ramsay understands the geographical name) is indicated in the text as having *followed* the 'preventing,' the journey in question can only have consisted in a renewed visit to the churches which had just been left. If this were what the author really meant, he would expose himself to a charge of very great carelessness for not having been more explicit; but if he did not know that a return was involved, an accusation of geographical confusion would become inevitable. Moreover, it would be contrary to the whole practice of Paul (see *e.g.*, 16 7 *f.*), because he had been prohibited from preaching in a given district, to give up all search for a new field for his activities, and consent to have his mission brought to a stand in a country which he had just left as being already sufficiently provided for.[2]

Thus, we must take 'the Phrygia(n) and Galatic region' (τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν) to mean something else than Galatian Phrygia (or otherwise Galatian Lycaonia). In that case, however, the only remaining alternative is to take 'Galatic region' as meaning Old Galatia. 'Phrygia' can then be that portion of Galatian Phrygia which—if we assume the prohibition to preach in Asia to have been received in Galatian Phrygia—Paul and Silas had not yet traversed, but had to traverse in order to reach North Galatia: or it can be Asian Phrygia, if they thought they could reach North Galatia by this route more easily, or if they had already entered Asian Phrygia before the prohibition came. That this last is what had actually occurred is now assumed, as already mentioned, by Ramsay himself; and that it was only the preaching in Asia that was interdicted, not the travelling through it, is excellently argued by himself from the fact that in 16 7, at Bithynia, mention of the prohibition to travel through it is expressly added.

It is objected that North Galatia is very difficult of access to travellers. Broadly, however. this cannot be granted if we look at the roads which are shown in Ramsay's own map.' That Judaizers in particular were able to find their way thither easily enough is shown by the fact that Jewish names occur in as many as five inscriptions of Old [North] Galatia (*CIG* 3 4045 4074 4083 4092; add 4087 with Ramsay, *Gal.*, introd., § 15, p. 169, and *REJ* 10 77 ['85]). The only point for consideration is as to whether Paul and Silas could have found a tolerable route into North Galatia from their last halting-place before 16 6. If, as Ramsay will have it, this halting-place was Antiochia Pisidia, the direct route northwards lay over the Sulṭān Dagh. If this range could not be crossed, it was possible to go round it, either eastward through Galatian Phrygia or westward through Asian Phrygia. The only remaining geographical difficulty is as to how they could subsequently get out of North Galatia κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν (16 7). Whether we take this to mean 'over against Mysia' (cp 27 7), or 'in the neighbourhood of Mysia,' is immaterial; in either case, a point is intended from which it would be possible to go to Bithynia also. Such a point is best found in Asian Phrygia.

11. Paul's route to North Galatia.

Although North Galatia is the last region mentioned as traversed before 16 7, we are not precluded from supposing that, after passing through some part of Phrygia into North Galatia, Paul and Silas actually made their way from North Galatia into the northern part of Asian Phrygia. Ramsay assumes that the journey from 16 6 to 16 7 must have been due N. through Asian Phrygia. Thus, North Galatia would be excluded because not named. This assumption, however, is not compelled by the text. Even on Ramsay's interpretation of 16 6 as referring to Galatian Phrygia, the journey through one district is omitted in Acts—that, namely, through Asian Phrygia—unless 'being prevented' (κωλυθέντες) is to be taken as subsequent to 'they went (διῆλθον). At this point, in fact, the narrative is curt; and assuredly it admits of being filled up in the sense indicated above quite as readily as in that advocated by Ramsay.

In 18 23 the text is explicit in favour of the assumption that Paul's route was directed to North Galatia and lay through Cappadocia, in other words, somewhat as follows:—*via* Arabissos, Kokussos, Arasaxa, Matiane, Archelais, Parnassos, and then Ancyra, Germa, Pessinus.

Had Paul gone through Cilicia to South Galatia, he would certainly have strengthened the Cilician churches also; and this would have been mentioned, as in 15 41, all the more because in 18 23 stress is laid upon 'in order' (καθεξῆς). That is further a reason why we should not think of this third journey (if North

[1] So also in Gal. 3 19, where Ramsay (*Exp.*, '98*b*, p. 333 *f.* = *Gal.* 381 [ch. 38]) wrongly takes διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων, 'ordained through angels,' as something following ὁ νόμος προσετέθη—'the law was added'—in point of time.

[2] This improbable supposition seems to be the inevitable result even of the attempt made above in § 7. If the prohibition to preach in Asia (Acts 16 6) constitutes the reason, not for the journey of Paul and Silas through the Galatian portion of Phrygia (and thus through Iconium and Antiochia Pisidia), but for a fact which the reader is left to infer from the explanation given, viz., that 'they confined themselves to this region,' then they must either have remained in Antioch, which according to § 7 they had already reached, or they must have retraced their steps. Moreover we fail to find that any such additional fact is suggested by the simple statement 'And they went through,' etc. (διῆλθον δὲ, κ.τ.λ.), or that when supplied it harmonises with the subsequent context. According to *v.* 7 Paul and Silas did *not* confine themselves to the Phrygo-Galatian territory, but advanced farther to the N. Thus in very deed we have a 'hiatus';—not, however, between 'they went through' (διῆλθον, *v.* 6) and '[Then] they went' (ἐλθόντες, *v.* 7), two expressions which, on the view we are about to develop, hang excellently well together, but between the (supplied) notion that Paul and Silas were restricted to Phrygo-Galatia, and the actual continued journey to the N. (ἐλθόντες, etc.). The 'hiatus' is obviated as soon as the supplement is taken away.

[1] The only route by which Ephesus, it may be remarked, can be reached from Ancyra, the capital of Old [North] Galatia. is a circuitous route, leading first to the north-westward almost as far as to the Black Sea (crossing the river Sangarius, NE of Nicæa in Bithynia) and then turning southward to Kotiaion; and yet (Ramsay, *Exp.*, '98*a*, p. 413 = *Gal.* 254 [chap. 6]) between the two cities there was such 'abundant (or 'easy') communication' as 'leaves it,' in Ramsay's opinion 'unexplained why Paul's news [of the Galatians' change of attitude referred to in Gal. 1 6] was so sudden and so completely disastrous,' even if one 'places Galatians as early as possible in the Ephesian residence' of Paul.

Galatia is regarded as its goal) as having, nevertheless, been taken (as the second had been) through Cilicia and South Galatia (cp § 17). In that case, moreover, the idea conveyed by 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) would become unclear.

According to what has just been said, the Phrygia of 1823 will be not the Galatian but the Asian Phrygia, as the route from N. Galatia to Ephesus (191) lay through the latter, not through the former (see above, § 11, note, and § 7, end). In 166 also we must understand the Asian Phrygia, not the Galatian, a question which up to this point of the enquiry has been left open (cp, further, § 15, end). The successive journeys, then, are to be figured thus: according to 166, Paul had already come from South Galatia westwards as far as to Asia (for what we are to understand, more exactly, by this, see below, §§ 14 *f.*), or at least to the neighbourhood of Asia; then, in consequence of the prohibition to preach there, he directed his steps in a north-easterly direction, and reached North [Old] Galatia through Asian Phrygia.

If it be felt, with Ramsay, that North Galatia had too unimportant a place in the movement of the world to deserve to he chosen by Paul as a mission field, it always remains open to us to suppose his objective to have been East Bithynia, that he tarried in North Galatia on the way only on account of illness, and that as soon as he had recovered sufficiently he made for West Bithynia.

According to 1823, on the other hand, if we do not neglect the changed order of the words, he travelled from the E. through Cappadocia into North Galatia in the first instance, and afterwards into Asian Phrygia and thence to Ephesus.

Linguistically also the North Galatian theory thus offers three great advantages. First. it enables us to

12. Linguistic advantages of North Galatian theory.

interpret 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) in both passages consistently; so also 'Phrygia' (Φρυγία); whilst, according to Ramsay's second view (referred to above; see § 9), both expressions and, according to his third view, 'Galatic region,' have to be taken in 1823 in a sense different from that which they bear in 166. Secondly, it does justice to the changed order in which the words occur, which Ramsay certainly does not. Lastly, on this view the association of the two geographical names becomes correct, whilst in 1823 alike according to the second and according to the third view of Ramsay, we have the anomaly that the first member of the pair is designated by the name of the province of which it forms a part, whilst the second is designated by its own special name without any indication of the province to which it belongs.

On Ramsay's second interpretation, according to which the two districts belong to separate provinces, uniformity would have demanded that both provinces should be named—the Galatic and the Asian region (though, indeed, this would not tell which region of each of the provinces is intended). The confusion of the text of Acts 1823 would be the more incredible because the second member would denote the Phrygian region without more precise designation, whilst the first member also contains, as Ramsay holds, a Phrygian region—namely, that belonging to the province of Galatia.

According to Ramsay's third view both members belong to the same province—Galatia. On that hypothesis it becomes all the more inconceivable that the first member (Galatian Lycaonia) should be called simply 'the Galatian region,' as if the second (Galatian Phrygia) were not equally a Galatian region. As on Ramsay's second view we should have expected to read 'the Galatian and the *Asian* region,' so, on his third, uniformity would demand 'the *Lycaonian* and the Phrygian region' (supply, 'of the province of Galatia').

Ramsay now says (*St. Paul*, chap. 5 4 6) that in Lycaonia 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) without qualification was a current expression used to distinguish the Galatian Lycaonia from that region of Lycaonia which belonged to king Antiochus. If this be so, we have in this member of the phrase not an official but a quite local expression. How, then, could any writer have coupled with this as a second member, by the use of a common article, another expression which has no local usage to justify it?

Who could be expected to understand even this second expression correctly? According to Ramsay—Si. *Paul* represents his third view—only Galatian Phrygia is intended; but the author says 'Phrygia' without qualification. Moreover, who could he expected to understand the first expression? In Phrygia also one could equally well use the phrase 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα), without qualification, to distinguish Galatian Phrygia from Asian Phrygia. In fact Ramsay himself (*Church*(4), 482 *f.*) adds: 'When persons at) a distance distinguished the two parts [viz., of Lycaonia], they of course substituted ['Lycaonia'] Λυκαονία for ['region'] χώρα, designating them as Lycaonia Antiochiana and Lycaonia Galatica.' This is exactly what the author of Acts does not do.

In a word, we have here three pieces of carelessness which Ramsay ought not to have attributed to an author whom he ranks as a historian with Thucydides (*St. Paul*, p. 3 *f.*). On the North Galatian theory the meaning of 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) is clear without any knowledge of local phraseology.

Ramsay (*Church*, 79-81, 90†, *Exp.*, '986, pp. 126-128 = *Gal.* 314-316 [chap. 23]) maintains that for North

13. In spite of 'Γαλατικὴ χώρα.'

Galatia the form 'Galatia' (Γαλατία) is always used, and urges the adjectival form 'Galatic' as proving that a region added to Galatia only at a later date is intended. As an analogy he cites *Pontus Galaticus.* In this case, however, the indication that the district did not originally belong to Galatia lies not in the adjective but in the substantive *(Pontus)*; and the case will not be changed even if, for the sake of brevity, the substantive is dropped, for the reader would still have supplied the word *Pontus.* The substantive 'region' (χώρα), also, Ramsay considers to be against the interpretation 'Old Galatian,' and to point to a new district recently added; and the position is supported (*Church*(4), 483) by the newly-adopted rendering of 'Phrygia' (Φρυγία) in 1823 as an adjective, inasmuch as hereby, besides the Lycaonian, the Phrygian district which had been newly added to Galatia is designated as 'region' (χώρα). But in Mk. 15 'the Judza region' (ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα) is quite the same as 'Judza' (ἡ Ἰουδαία) in the parallel Mt. 35. In truth, it is quite arbitrary to assume, as Ramsay does, that region (χώρα) must necessarily be the Greek equivalent for *regio* in the sense of an officially delimited division of a province. If 'region' (χώρα) in a non-official sense means simply 'district,' then 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα) will naturally mean the district inhabited by Galatians properly so-called—Le., 'Old' [North] Galatia. Nor would this meaning be exrluded even if 'region' (χώρα) were to be takenintheofficial sense.

There is, however, absolutely nothing remarkable in the author's employment of the non-official language. He does it, for example, also in Lk.28 826 1513-15 1912 Acts 1039 2620 (cp Jn. 1154). In so doing he follows the usage of the LXX (ἡ χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων, Gen. 1128 31 Neh. 97; τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, Is. 2713: τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Is. 1917; ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰγυπτίων, Is. 1919; Αἰγύπτου, Is. 1920; εἰς γῆν Σηεὶρ εἰς χώραν Ἐδώμ, Gen. 32 3 [4] [χώρα thus = γῆ: just as in 11 28 31 γῆ and χώρα are parallel]). This use of language deprives of all force Ramsay's question (*Exp.*, '986, p. 126 = *Gal.* 314 [ch. 23]): 'Why should Luke alone employ everywhere a different name for the country, diverging from the universal usage of Greek and Latin writers, and also from his master Paul?' Lk.'s use of 'region' (χώρα) shows that he is employing not (in a strict sense) a name but a periphrasis as in Acts 1039 2620 (χώρα τῆς Ἰουδαίας). Perhaps the purpose of the periphrasis is to suggest the participation of the inhabitants in the events recorded (cp col. 1604, n. 3). It may even be conjectured that Lk. uses 'region' (χώρα) in the non-official sense in all the other passages also (Acts 1349 [as in Lk. 1514], Acts 1220 Lk. 31), perhaps also in Acts 81, although the plural (χῶραι) can also mean the country districts as contrasted with the town, as in Lk. 2121. As for the divergence from the practice of Paul in particular, since that apostle would certainly have found such a periphrasis inappropriate in passages

so formal as Gal. 1 2 1 Cor. 16 1 (2 Tim. 4 10), we are unable to find in these few passages any proof that he never expressed himself otherwise. On the other hand, we cannot share Ramsay's presupposition that the author of Acts was a companion of Paul and painfully followed his manner of expressing himself except in cases where he could follow a usage that had a Greek rather than a Roman flavour (see next col., note 2, end).

Ramsay insists that, on account of the common article, the words 'the Phrygia(n) and Galatic region' (τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν) in 16 6 must denote a single territory, which must thus have lain in South Galatia. This cannot be conceded, if only because 'and' (καὶ) in the sense of 'or' (*sive*) can never be the rule, but only at most a rare exception.[1]

14. And of the common article.

Ramsay himself has withdrawn this contention by his further elaboration of his argument in the *Expos.*, '95*b*, pp. 26-40. There he says rightly, that the writer of Acts regards two substantives, when he takes them together under one article, as a unity only in a certain sense—namely, as a pair. He denies the applicability of this rule to 166 not because in this passage we are dealing with adjectives,' not substantives, but only because the two, if regarded as different countries, would belong to different provinces ('Phrygia' [Φρυγία], he says rightly, on this view—that is, on the North Galatian theory—must be the part pertaining to the province of Asia), and because, accordingly, preaching bad been prohibited in Phrygia but not in Galatia.

Even if this distinction had to be made, there was nothing in it to prevent the writer, in so summary a narrative, from including both districts under one article.[2] To do so became still easier as he employed the common substantive 'region,' χώρα (it is best, with Ramsay, to take 'Phrygia' [Φρυγία] in 16 6, as well as in 18 23, as an adjective).[3]

Apart from this, there is another answer to Ramsay's objection. If by Phrygia (following one of the two possibilities mentioned above, § 10, end) we are to understand the remaining portion of Galatian Phrygia which Paul and Silas had still to traverse before entering North Galatia, the prohibition to preach applies to this just as little as to the 'Galatic region' (Γαλατικὴ χώρα). Or, if Asian Phrygia is intended—the conclusion come to under § 11—and by Asia not the entire province of Asia but only 'in the popular sense' 'the Ægean coast lands' without Phrygia (§ 15; cp Ramsay, *Church,* chap. 8 2), the prohibition to preach applies to Phrygia as little as to the 'Galatic region' and the two quite accurately constitute a pair.

It would not, it is true, be permissible to take 'Asia' in this popular sense if the view held by Ramsay—formerly at least (***Church.*** 8 2)—were correct: the view, namely, that the narrative of Paul's travels—all of them, not merely the 'we' portions—under Paul's influence invariably uses the geographical expressions that were capable of more than one meaning in the official Roman sense, and that Luke, the author of the narrative, is distinguished by this from the usage of Acts elsewhere, which in 2 9 *f.* (where Phrygia is mentioned along with

15. Official usage not strict in Lk.

Asia), and perhaps also in 6 9, follows the popular use. Even at this earlier date, however, Ramsay found himself forced to concede that, in the case of Iconium, Lk. follows the popular usage (see above, col. 1597, n. 2). As Ramsay now completely identifies the author of the entire book of Acts with the author of the journey-narrative (*St. Paul*, ch. 17 1), he is all the less justified in attributing to the latter in 16 6 a conception of 'Asia' different from that in 2 9.[1] Moreover, the critical view of Acts regards both passages as due to the author of the complete work, the 'we' source not beginning till 16 9. Thus that 'Asia' is used in the popular sense in 16 6 becomes probable, because it is so used undoubtedly in 2 9 and the remaining passages in Acts admit of either interpretation.[2]

Here, then, we can now say still more precisely than in § 11 that Paul, proceeding from South Galatia (Lystra, etc. 16 1-5) westwards, had already reached Asia (in the narrower sense) or at least its neighbourhood (16 6 *b*); that, on account of the prohibition to preach there, he directed his steps (16 6 *a*) towards the NE., and founded, first, in Asian Phrygia, those churches which we find him visiting anew in 18 23, and afterwards those in North Galatia.[3] As for the word Phrygia, it must unquestionably be used in the popular sense, for the word has no different official sense whatever. The word thus includes in point of language the whole of the former territory of Phrygia, and it is only as a matter of fact that the meaning is limited to the Asian portion (see above, § 11).

Apart, however, from the question whether Lk. adhered exactly to the usage of Paul, it is quite unpermissible to say of Paul that he invariably confined himself to the official usage.[4]

16. Or in Paul.

1 Ramsay even supports this rendering (*St.* ***Paul,*** ch. 9 4, n. 1, p. 210 *f.*) by Acts 13 9—'Saul, who also [is] Paul,'—Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος—as if 'also' and 'or' were the same (cp Winer's *Gramm.*(8) § 18, n. 6; in Moulton's translation of the earlier edition, 133). Hardly less bold is the rule which he lays down in *St. Paul, l.c.*: 'when a list is given in Greek, the items of which are designated by adjectives with the same noun, the regular order is to use the noun with the first alone'; and in *Church*(4), 486: 'when two separate things, designated by the same noun accompanied by different adjectives, are coupled together, the proper order is to express the noun with the first adjective and to leave it to be understood with the second.' He has himself found it necessary to recognise exceptions in Strabo (*Church*(4), 486†).

2 Ramsay (*Expos.*, '95 6, pp. 29-33) does not venture to allege that in Acts two districts can be grouped under *a* common article only when they are politically connected; he is constrained to add that this may happen also if they constitute a unity for the purpose of the mission. Even this, however, hardly holds good in 15 3, and certainly not in 19 21 or in—what he himself recognises as an exception—27 5.

3 Ramsay is mistaken in supposing that the adiectival character of Phrygia' (Φρυγία) is an argument against the North Galatian theory.

1 Ramsay believes it possible from his point of view to maintain so much at least—that Luke, as long as he was under the influence of Paul, and thus while he was writing out his memoirs of the journey, followed the official usage, and only afterwards adopted the popular. Such a change would in itself be remarkable enough. Moreover, see § 16.

2 See the enumeration of them given elsewhere (ASIA, col. 339 end, col. 340 end). In ***Stud. bibl. et eccles.*** (4 43-46) Ramsay withdraws his concession of a popular use of the word Asia in a sense less extended than as denoting the province, because other writers of the same period use 'Asia' only of the entire quarter of the globe if not of the province. But an author who, as in Acts 2 9 *f.*, names Phrygia alongside of Asia unquestionably does employ 'Asia' in a narrower sense than as denoting the province of this name; and the fact remains, even if this usage is not followed by other writers. Against the restriction of the meaning to Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and smaller districts—in short, the Egean coast lands—Ramsay, *Stud Bibl.* 4 30 *f.*, urges that it did not come in till after the division of the province in 295 A.D. The point, however, is not whether exactly these districts are what is meant, but merely that Phrygia is not included along with them. On Ramsay's own showing (***Church,*** chap. 8 2) this was so also when the province of Asia was constituted in 133 B.C.; and the narrower use of 'Asia' (without Phrygia), which unquestionably occurs in Acts 2 9, may be a survival from that time. As for the name Galatia, the fact of its not occurring in Acts 13 *f.* might seem to make against its being used in Acts in the official sense. The objection would apply with double force on Ramsay's assumption that when Luke mentions a certain district in which Paul proposes to make a missionary tour, he always names it by its comprehensive and official name before particularising (*Exp.*, '95 6, 35-40). The assumption, however, cannot be maintained. Ramsay himself in one place (*St.* ***Paul***, ch. 5 1, p. 91) limits the assumption by the insertion of the word 'usually,' but he afterwards (*ib.* ch. 9 1, p 196) leaves it unqualified ('wherever'). Apart from the notices of entrances upon new missionary fields, Ramsay attributes the employment of the official phraseology to Luke in other places also (ch. 6 1, no. 3, p. 135 *f.* and ch. 11 4, p. 253 *f.*). On the other hand, in *Exp.* '98 *b*, p. 126 = *Gal.* chap. 23, p. 315, he accentuates the opposite hew: 'it has been shown in page after page of my *Si.* ***Paul*** that Luke follows the Greek popular and colloquial usage, as it was current among the more educated half of society in the cities of the Egean land' (cp § 13, end).

3 We assume, with Ramsay, that in Acts 16 6 and in other (though not, as Ramsay holds, in all) places in Acts the 'going through' (διέρχεσθαι) was accompanied with missionary preaching. See ASIA, col. 340, n. 1. Compare also the conjecture regarding 'region' (χώρα) above, § 13 (col. 1602. end).

4 So Ramsay, ***Church,*** chap. 8 2, *St.* ***Paul,*** chap. 6 1, no. 3, p. 135 *f.*; *Exp.*, '98 6, pp. 29-32 125 *f.* = *Gal.* chap. 14, pp. 275-

The assertion may possibly hold good for 2 Cor. 11 9, if, as Ramsay (*Exp.*, '95 6, p. 38) tells us, Philippi did not belong to *Macedonia* in popular parlance, for 2 Cor. 11 8 *f.* certainly relates to the same events as Phil. 4 15 *f.* Besides this instance, there is yet one other—curiously enough, unnoticed by Ramsay—which favours his view. Galilee and Samaria became incorporated with *Judæa* as a single territory under Roman rule—according to Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 9 2 *BJ* ii. 11 6, after the death of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts 12 23) in 44 A.D., but according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 12 54) after the deposition of Ventidius Cumanus in 52 A.D. (Schür. *GJV* 1 476 *f.*, ET 2 172 *ff.*). That the official name of this territory was Judæa we have evidence going as far back as 69 A.D. (Tac. *Hist.* 2 5). It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that the name had been already given to it in 44 A.D. (or 52 A.D.). If, now, we are at liberty to assume the existence of Christian churches in Galilee we may be sure that Paul did not intend to exclude them when he wrote 1 Thess. 2 14 Gal. 1 22. As, nevertheless, he mentions only Judæa, he appears to be following the official phraseology.[1]

All the other passages adduced by Ramsay, on the other hand, prove nothing.

Judæa is named by Paul in 2 Cor. 1 16, Rom. 15 31 also; but here only the narrower meaning need be understood.

Where, apart from 2 Cor. 11 9, he names *Macedonia* (1 Thess. 1 7 *f.* 4 10, 1 Cor. 16 5, 2 Cor. 1 16 2 13 7 5 8 1, Rom. 15 26, and also Phil. 4 15) the apostle may be using the word quite as well in its popular as in its official sense.

So also with the *Syria and Cilicia* of Gal. 1 21. The order in which they are named here is not in accordance with that in Acts 9 30 11 25 *f.*, which brings Paul from Jerusalem first to Cilicia, and then to Syria. Ramsay seeks to remove the discrepancy by showing that at that time Syria and Cilicia were united as a single province but had not received a common name. But should Paul ever have found it necessary to enumerate them in an order which was not that of his actual route, this necessity could only have arisen from the existence of a fixed and unvarying *usus loquendi* such as we have for example in the case of *provincia Bithynia et Pontus.* Ramsay himself, however, has to confess that in the present instance he has not been able to find any proof of such a fixed usage. All that he can adduce is a collocation of three names (*Exp.*, '98 6, p. 31 *f.* = *Gal.* ch. 14, p. 277 *f.*; *Stud. bibl. et eccl.* 4 24) in accordance with which be designates the province on his own map in *St. Paul* 'provincia Syria et Cilicia et Phœnice'; but this he takes so little seriously that in the same work (*St. Paul* ch. 8 1, p. 181) he says 'Cilicia was part of Syria.' But that Paul is thinking of Syria and Cilicia as a geographical unity is rendered positively improbable by his repetition of the article (τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας).[2]

Where Paul then mentions *Asia* (1 Cor. 16 19 2 Cor. 1 8) and *Achaia* (1 Thess. 1 7 *f.* 2 Cor. 1 1 9 2 11 10 Rom. 15 26), the popular sense is quite as possible as the official. Indeed, if it is accepted as a fact (so, for example, by Ramsay) that Paul made some converts to Christianity in Athens (Acts 17 33 *f.*), whilst yet we find him calling the Corinthian Stephanas (1 Cor. 1 16 16 15) his first convert in Achaia, he here uses Achaia in its popular sense, which, as Ramsay tells us (*Exp.*, '95 6, p. 38), did not include Athens (see ACHAIA). If Rom. 15 19 is assumed to be genuine and Tit. 3 12 to have reference to it, Paul here uses *Illyricum* in a wider sense, which includes the whole coast of Epirus as far as to Actium, where the Epirotic Nicopolis lay. Epirus never was part of Illyria. From 40 B.C. onwards they did not even touch each other; the southern border of Illyria was much farther N., passing through Scodra and Lissus on the Drilon. There are many other cities named Nicopolis, but not one of them in any district visited, so far as we know, by Paul. Ramsay does not express himself upon 1 Cor. 16 15 and Tit. 3 12; but on the other hand he notes that in Rom. 15 19 Paul uses the Roman form 'Illyricum' whilst the Greeks used *Illyrikos* only as an adjective, the substantive being *Illyris* (*Exp.*, '98 6, p. 30 = *Gal.* chap. 14, p. 276 *f.*). This, however, tells us nothing as to the geographical denotation of the expression.[3] Further (*Exp.* and *Gal.*, as above) he lays emphasis on the point that in 2 Tim. 4 10 Paul designates as Dalmatia the province which in Rom. 15 19 he had called *Illyrikon* in agreement, he thinks, with the change in the name of Illyria which had actually happened in the closing years of the apostle's life, Dalmatia having previously denoted only the southern portion of that province. It is, however, a mere begging of the question to assume that the Dalmatia of 2 Tim. 4 10 covers the same area as the Illyria of Rom. 15 19. Dalmatia in Timothy could quite as easily mean that part of Illyria which in popular speech had retained its old name.

Further, it is not legitimate to argue for Paul's adoption of the official phraseology from the fact that he nowhere employs geographical expressions which have only a popular but no official meaning; before doing so, it would be necessary to produce passages in which Paul had occasion to use such expressions, and yet avoided doing so. Lastly, that Paul must have followed the official usage on account of the manner in which his missionary activity connected itself with the official capitals (*Exp.*, '95 6. p. 35 *f.*, and often) is a mere theory that proves nothing.

Moreover, even if Paul did invariably follow the official practice, the conclusion so often based upon this—viz., that Paul must by Galatia have meant South Galatia—would still be quite illegitimate. As if North Galatia did not equally belong to the province of Galatia! Thus, if we assume the word Galatia to be used in its official sense, it becomes only a possibility, not a necessity, that our epistle was addressed to South Galatians.

17. 'All the disciples' no disproof of North Galatia.

In 18 23 Paul 'stablishes *all the disciples.*' As there were disciples in South Galatia, it has been thought by some that we must interpret only in this sense 'the Galatic region (τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν) traversed by him along with Phrygia, and that North Galatia must be excluded. To escape the second necessity, some have assumed the course of the journey to have been as in 16 6—first through South Galatia and afterwards through North Galatia (against this see, further, § 11 above). Neither assumption is at all compelled by the text. 'All' (πάντας) must be meant to be limited by the route stated to have been taken. One who travels through Galatia (and Phrygia) can stablish only the disciples whom he finds there—in other words, if South Galatia is meant, only the South Galatians—if North Galatia, only those of the N. The possibility of the existence of the latter is not excluded by the fact that there were disciples in South Galatia. 'In order' (καθεξῆς) in like manner means only that Paul visited successively each church which lay on his route, not that he visited every place in Asia Minor where there were disciples.

18. Nor difficulties of the journey.

It may be the case that in wide districts of North Galatia nothing but Celtic was spoken, and that travelling in the interior—especially for an invalid (Gal. 4 13)—was very arduous. Lightfoot's assumption, however, that Paul carried his mission throughout the whole of North Galatia is as gratuitous as it is embarrassing. Ramsay's disinclination towards the North Galatian theory is in large measure due to the fact that he looks at it only in the form presented by Lightfoot. In reality, it is sufficient to suppose that during his illness, or during his convalescence, Paul founded a few churches, none of them very far apart,

278, chap. 23, p. 314; also Zahn (*Einl. in das NT*, 5 11, n. 4), who, however, although a supporter of the South Galatian theory, traverses every other contention of Ramsay's dealt with above in §§ 9-15 (so far as they are to be found in *Church; St. Paul* he had not yet seen).

[1] This of course will not hold good if we follow the chronology (based on Tacitus) adopted by O. Holtzmann (*NT'liche Zeitgesch.* 128-130) and Harnack (*Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.* ii. [= *Chronol.*] 1 233-239), for in this case both epistles belong to a date earlier than the introduction of the official nomenclature.

[2] The omission of the second article, though adopted by Ramsay as the right reading, is supported only by ℵ* among the uncials.

[3] To a like category belongs Ramsay's assertion (*Exp.*, '98 6, p. 135 = *Gal.* chap. 25, p. 321) that Paul of set purpose calls the Philippians *Philippēsioi* (Phil. 4 15), which 'is the Greek representative of the Latin Philippensis, according to a rule familiar to archæologists . . . he avoids the Greek ethnic, which was Φιλιππεύς or Φιλιππηνός. He would not address the inhabitants of a Roman colony by a Greek name, but only by the Latin name written in Greek form. Elsewhere (*J. of Theol. Stud.* 1 116 ['99]) he says still more definitely: 'the suffix -ήσιος was only used in Greek to reproduce Latin names. But—does not Homer call the Ithacans Ἰθακήσιοι (*Od.* 2 25 and often)? Bühler (*Das griech. Secundärsuffix* -της 40 [Gött., '58]), besides a large number of other adjectives in this termination, has collected fifteen which are derived from proper names—among them names of various Greek places—in which a derivation from the Latin *-ensis* is quite improbable. Ὑβλήσιος occurs in documents in Demosthenes, Ἀκακήσιος in Callimachus (*circa* 260 B.C.). Nor are they all derivatives from words ending in -η or -α, such as Ἰθάκη or Ὕβλα. Not to mention any but words that are unquestionably early, from pre-Roman times: Ἀκακήσιος comes from Ἄκακος (like βροτήσιος, therefore, in Hesiod, and ἀροτήσιος in Aratus, *circa* 270 B.C.), and Τιταρήσιος is, in *Iliad*, 2 751, a river descending from Mount Τιτάριον, in Hesiod, *Shield*, 181, and in Apollonius of Rhodes (*circa* 250 B.C.), a man from the same district. Cp also Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm. d. griech. Sprache*, § 334, n. 2.

and all situated in the W. of North Galatia, where acquaintance with Greek, as far as Pessinus and Germa are concerned, is conceded even by Ramsay *(Church,* chap. 6 1, no. 6). Nor, in this case, need the Galatian mission have taken up such an excessive amount of time as to embarrass the chronology of the journeys of Paul, as Ramsay supposes (*Church*, 84-86).[1]

Even granting that our first notice of a bishop (and so of a Christian church) in these regions is as late as 325 A.D., whilst for Ancyra, more to the eastward, on the other hand, it is as much as some thirty years earlier, we have in this no sufficient justification for saying, as Ramsay does (*St. bibl. et eccl.* 419), that 'the only form of the North Galatian theory that is not a historical absurdity is Lightfoot's, who held that Paul's Galatian churches were in the great cities, especially Ancyra.'

The limitation of the old Galatian missionary field indicated above deprives of much of its weight the objection that the founding of the North Galatian Churches is not recorded in Acts. Ramsay repeatedly declares their existence to be for him incredible for the reason that, had they existed, he could no longer hold Acts to be a work produced within the first century by a companion of Paul *(Church,* chap. 8, and pp. 59 83 86 *f.*, etc.). On the claim for Acts thus presupposed by Ramsay, see ACTS, §§ 2, 4-7, 12-14. As far as the silence of Acts as to the founding of the North Galatian churches is concerned, it may be pointed out that the same book says practically nothing about the founding of the churches in Cilicia, and absolutely nothing about those of Colossæ and Rome, or about Paul's journey to Corinth. which we infer from 2 Cor. 2 1 12 14 12 21-13 2. Still more noteworthy is its absolute suppression of the very name of Titus on account of the bitter controversy that had been waged over him (Gal.23). The same consideration must have determined the author to recall as little as possible the memory of the Galatian churches within which there had been such violent disputes. Not till 18 23, and even then only incidentally, does he allude to their existence.

19. Nor the silence of Acts.

iii. *NT references suit North Galatia best.— If* it is to be held as proven that Paul did found churches in North Galatia, the point which we have now to determine is whether the references in the NT, and especially in Galatians, snit North or South Galatia better. That both portions of the province are meant equally is inadmissible. According to Gal. 4 13-15, the occasion of their founding must have been the same for all the Galatian churches.

Nothing decisive is made ont when it is proved that passages in Galatians which would be appropriate to North Galatia are suitable also to the South. *(a)* Had Paul actually circumcised Timothy and delivered the decree of the apostles (Acts 16 3 *f.* ; but see ACTS, § 7, and COUNCIL, § 10), enabling the Judaizers to cite a case of self-contradiction in view of his preaching of freedom from the law (Ramsay, *St. Paul,* chap. 8 2, *Exp.*, '986, pp. 17-20 193 *f.* = *Gal.* [chap. 8] pp. 256-260, [chap. 27] pp. 324-326; but on Gal. 5 11 1 10, see next article, §§ 10 and 13, n.), the fact could have been proclaimed quite as easily in North as in South Galatia. (6) Star gods, which are meant by the στοιχεῖα in 4 3 9 (EV, ELEMENTS, *q.v.*, § 2), were worshipped not only in Antiochia Pisidia (where moon-worship is proved to have existed); and castration and stigmatisation (if 5 12 6 17 do really refer to the practice of these in pagan worships) also were widely spread. (c) Gal. 3 28 is regarded by Ramsay (*Church,* 43) as an 'allusion' to the readers 'as Greeks . . . for purpose of courtesy.' This also would be equally appropriate for North Galatia. Besides, the statement can be intended quite generally, without any 'allusion' at all.

20. Indecisive arguments.

[1] This divergence from Lightfoot's view is therefore not, as might perhaps at first appear, a half retractation of the North Galatian theory and an approximation to the South Galatian. It is simply a better formulating of the North Galatian, which avoids the difficulties needlessly introduced by Lightfoot.

(d) Paul can conceivably have been received as an 'angel of God' (ἄγγελος θεοῦ) (4 14) on other occasions besides that of his deification at Lystra (Acts 14 11-18), to which Ramsay *(Church,* chap. 6 1, no. 9 ; *St. Paul,* chap. 58) refers the passage. *(e)* Ramsay argues *(Church,* chap. 6 2) that if in the Pauline Epistles the South Galatians are alluded to only in 2 Tim. 3 11, and not in Galatians and 1 Cor. 16 1, Acts must be regarded as unhistorical when it speaks of his conspicuous love for them ; yet that an erroneous representation of the kind could not have arisen in the second century, in which those churches had no importance whatever. Very possibly, however, Paul may have written epistles to the South Galatians which we no longer possess. An epistle to the Laodiceans has perhaps been lost (Col. 4 16) ; certainly onq to Corinth has (1 Cor. 5 9 11). The apostle may in any case be supposed to have loved the North Galatians also, as far, at least, as to write an epistle to them if it was they who stood in danger of drifting away from the true Gospel.

Another argument for the South Galatian address of the Epistle is found by Ramsay in the language used by Paul regarding inheritance and other matters.

21. Inheritance, etc.

1. *The laws of inheritance according to Ramsay.*—

(a) When the Gentiles who follow Abraham in his faith are called his sons (Gal. 3 7) this Ramsay holds, has its explanation in the conception that 'the; are *heirs* of his faith. This conception, he goes on to say, rests upon a law of inheritance according to which only sons (real or adoptive), not daughters or strangers, can inherit, so that, conversely also, all heirs can be called sons. Such was indeed the ancient Roman law of inheritance. In Paul's time, however, it was by Roman law open to a man to make any one his heir without adopting him as a son. On the other hand, the ancient Roman idea held good in the Greek law, and this according to Ramsay's conjecture had 'certainly' been introduced, into South Galatia under Alexander the Great and the Seleucidæ (334-189 B.C.) long before it came under the Roman rule, and had continued to be the law under that rule while in North Galatia the Romans had introduced their contemporary law at once in place of that of the Celts (*Exp.*, '986, pp. 203-6 290-94 = *Gal.* [chaps. 31 35] pp. 337-344, 370-375).

(b) Further, according to the contemporary law of Rome, a will remained secret during the lifetime of the testator, came into force only at his death, and until his death could always be changed by the testator. In Ramsay's view, the opposite is the case with the will (διαθήκη) of Gal. 3 15 17 and therefore he thinks, it is a will in the Greek sense that Paul has in his mind. Such a will was from the first 'open and public, immediately effective, and irrevocable,' 'it must be deposited either in original or in a properly certified copy in the Record Office' of the city, 'and the officials there were bound to satisfy themselves that it was a properly valid document before they accepted it; if there was an earlier will, the later must not he accepted unless it was found not to interfere with the preceding one ; and so it continued to he in South Galatia down to the apostle's time, whatever the changes, greater or smaller, it may have passed through elsewhere (*Exp.*, '986, pp. 299-303 326-9 435 = *Gal.* [chaps. 33 34 39] pp. 349-355 364-368 384).

(c) Lastly, in Roman law, a son under age remains till his fourteenth year under a tutor, and till his twenty-fifth under a curator. The tutors, Ramsay takes it, answer to the 'guardians' (ἐπίτροποι), the curators to the 'stewards' (οἰκονόμοι) of Gal. 4 2. He discovers, however, this difference—that according to Roman law the father can nominate by will only the tutor, not also the curator, of his son. Greek law here presents no analogy; it seems to know only 'guardians' (ἐπίτροποι), not 'stewards' (οἰκονόμοι). On the other hand, Ramsay finds a full analogy to what we meet with in Galatians in the 'Syro-Roman,' or as he prefers to call it 'Græco-Syrian,' 'law-hook' of the fifth century A.D., edited by Bruns and Sachau in 1880. Here the father nominates by will not only the future 'guardian' (ἐπίτροπος) but also the future curator of his son. Ramsay holds that this law dates from the time of the Seleucidæ, and had force in South Galatia before that of Rome. When in Syria the Roman law likewise became influential, 'the name *curator* was substituted,' in the Syrian law-book referred to, 'for *oikonomos*,' while the word *epitropos*, written, however, in Syriac letters, was retained (*Exp.*, '98 *b*, pp. 439-441 = *Gal.* [chap. 41] pp. 391-393).

2. *Are the facts established?*—The present writer is not in a position to bring to a test these various statements in all their details, It has to be observed, however, not only that many of them are pure conjectures, but also that what they allege regarding Greek law is in the most essential points at variance with what we know as Attic law, or indeed as Greek law generally.

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(*a*) Schulin,[1] Beauchet,[2] as also Thalheim,[3] find in an author as early as Isæus (*circa* 370 B.C.) that in Athens a man was at liberty to make any one his heir without adopting him; and Lipsius (in Meier-Schoemann, *Attischer Process*, 2 590 *f.*) and Mitteis (*Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, 341) accept this as holding good everywhere for the third century B.C., since the testaments of the philosophers as preserved to us by Diogenes Laertius certainly are not restricted to the Attic field alone. The wills of Greek settlers recently discovered in the Faiyûm in like manner reveal a similar state of the law (Mahaffy, 'On the Flinders Petrie papyri' in *Cunningham Mem. Roy. Ir. Acad.* no. 8, '91, Introd. p. 41). This last is the only instance noted by Ramsay; but he does not regard it as having any bearing on South Galatia; he holds it to be a 'rapid development' extending to Greek wills only in the case of the soldiers in question who in Egypt were separated from their families. But it is not only unproven, it is quite improbable, that Paul and the South Galatians should have remained entirely unaffected by this development which had been going on in Athens and elsewhere for three or four centuries, and that they should have gone on taking it for granted as a matter of course that no one could inherit except an actual or an adopted son. The Syrian law-book also does not show any continuance of what Ramsay calls the Greek law, for it allows the testator to name as his heirs his wife or his illegitimate children alongside of his legitimate children (London Text, §§ 36, 63, pp. 12, 19).

(*b*) In Attic law, not only written wills in most cases were sealed and deposited without disclosure of their contents, and opened only after the death of the testator (Diog. Laert. v. 2 14, § 57; Aristoph. *Wasps*, 583-90; Isæus, 6 27 7 1; Bekker, *Char. I.* sc. 9) but they could also be demanded back by the testator in order to be destroyed or declared in the presence of witnesses to be no longer valid (Isæus, 6 30-32; Meier-Schoemann, 2 596 *f.*; Thalheim, § 10; Schulin, pp. 7-9; Beauchet, 3 668-672). The passages referred to also supply the proof that a will did not of necessity require to be deposited with a magistrate, that it could equally well be entrusted to a private person, or for greater security, to several private persons.[4] This effectually disposes of the theory that there was an official inspection of the contents of a will. In fact, even in the Faiyûm, where a public Record Office has recently been brought to light, Mahaffy (*op. cit.* Introd. p. 41) assures us that 'the entry of these private documents on the records of some public office is not accompanied by any supervision, any official countersigning of each as inspected and approved by the State.'

For Ramsay, however, the most important thing is the irrevocability of a will. None of the scholars we have cited know anything of this. Schulin (*ut supr.*), who deals, not with Attic wills only, but with all Greek wills accessible to him, never mentions it; indeed the opposite is taken to be self-evident, and both Schulin (21 *f.* 49) and Beauchet (222) affirm that, so far as Athens is concerned, even a will containing an adoption could at any time be recalled though an adoption completed during the lifetime of the adoptive father was irrevocable. Nor can Ramsay call the Syrian law-book to his aid; on this point it follows the Roman view, according to which an earlier will is annulled by a later (London Text, 45, p. 15). Here Ramsay in fact relies exclusively on the wills found in the Faiyûm. These, however, by no means prove what he requires. He adduces only this, that on them 'is often contained the provision that the testator is free to alter or invalidate' (*Exp.*, '98*b*, p. 329 = *Gal.* chap. 34, p. 366 *f.*), from which he infers 'the customary presumption that the *diatheke* is irrevocable.' But the customary presumption has no legally binding force, otherwise it would not be possible for wills to be revoked; and Ramsay himself says (*Gal.* 366): 'I confess that several high English authorities on Greek wills in Egypt, when consulted privately, expressed the opinion that these wills were revocable at the testator's desire'; though he adds: 'but they have not satisfied me that the evidence justifies that opinion earlier than the Roman time and Roman influence.' In the interests of Ramsay's argument, to have been able to adduce a single instance in which Greek differed from Roman law in this respect would have been much more valuable than any number of conjectures; in point of fact, so far as we have been able to discover, it is not possible, in the Greek sphere, to point to any area, however limited, within which prevailed that irrevocability which Ramsay (Gal. 351) without qualification speaks of as 'a characteristic feature of Greek law.' His assumption might be explicable if we could venture to suppose that in bringing into such intimate connection the ideas of will-making and adoption (*e.g.*, *Exp.*, '986, p. 301, 'the appointment of an heir was the adoption of a son,' and, conversely, Gal. 351, 'the adoption was the will-making') he held all wills to be irrevocable because adoption by a person while still alive was irrevocable: but this would be a daring supposition. Moreover

1 *Das griech. Test.*, Basel, 1882, pp. 29-33.

2 *Histoire du droit privé de la république Athénienne* 3 ('97) 691-697.

3 In Hermann, *Lehrb. d. griech. Antt.*(4) ii. 1 = *Rechtsalterthümer* ('95), p. 72, n. 3.

4 Dareste, *Bull. de Corresp. Hellen.*, 1882, pp. 241-245, on whom Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 2 363 *f.* and *Gal.* 355, relies, produces inscriptional evidence for the existence of a public archive in more than thirty cities, chiefly in Asia Minor, but of the depositing of a deed of adoption in only one, of the depositing of a will in none.

we know that at Gortyna in Crete (see Gortyna inscr. 11 10 *ff.*) even an adoption *inter vivos*, such as we have been speaking of, could be revoked, and the Arabic and Armenian versions of the Syrian law-book already referred to are in remarkable agreement with this (102 [101], p. 109, 140; Mitteis, 214 *f.*). The Egyptian wills have been cited by Ramsay so vaguely that it is impossible to verify them in detail, and moreover many of them still remain unpublished. The present writer is unable to say where it was that the customary presumption, against which the testators guard themselves, held good. Perhaps their saving clause has no reference to any actual law. According to Mahaffy (Introd. p. 39), in them often 'a son is mentioned as sole heir.' When the revocability of the testament is spoken of it is conceivable that we have another instance, similar to that just cited, in which it is the obvious that is said.

(c) If οἰκονόμος in Paul's time, and even as far back as the time of the Seleucidæ (so Ramsay, *Exp.*, '986, p. 441 = *Gal.* chap. 41, p. 393), corresponded to the Latin *curator*, why is it that in the Syrian law-book the Latin is substituted for οἰκονόμος only, and not for ἐπίτροπος also? Why does the Roman jurist Modestinus in his Greek treatise *de Excusationibus* (3rd cent. A.D.) also write ἐπίτροπος, but in Greek letters κουράτωρ (Lex 1, Dig. de confirmando tutore vel curatore 26 3, in *Corp. Jur. Civ.*, edd. Krüger and Mommsen, 1 3366, also 340*a* 352*a*, and often)? Ramsay has not observed that Mitteis (p. 217 *f.*) adopts the view of Bruns, the co-editor of the Syrian law-book and himself a lawyer, and confirms it by additional examples, that 'the formal distinction drawn by the Romans between *tutela* and *cura* was not rightly understood by the Orientals.' Bruns says (p. 184 *f.*), and certainly with justice: 'the ancient Greeks had only one kind of tutelage and therefore had only one word—ἐπίτροπος—to express it. This word the later Greeks restricted to the meaning of *tutor*, and they introduced alongside of it the word κουράτωρ.' Indeed, when weight is laid upon the Egyptian papyri, it ought to be observed that alongside of ἐπίτροπος they employ as a second word to designate male tutors, not οἰκονόμος but φροντιστής (*Aegypt. Urkunden aus . . . Berlin*: griech. Urknnden, no. 352 9 420 5 427 9 2 7 3, cp 447 18 *f.* 21 [2nd cent. A.D.], and often). Mitteis (pp. 156, 217) in speaking of a Peloponnesian inscription of the second century A.D. (cp Lebas et Waddington, *Voyage Archeologique*, 2 2, no. 243*a* [p. 515] l. 10) in which the representative of a woman describes himself as her φροντιστὴς καὶ κύριος, remarks without further note: 'φροντιστής is the translation of the Latin *curator*.' In the Egyptian documents cited above, φροντιστής, and, still more, κύριος, are the usual designations for the guardian of a woman.

3. *Are the legal conceptions applicable to Galatians?*— (*a*) Even were Ramsay's identification of sons and heirs justifiable, there would not be any fitness in the assumption that the Gentile followers of Abraham in his faith are regarded as *heirs* of his faith. Ramsay says (*Exp.*, '986, p. 203 = *Gal.* chap. 31, p. 337): 'the idea that they . . . are sons of Abraham . . . would certainly be understood by the Galatians as referring to the legal process called adoption, υἱοθεσία.' Now Paul indeed expressly uses this word in speaking of their adoption (Gal. 4 5); but this adoption makes them sons of God. He cannot at the same moment have intended to make out that they were by adoption sons of Abraham. On the contrary, their designation as 'sons of Abraham' is to be regarded as a mere Hebraism. 'Sons of the Prophets' (2 K. 2 3 Am. 7 14 etc., see SON) are those who adhere to, or follow, the prophets. It is precisely in this sense that we read in Rom. 4 12 of the believing gentiles that they 'walk in the steps of the faith of our father Abraham which he had in uncircumcision.' In the same way we are dealing only with a Hebrew idea when Paul in Rom. 4 11 *f.* 16-18 speaks of Abraham as their father. Ramsay's conjecture (*Exp.*, '986, p. 294 *f.* = *Gal.* chap. 31 p. 342 *f.*) that Paul uses this particular expression with a reference to the more comprehensive sense of the word *pater* (somewhat like *protector*), which is frequent in Latin, is quite away from the point.

(*b*) Even where it is possible to show that in some case a will comprising an adoption had been held to be irrevocable it would not be legitimate to assume that by the word διαθήκη, employed without qualification in Gal. 3 15 17, Paul and the Galatians understood a special kind of will—that, namely, associated with the adoption of a son; still less is it legitimate when it is remembered that in the case before us there can be no thought of adoption, Christ, God's own son (Rom. 8 32), being the sole heir. But if, as we contend, the apostle and his readers must have taken the word in its general sense, there is still less proof forthcoming for Ramsay's thesis that they must have held wills to be irrevocable. True Ramsay says (*Exp.*, '986; p. 301 = *Gal.* chap. 33, p. 351): 'We think of a will as secret and inoperative during the lifetime of the testator, as revocable by him at pleasure, and as executed by him only with a view to his own death. A will of that kind could have no application to God, and no such analogy could have been used by Paul.' These words can hardly be

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understood otherwise than as meaning that what Paul had in his mind was adoption by a person still alive. But this is absolutely excluded; διαθήκη in the language of the law as that had been long established in Paul's time never means anything else than a will made with reference to death (the sense of 'covenant' does not come into consideration here). It is of course true that the analogy to a man who makes arrangements with his death in view halts somewhat when applied to God; but that Paul does so apply it is unquestionable.

Thus another view of Gal. 3 15 17 19, which has the support of many scholars, though not taken into account by Ramsay, becomes all the more inevitable. When it is said (3 15) that 'no man maketh void or addeth to' a man's testament,' the testator himself is not to be regarded as included in the proposition. He himself might perhaps have it in his power to change it. Only, this possibility does not come into account in the case under consideration. For in the apostle's view it is not God but the angels who are regarded as authors of the Mosaic law, which announces a change of the divine purpose—compared to a testament—given in the promise to Abraham. Of the angels he assumes that their action was on their own responsibility, not at the command of God. On this interpretation, the question whether it is with Greek or with Roman law that we are dealing, does not arise. In every system of law it holds good that an outsider cannot alter another man's will.

(c) As for Gal. 4 2, the plural 'guardians and stewards' (ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους) makes it very improbable from the outset that the apostle is thinking of the son as being subject to the 'guardians' during one part of his minority and to the 'stewards' during another part only; for the law speaks, as is but natural, in the singular, of one tutor and one curator. If, however, Paul is thinking of both tutors and curators as discharging their office simultaneously it becomes impossible to detect his exact legal meaning. Equally impossible is it to do so if, as is not improbable, he is thinking of the father of the heir as still living. It must be remembered that in the figure the father is God. In 3 15 17 he is compelled to think of God as dead; but not in 4 1 *f.*

(*d*) Even if we grant, however, for the sake of argument, the possibility that Paul's manner of expressing himself in Galatians is in agreement with Greek law, what has been proved? Only that Paul himself was acquainted with this law, not by any means that his readers also were. Or has the apostle in other matters paid such careful regard to the circumstances of his readers? The Galatians were all, or nearly all, Gentile Christians (see next article, § 11) and yet he writes in a way that includes them also with reference to the Mosaic law, 'Christ redeemed *us* from the curse of the law' (3 13); '*we* were kept in ward under the law. . . so that the law hath been *our* tutor,' etc. (3 23-25), and 'Christ redeemed them which were under the law, that *we* might receive the adoption of sons' (4 5). The church of Corinth in like manner was, practically, entirely Gentile; yet Paul writes (1 Cor. 10 1), '*our* fathers were **all** under the cloud, and all passed through the sea,' etc. In the case of a writer who is so careless to guard his language on obvious and important points, it is futile to single out individual phrases, assume them to have been carefully chosen with reference to the special environment of the readers and on these to base far-reaching conclusions as to where that environment was (as, *e.g.*, Ramsay does in *Gal.* chap. **35**, p. 374).

The same remark applies to the proof of a South Galatian address which Ramsay finds in the 'tutor' (παιδαγωγός) of 3 24 *f.* on the ground that there were no slaves of this kind in North Galatia, or again in 3 28 because in South Galatia the women enjoyed greater independence than elsewhere (*Exp.*, '98 6, pp. 433-436, 438 *f.* = *Gal.* chap. 39 *f.*, pp. 381-385 389-391), and other proofs of the same nature.

It is probable that in Acts 20 4 we have an enumeration of the representatives of churches who had been

22. Acts 20 4.

appointed as men of trust, in accordance with 2 Cor. 8 18-23, to see to the due conveyance of the proceeds of the great collection to Jerusalem. Among these, whilst we find two South Galatians—Gaius and Timothy—no North Galatian is mentioned; and from this it has been supposed that in 1 Cor. 16 1 South Galatia must be meant. The list, however, is not complete. It has no representatives of Corinth and Philippi,[1] and names of North Galatians can equally well have been omitted. Above all, it would have been quite irrational to carry moneys from South Galatia to Jerusalem by way of Macedonia[2] and run all the risks (2 Cor. 11 26) of such a journey. Moreover, Timothy was the constant companion of Paul, and in like manner Gaius also will have been a member of the company on other accounts than that of the collection.

1 Cor. 16 1 comes into consideration for the reason that Paul presumably used 'Galatia' in Galatians in the

23. 1 Cor. 16 1.

same sense as here. Now, 1 Cor. 16 1 is held to refer to South Galatia, because it is deemed improbable that Paul did not invite the South Galatians also to take a part in the great love-offering of the Gentile churches. But he may very well have invited them even if 1 Cor. 16 1 refers to North Galatia. Paul here says only that he has appointed a particular manner of making the collection in Galatia. It is open to us to suppose that he has not as yet had occasion to do this for South Galatia also, or that another method had already been adopted there.

In Galatians Paul makes no reference to the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in Acts 18 22. From this is

24. Acts 18 22 unnoticed in Galatians.

drawn the inference that the epistle must have been addressed to South Galatia, because, as is shown by 'the former [time]' (τὸ πρότερον) in Gal. 4 13, Paul must have already visited the readers twice before the despatch of the epistle. These two visits can perhaps, if one is willing to be satisfied with the meagrest possible evidence, be held to be proved for South Galatia from Acts 13 14-14 20 and 14 21-23; or, the first visit from Acts 13 14-14 23 and the second from Acts 16 1-5; as far as North Galatia is concerned they are not to be found till 16 6 and 18 23. That, however, the journey of 18 22 *f.* may very well have occurred and yet not be mentioned in Galatians, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1*c*.

In Gal. 2 1-10 Paul speaks of the Council of Jerusalem as hitherto unknown to the Galatians. This also has

25. 'Council' unknown to Galatians.

suggested the inference that Paul's second visit to the readers must have occurred before the council—in other words, that it is related in Acts 14 21-23, and so must have been made to South Galatia. On the other hand, even if the Council of Jerusalem had already been held, Paul surely had every motive for keeping back as long as possible from newly-converted Gentile Christians all knowledge of the existence of misunderstandings of the kind. His principle was to feed such churches with milk, and to set forth Christ plainly before their eyes (1 Cor. 3 2 Gal. 3 1). At his second visit he had, it is true, found the churches already to some extent under the influence of Judaism (1 9, 'said before,' προειρήκαμεν, 5 3, 'again,' πάλιν); but the 'I marvel' (θαυμάζω) of 1 6 shows that he had left them in the honest belief that he had been successful in counteracting this danger.

[1] As the Corinthians had only shortly before brought against Paul the charge that he was applying the collection to his own purposes (2 Cor. 12 16-18), it would have been inconceivably imprudent on his part to take upon himself the responsibility for due conveyance of the Corinthian contribution (so Ramsay, *St. Paul*, chap. 13 2), even had he been asked to do so. In point of fact, the apostle had very clearly expressed, in 2 Cor. 8 20 *f.*, the principle by which he was precluded from this. That Luke was a Philippian is only a bold conjecture of Ramsay's (*St. Paul*, chap. 9 3 10 3 11 2 17 4, and frequently), quite apart from the consideration that it is by no means certain that it is Luke who speaks in 'we' (see ACTS, § 9).

[2] Προελθόντες, not προσελθόντες, must be read in 20 5; the latter is quite irreconcilable with the fact that the persons named have already accompanied Paul from Europe (συνείπετο 20 4).

GALATIA

From the 'again' (πάλιν) of 5 3 it is legitimate to infer that in this connection he had employed substantially the same arguments as those which he afterwards used in the epistle (*e.g.*, 5 2-4 3 1-5 4 9); and we may regard it as a proof of his apostolical wisdom that he declined to make use of the controversies of the Council of Jerusalem in furtherance of his end.

At the Council of Jerusalem Paul supported the interests of the readers of Galatians, according to the 'with you' (πρὸς ὑμᾶς) of 2 5. This would still hold good, however, even on the assumption that at that time they had not yet been converted—which was the case with the North Galatians. Paul was concerned at that crisis in vindicating freedom from the law for the churches which he was yet to found as well as for those which he had already established. Even if the letter be assumed to be addressed to South Galatians, 'with you' (πρὸς ὑμᾶς) constitutes only an individual application. That in the Council of Jerusalem Paul should have had in his mind only his South Galatian churches, and not equally those founded by him in Syria, Cilicia, etc., would be a wholly untenable supposition.

26. 'With you,' Gal. 2 5.

The sickness of Paul, alluded to in Gal. 4 13, Ramsay (*Church*, chap. 3, pp. 62-65) considers to have been malaria, which is endemic in Pamphylia, and, as he thinks, was the cause of the apostle's going for recovery to the more highly situated Antiochia Pisidia.

27. Paul's malady.

As Ramsay further (*St. Paul*, chap. 5 2) identifies this sickness with 'the thorn in the flesh' it is very improbable that malaria can be meant. The view finds no real support in the fact that fever occurs in inscriptions as a punishment sent by the gods of this lower world, to which Ramsay supposes the 'messenger of Satan' (ἄγγελος σατανᾶ) of 2 Cor. 12 7 to refer (*Exp.*, '99*b*, p. 21 *f.* = *Gal.* chap. 48, p. 423).

Unless 2 Cor. 12 7*a* is to be held to be meaningless, the apostle's malady was associated with ecstatic visions; and these are not, so far as we know, symptomatic of malaria, though certainly they are of epilepsy, with which Krenkel (among others) has identified Paul's 'thorn in the flesh' (*Beitr. zur Aufhellung der Gesch. u. d. Briefe d. Ap. Paulus*, '90, pp. 47-125, and, earlier in *ZWT*, '73, pp. 238-244). Ramsay (*Gal.* chap. 48, p. 427) himself says: 'In fact, it is the visions which give probability to the theory of epilepsy. . . . The theory is seductive. But are we prepared to accept the consequences? . . . Has the modern world, with all that is best and truest in it, been built upon the dreams of epileptic insanity?' This is the argument of a theologian, not of a historian.

However this may be, the fact that Pamphylia exposes the traveller to risks of malaria is no proof that Paul could not possibly have been seized with illness even in North Galatia. Moreover, Paul says that on account of his sickness he was received as an 'angel of god' (ἄγγελος θεοῦ; Gal. 4 14). About any reception of this kind in Antiochia Pisidia (where, according to Ramsay, he had this illness), we read nothing in Acts (on the contrary, we are told of a persecution instigated by the Jews [13 50], of which Galatians says nothing); and Ramsay cannot think of him any longer as having been ill in Lystra, where, according to Ramsay, the favourable reception occurred.

Thus, whilst on the points formerly discussed, all that it was possible to prove was that the individual actual data warranted the North Galatian theory just as much as the Southern, here we have a consideration which makes positively for North and against South Galatia. On the four points remaining to be considered we come to this same conclusion.

Barnabas, it is thought, must have been personally known to the Galatians. He is introduced without remark in Gal. 2 1 9 13; and he was the companion of Paul only on his first journey, not on his second (Acts 15 36-40). Peter also, however, is mentioned in Gal. 1 18 without explanation; and Barnabas, although he was unknown to the Corinthians, is introduced in the same manner in 1 Cor. 9 6—it was enough that they had heard about him. Besides, Paul expresses himself as having been in so exclusive a sense the founder of the Galatian churches (Gal. 1 8 *f.* 3 1 *f.* 4 12-20) that it is almost impossible to suppose South Galatia to be meant. According to Acts 14 12, Barnabas was even taken for Jupiter in Lystra.

28. Barnabas known to Galatians.

The apostrophe 'O Galatians' (ὦ Γαλάται), in 3 1 addressed to persons who, by origin, were much rather Lycaonians or Phrygians, would be intelligible in an official manifesto; but in a letter such as this of Paul's it would become so only if besides New Galatians Old Galatians were included (against which supposition, see above, col. 1607, beg. of iii.). On the assumption that the apostrophe was addressed to the New Galatians alone, such a mode of address is in the highest degree improbable.

29. 'O Galatians' Gal. 3 1.

It must not be forgotten that Ramsay has been able to cite not a single instance, so far as Galatia is concerned, and in the case of the province of Asia, which had subsisted more than a century longer, only one, in which the inhabitants of districts first incorporated with the provinces by the Romans designated themselves by the official provincial name (*CIG* 3 6626; see *St. bibl. et eccles.* 4 31). It is only by a series of exceedingly bold hypotheses that he endeavours (*op. cit.*, 25, 46-55; *Gal.*, introd., § 7, p. 64 *f.*) to establish a probability that Iconium and Lystra had already become part of Galatia before the setting up of the Roman province, about 160 B.C. Derbe, certainly, was not added to Galatia until 25 B.C., according to § 3, above, not until 41 A.D. Accordingly the aptness of the exclamation 'O Galatians' as addressed to the North Galatians, depends not on their Celtic descent, but on the fact that only in North Galatia was to be found the people who had borne that name from of old, and in common speech, not merely in official documents.

But we will not, however great the improbability, dispute the abstract possibility that Paul might have made use of the term 'Galatians' as a comprehensive designation of inhabitants of several recently-added portions of the province of Galatia. Not even in such a case could he have made use of the address 'to the churches of Galatia' (ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας; Gal. 1 2) in writing to South Galatia if there were churches already in North Galatia. Even if the letter were sent by the hands of a trusty messenger who quite understood where to deliver it, the article (ταῖς) would have been inadmissible. Now, the letter contains information about the Council of Jerusalem and the controversy with Peter in Antioch in Syria. If addressed to South Galatia, the letter must, accordingly, have been written between the date of the controversy and that of the founding of the North Galatian churches (Acts 16 6). If so, the first alternative is that it was written from Antioch, in Syria, before Acts 15 40; in which case the two visits of Paul implied in the 'the former [time]' (τὸ πρότερον) of Gal. 4 13 would have to be sought in Acts 13 14-14 20 and 14 21-23 (see above, § 24). Against this view we must bring an observation which also makes against Ramsay's dating of the epistle from Paul's next stay in Antioch in Syria (Acts 18 23; see *St. Paul*, chap. 84). On both occasions there was an immediate prospect of a renewed visit to the readers by the apostle. Ramsay considers that Paul may have entrusted the bearer of the epistle with an oral announcement of his proposed visit. In such a case, however (1 Cor. 4 18-21 16 5-8 2 Cor. 12 14 13 1 *f.*), the apostle's procedure is very different. Moreover, he manifestly writes Gal. 4 20 on the supposition that he is not about to see them soon.

30. 'Unto the Churches' Gal. 1 2.

A second possibility would be that the epistle was written between Acts 16 5 and 16 6. In that case Acts 13 14-14 23 would have to be reckoned as the first visit, and 16 1-5 as the second. How would this leave a sufficient interval during which, after the second visit, the Judaizers could have had time for going to the readers and so completely changing their attitude towards the apostle and his message, and for Paul to hear of all this before his arrival in North Galatia from the South?

Most decisive of all is Gal. 1 21. If the epistle were

addressed to South Galatia, Paul would, according to Acts 13*f.*, have been with his readers in the period indicated in Gal. 1 21 between his first and his second visit to Jerusalem (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § *IU*). It is not for a moment to be thought that Paul would have left unnoticed so very conclusive a proof of his absence from Jerusalem, and have mentioned precisely two other provinces which were not those to which his readers belonged.

31. Gal. 1 21.

On the very hold attempt, which has on this account been made, to transpose Acts 13 *f.* so as to make it follow Acts 15 34, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § *I e.* In any case, the project will not be favoured by those who have any interest in maintaining the credibility of Acts. Ramsay (*Church*, chap. 6 3; *St. Paul*, chap. 8 3) proposes another way **of** meeting the difficulty. He brings the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. **1 18** into connection with Acts 9 26-30; and that in Gal. 2 1-10 into connection with Acts 11 30 and **12** *25*; and concedes that before Galatians was written Paul had certainly been **a** third and a fourth time in Jerusalem (Acts **15** and 18 22) but maintains that there was no need to mention this in Galatians, as in that epistle all he wished to show was his independence **of** the original apostles at the time 'when he converted the Galatians.'

This last contention is not only destitute of any warrant from the text, but is also entirely inconsistent with the situation. The Judaizers could have .overthrown Paul's authority in Galatia just as well if *after* his first missionary activity there he had shown that he was dependent on the original apostles. This was, in fact, what, according to Ramsay, actually happened. In Acts 15 'he was commissioned' 'by the older apostles' 'to deliver to them' (*i.e.*, to the Galatians) 'the Apostolic decree' (Ramsay, *Gal.* chap. 18, p. 287). In these circumstances how can Paul still attach importance to his being able to prove that he was independent of the original apostles *at first?* Only on one assumption — that although his dependence became evident at the Council of Jerusalem, the Galatians are still unaware of it. If he takes for granted that they know it (according to Acts 16 4, which Ramsay holds tu be historical, he himself personally informed the South Galatians of the apostolical decree), the proof of his independence in Gal. 1 11-2 10 is meaningless; if on the other hand he hopes by silence — nay, by the express declaration of 2 6 (*ἐμοὶ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο*: RV, 'they who were of repute imparted nothing to me') — to prevent his readers from learning or remembering the fact of his dependence, he is deliberately setting himself in his epistle to deceive them. In this case his moral character must be sacrificed to save the credibility of Acts. This is what Ramsay (*Gal.* ch. 19, p. 302) accuses the advocates of the North Galatian theory of doing when they hold that Paul leaves unnoticed the journey mentioned in Acts 11 30 **12 25.** That he did so, however, is assumed only by those of them who, like Ramsay, hold absolutely by the historical character of everything contained in Acts. In any case, for Paul to omit all mention of this journey would be a small matter compared with his hiding that dependence on the original apostles which is testified to by the apostolical decree. On the South Galatian theory, Paul could be exonerated only by placing Galatians earlier than Acts 15, and if Ramsay's date be adhered to, only by rendering Gal. 1 11-2 21 wholly purposeless. Moreover, it is quite illegitimate to identify Gal. 2 1-10, not with Acts 15 but with Acts 11 30 **12 25** (see COUNCIL *OF* JERUSALEM, § *Ia*).

In *Gal.* chap. 18*f.*, pp. ***286*** 304 Ramsay inclines not to identify the journey in Gal. 2 1-10 with any of those recorded in Acts, but to insert it between Acts 9 and Acts 11 30. We do not press, as against this, that on such an assumption Paul has omitted to mention not two journeys, but three; for Ramsay may say of the one in Acts 11 30 12 25 what is said in COUNCIL, § 1c, of that in Acts 18 22 — that Paul does not mention it because in chaps. **3-6** he has lost sight of his intention to enumerate his visits to Jerusalem. *So* far as Acts is concerned, Ramsay's assumption that such a visit is omitted is much more remarkable. The main thing, however, is that by the assumption the situation is no wise improved: Paul still ignores his dependence on the original apostles at the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15. On the contrary, on Ramsay's interpretation of Gal. 2 1-10 the situation becomes worse. According to Ramsay (*Gal.* chap. 18 p. 296) on the journey of Gal. 2 1-10, which is not mentioned in Acts, Paul 'consulted' (Gal. **2** 2 [*ἀνεθέμην*]) the original apostles, 'asked their advice,' because his gospel 'was not fully matured until shortly before the beginning of the first journey' (Acts 13 1). This means entire dependence; for the contrast is that 'after it had fixed itself in his nature as the truth of God . . . he no longer "conferred with flesh and blood."' The upshot then is this: Paul seeks to make evident his independence of the original apostles precisely by recording this act of submission to them.

Equally impossible as **an** expedient is it to maintain that **in** Gal. 1 21 Paul is naming only two provinces (Syria and Cilicia) for the reason that they were the only provinces on account of his successful activity in which the Christians of Judæa 'glorified God' (**1 24**), and that he is silent on his sojourn in South Galatia because his mission in that country had perhaps ceased to have their approval. Without the aid of the untenable theory (see next article, § 10) of Clemen (to which Ramsay now [*Gal.* chap. 18, pp. 291, 296] seems to lean), it would be impossible to perceive why Paul should have conducted his mission in South Galatia on any other principles than those which he followed in Syria and Cilicia.

Above all, no unfavourable judgment on the part of the Jewish Christians regarding his mission to his readers could have determined the apostle to leave unused the clearest proof of all that he had kept away from Jerusalem.. Gal. 1 23 *f.* can be dispensed with as far as the primary object of the argument is concerned, and Paul would willingly have refrained from adding these verses had he been able at this point to say that during the interval in question he had been with his readers. P. W. S.

C. GALATIANS ELSEWHERE.

In 2 Tim. **4** 10 the reading varies between **Γαλλίαν** [ℵ] and **Γαλατίαν** [WH]; and even if the latter be adopted the reference may still be to Gaul.

32. 'Galatia' or 'Gaul' in Tim. and Macc.

The current Greek name for Gaul during the first two centuries A. D. was Γαλατία (Γαλάται) unless the older title Κελτική (Κελτοί, Κέλται) was employed.[1]

To distinguish the Asiatic Celts the phrases οἱ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Γαλάται (Plut. ***Mor.*** 258), ἡ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Γαλατία (Dios. *Mat. med.* 3 56), or Γαλλογραtria, Γαλλογραικοί (Strabo 130,566) might he used; but generally the context must decide (cp Plut. ***Pomp.*** 31, 33, 38). Not until late did the Greeks adopt the ***Roman*** terms **Γαλλία, Γάλλοι.** It is in Herodian that we first meet with the distinction, adopted by modern writers, between **Γαλλία** =Gaul, and Γαλατία=Galatia in Asia Minor. There would be **a** strong tendency to alter **Γαλατία** into **Γαλλία** in NT MSS in this passage, owing to the general belief that western Gaul was meant, combined with the fact that at the time of their origin the word **Γαλατία** as applied to Gaul had been abandoned in favour of the Latin **Γαλλία, αἱ Γαλλίαι (cp** Theod. *2* 227, *Galatiam dixit* ***quas nunc nominamus Gallias*****).**

On linguistic grounds, then, no general decision is possible. The passages in which the name occurs must be examined separately.

1. It has been argued that if Paul had meant Gaul he would, according to his usual practice, have used the Roman provincial name, and that, as Timothy was in Asia Minor, possibly even in Galatia, he would have avoided an ambiguous term. Paul was, however, after all, Greek in language and thought (cp Hicks, *St. Paul* ***and*** *Hellenism*, in *Stud. Bibl.* 4 7, 'he thinks in the tongue that he speaks and writes'). Further, if Crescens had actually gone to Timothy's own sphere of labour, more would have been said, and Timothy certainly could not fail to attach the right significance to

[1] Cp Paus. i **41**, ὀψὲ δέ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησεν. Κελτοὶ γὰρ *card* τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο.

the word. Finally, the combination with Dalmatia is significant (and is curiously paralleled on Mon. Ancyr. : cp Momms. *Res gest. D. Aug.* 95, ἐξ Ἱσπανίας καὶ Γαλατίας καὶ παρὰ Δαλματῶν). The reference therefore is probably to Gaul. Although the churches of Vienne and Mayence claimed Crescens as their founder, their claim may be based merely upon this very passage.

2. In 1 Macc. 8 2 the Roman victories 'among the Galatians' (AVmg. 'Frenchmen'; RV 'Gauls') are mentioned. The date is about 160 B.C., some sixty years after the Roman conquest of Cisalpine Gaul (Polyb. 2 14-34). That the reference is to this war is suggested by the addition 'and brought them under tribute,' and by the mention of Spain (*v.* 3); for Livy (38 40) says nothing of tribute having been imposed upon the Asiatic Celts. On the other hand, the victorious march of Manlius through Galatia was of comparatively recent date (189 B.C.), and must have made a profound impression throughout the Seleucid dominions, so that the reference is almost certainly to that event.

3. In 2 Macc. 8 20 a victory gained by Jews in Babylonia 'against the Gauls' (RV, Gk. Γαλάται) is mentioned; perhaps an allusion to the victories of Antiochus I. Soter, king of Syria (281-261 B.C.). W. J. W.

33. Literature. For the history of the Celtic tribes, G. Perrot, *De Galatia provincia Romana*, '67, and his *Exploration arch. de la Galatie*, '72; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverfassung*, 1(2), 358-365; Chevalier, *Gallier in Kleinasien*, '83; Koepp, 'Ueber die Galaterkr. d. Attalus,' in *Rhein. Mus.* 40 114-132 ('85); Niese, *ibid.* 38 583-600 ('83); Stahelin, *Geschichte der Kleinas. Gal.*, '97. Van Gelder, *Galatarum res in Græcia et Asia gestæ usque ad medium sæculum secundum a. Chr.*, '88 · Zwintscher, *De Galatarum tetrarchis et Amynta rege*, '92; Holder. *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. 'Galatia.'

The South Galatian address has been maintained principally by Perrot (*op cit. supra*, '67), Renan (*St. Paul*), Hansrath (*Paulus*, and *NTliche Zeitgesch.*), Weizsacker (*Ap. Zeitalter*), Clemen (*ZWT*, '94, pp. 396-423), Zahn (*Einl. in das NT*), and W. M. Ramsay (*Historical Geog. of Asia Minor*, '90; *Church in Rom. Emp.* (1) (2) '93, (3) '94, (4) '95, (5) '97; *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* '95-'97; *St. Paul the Traveller and the Rom. Citizen*, (1) '95, (2) '96 (3) '97, (4) '98 (5) '99; *Hist. Comm. on Gal.* (1) '99 (2) 1900; 'it should be noted that the later editions differ from' the earlier in many details · consult also especially *Studia bibl. et eccles.* 4 15-57 ['96], and see articles in *Expos.*, Jan., Feb., Apr. '94, July, Aug. '95, and 'Galatia' in Hastings' *DB* 2 81-89).

The North Galatian address is supported especially by Sieffert (*Ztschr. fir hist. Theol.*, '71, pp. 257-306, and *Introd. to Ep. to Gal.* in Meyer's *NT Comment.* 7 Abth.(9) '99), where a fuller list of authorities on both sides is given, Lightfoot, *Galatians*(10), Introd. 1-35; Chase, in *Expos.*, Dec. '93, May '94; and Zockler (*St. Kr.*, '95, pp. 51-102).

W. J. W., §§ 1-7, 32; P. W. S., §§ 8-31.

GALATIANS (THE EPISTLE)

CONTENTS

A. GENUINENESS.

The genuineness of the four so-called 'principal' epistles of Paul—Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., and Gal.—so unreservedly accepted by the Tübingen school, has not been allowed to remain unquestioned in recent times. When the opposite view was first set forth with characteristic boldness by Bruno Bauer (*Kritik d. paulin. Brief*, '50-'52), it received no serious attention; but it has recently been again pressed in all seriousness by Loman (*Th. T*, '82, '83, '86) and his many successors in Holland,[1] by Edwin Johnson, the anonymous author of *Antiqua Muter* ('87), and especially by Steck (*Galaterbrief*, '88).

1. Difficulties. Of the arguments brought against the genuineness of Galatians we may mention first: *The difficulties presented by many of its details.* For example, a contradiction has been found between 1 10 where the apostle disclaims any desire to please men, and 2 2 where, notwithstanding, he submits himself to the judgment of the original apostles. This, as well as many other examples of hypercriticism, we may safely disregard. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the epistle contains much that is obscure and (to us) surprising. It can only be welcomed as a gain for science that such difficulties have been pointed out anew. But the spuriousness of the epistle follows from them only by a *petitio principii*—viz., by assuming that the historical Paul, of whose writing we, in the view of these negative critics, do not possess a single line, was invariably in the habit of expressing himself with absolute clearness, and also that the text of what he wrote has at no point ever suffered at the hands of copyists.

For example, 1 7 is certainly obscure; but it admits of being interpreted as meaning 'another gospel which [is no gospel at all but] consists in nought else [or, rests upon nought else] than this, that there be some'—etc. Again, in 2 18 the thesis is: 'If I build up again the Mosaic law which I have declared to be obsolete, I thereby declare the life I have hitherto been living in freedom from the law to have been a life of transgression. In 2 19 the sequence is unexpected; but the intention is to justify the implication in *v.* 18 of the sinfulness of again building up the law. In 1 10 the conjectural emendation τί γάρ, with the mark of interrogation instead of the present ἄρτι γάρ, has much to recommend it (as in Rom. 3 3; in Gal. ἄρτι occurs immediately before, in 1 9); so has the interpretation of πείθω as equivalent to κηρύσσω (or, still better, the supplanting of πείθω by a word bearing this meaning); for Paul apparently is here guarding himself against the same reproach as in 2 Cor. 4 5. Once more: in Gal. 3 20, the thesis sought to be established is that the law was given, not immediately by God, but mediately by angels, who were but inadequately fitted for the service. As a step in the proof, use is made of the (erroneous) assumption that only a plurality of persons will make use of a mediator, and that a single person will always communicate what he has to say personally and directly. The assumption here follows rabbinical modes of thought,—resembling the argument in 3 16 (against 3 29, Rom. 4 16), where it is urged that in the OT by the 'seed of Abraham' Christ alone can be meant, inasmuch as the word σπέρμα is used in the singular;—resembling, also, the argument elaborated in 4 21-31, according to which the Jews who continue in unbelief are the children not of Sarah but of Hagar. Here again it is a mere *petitio principii* to take for granted that the historical Paul must have been incapable of adopting such rabbinical lines of thought.[1]

2. Romans used? As regards other obscure points, there has been an attempt to explain them as due to *unskilful borrowing from the author of Romans.* It must be conceded not only that the two epistles have many thoughts in common, but also that in Romans these are for the most part elaborated with greater clearness.

In Gal. 3 6 the mention of Abraham comes in quite abruptly, whilst in Rom. 4 it fits naturally into the context, in Gal. 3 27 there is a mixture of two metaphors which in Rom. 6 3 and 13 14 are applied separately and suitably; in Gal. 3 19 the words, literally taken, admit of being construed as meaning that the law was given in order to prevent transgressions, and only from Rom. 5 20 does it become clear that 'for the multiplication of transgressions' is what is intended.

On the other hand, positive blunders, of the kind that can occur only in the case of a compiler manipulating another man's work, cannot be shown anywhere.

In 5 6 circumcision is spoken of as a matter of indifference, and in *v.* 2 as positively hurtful; but, as the first passage is intended to refer only to those who had been circumcised before their conversion to Christ, whilst the latter has in view only those who, being already Christians, suffer themselves to be

1 Among them Völter, *Komp. d. paulin. Hauptbriefe*, '90; van Manen, *Paulus* I.-III. (Acts, '90; Romans, '91; Corinthians, '96). See van Manen (*JPT*, '83, '84, '86, '87; *Th. T*, '90; *Exp. T* 9 [Feb.-Apr. '98]), also Steck (*Prot. KZ*, '91, no. 31-34, '92, no. 34 *f.*; '95, no. 7f.; *Prot. Monatshefte*, '97, pp. 333-342).

1 As regards 4 21-31, it has been proposed by some critics to strike out *vv.* 24-27, or at least *v.* 25*a*, from τό to Ἀραβίᾳ.

circumcised, there is no contradiction. Such a digression as we have in 3 11 *f.* at the close of which 3 13 resumes the interrupted connection with 3 10, or such as occurs in 5 17 (from ἵνα or perhaps even from ταῦτα), can very well have been made by the historical Paul (or written on the margin by a very early reader). Many other points that at first sight are very puzzling to us we can easily suppose to have been clear to the Galatians through the oral teaching of Paul.

Steck, it is true, on the ground that we have no information as to what Paul may have preached in Galatia forbids this supposition ; and, in like manner, he holds it to de illegitimate to regard the collection alluded to in Gal. 2 10 as historical, independent evidence from other sources being wanting. On such lines as these we need not be surprised that in the single word προεῖπον in Gal. 5 21 he finds conclusive evidence that the author of our epistle is quoting 1 Cor., and more particularly 6 9 *f.*

It is alleged, further, that ***use of the synoptical gospels*** is seen in at least Rom. 12 14 13 8-10 1 Cor. 13 2 7 10 *f.*

3. Synoptists earlier than Gal. ?

As it is maintained that these epistles are older than Galatians, it is relevant to discuss the allegation in the present connection. In point of fact, all the observed phenomena can be sufficiently explained by the assumption that the author knew the gospel history from oral sources. Indeed, it is actually in 1 Cor. 7 10 *f.* that the genuine (because stricter) form of the prohibition of divorce has been preserved.

It is not to be supposed that if Jesus had mentioned the case of adultery as an exception to the general prohibition—as we read in Mt. 5 32 19 9—any tradition would have overlooked such a mitigation ; least of all is it to be supposed that Paul would have done so. In fact, the latter finds himself compelled on his own responsibility to establish a new exception—that, namely, by which it is provided that a marriage with a non-Christian may lawfully be dissolved if there seems no prospect of its being continued ' in peace' (1 Cor. 7 15).

The attempt to trace the account of the resurrection of Jesus in 1 Cor. 15 3-8 to the written synoptists also must be held a failure.

In view of the denial of the resurrection of Jesus current in Corinth, the writer of the epistle was under the most stringent necessity to adduce everything that could be alleged in proof of it. That being so, he would assuredly have passed over none of the circumstances connected with the event detailed in the gospels ; least of all could he pass over what is related about the empty grave.

On the other hand, it is easy to understand why the synoptists left on one side the accounts recorded by Paul. What Paul constantly affirms is only that the risen Jesus had been seen. The synoptists believe that they have much more conclusive evidence to bring—namely, that Jesus had been touched, and that he had eaten.

It is claimed that ***extra-canonical writings*** *also have been used* in the composition of the four epistles. Even

4. Extra-canonical writings used ?

should this be made out as regards Philo (born about 20 B.C. ; see Vollmer, *Die ATlichen Citate bei Paulus*, 83-98 ['95]) and Seneca (died 65 A.D. ; see Steck, 249-265, especially for Rom. 12 19), the genuineness of the epistles would not (when we consider the early date of these writers) thereby be impugned. Nor would it be impugned because of their employment of the *Assumptio Mosis*.

George Syncellus, in the eighth century, finds such employment in Gal. 6 15 ; a MS of the eleventh century finds it in 5 6. Euthalius in the fifth century mentions an ἀπόκρυφον Μωϋσέως as source. The passage does not occur in the portion of the Assumptio that has come down to us (cp Schür. *GVI*, § 32, 5 3 ; (2), 2636, ET 5 81 *f.*; Clemen, *Chron. d. Paul. Briefe*, 257). Whether a Jewish book could have contained so anti-Jewish a proposition unless through interpolation by a Christian hand need not here be discussed. The *Assumptio* was in any case composed within the time of the sons of Herod the Great ; in 6 6 *f.* (according to the most reasonable reading) it erroneously predicts for them a shorter reien than their father has had (see APOCALYPTIC, 8 64).[1]

[1] See R. H. Charles, *Assumption of Moses* ('97), p. lv *f.* The view of Volkmar and Hilgenfeld—that in the *Assumptio* the use of the plural *cervices* in 10 8 proves use of 4 Esd., and particularly of chaps. 11 *f.*, which speak of the eagle with three heads (Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian)—is quite mistaken. The passage rests simply on Dt. 32 11 (*cervices*, which, moreover, in Cicero and Sallust invariably means but one neck, renders μετάφρενα), and is speaking of elevation in heaven, not of elevation over the Romans. For a fuller discussion of this point see the present writer's articles in the *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1898, pp. 252-254 ; 1899, pp. 150-152 ; 1900, pp. 20-22.

4 Esd. was written, it is true, under Domitian, and would, therefore, be decisive of the question before us if the departure from the OT text in Rom. 10 7 could be traced to 4 Esd. 4 8. The variation, however, comes simply from Ps. 107 26 ; cp. 139 8.

It is also contended that, *as compared with Acts*, the representation given in Galatians is only of a secondary character.

5. oReActsl?nt

In particular, it is improbable (it is argued) that the historical Paul proclaimed his Gentile Christian gospel for fourteen years without gainsaying, that at the Council of Jerusalem he agreed to so manifestly untenable a solution of the matter, and in Antioch came into so violent collision with Peter (Gal. 2 1 9 11-21). As to this, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM (§§ 4, 9, 3). The only serious difficulties are those arising from the statement in 1 22, that Paul was unknown by sight to the churches of Judæa, though they must have known him very well as their persecutor. The statement seems intended to mark with the utmost possible distinctness Paul's independence of the Jewish Christians. Even on the part of a writer of the second century, however, it would have been too grave a slip to say of the Palestinian Christians who had survived the persecution, that they had not known Paul. If written in the second century, the meaning of such a declaration could only be that the churches of Judæa, having bcen broken up and dispersed by the persecution, and only at a later date reconstituted, were as such unacquainted with Paul. Thus interpreted, however, the passage can very well have been written by Paul himself. That it is not quite literally accurate must be conceded : the reconstituted churches must still have included persons who had known Paul in his persecuting days. Still, it is easy to understand why Paul did not have these persons in his mind. What he wishes to prove is simply that his own Christianity had not been derived from any man, but had come to him immediately from Christ. Had he received any Christian instruction from man, that would have been after his conversion, not before ; and there is no difficulty in believing that from the time of his conversion he had entered into no personal relations with the churches of Judæa, and, more particularly, that in Jerusalem at the time of. his first visit (1 18 *f.*) he had remained incognito, and communicated only with Peter and James, since otherwise there was reason to apprehend a renewal of the persecution that had broken out against him in Damascus (2 Cor. 11 32 *f.*). Paul, accordingly, leaves out of consideration those persons in the churches of Judæa who had known him before his conversion, because their acquaintance with him then did not affect that independence of the Jewish Christian churches which he claimed for his own view of Christianity; and this cannot with any fairness be charged against him as a failure in veracity (1 20). On the other hand, that is exactly what, we are told by Steck, is so improbable historically—that Paul after his conversion remained away from Jerusalem for three whole years ; and the view of Acts (9 19-30) is preferred. This brings us to what lies at the root of the question in this aspect—

6. Theory of development.

namely, the demand for a straightforward, rectilinear *development in the history*. It is, we are told, historically inconceivable that the view of Jesus and the original apostles, which was still entirely Jewish-legal, was followed immediately by that of the principal epistles of Paul, and only afterwards by the mediating view of Acts and the other writings. Steck, therefore, has made out—and he alone with fairly good success—what he considers to be straightforward development as follows :—Jesus, the original apostles, the historical Paul, Mk. and Mt., Lk., Acts, Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., the remaining Pauline Epistles (leaving out those to Timothy and Titus), then Marcion. To this series the objection suggests itself that, whilst its author makes out the historical Paul to have been only a shade freer from the law than Peter (Acts 16 3 21 18-26, *e.g.*,

are accepted as historical), he at the same time (p. 373, 369 *f.*) speaks of him as fundamentally free from the law, and names him as apostle of the Gentiles κατ' ἐξοχήν; and Steck is open to the further criticism that he attributes to Acts the 'tendency' to smooth over differences—in other words, to go back to a point of the development that had been reached before. But the most fatal objection of all is that Steck himself, after an interval of no more than a year (*Prot. KZ,* 1889, pp. 108, 841), found it necessary to demolish the entire structure, and to place Rom. and Cor. before Lk. and Acts, because he (rightly) saw that Acts (see ACTS, § 16) could not be assigned to a date earlier than after the beginning of the second century, and because in Marcion (*circa* 140 A.D.) the existence of ten Pauline epistles—of which, moreover, three (Rom. and 1 and 2 Cor.), according to Stecks view, must be regarded as each made up of three (or more) originally independent pieces—is already recognised. Further, the historical evolution argued for by Steck will not for a moment allow two separate lines of development, such as the line of the synoptic and that of the Pauline Christology, to go on concurrently. Still, alongside that line of development of Christianity, which had its roots in Palestine, he recognises another, almost independent, which took its rise in the heathen philosophical ideas current in Rome—a line of development as belonging to which he reckons, for example, the principal epistles of Paul (denying at the same time their use of the Rabbinical forms of thought). Within his first-mentioned series, too, he recognises a certain weakening of the antinomism of Galatians in the minor Pauline epistles, as well as an accentuation of it in Marcion. In all this it becomes abundantly evident that historical science does not in the least require that a rectilinear development should be made out. It is, of course, the business of historical science to understand everything that happens; but a development is not unintelligible even if it runs far ahead of its own time, and afterwards falls back upon the footsteps it has already outrun, to retraverse them anew, step by step. Were this otherwise, we should have to eliminate from history all its great and epoch-making men—Luther, for example, and, in the end, Jesus himself.

The fact is certainly eloquent that not only Bruno Bauer and others, hut Loman also (down to 1884 at least), denied the historicity of Jesus, and that in this respect Johnson has even gone beyond the last-named. On the other hand, it is highly significant that it is not enough for Johnson if Bruno Bauer derives Christianity from the humanist ideas of Philo, Seneca, and the Roman emperors down to Marcus Aurelius. In this quarter he misses the oriental fervour which he deems necessary to the founding of a religion, and, therefore—it is the least he can do—he transfers the origination of Christianity out of such ideas to the East. Over and above this, he is compelled to see in Marcion a highly important reformer, through whom Christianity was at least liberated from its rudimentary Jewish beginnings. We find Steck, on the same lines, characterising as an original and spiritually-gifted person the very man who (in his view) put together the epistle to the Galatians with so little skill.

As far as Paul in particular is concerned, it must be admitted that any ordinary man in his position would assuredly have gone immediately after his conversion to Jerusalem for authentic instruction in his new faith. Now, what if Paul was not an ordinary man? The more fanatical he had been as a Pharisee in his zeal for the Mosaic law, the more clearly must he have recognised the impossibility of ever fulfilling it completely, and all the more manifest must it have been to him that in Christianity an altogether new way of salvation was opened up. Then, further, the appearance of Christ to him on the way to Damascus gave him a clearer view of the divine purpose of the death on the cross than all the original apostles together could have supplied. It was in this manner that he obtained an idea quite different from theirs of the Christ whom he had never seen on earth (so 2 Cor. 516 rightly interpreted). It was in this manner that he discovered in Christianity at once the true religion for the world and the divine decree of abrogation as regarded the Mosaic law. It was in this manner that he found himself constrained to vindicate the great religious blessing of freedom against every attempt at a re-imposition of bondage with the keenness which we perceive in Gal. 214-21 18*f.* 512.

7. Objections confined to Rom. and Cor. The traces of a later age, which Steck believes himself to have discovered, have reference only to Rom. and 1 and 2 Cor.

It will be sufficient here to remark that in the first instance these would only justify the excision of a few verses—*e.g.* 1 Cor. 1529 Rom. 161 (if baptism for the dead, or the institution of deaconesses, were still unknown within the lifetime of the apostle). Some of the particulars alleged by Steck rest upon false exegesis—*e.g.*, where 1 Cor. 737 is taken as referring to a man wishing to preserve his virginity in monastic fashion—a sense which would require the word παρθενίαν.

Considerations implying early date. On the other hand, the epistles contain much that would have been meaningless and even impossible in the second century.

The close adhesion to the Mosaic law which gives the chief occasion for Gal. and Rom. was, at that late date, hut feebly represented (Just. *Dial.* 47; Ignat. *ad Philad.* 61; *ad Magnes.* 81, 91, 103, etc.). The gift of tongues, regarding which such elaborate precepts are laid down in 1 Cor. 14, was already unknown to the author of Acts, otherwise he would not have taken it (Acts 21-11) as meaning speech in existing foreign languages (see SPIRITUAL GIFTS). To put into the mouth of Paul an expression of the expectation of surviving till the second coming of Christ (1 Cor. 1551*f.*), would have been a most perverse proceeding on the part of a second-century writer. The case of the incestuous person (1 Cor. 51-8), the intimate relation between Paul and the Galatian churches (Gal. 412-20), the journeys of Timothy and Titus to Corinth, the charge of fickleness brought against Paul on account of a change in the plan of his tour (2 Cor. 112-24), and, indeed (very conspicuously), the whole of 2 Cor., are so personal and full of individuality, that in this case we are really entitled to draw the conclusion (so often illegitimate) that they could not have been invented. As it is conceded on all hands that the four epistles stand or fall together that conclusion must apply with equal validity to the many 'portions of Rom., 1 Cor., and Gal., in which the individuality is less marked.

9. External evidence sufficient. Lastly, the genuineness is sufficiently attestkd by the external evidence. If the four epistles are to stand or fall together, the first epistle of Clem. Rom. would be proof enough of their genuineness.

It cites (471-3) 1 Cor. by name as a writing of Paul, and (355 362-5) transcribes, without giving a name, Rom. 129*f.* and even Heb. 1.

Now, this epistle of Clement (11) informs us that it was written in a time of persecution; it is still unaware of a distinction between πρεσβύτεροι (445) and ἐπίσκοποι (441 424 *f.*; see BISHOP, § 8, MINISTRY); and it knows nothing of Gnosticism. Probably, therefore, it was written under Domitian (93-96), or perhaps under Trajan (112-117); at the very latest, under Hadrian (*circa* 120). Its colourlessness forbids the suggestion that circumstances of the time, as indicated by it, are fictitious. If it were a product of imagination dating from 150-170 A.D., it would serve the interests of that time—viz., the idea of the episcopate and the polemic against Gnosticism. Let only this be further observed, that the principal Pauline epistles are largely made use of in 1 Pet. (especially, and manifestly, Gal. 323 513 17 in 1 Pet. 15 216 11, and Rom. 12 *f.* in 1 Pet. 38-12 47-11 213-18), and that there is a great probability that 1 Pet. dates from 112 A.D. The epistle of James also, which is of still earlier date (see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 8), in like manner shows acquaintance, not only with the Pauline doctrines, but also with the text of the chief epistles.

The clearest proof is Jas. 41. This verse is clearly dependent on Rom. 723; otherwise the word μέλη would not have been used, for the context is speaking, not of the conflict of desires within the man, but of the conflict of the desires of one man against those of his fellow-men (ἐν ὑμῖν, as if ἐκ τῶν ἡδονῶν τῶν στρατευομένων κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον, instead of which phrase we have, borrowed from Rom. 723, ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑμῶν).

Finally, on the evidence supplied by the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies*, see SIMON MAGUS.

There is thus hardly any necessity for going into the evidence of Marcion, who about 140 admitted ten Pauline epistles into his church lectionary, or for calling attention to the wholesale execution among the extra-canonical writings (and even among the heathen writings) of the second century which has to be made by Johnson before he can affirm that the NT came into existence between Justin and Irenæus about 155-180 A.D., and that even Marcion perhaps was still unacquainted with any personal Christ—acquainted only with the ideal figure of a χρηστός (see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 1).

B. OTHER PROBLEMS.

Having disposed of the objections to the genuineness of Galatians we turn to the remaining problems. The superior limit for the date of the epistle has been indicated already (see preceding article, § 24). In view of Gal. 1 6 it is not advisable to bring it much lower.

10. Date.

True, οὕτως ταχέως means, not 'so soon,' but 'so suddenly.' Thus the expression, considered in itself, allows the supposition that the beginning of the Galatians' falling away was of late origin—a supposition precluded by the other rendering—and requires us to think only that the subsequent steps of the declension, once begun, took but a short time. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the churches had already begun to show inclinations towards Judaism before Paul's second visit, and that Paul believed himself to have obviated this by his oral communications with them. His surprise at the suddenness of the change that had come over them is intelligible only if we suppose the change to have happened shortly after his last visit.

Thus, the epistle is best assigned to the beginning of Paul's three-years' stay in Ephesus, whither he had gone after leaving Galatia (Acts 19 1).

On account of its similarity in contents to Romans, some have thought it necessary to assign the epistle to the same period. In that case its date would be some three or four years later; for, it is highly probable that Romans was written during the apostle's last stay in Corinth (Acts 20 1-3; cp Rom. 16 23 with 1 Cor. 1 14). Only, identical subjects are not handled in an identical manner in the two epistles,

In Gal. 4 30 the Jews who continue in unbelief are expressly excluded from the inheritance, whilst in Rom. 9 3 11 25-32 the apostle shows a strong interest in their ultimate salvation. In Gal. 3 3 4 3 9 *f.* the Mosaic worship is placed on precisely the same plane with that of the heathen, whilst in Rom. 7 12-14 the defect is sought, not in the Mosaic law but only in the sinfulness of man. In Gal. 1 6-9 Paul anathemhises every doctrine not in accordance with his own, whilst in Rom. 1 12 6 17 he recognises the doctrines which prevail in Rome, though devoting the whole latter to their correction, as on an equal footing with his.

Clemen (*Chron. d. Paulin. Brief,* '93) appeals to those differences in support of his contention that Galatians is (as Steck also holds) the last of the four chief Pauline Epistles, in the belief that in this way he is able to accept what is true in Steck's position and yet to conserve the'genuineness of the epistles. His proofs admit of being turned the other way. Besides, his theory that Paul, during the first period of his missionary activity, continued to be Jewish-Christian in his thought and teaching, and that he reached the culminating point of his anti-Judaism only at the end of his life, is erroneous. In the case of so energetic a thinker as the apostle, the development indicated above in § 5 *f.* is certainly more probahle. As far as the apostle's earlier period is concerned, Clemen's view is in direct opposition to Gal. 1 16. The culminating point of Paul's antinomism must have been reached in his controversy with Peter in the Syrian Antioch at latest. That after that—nay, after his refusal to circumcise Titus at the time of the Council of Jerusalem—he continued to preach circumcision is inconceivable (cp preceding article, § 20 *a*). If this reproach, then, was levelled at him even at so late a date as that of Galatians (5 11; on lrosee below, col. 1625, n.), it cannot have been anything but a slander. If his adversaries were capable of this, there is nothing to show that with reference to any period after the apostle's conversion they had any ground for their assertion. They may safely be held to have applied to the present an assertion that was true only of the time during which Paul was still a Jew. It is also on general grounds probable that Paul in the closing years of his life became gentler, not, as Clemen says, harsher. The second coming of Christ he believed to be near at hand; yet, before this could happen the gospel had to be preached to all the world (Rom. 10 18 11 25). It must have become clearer and clearer to him that he and his disciples were not in a position to accomplish this by themselves, and that accordingly the Jewish-Christian way of looking at things also was willed by God. Phil. 1 15-18 expresses this with special clearness. In the Epistle to the Romans an irenical attitude was particularly desirable, inasmuch as he wished to establish friendly relations with the church in Rome, and thus to have a new centre from which to carry on activities. It is further worthy of remark that in Galatians, as in Rom. 3 25, the death of Christ is represented only as a propitiation for sins that are past—not yet, as in Rom. 8 3, as serving also for the averting of sins to come, and that the doctrine of the 'spirit' (πνεῦμα) in Gal. 5 16-25 is much less elaborately thought out than it is in Rom. 6-8.

On the home of the readers, see preceding article. As for their nationality—according to Gal. 4 8 5 2 6 12 *f.* they were, at least preponderantly, Gentile Christians. Whether there may not also have been among them a sprinkling of Jewish Christians cannot be decided by reference to 3 13 23-25 4 5, for in that case all the readers together must have been Jewish Christians. These passages, therefore, show only that Paul is inadvertently applying to his readers that which holds good as regards himself (see preceding article, § 21, 3 *d*). In 4 21, on the other hand, he says, truly, not that his readers are yet under the law, but that they are now only contemplating the assumption of that yoke. That there was a Jewish element in the Galatian churches might be inferred more readily from 3 28, though here also, perhaps, Paul is speaking more from principle than was exactly required by the personal circumstances of his readers. The Judaizing emissaries, too, could have found access all the easier if born Jews already belonged to the churches. But the question must be allowed to remain undecided.

11. Readers.

From 3 1 5 7 we learn that the Judaizing emissaries were personally unknown to Paul. Both before and after his second visit they had been at work among the Galatians. Whether the same persons were engaged in this on both occasions we have'no means of knowing; but on both occasions they wrought in the same spirit, though on the second with immeasurably greater success (see preceding article, § 25).

12. Judaizing emissaries.

That one or more prominent persons were included among them follows from the ὅστις ἐὰν ᾖ of 5 10. It is impossible, however, to say whether any individual (possibly one of the original apostles) is intended. For ὁ ταράσσων ὑμᾶς can mean 'every one who brings you into perplexity' just as easily as ὁ ἐρχόμενος in 2 Cor. 11 4 refers to all the Judaizers who had already arrived in Corinth (οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι, 11 5), since the proposition that follows (ἀνείχεσθε, or ἀνέχεσθε) does not state a conceivable case merely, but an actual fact. It is certain, however, that the original apostles, in Jerusalem at least, did not interfere with the activity of these ταράσσοντες (1 7; cp 5 12; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3). From 6 12 *f.* some have thought it must follow that they themselves had not as yet been tircumcised, but were only fanatical proselytes. In that case it would he incomprehensible why they should not have accepted circumcision long before, or how they could without this have brought the Galatians so far. The determination of the question lies not in the reading περιτετμημένοι, which is quire plainly a correction intended to make themeaning easier, but in taking the present οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι in a timeless sense—the men of the circumcision (cp 1 Thess. 2 12: ὁ καλῶν, 1 10: ὁ ῥυόμενος).

What their representations to the Galatians had been

can be plainly gathered from the answers of the apostle.

13. Their doings. They had said that in order to gain salvation it was not enough to comply with the teaching of Paul, who had simply demanded faith in Christ crucified (31 *f.* 5) and risen, but that it mas also necessary to fulfil all the prescriptions of the Mosaic law (325 10 54), to which alone the promise of salvation was attached (38 18 54). They had said that, on the other hand, the doctrine of Paul opened a wide door to moral laxity (513). These arguments on the merits of the case they fortified by personal ones. They maintained that Paul was not strictly an apostle at all, but dependent on the original apostles (11 11 *f.* 115-221). Only these, the 'pillars' (29; see COUNCIL, § 6), were competent to decide the true doctrine, as they had formerly (*ποτέ, 26)* been taught by the Lord himself when he was on earth. Wherever, therefore, the teaching of Paul departed from theirs, it was to be rejected. Nay, more, elsewhere (this is obviously what we are to understand) Paul himself was still preaching circumcision (*5*11); he is thus in contradiction with himself if he has failed to exact it of the Galatians. Thereby he has deprived them of their title to salvation; and this be can have done only out of a desire to please men,[1] and so make the acceptance of Christianity seem easier than it really was. To these Judaizers, accordingly, the description in Acts 151 5 applies admirably. They had already brought it about that the Galatians observed the Jewish feasts (410), and were seriously thinking of receiving circumcision (51 *f.* 612 *f.*). Their moral character is represented by Paul as very despicable. He ascribes to them motives quite as low as the motives which they ascribe to him. It is not, he says, about the salvation of the Galatians that they are concerned: all that they seek is personal consideration among them (417) and repute with their Judaistic (perhaps even Jewish) co-religionists for having brought the Galatians to circumcision (613), and they are in dread of persecution by these same comrades should they fail to insist on circumcision in their proselytising efforts, and, like Paul, rest satisfied with faith in the cross of Christ (612). It is probable that in this Paul is as unjust to them as he was to Peter in charging him with hypocrisy (211-13; see COUNCIL, § 3). From their point of view, they could hardly do otherwise than, on religious grounds, hold Paul's preaching to be not only dangerous but also God-dishonouring. But we have seen that among the means which they made use of even slander had a place (511), and that they flagrantly violated the compact of the Council of Jerusalem (29).

It was to counteract the influence of those persons that Paul wrote Galatians. Its course of thought is not

14. Purpose of Galatians. rightly apprehended if we view chaps. 1 *f.* as constituting a personal apologia, and chaps. 3 *f.* and 5 *f.* as forming respectively **a** dogmatic and a practical section. Nor does it avail to take the dogmatic portion as ending at **47** or 411, or not till 56 or 524, as if 421-31 were not intensely dogmatic, and 48-20 very much the reverse. The epistle must be viewed much more as being an epistle; repetitions must not be ignored or denied; and a chief turning-point must be recognised in 513.

After the salutation, **1**1-5, and statement of the position of matters, 16-10, there follows what constitutes the first main division of the epistle, the historical demonstration that the gospel of Paul isindependent of the original apostles, and is of directly divine origin. Here there are three sections: 111-24 21-10 211-21. The second main division contains the dogmatic proofthat Christian freedomand observance of the law are incompatible. This in the first instance occupies 31-47 continuously. Next follow a practical application to the readers (48-11), **a** calling to mind of their former good relations with Paul (412-20), **a** renewed proof from the OT (421-31), a new proof drawn from first principles (51-6) and a renewed application to the readers (57-12). The third main division consists (like Rom. 6.8) of exhortation and proof that morality is not impaired by Christian freedom—this in 513-24 in general terms, in **5**25-**6**10 in relation to particular points of special importance for the readers. Finally, the autograph conclusion, **6**11-18, sums up once more the leading polemical points.

The importance of Galatians for its first readers undoubtedly consisted in the first instance in this—that it

15. Place in history. won them back to Paul and his gospel. Thds much may be presumed, if 1 Cor. (161), which, as we gather from **16**8, was written at the close of the three-years' stay in Ephesus, is of a later date than our epistle (see above, § 10). For the history of primitive Christianity Galatians is a historical source of the first order. It constituted for the Tübingen school the Archimedean fulcrum by which it revolutionised the traditional conception of the history of the first century. What has already been said under ACTS (§§ 4 6 *f.*) and COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM (§§ 1 7-11) may sufficeto show the magnitude and fundamental character of the errors to which we should have been exposed had this epistle not been preserved to us. The character of Paul, the imperiousness which he showed in the service of what he had recognised to be truth, his ardent love and zealous care for the churches which he had founded, the rabbinical ingenuity yet truly religious depth of his thinking, and at the same time the far-reaching nature of the differences that separated, the various tendencies in the early church, find immediate expression here as hardly anywhere else. In all time Galatians will be the charter of freedom, not only from the Mosaic law but also from every yoke that is imposed upon the religious life as an external condition of salvation without reference to any inner necessity of the soul. It was in this sense that it supplied Luther with a foundation from which to carry on his life-work against the freshly-asserted claims of work-righteousness in the Catholic Church of his day.

16. Bibliography. The outstanding commentaries are those of Luther (Latin in 1519, German in 1525, and fuller Latin in 1532); Winer ('21; (4), '59); Rueckert ('33); H. A. W. Meyer ('41; (5), 70; (6), by Sieffert in '80, (8), '94, identical with (7) of '86, (9), '99; ET from German ed. '70); Hilgenfeld ('52); Jowett ('55; (2), '59; condensed ed. '94); Wieseler ('59); Holsten (*Inhalt u. Gedankengang des Galaterbriefs*, '59, expanded into *Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus*, '68; also—a new work—Bas *Evangelium des Paulus*, 11, '80); Lightf. ('65; (10), '90); J. Ch. K. von Hofmann (*Die Heilige Schrift Neuen Testaments*, 21, '63; (2), '72); Lipsius (*Handcomm.* 22, '91, (2), '92); also in Dutch, by Baljon ('89), and Cramer (*Nieuwe bijdragen door Cramer en Lamers*, 6, '90), both with many textual conjectures. As to the conjectures, see Baljon (*De tekst der brieven aan de Romeinen, Corinthiërs en Galatiers, akademisch proefschrift*, Utrecht, '84), and on the attempts at dissection see Clemen (*Einheitlichkeit der paulinischen Briefe*, '94). Marcion's text is specially dealt with by Hilgenfeld (*Z. hist. Theol.* '55, 426-483), van Manen (*Theol. Tijd.* 1887, pp. 382-404, 451-533), and Theod. Zahn (*Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons*, 2 409-529, '92). Mention must also be made of the work of Volkmar (*Paulus von Damaskus bis zum Galaterbrief*, '87; partly also in *Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz*, '84 *f.*)

P. W. S.

GALBANUM (חֶלְבְּנָה, χαλβανη ηδυσμου [BL], χαβρ. η. [A], *galbanum doni odoris* [= ח׳ סַמִּים?], **Ex.** 30 34 †), which was an ingredient in the holy incense, is a resinous substance often mentioned by botanical writers, ancient and modern. Though the etymology of חלבנה, *ḥelbᵉnāh*, is uncertain,[1] the names χαλβάνη and *galbanum* are certainly connected with, and probably derived from, the Hebrew word.

The source of the gum is even yet not quite certain. Dioscorides and Theophrastus speak of it as the product of a Syrian *narthex;* but in modern times the galbanum of commerce is known to be produced only in Persia, and since Boissier it has generally been identified—*e.g.*, by Flückiger and Hanbury(2) (320 *ff.*), and by Dymock (2 152 *ff.*)—as the gum of the umbelliferous *Ferula galbaniflua*, Boiss. et Buhse, and the kindred species *F. rubricaulis*, Boiss.[2] The resin is formed of 'tears

1 The ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν of 110 will refer to this. It is *not* till εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον that this alleged 'pleasing of men, as shown towards Gentiles, will be put on **a** level with the complaisance which Paul, before he became a Christian, and when persecuting Christians, had shown towards the Jews. See, further, above, § 1.

1 Its connection with חָלָב, 'milk,' is improbable.

2 Besides these, its principal known sources, however, there may have heen others: thus Sir G. Birdwood speaks in this connection

which exude spontaneously from the stem, especially on its lower part and about the bases of the leaves.' It has 'a peculiar, not unpleasant, aromatic odour' (Flück. and Hanb. *l.c.*).

N. M.

GALEED (גַּלְעֵד), **1.** or **Jegar-Sahadutha** (יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא), the former the Hebrew, the latter the Aramaic, designation of the heap or cairn which was a sign of the covenant between Jacob and Laban, Gen. 31 47 ('Galeed' again in *v.* 48).

The renderings of 𝔊 and Vg. (on which see Nestle, *Marg.* p. 10 *f.*) show an uncertainty as to whether עֵד is a noun or a verb. For Galeed, βουνὸς μαρτυρεῖ [A], β. μάρτυς [*D*sil E L]; *ACERVUM TESTIMONII* in *v.* 47. β. μαρτυρεῖ [ADL], β. μαρτυρίου [E]; *GALAAD* in *v.* 48. For Jegar-sahadutha, βουνὸς μάρτυς [A], β. τῆς μ. [*D*sil L], βουνὸν μαρτυρίας [E]; *tumulum testis.*

Both have the same meaning—viz., 'heap of witness'—and the intention of the former is to suggest a derivation of the name GILEAD (*q.v.*).

The original tradition, however, must have been without this trivial etymology. יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא (Jegar-śahadutha) is certainly a corruption of גַּר־צַלְחַד (Gar-Ṣalḥad), 'fortress of Ṣalḥad.'[1] We have to suppose that J and E both had access to stories of the lives of the patriarchs in a written form, among which was that of the meeting of Laban and Jacob. J's source of information contained one statement which was very possibly wanting in E's, and which J's account gave, partly in a mutilated, partly in a corrupt form. The early tradition must have said that Jacob set his face towards Gar-Ṣalḥad on Mount Hauran, but 'Gar-Ṣalḥad' had become corrupted into 'Gar-Sahad' (שהד 73) and 'on Mount Hauran' into 'on the mountain' (בָּהָר). The latter phrase may have originally stood in *v.* 25, where we now read בָּהָר, 'on the mountain.' Reasoning on the strange phrase Gar-Sahad, J seems to have come to the conclusion that it was really Jegar-Sahadutha ('heap of witness' in Aramaic), and that it referred to a cairn which Jacob must have erected as a boundary mark, and this suggested explaining Gilead as a modification of Gal'ēd, the Hebrew equivalent of Jegar-śahadutha. He forgot the improbability (pointed out by We. *CH* 43) that the grandchildren of 'Nahor' and Abraham—both sons of Eber—should have spoken different dialects; but how else could he have explained Gar-Sahad? That Wellhausen is wrong in treating *v.* 47 as a late archaeological gloss should be clear; 'heap of witness' is by no means an obvious explanation of 'Gilead,' and has to be accounted for. The verse belongs to J, but is misplaced; *v.* 48 should run, 'therefore he (Jacob) called it Gal'ēd, but Laban called it Jegar-śahadutha.' *Vv.* 49 (on which see GILEAD, § 4) and 50 belong to E; they give an explanation of E's pillar (*maṣṣēbā*) corresponding to that of J's cairn (*gal*). It has only to be added that Nahor is miswritten for Hauran (חורן); the 'God of Nahor' in *v.* 53 (E) was originally 'the God of Hauran'—a phrase which lost its force when E, like J, brought the meeting of Laban and Jacob farther S. in order to suit the subsequent travels of the patriarch.

2. GALEED (גלעד) may also originally have stood in another important passage now evidently mutilated—viz., Josh. 22 34, where we read of a great altar set up by Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, as a 'witness' (cp *v.* 27) to the tribes on both sides of the Jordan that those on the eastern side were equally worshippers of Yahwè, in the strict legal fashion, with their brethren on the W. (So Di., Bennett in *SBOT;* EV, following Pesh. and some Heb. MSS, is content with supplying עֵד [*'ēd*].)

The narrative to which the passage belongs (*vv.* 9-34) must be very late, but may be based upon an early record which contained a second explanation of the name Gilead, connecting it with a great altar erected in early times by the eastern tribes. Whether this is probable or not, is a question on which critics are not at all unanimous. Those who agree with Di. will ascribe to the editor the anxious assurances of the eastern tribes that no sacrifices should be offered upon the altar, and certain other peculiarities, such as the indistinctness of the description of the locality of the altar (*v.* 10 *f.*), and the omission of the name of the altar (*v.* 34; cp Bennett). If on the other hand the narrative is 'an absolutely unhistorical invention framed to defend the doctrine of a unique sanctuary' (Kue. *Hex.* 107, cp 339 *f.*, and see We. *CH* 135), we must suppose that the name of the altar was accidentally omitted by a very early scribe, or perhaps (cp 1 S. 13 1 and Budde's crit. note in *SBOT*) was never inserted by the narrator. It is worth noticing that both in *v.* 11 and in *v.* 34 𝔊 reads differently from MT. In particular 𝔊B has in *v.* 11, ἐπὶ τοῦ γαλααδ ('in Gilead'; 𝔊L om.) where MT has אֶל־גְּלִילוֹת ('in the districts'?), and in *v.* 34, καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν Ἰησοῦς τὸν βωμὸν . . . καὶ εἶπεν ('and Joshua named the altar . . . and said'). At any rate, both texts (and also Jos. *Ant.* v. 1 26) agree in not giving the name of the altar. Cp ED.

T. K. C.

of *Ophoidia galbanifera* of Khorassan, and *Galbanum officinale* of Syria (*EB*(9) 12 718).

1 Cp Kar-Ašur, Kar-Ištar, Kar-Šarrukin, 'fortress of Ašur, of Ištar, of Šarrukin.'

GALEM (Josh. 15 59, *Var. Bib.*, 𝔊 only). See GALLIM, 1.

GALGALA (ΓΑΛΓΑΛΑ [AKV]), 1 Macc. 9 2. See ARBELA, § 2 *ff.*, and cp GILGAL, § 6 (*c*).

GALILEE (הַגָּלִיל, הַגָּלִילָה [2 K. 15 29]; Aram. גְּלִילָא; ΓΑΛΕΙΛΑΙΑ [B], -ΛΙΛ. [BªℵAQΓVL and NT]; *GALILÆA*, G. *GENTIUM*).

1. Name. The name *gālīl* means 'circle,' 'district,' 'region.' Once only we find the qualifying addition 'of the nations'—viz., Is. 9 1 [8 23], 'In the former time be brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time he confers honour on the road to the sea, the other side of the Jordan, the district (*gālīl*) of the nations' (𝔊 γαλ[ε]ιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν). The latter phrase clearly means 'the district inhabited by a mixed population of Jews and foreigners.' Josh. 12 23 is partly parallel, for we should doubtless read (with Graf, *St. Kr.* 1854, p. 870) 'the king of the nations of the *gālīl*' (not? as in MT, 'of Gilgal'). Cp 1 Macc. 5 15, γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων; ἡ γαλιλαία simply, often in 1 Macc. (once in Macc. and twice in NT the article is omitted).

2. Original reference. 'Galilee' (to retain the convenient though late-coined Græcised name) seems at a comparatively early period to have specially designated the territory of Naphtali.

The cities mentioned in the list of Tiglath-pileser's conquests (2 K. 15 29) as constituting 'the *gālīl*' (Galilee) are, with probably one exception,[1] all in Naphtali, and, as if to prevent misunderstanding, the narrator sums up thus: 'and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali.'[2]

Although the early Naphtalites failed to occupy all the land which they coveted (Judg. 1 33), and in Gen. 30 7 *f.* Naphtali is the son of a slave-girl, Naphtali, like Zebulun, is praised for its heroism in a patriotic war (Judg. 5 18). Probably, therefore, the special application of the phrase 'district (of the nations)' to Naphtali arose out of the occupation of Naphtali by the Aramæans under Benhadad I. The chief (Naphtalite) Galilæan city was of course Kedesh, which is called 'Kedesh in the *gālīl* (Galilee), in the hill-country of Naphtali' (cp Tob. 1 2).

The *gālīl* was, however, a vague expression, and must surely have been sometimes used with a wider reference. For this we may cite 1 K. 9 10-13, though this passage is decisive only for the time when it was *edited*. The connection between the Cabul mentioned here and that of Josh. 19 27 seems hardly disputable. Whoever gave the last touches to the story of the despised twenty cities of 'Cabul' must have considered that the 'land of the *gālīl*' extended to the Asherite town of Cabul, for to exclude the town of Cabul from the 'land of Cabul' would be as unnatural as to exclude the town of Goshen from the land of Goshen (Josh. 10 41; cp 15 51). In the time of Josephus we know that CABUL [*q.v.*] was a border city of Galilee, and there is every probability that this ancient place was spoken of as Galilæan long before this; Janoah, too, even if Asherite, was apparently regarded as Galilæan when 2 K. 15 29 was written, though the writer certainly seems to have applied the term 'Galilee' more especially to Naphtali. How, indeed, could Asher have failed to be included in the *gᵉlīl haggōyīm*? According to Judg. 1 31-33 the non-Israelitish element in Asher

1 Janoah (= Yenu'amu) being probably Asherite (see JANOAH), in spite of Buhl's hesitation (*Geog.* 229). It is no doubt out of the right geographical order; but this is probably a confusion introduced by the editor, and was not in the original record. It would, of course, be possible to emend ינוח into כנרת (cp 1 K. 15 20, and see CHINNERETH), but the corruption assumed seems not very likely.

2 As Benzinger points out, the preceding word וגלעד cannot be right; be misses, however, the true explanation of the presence of the word. It is simply miswritten for וגליל; the scribes, as usual, left the wrong word and the right side by side. Cp the corruptions mentioned under GILEAD, 2.

was considerably larger than that in Naphtali. The highly mixed origin of the tribe so-called is implied in Gen. 30 12 *f.* (birth of Asher), and is confirmed by the fact that the Hebrew tribesmen ***borrowed*** their name of Asher from their non-Israelitish parents, an extensive North Palestinian region having been called *Aseru* in the time of the Egyptian kings, Seti I. and Rameses II. (see ASHER, § 1).

The land of Zebulun also had a natural claim to he called Galilaean. Zebulun is not indeed said to have been, like Asher, the son of a slave-girl, but, like Asher and Naphtali, it had to tolerate Canaanitish *enclaves* in its territory (Judg. 1 30), and, if Is. 9 1 [8 23] may be followed, it suffered, like Naphtali, from the invasion of Tiglath-pileser—*i.e.*, was partly Aramaised. In the latter passages Zebulun (which corresponds to the 'road to the sea'; see ZEBULUN) and Naphtali together form 'the district (*gālīl*) of the nations,'[1] and very possibly in 1 K. 9 13 'the land of Cabul' should he emended into 'the land of Zebulun' (see CABUL), implying that the 'twenty cities in the land of the *gālīl*' were in Zebulun.

3. Later boundaries. After 734 B.C. 'the *gālīl*' in its widest sense became an integral part of the Assyrian empire, and hence, though the greater part of the old Israelitish population remained, its purity must have become by degrees more and more contaminated. In 2 Ch. 36 10, however, there may be an allusion to post-exilic attempts of the Jews of South Palestine to strengthen the Jewish spirit in the N. 'as far as Zebulun,' and 1 Macc. 5 14-23 shows that Jews lived in 'Galilee' in Maccabean times. The term Galilee in post-exilic times, however, had obtained a wider meaning than of old. We know the boundaries of Galilee in the time of Josephus, and we may assume that they were the same in the preceding centuries. According to him, Galilee was bounded on the N. and W. by the territory of the Tyrians, to which Mount Carmel also belonged, on the S. by Samaria and Scythopolis (Beth-shean), on the E. by the trans-Jordanic region and by the Lake of Gennesaret (*BJ* iii. 3 1). It was divided into two parts, Upper and Lower Galilee, the boundary line of which was, naturally, the plain of er-Rāmeh (the ha-Ramah of Josh. 19 36). The Mishna, which recognises the same divisions, though it adds the district of Tiberias (taken from Lower Galilee), names as the frontier city Kefar Ḥananyah;[2] Josephus, however (*Vit.* 188), mentions Bersabe or Beer-subai (see § 7). Elsewhere this historian mentions Kedasa or Kydasa (the ancient Kedesh) as a Tyrian fortress on the Galilaean border (*Ant.* xiii. 5 6 *BJ* ii. 18 1 iv. 2 3). This is important, for it suggests a change in the N. boundary of Galilee. In the N., Galilee seems to have lost; but in the S. it gained considerably, for Ginaia or En-gannim, S. of the Great Plain, marked the southern limit of Galilee. Sometimes, too, localities on the E. of the Lake of Gennesaret (or Sea of Galilee) are reckoned as Galilaean (see, *e.g.*, Jos. *BJ* ii. 8 1, where Judas of Gamala is called ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος)—a natural inconsistency.

4. Physical characteristics. Nominally, therefore, Galilee was cut off from the Lebanon by the territory of Tyre. It was, however, its relation to the Lebanon and to Hermon that made Galilee so rich in moisture,[3] and especially in streams and wells, and therefore so pre-eminent in fertility, as compared with both Samaria and Judæa. There is no difference in this respect between Lower and Upper Galilee; the distinction drawn in the Mishna is merely that the latter produces, and that the former does not produce, sycomores. Not only in Asher (Dt. 33 24), but also throughout Galilee, olives were so abundant that it was easier, as a Rabbi said, to support an entire legion by means of olives than in the land of Israel (where food is less easily had) to raise a single child.[1] Naphtali was specially famous for its vines, and for 16 m. round Sepphoris the land 'flowed with milk and honey' (*Meg.* 6 *a*). All this luxury might have enervated the inhabitants but for the long stretches of highland country.

Upper Galilee, in particular (הַר נַפְתָּלִי, 'the hill-country of Naphtali'), consists of a broad mountain-ridge, a continuation of the Lebanon range. On the summit is a tract of undulating table-land, diversified by wooded heights and smooth green plains. In the centre of this table-land stood Kedesh-Naphtali, among whose rich pastures Heber, the Kenite, sojourned (Judg. 4 11). On the E. the mountains break down abruptly into the deep basin of the upper Jordan. On the W. the slopes are more gradual, and long ravines of singular beauty and wildness wind down to the sea-coast and the plain of Acre. These western declivities, once the possession of Asher, are still celebrated for their olive groves (cp the name Bir-zaith). The town of Safed, perched on the culminating point of the mountain chain to the S., is one of the four sacred cities of the Jews. It is also noted as the centre of a wide volcanic region (see EARTHQUAKE, § 3).

The southern slopes of the mountain range, from the castellated heights of Safed to the broad plain of Esdraelon, afford some of the most picturesque scenery in Palestine. Forests of evergreen oak sweep round the flanks of the hills in graceful belts, and line the sides of the valleys, leaving open glades, and undulating expanses of green grass, such as are seen in English parks. Here, too, are upland plains, like vast terraces, with rich soil and rank vegetation. The largest is that now called el-Baṭṭōf—fertile, but without sufficient drainage on the eastern side, and therefore marshy. There are others to the eastward, along the brow of the hills that encircle Tiberias, and extending down to Tabor. These are separated from the great plain of Esdraelon by a line of rocky hut picturesque hills, which culminate on the E. in the dome of Tabor. Esdraelon stretches out beyond them like a sea of verdure, leaving in the distance the base of Carmel and the mountains of Samaria.

Lower Galilee was a land of husbandmen, famed for its corn-fields (the wheat of Chorazin was proverbial), as Upper Galilee was for its olive groves, and Judæa for its vineyards. The demand for the Galilæan wheat must have been large indeed (cp Acts 12 20). GENNESARET (see GENNESAR), however, surpassed all other regions; its fertility excites Josephus to an unwonted enthusiasm (*BJ* iii. 3 2 *f.* 10 8). The best pomegranates came from Shikmonah—*i.e.*, we can hardly doubt, the Sykaminos of Josephus, between Cæsarea and Acco, near Mount Carmel; and it should be noted that Eusebius (OS 267 70) expressly identifies Sykaminos and Hepha—*i.e.*, the modern Haifa. Probably the old town lay a little to the N. of Haifa, on the site of some ruins still called 'the old Haifa.' For the oil of ancient Galilee cp 2 Ch. 2 10, and for its wheat and fat oxen (but not 'fowls'; see FOWL, § 2), 1 K. 4 23 [5 3]. Turning to the rivers and lakes, we must give the first place to the Jordan, all of which to the N. of the Lake of Gennesaret, and one-third of its length to the S., belonged to Galilee. Many small streams flowing from the eastern watershed meet the Jordan; those on the W., including the Kishon (Nahr el-Muḳaṭṭa'), flow into the Mediterranean (see KISHON). The Semachonitis or Lake of Ḥūleh (*not* the 'Waters

[1] The phrase 'the other side of Jordan' corresponds to 'Gilead' in the traditional text of 2 K. 15 29, which lay before the author of this late insertion in Isaiah (*see* ***SBOT*** and cp Duhm). Guthe (*PREP* 6 337) seems wrong in explaining עבר of the district on the W. shore of the Jordan from Ḥūleh *to* Dan. גלעד is surely corrupt (see col. 1628, note 2).

[2] Neub. *Géogr.* 226.

[3] 'All vegetation,' says Merrill, 'would be affected by the "dew of Hermon," which is praised in Ps. 133 3.' See, however, DEW, § 2 (*d*).

[1] *Ber. Rabba*, par. 20, following Wünsche's translation (cp Neub. *Géogr.* 180).

of MEROM') and the SEA OF GALILEE are the two lalces. The former is a triangular basin, about *6* ft. above the sea-level; it is very disappointing, being shallow and reedy; water-fowl abound in it. The latter is described in the next article. On the famous hot springs of Tiberias (rivalled by those of Gadara) see TIBERIAS.

5. Later population. The population of Galilee in the time of Jesus was of more diverse origin than it had ever been before. The somewhat mixed old Israelitish population had been further modified by Phœnician, Ituræan (Arabian?), and Greek elements, so that the Jews, with perfect'justice from their point of view, could look down on the Galilæans, whose imperfect legal orthodoxy and inaccurate pronunciation[1] soon 'bewrayed' them (Mk. 14 70 Mt. 26 73). Still, the Galilæans could boast of great names in their past history,[2] and they were themselves no cowards when their religion was at stake; the old spirit of the Naphtalites lived again in their descendants, however mixed the race of those descendants might be. They were doubtless too industrious to be strictly orthodox from a Pharisaic point of view; but the Messianic hope burned more brightly in Galilee than anywhere else in Palestine, and hundreds of inquirers from the populous Galilean towns and villages followed the great Teacher wherever he went. He had a word for all. He knew them indeed, as brothers know brothers, for it can hardly be doubted that, as Prof. Percy Gardner has well said, 'according to all historic probability, Jesus of Nazareth was born at Nazareth' (*Exploratio Evangelica*, 254 ['99]), or rather at the Nazarene or Galilean Bethlehem, for which, by a misunderstanding, 'Nazareth' appears to have been substituted (see NAZARETH). This connection of Jesus with Galilee has been well treated by Renan, though he has ,doubtless fallen into exaggerations which repel sober minds.

'The region adjacent to Jerusalem is perhaps the most *triste* country in the world. Galilee, on the other hand, is full of verdure and of shade, the true country of the song of songs. During March and April the fields are carpeted with flowers. The animals are small, but **of** great gentleness. The forms of the mountains **are** more harmonious there than elsewhere, and inspire higher thoughts. Jesus seems to have had a special fondness for them' (*Vie de Jésus*(14), 67 *f.*).

6. Local influences on Jesus. The early history of Christianity cannot be understood apart from its physical environment. Galilee is dear to **us,** because by every right Jesus can be called a Galilean, and must have imbibed the moral and physical influences of his village home; Umbria gives the key to St. Francis; Galilee, in some sense, gives the key to Jesus of Nazareth. How he 'had compassion' on its teeming multitudes we know from the Gospels, and it is no slight merit in Dr. Selah Merrill that he has supplemented the one-sided (thongh not untrue) statements of Renan by proving the density of the population of ancient Galilee.[3] 'He who wandered among the hills and valleys of Galilee was never far from some great and populous city.'[4] Yet, such are the revenges of history, this home of the fulfiller and transformer of the Law became, in the second century after Christ, the centre of Jewish study of the Law. Galilee must at this period have contained a large and wealthy Jewish population. Traces of their splendid synagogues arc still to be found at Tell Ham, Kerāzeh, Irbid, Kedes, Meirōn, Kefr Birʿim, and other places. Strangely enough, in six of these there arc carved representations of animals.

1 They confounded א with ע, and ח with ה.
2 In Jn. 7 52 for *προφήτης* we should probably read, with the Sahidic version, ὁ *προφήτης*, else strange ignorance is ascribed to the Jews. Prophets and other great men had come out of Galilee. See Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, E T 3 13-15.
3 Josephus asserts (*Vit.* 45; *BJ* iii. 3 2) that there were **204** cities and villages, the very least of which contained more than 15,000 inhabitants. We need not accept this.
4 Besant, quoted by GASm. *HG* 432, n. 2.

7. Chief localities. The best-known localities in Jewish Galilee are in the lower part of the province. On the W. of the southern border, S. of the Wādy el-Melek, is the village of Semūnīyeh, the ancient Simonias (Jos. *Vit.* 24), identified by the Talmud with SHIMRON [*q.v.*, i.]. The modern village of Yāfā, SW. of Nazareth, is the Japha of Josephus (*BJ* ii. 20 6, iii. 7 31). The frontier town of Xaloth or Exaloth (*BJ* iii. 3 1; *Vit.* 44) is the modern Iksāl; cp CHESULLOTH or CHISLOTH TABOR. Another frontier town, Dabaritta (Jos. *Vit.* 26 62; *BJ* ii. 21 3), is the modern Debūrīyeh, at the foot of Mount Tabor on the north, the ancient DABERATH. Close to or upon Mt. Tabor was a fortress called by Polybius (v. 70 6) Atabyrion. S. of Tabor, on the slope of Little Hermon, is the small village of Nein. the Nain of the NT. The plain between Tabor and Gennesaret was called (Eus. OS 296 8) Saronas; the name is echoed in that of the village Sārōnā. ESDRAELON is treated elsewhere.

Let us now move westward from the shore of Gennesaret, and pause first at the ruins of Irbid, the Arbcla of Josephns, famous in the history of Herod (*BJ* i. **16 2-4**). and look up to the round rocky hill called Karn Ḥaṭṭīn **(1135** ft. above sea-level), regarded by the Latins as the Mount of the Beatitudes, and identified by the Talmud with the ZIDDIM of Josh. 19 35. To the SW. is Kefr Kennā, which tradition identifies with CANA OF GALILEE. Conder's site for Cana (ʿAin Ḳānā) has the seeming advantage of being only half an hour to the N. of Nazareth; the fountain flows on though the village has disappeared. But what if 'Nazareth' is really a mistake for the Nazarene Bethlehem? Ṣefūriyeh is no doubt Sepphoris, so famous in the Roman war; the Talmud calls it Sippori. Beit-Laḥm, the ancient Bethlehem of Zebulun and en-Nāṣira, or Nazareth, require to be noticed together (see NAZARETH).

In the N. of the Plain of Baṭṭōf (the Asochis of Jos.) we pause with interest at the Tell Jefāt, upon which once stood the fortress of Jotapata, defended by Josephus (*BJ* iii. 7 *f.*); cp JIPHTAH-EL. The border cities, Kefar Hauanyah and Bersabe, arc respectively Kefr ʿAnān and Abū Shebā (N. of Kefr 'Anin), unless, indeed, Bersabe is the Birsabee of Theodosius (*circa* 530 A.D.), which Guthe identifies with Khirbet el-ʿOrēmeh, above Khān Minieh on the Sea of Galilee.

Of the doubtless ancient sites in Upper Galilee, few have a proved biblical connection—*e.g.*, Kerāzeh (Chorazin); Safed (the Sefet of Tob. 1 1 in the Latin), the highest town in Galilee (2749 ft.), and, as some have fancied, the 'city that is set on a hill' of Mt. 5 14; Meirōn, where many old Jewish teachers arc buried; el-Jish, the Gischala of Josephns, and the Guš Halab of the Talmud; and, to the NW., Kefr-Birʿim, already referred to. *See* also GALILEE, SEA OF; ESDRAELON; JEZREEL i.; TABOR.

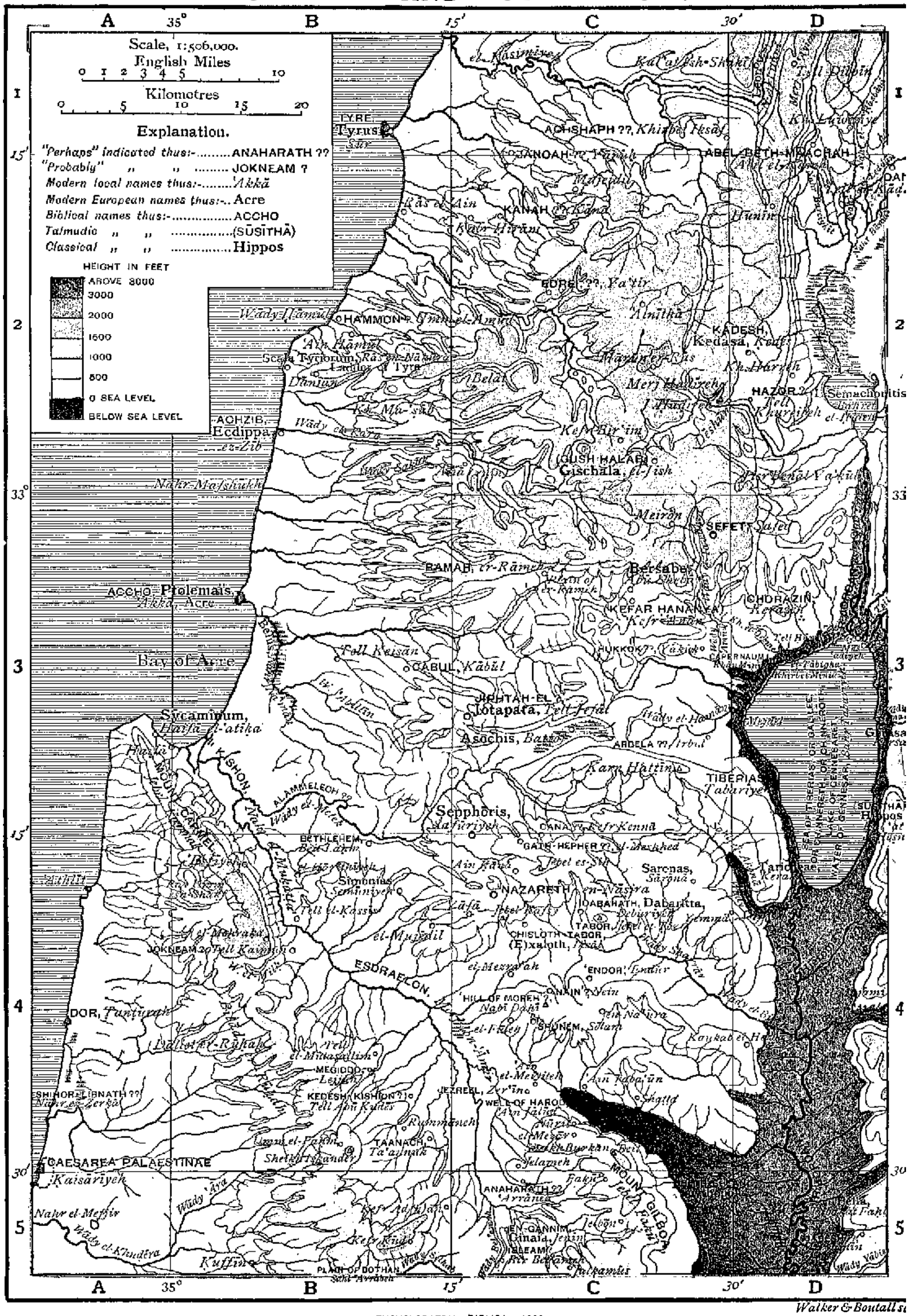
Literature. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud* ('68); Guérin, *Galilée* ('80); *Survey of Western Palestine; Memoirs*, vol. i., 'Galilee' ('81); Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ* ('91); Macgregor, The *Rob Roy on the Jordan* ('69); GASm. *HG* 20; Guthe, art. 'Galiläa' in *PRE*(3), Bd. vi. ('99); also Art. 'Galilee' in Kitto's *Bib. Cycl.* by J. L. Porter, from which a few portions of the present article have been adapted. T. K. C.

GALILEE, SEA OF (Η ΘΑΛΑCCΑ ΤΗC ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑC [Ti. WH]), a Hebraistic expression (see GEOGRAPHY, § 4) for the fine sweet-water lake through which the Jordan flows on the E. of Galilee.

1. Names. It occurs five times (Mt. 4 18 15 29 Mk. 1 16 7 31 Jn. 6 1). Other names are (1) 'sea of Tiberias' (ἡ θ. τῆς Τιβεριάδος [Ti. WH]), Jn. 21 1; (2) 'sea of Galilee, of Tiberias' (ἡ θ. τῆς Γαλ. τῆς Τιβ. [Ti. WH] Jn. 6 1), where 'of Tiberias' seems to be a scribe's *correction*, intended to supersede 'of Galilee,' and pointing forward to *v.* 23 where 'Tiberias' is mentioned;[1] (3) 'lake of Gennesaret' (ἡ λίμνη Γεννησαρετ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 5 1; (4) 'the

1 B. d.e. Syr. Hcl. (Tregelles) prefix εἰς τὰ μέρη, which is also **a** correction, but one that does not suit, the eastern shore being meant.

GALILEE AND ESDRAELON.



For Index to names see back of map.

MAP OF GALILEE AND ESDRAELON

INDEX TO NAMES

The references following some names having no biblical equivalent are to passages that **mention** *them. The alphabetical arrangement ignores prefixes* :*'Ain* (*'spring'*), *Bīr* (*'well'*), *el* (*'the'*), *3.* (*Jebel*, *'mt.'*), *Jisr* (*'bridge'*), *Kefr* (*'village'*), *Kh.* (*Khirbat*, *'ruin'*), *L.* (*lake*), *Mt.*, *N.* (*Nahr*, *'river'*), *Nabi* (*'prophet'*), *R.* (*river*), *Sahl* (*'plain'*), *Sheikh* (*'saint'*), *Tell* (*'mound'*), *Umm* (*'mother'*), *W.* (*Wādy*, *'valley'*).

sea' (ἡ θάλ.), Jn. 6 11-25; (5) 'the lake' (ἡ λίμ.), Lk. 5 2 8 22 *f.* 33. To these must be added *(6)* 'sea of Chinnereth' (יָם־כִּנֶּרֶת), and (7) 'sea of Chinneroth' (יָם־כִּנְּרוֹת), see CHINNERETH, CHINNEROTH; also (8) 'the water of Gennesar'—*i.e.*, (RV) 'of Gennesareth,' 1 Macc. 11 67. See GENNESAR. For Talmudic notices the reader will consult Neub. *Géogr.* 25, and Kohut, 'Lakes of the Holy Land,' *JQR* **4** 691 ('92).

2. Physical characteristics.

The extreme length of this lake is 13 m.; its greatest width is little less than 7 m. It is an irregular oval in shape. Its surface is 681 ft. below the level of the Mediterranean. Its greatest depth has been exaggerated by M'Gregor and Lortet.[1]

As Barrois (1894) states, it varies from 130 ft. to 148 ft., according to the season, the greatest depth occurring along the course of the Jordan, through the meridional axis of the sheet. The surface temperature varies considerably. Down to 30 ft. it is on an average about 68° or 69°, and at 50 ft., 62° or 63°. Between 6j ft. and 130 ft., however, there is a uniform temperature of 59°. This is much higher than in the Swiss lakes at the same depth, but the lake of Tiberias lies at a much lower elevation, under a much hotter sun, and is fed from the sides and the bottom by several hot springs (see *PEFQ*, '94, pp. 211-220).

The scenery of the lake disappoints some travellers; but arriving from the S. where the landscapes are by no means always pleasing, one feels it a relief to catch a first view of its pale blue waters and the steep but bare and by no means bold mountains which so nearly surround it.' It is unjust to speak of it as dreary. It is only under certain aspects that it presents a painful monotony of gray; the evening hues are delightful, and round it there is a broad beach of white pebbles with small shells. The Jordan enters at the extreme northern end and issues 'plunging and swirling' at the southern. Here there are wide openings, which permit a view of the valley, and suggest interesting excursions.

The favourable physical conditions of Gennesaret (*el-Ghuwēr*) have been referred to elsewhere (see GENNESAR). Here it suffices to add that the harvest on the shore is nearly a month earlier than on the neighbouring highlands of Galilee and Bashan. Frost is entirely unknown. The trees, plants, and vegetables are those usually found in Egypt—*e.g.*, the palm, the *Zizyphus lotus*, and the indigo plant.

'Though the whole basin of the lake, and, indeed, the Jordan valley, is of volcanic origin, as evidenced by the thermal springs and the frequent earthquakes, yet the main formation of the surrounding wall of mountains is limestone. A large number of black stones and boulders of basaltic tufa are scattered along the slopes and upland plains, and dykes of basalt here and there burst through the limestone strata in the neighbourhood of Tiberias and along the northern shore.'[2]

references.

In the OT the lake is only mentioned in descriptions of boundaries. It receives ample compensation in the NT, for its well-peopled, pleasant shores attracted the preacher of the kingdom of God. Four of its fisher-folk became his first disciples, with whom he took up his temporary abode in the 'village of consolation' (Capernaum)—he who was emphatically *mĕnăḥem* (*i.e.*, Comforter, a Jewish title of the Messiah). The local colouring of the Gospel narratives which have the lake and its shores for their scene, is wonderfully true. The sudden storms—the multitude of fish—the 'desert place' near Bethsaida where there was 'much grass'—all this is in accordance with facts. The hot, tropical air of the Ghōr is often filled by the cold winds from Lebanon which rush through the ravines of the Peræan hills (Thomson). So much for the storms. The fish are famous, both for variety and for abundance (see FISH, § 1). Josephus (*BJ* iii. 10 7) remarks—and Hasselquist corroborates this—that some of them are found also in the Nile.[3] To Beth-saida the fish of the lake perhaps gave its name, and Taricheze was mainly devoted to the curing of fish. The desert but grassy place intended in the narratives of the first feeding of the people (see especially Mk. 6 39) is surely the rich but swampy plain of el-Baṭeiḥa in the NE., at the N. end of which are the ruins of BETHSAIDA (*q.v.*). Nor can we doubt that towards the S. of the lake there were also 'desert (solitary) places,' even if they were only on high hill tops.

4. Feeding of the multitude.

This consideration is important with reference to the two narratives of the feeding of the multitude. That the same tradition may receive different forms, so that two distinct events appear (but wrongly appear) to be reported, is clear from the lives of the patriarchs. It is the application of the comparative method, not any wish to rationalise, that prompts many good critics to identify the two narratives referred to.[1] If this be done, we are placed in a position to rectify some very natural mistakes in the present form of the traditions. We shall see that the scene of the most original narrative of the feeding was probably not in the NE., but more towards the S. Jesus had gone hither to be as far as possible from Antipas,[2] and yet, even in this remote spot, he could not hide himself from eager followers. How did he deal with them? There was probably a gap in the oral tradition, and the early Christians did not shrink from filling it up by ascribing to him who was a prophet, and more than a prophet, a deed such as Elisha was said to have performed of old. How well they expanded the scanty suggestion of 2 K. 4 42-44![3] How much more spiritually suggestive are the evangelical narratives!

The view presented here is different doubtless from that commonly received; but it seems to remove not a few very real difficulties. Nor is it only geography and exegesis that owe something to a keener textual criticism. We are thus helped one stage further towards the perception that the central importance of the Gospel narratives does not consist in their freedom from the inevitable errors of much-edited popular traditions.

Let us now compare the various Gospel statements as to the scene of the reported event, assuming (as we may and must) that there is a duplication of the original story.

Mt. 14 13, 'When Jesus heard of it, he withdrew from thence in a boat to a desert place apart.' No name of a place is given before *v.* 34, where we read, '. . . they came to the land, unto Gennesaret.' Mt. 15 29, 'And Jesus . . . came nigh unto the Sea of Galilee; and he went up into a mountain, and sat there'; *v.* 39, 'And he sent away the multitudes, and entered into the boat, and came into the borders of (RV) Magadan.'

Mk. 6 31, 'Come ye yourselves into a desert place'; *v.* 45, 'And straightway he constrained his disciples to enter into the boat, and to go before him unto the other side to Bethsaida, while he himself sendeth the multitude away'; *v.* 53, 'And . . . they came to the land, unto Gennesaret.'. Mk. 8 4, 'Whence shall we be able to fill these men with bread here in a desert place?' v. 10, 'And straightway he . . . came into the parts of Dalmanutha.'

Lk. 9 10, 'And he took them and withdrew apart to a city called Bethsaida'; *v.* 12 'for \;e are here in a desert place.' The reading in v. 10 is uncertain (cp Blass's edition of Lk.). RV follows Treg., Ti., WH. Certainly the reading of the received text (followed by AV) is the work of a corrector. It does not, however, follow that that of B and D, etc. (D has κώμην for πόλιν) is the right one. We must leave the question open. There is nothing else in the text of Lk. to indicate exactly where the scene of the narrative is to be placed.

Jn. 6 1, 'Jesus went away to the other side of the, sea of Galilee'; *v.* 3, 'And Jesus went up into the mountain'; v. 10 'Now tdere was much grass in the place'; *v.* 17, 'And the; entered into a boat, and were going over the sea into Capernaum'; *v.* 23, 'Howbeit there came boats from Tiberias,' etc.; v. 24, '. . . and came to Capernaum, seeking Jesus.'

5. Bethsaida and Dalmanutha.

The greatest difficulty here is in Mk. 6 45 (προάγειν εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς βηθσαιδαν). Are there two Rethsaidas? or shall we suppose (GAS, *HG* 458; see BETHSAIDA, § 2) that 'going across' does not mean crossing to the W. shore, but only taking the short journey *northward* to Bethsaida? The present writer thinks both views improb-

[1] Cp Harper, *In Scripture Lands*, 323; H. v. Soden, *Reisebriefe*, '98, p. 157.
[2] Porter, Kitto's *Bib. Cycl.*
[3] Cp Neub. *Géogr.* 25.

[1] Cp Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* 2 528 *f.*
[2] Cp Keim, *l.c.*
[3] Note the barley loaves, and cp Jn. 6 9.

able, and instead of adopting the reading of old MSS of the Itala (followed in AV$^{mg.}$ 'over against Bethsaida') would suppose that there is a scribe's error, and that for 'Bethsaida' (Βηθσαιδαν) we should read 'Tiberias' (Τιβεριαδα).

A similar change is certainly necessary in the case of Magdala (Rec. Text) or Magadan (Treg., Ti., WH) in Mt. 1539, and Dalmanutha in Mt. 610. These names have been discussed over and over again (see DALMANUTHA), and the latest solntions are hardly more natural than the earliest. The name in the original tradition must have been one which would account equally well for all these forms, and it should be one of which we are not obliged to say with Bruce (speaking of Magadan in the *Expositor's Bible*) 'place wholly unknown.' It seems to have been Migdal-nunia[1] (מִגְדַּל נוּנַיָּא, 'the tower of fish'), which was 1 R. m. from Tiberias, probably to the S. of that city.[2]

It will be seen that just as Bethsaida and Capernaum *go* together in one form of the tradition, so some unknown place on the E. coast (the neighbourhood of Gamala would suit) and Migdal-nunia go together in another.[3] We may perhaps find traces of this latter view of the localities in Mk. 645 (reading Τιβεριαδα) and also in Jn. 623, where the ships are brought by the evangelist from Tiberias, because the spot where he places the feeding was obliquely opposite Tiberias.[4] 'The land where they were going' (*v.* 21) was not Capernaum (a mistake surely of the redactor of the Fourth Gospel), but Tiberias.

Nothing has been said here as yet of the calming of the storm. Here again the spiritual suggestiveness of the narrative makes it an inalienable treasure. We cannot, however, pin our faith to the literal accuracy of the beautiful story, any more than to that of Ps. 7719 [20], 'Thy way was in the sea and thy path in the great waters,' and of Ps. 107 28-30; see especially the suggestive words with which the latter passage concludes,—'*So* he bringeth them unto the haven wherethey would be.' Such symbolic language is characteristic of faith in all earnestly-held religions, and the symbol soon fixes itself in narrative. These are no doubt held to be facts; but the facts are valued chiefly as vehicles of spiritual ideas, and never examined into with the strictness of historic investigation.

6. Calming of the storm.

We referred above to a little-known Migdal, as almost certainly the Magdala of the received text of Mt. 1539.

The ordinary view identifying it with Mejdel, that miserable village with which the plain of el-Ghuwēr begins, has to be abandoned. The Talmud mentions several Migdals in this neighbourhood. Mejdel was one of these—possibly that from which Mary Magdalene seems to have derived her name, scarcely the MIGDAL-EL (*q.v.*) of Joshua.

7. Magdala, Tarichea, etc.

Other places on the W. shore are referred to in special articles (see, *e.g.*, CAPERNAUM, CHORAZIN).

Let us now turn to the S. end of the lake, where stands the ruin of Kerak, at the point where the Jordan issues. Here we should probably place Tarichea, which, according to Pliny (*NH* 515), in his day gave its name to the whole lake.[5] Its site indeed is not undisputed, being sometimes placed at Mejdel, and though the theory of Gratz—Tarichece= Migdal-nunia = Mejdel—is unacceptable,[6] the simpler theory which has commanded the assent of Wilson (*PEFQ*, '77, p. 10 *ff.*; Furrer, *ZDPV* 2 56 *f.* 12 194 *f.* 13 194 *ff.*), and Socin (Baed. *Pal.*(3) 290) cannot be lightly rejected. Upon the whole, however, the arguments of Schiirer (*Gesch.* 1515) appear to be provisionally decisive in favour of Kerak; Conder, Guthe, and Buhl also incline in this direction. One would like to be able to speak more positively. Tarichea was famous in the first Roman war; it was a centre of Galilæan patriotism. Jesus may perhaps have been there; it is a little strange that it should nowhere be mentioned in the Gospels.[1]

Turning round the lake from Kerak, we pause first at Kal'at el-Ḥoṣn, most probably the ancient Hippos (the Talmudic Sūsīthā). The name of Gamala (mentioned above; famous in the Roman war)[2] seems to be preserved in that of the village of Jamli; Kersā is probably the ancient Gerasa (see GERASENES). But what an inadequate idea these few names give of the girdle of towns which inclosed the Sea of Galilee in ancient times! As Lamartine says, 'the borders of the Lake of Gennesaret seem to have borne cities instead of harvests and forests.'[3] The scene is very different now. Without the help of the imagination even the travelled student will see nothing but a sheet of water unenlivened by vessels and surrounded by treeless hills. T. K. C.

1 Dalma=Ma(g)dal; nutha=nunia. It is implied that the substratum of the narrative is Hebrew or Aramaic. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*(14), 146) thinks that 'Magadan' comes from Dalman(outha).' This does not help much.

2 See Nenb. *Géogr.* 217; Buhl, 226; but cp Grä. *MGWJ*, '80, p. 484' who makes the distance 4 m. (we return to this later).

3 It'would not do, therefore, to suggest that 'Bethsaida' (place of fish?) might be a second name of Migdal-nunia.

4 Slightly differently Furrer, *Bedeutung der bibl. Geographie*, 24 ('70).

5 Grätz, however, suspects the text to be inaccurate.

6 *MGWJ*, '80, pp. 434.495.

1 See GAS *HG* 451 *ff.*

2 See *Jos. BJ* iv. 11. The view adopted above is that of Furrer and Buhl; Baed. *Pal.*(4), however, still adheres to the older view which identifies Gamala with Kal'at el-Ḥoṣn.

3 Quoted by GASm.

GALL. (1) רֹאשׁ, *rōš*, or רוֹשׁ,[4] *rōš* (χολη),[5] Dt. 2913 [17] 3232 Ps. 6921 [22], Jer. 814 915 [14] 2315 Lam. 3519 Am. 612: the same Hebrew word is in Dt. 3233 rendered 'venom,' in Job 2016 'poison,' and in Hos. 104 'hemlock.' The word primarily denotes an extremely bitter plant (Hos. 104) and its fruit (Dt. 2913 [17] etc.); it is constantly coupled with לַעֲנָה, *la'ănāh*, 'wormwood,' the two together denoting the extreme of bitterness. Though there is no evidence that the plant denoted by רֹאשׁ was poisonous, the word is metaphorically applied to the venom of serpents (Dt. 3233 etc.), the notions of bitterness and of poison being closely conjoined in ancient thought (cp Di. on Job 2014).

As the etymology of the Heb. word is unknown and there is no kindred form in any other Semitic language, we have no data for discovering the particular plant intended, the proposed identifications with hemlock, colocynth, darnel, and poppy being alike conjectural. The reference in Hos. 104 points to some weed growing on cultivated land (as 𝔊 ἄγρωστις); whilst in Dt. 3232 some berry-bearing plant is indicated. The colocynth, which is otherwise probable, is a plant that grows, not on cultivated, but on barren land. Cp FOOD, § 5, end.

(2) מְרֵרָה, *m^erērāh*, Job 1613†, and (3) מְרֹרָה, *m^erōrāh*, Job 20 14 25† (in 𝔊 χολή, exc. *v.* 25, διαίταις [BA], διαίτῃ [ℵC]), are analogous derivatives from slightly different forms of the same root (Lag. *Uebers.* 40), which denotes bitterness. They mean properly the human gall or bile; and, from the association of the ideas of bitterness and poison (see above), מְרֹרָה is once applied, like רֹאשׁ, to the venom of serpents (Job 2014).

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

GALLERY. (1) אתוק [Kt.], *'attūḳ*, Ezek. 4115, אַתִּיק, *'attīḳ*, Ezek. 4115 (Ḳr.) 16 425 (τὰ ἀπόλοιπα, ὑποφαύσεις, περίστυλον). The sense seems correct. With regard to 𝔊's third rendering, observe that in 42 5 *f.* the 'galleries' have no pillars. Cp Ass. *mētiḳu*, *mēteḳu*, 'passage, road,' from √אתק, 'to pass on' (Del. Ass. *HWB*, *s.v.*). An architectural application of this word, however, is not mentioned. *See* TEMPLE.

(2) רַהַט, *rāhaṭ*, in plur., Cant. 75 [6] 'The king is held in the galleries'; RV corrects, 'in the tresses thereof.' Neither 'gallery' nor 'tresses' is philologically defensible (see Bu. *ad loc.*). רהטים elsewhere means 'troughs'; here it seems to be

4 The latter spelling only in Dt. 32 32.

5 This. the word used in Mt. 2734 Acts 823, is the usual 𝔊 rendering of רֹאשׁ; but we find θυμός in Dt 3233 Job 2016 Am. 612, πικρόν in Jer. 2315, and ἄγρωστις in Hos. 104, whilst in Lam. 35 *rōš* is rendered κεφαλή through confusion with the other רֹאשׁ.

a corruption of רִמֹּנִים, 'pomegranate trees.' 𝔊 has παραδρομαῖς, Aq. βερατειμ, Symm. εἰλήμασι. Read *v.* 56, 'pleasant are they as an orchard of pomegranate trees' (cp 4 13). So Cheyne, *JQR*, Jan. 1899; see COLOURS, § 15.

(3) רָהִיט, *rahit*, Kt. (רהיט Kr.) in plur., Cant. 1 17 AVmg.; but EV 'rafters.' 𝔊 φατνώματα, Symm. φατνώσεις, Quint. στρωτῆρες. This sense is best reached by reading רהטיו (Syr. ܪܗܛܐ, Nöld.), with Budde. Wetzstein (Del. *Hoheslied u. Koh.* 165) would read וְחִיטֵנוּ 'and our walls' (חִיץ=חיט).

(4) אֵלָם, *ēlām*, אֵילָם, *ēlām*, Ezek. 40 16 *ff.* AVmg. (EV 'arches,' RVmg. 'colonnade'). 𝔊 transliterates. See TEMPLE.

GALLEY (אֳנִי־שַׁיִט), Is. 33 21. See SHIP.

GALLIM (גַּלִּים, ΓΑΛΕ[Ι]Μ [BℵcL]).

1. A place included among the additional 'cities' of Judah in 𝔊's text of Josh. 15 59a (Γαλλιμ [A]; see *SBOT*, 'Joshua,' Heb.). It occurs between Karem (*'Ain Kārim*; see BETH-HACCEREM) and Baither (*Bittīr*; see BETHER i.); it was therefore W. of Jerusalem.

2. A hamlet to the N. of Jerusalem, mentioned with Laishah and Anathoth, Is. 10 30 (γαλλειμ [AQ], ταλειμ [ℵ*]). It was the home of Palti, the husband of Michal (see BAHURIM), 1 S. 25 44 (ρομμα [B], γαλλει [A], -δδ. [forte A"], γολιαθ [L]; γεθλᾶ [Jos.]). No plausible identification has been offered; the text is probably corrupt. Elsewhere (*SBOT, Isaiah*, Heb., Addenda)[1] it is proposed to read, for בַּת־גַּלִּים (EV 'daughter of Gallim'), בֵּית גִּלְגָּל. A place called Beth-gilgal is mentioned in Neh. 12 29 (RV) in connection with Geba and Azmaveth, and one called Gilgal in Josh. 15 7, and Geliloth in Josh. 18 17. Probably the same village is meant in all the three passages (so independently G. A. Smith [GILGAL, § 6 (*b*)]): we cannot identify it, but we know whereabouts it must have stood. It seems to have grown up near a cromlech facing the ascent of Adummim which formed a conspicuous landmark, and was probably regarded as sacred.

For Gallim in Vg. Is. 15 8 see EGLAIM. T. K. C.

GALLIO (ΓΑΛΛΙΩΝ [Ti. WH]), proconsul (AV 'deputy') of Achaia probably towards the end of Paul's eighteen months' sojourn in Corinth (about 53 A.D.). His father, M. Annzeus Seneca, was a rhetorician of Corduba (*Cordova*), whence he migrated to Rome and became an *eques*; his mother Helvia was also probably a native of Spain (hence *equestri et provinciali loco ortus* in Tac. Ann. 14 53). L. Annzeus Seneca the philosopher, and L. Annzeus Mela, the geographer and father of the poet Lucan, were his full brothers, both younger than himself; his own name was Marcus Annzeus Novatus, and to him under this name Seneca addresses his books *De Ira*. From his father he received a careful education, and in Rome he attracted the notice of L. Junius Gallio, a rhetorician of repute (cp Tac. Ann. 6 3). who ultimately adopted him, so that his full name became apparently L. Junius Annæus Gallio. Gallio's younger brother Seneca was in banishment in Corsica from 41 to 49 A.D., when he was recalled by Agrippina to be Nero's tutor (Tac. *Ann.* 12 8). There is no sufficient reason, perhaps, to suppose that Gallio shared in his brother's disgrace (but cp Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 258). Towards the close of the reign of Claudius, he received the governorship of the province of Achaia.

1. Facts from classical sources.

Achaia being a senatorial province between 27 B.C. and 15 A.D., and again from 44 A.D. onwards,[2] the term proconsul (ἀνθύπατος) is rightly used in Acts 18 12, for the governor of such provinces bore always the title 'proconsul,' but in the case of Achaia the governors were of prætorian rank only, five years at least intervening between the prætorship and the appointment to a province (Marq.-Momms. *Röm. Staatsv.* 1 545). We thus know only approximately the date of Gallio's prætorship; nor is the year of his consulship ascertained; it was presumably later than his governorship. That he actually held the consulship is known from Pliny (*HN* 31 33), who tells us that he left Rome *post consulatum* on a voyage for his health. This must have been a different occasion from that recorded by Seneca, who says that Gallio suffered from fever in Achaia, and went a voyage in consequence (*Ep. Mor.* 18 1 [104 1]: 'illud mihi in ore erat domini mei Gallionis, qui cum in Achaia febrim habere coepisset, protinus navem adscendit clamitans non corporis esse, sed loci morbum'). This allusion gives us the only corroboration of the proconsulship recorded in Acts. It has been suggested that the L. Junius given as *consul suffectus* with A. Marcellus at some time under Nero on a wax tablet from Pompeii is to be identified with Gallio (Nipp. in *Hermes* 12 130). We know that he was in Rome in Nero's fifth year (Dio Cass. 61 20=58 A.D.). His appeal for mercy saved his life for the moment when Seneca was driven to suicide in 65 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 15 73); but next year he also was one of Nero's victims (Dio Cass. 62 25 Jer. *Chron. Eus.*).

Gallio's genial and lovable and thoroughly upright character is sketched for us by his brother, and is summed up in the epithet '*dulcis*' applied to him by Statius (*Silv.* 2 7 32) and by Seneca himself (*Nat. Qu.* 4 pref.:—'quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest . . . Nemo enim mortalium uni tam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus'). Dio (60 35) records a witticism of his, in which he spoke of Claudius who was poisoned by his wife Messalina, as 'unco in coelum' raptus' (in allusion to the deification of dead emperors, and the haling of dead malefactors through the streets to the Tiber).

It has often been remarked that the narrative in Acts accords perfectly with Gallio's character as otherwise known; but the erroneous impression given by the phrase of AV in Acts 18 17 ('and Gallio cared for none of those things') has 'made his name proverbial for indifferentism in the Christian world' (Farrar, *St. Paul*, 410). To speak of his 'characteristic indifference,' or 'disdainful justice,' seems beside the mark. Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.* 349 *f.*) points out that the Jews 'could act against the Roman Paul only by arousing official Roman action on some pretext.' It is a mistake to imagine that because Judaism was a *religio licita* Gallio could be invoked in the interests of Jewish orthodoxy (the recorded instances of official protection when Jewish privileges were attacked by municipal authorities are of quite different nature): in other words, the accusation, if exactly reproduced in *v.* 13, was designedly vague, and by the words 'contrary to the law' it was intended that Gallio should understand *Roman* law, which alone he was concerned to administer (so also Zahn, *Einleit.* 1 190). Further, in order to gain a correct conception of the incident, all idea of *tumult* must be rejected (κατεπέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν of *v.* 12 merely signifies united action on the part of the 'community of Jews' at Corinth). 'It is clear that Gallio's short speech represents the conclusion of a series of inquiries' (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 258), in which the attempt of the Jews to prove that Paul's teaching put him outside the pale of Judaism, and so rendered him liable for introducing a new religion (cp the charge at Philippi, Acts 16 21, and Thessalonica, Acts 17 7) revealed the true grounds of their action. Gallio's refusal to accept a prosecution 'seems to show that he shared the broad and generous views of his brother about the policy of Rome in regard to the various religions of the provinces' (Ramsay, *ib.* 259). W. J. W.

2. Reff. in Acts.

GALLOWS (עֵץ), Esth. 5 14 etc.; AVmg. and RVmg. 'tree.' See HANGING, i.

GAMAEL (ΓΑΜΑΗΛ [A]), 1 Esd. 8 29 = Ezra 8 2, DANIEL [*q.v.*, 3].

GAMALIEL (גַּמְלִיאֵל; 'El is a reward'; § 28; cp GAMUL, and Palm. גמליאל; ΓΑΜΑΛΙΗΛ [BAL and Ti. WH]).

1. b. Pedahzur, a chief of Manasseh (Nu. 1 10 2 20 7 54 59 10 23 [P]†).

2. Gamaliel, or Rabbān Gamaliel the elder, who, according to Jewish tradition, was the son of Simeon and the grandson of the famous Hillel,[1] is twice mentioned in the NT. Of his biography little is known beyond the facts that, early in the first century, he lived and taught in Jerusalem, where Saul of Tarsus is said to have been for some time his pupil (Acts 22 3); that

[1] Cp 'Geographical Gains from Textual Criticism,' *Expositor*, Sept. 1899.

[2] Under Nero it received 'liberty' for a time in 67 A.D. (Suet. *Nero* 24), but Vespasian soon withdrew the useless gift.

[1] Against this, however, see Schür. *Hist.* 2 363.

he was a student of Greek literature; and that he was a member of the Sanhedrin, which body he successfully counselled to moderation in their treatment of the followers of Jesus (*ib.* 5 34 *ff.*).

It would be extremely interesting to have some outside confirmation of the two notices in the NT. That Paul himself makes no reference in his epistles to his teacher, appears strange. Looking back on his past history the apostle describes himself (Phil. 3 5 *f.*) in a way that we should hardly have expected in a pupil of Gamaliel, if the 'rabban' is to be judged by the notice in Acts 5 34 *ff.* Zahn (*Einl.*(2) 1 35 48 50 *f.*) warns us not to exaggerate the Hellenistic influences of Paul's home. His Pharisaism was an inheritance from his fathers (cp Acts 23 6, RV 'a son of Pharisees'); but in this case why did he choose out Gamaliel? The problem seems insoluble.

According to Wendt, Acts 5 38 *f.* may be based on some traditional saying of Gamaliel, which the author of Acts (who may have heard that Gamaliel's advice determined the action of the Sanhedrin) applied to the present case. Certainly provisional conjectures of this sort may be admitted. Any close connection, however, between **Paul** and Gamaliel is not without its difficulty.

There is a late and otherwise improbable Christian tradition to the effect that Gamaliel ultimately became a Christian, and received baptism at the hands of Peter and John; the same tradition located the tomb of 'Saint Gamaliel' at Pisa.[1] This tradition, however, is almost conclusively refuted by the fact that he is spoken of in the records of Judaism as having been the first of the seven 'rabhans' (see RABBI). Such an honorific title would scarcely have been bestowed upon a Christian Jew.

The Talmudists speak of him as having been the president of the Sanhedrin during the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. This, however, is certainly unhistorical, as may be seen from the NT and Josephus, where it is invariably the high priest who presides over the council. It should be added that the name Gamaliel is of frequent occurrence in the history of later Judaism. A grandson of the elder Gamaliel, who bore the same name, was the master and friend of Aquila, the 'Onkelos' of the Babylonian Talmud.

See Schürer, *GVI* 2 299 *f.*; Derenb. *Pal.* 239-246; Grätz, *Gesch.*(4) 3 *a* 349 *ff.*; Ew. *Hist.* 7 193 *f.*

GAMES (2 Macc. 4 14). See HELLENISM, § 5.

GAMMADIM, AV Gammadims (גַּמָּדִים, but some MSS גמרים; φυλακες [BAQ]—*i.e.*, שֹׁמְרִים, with which Pesh. agrees; αλλα και μηδοι [Q^mg. Symm.]—*i.e.*, וְגַם מָדִים; πυγμαιοι [Aq.(?)], τετελεσμενοι [Aq.] —*i.e.*, גְּמֻרִים; γομαδειμ [Theod.]; קפוטקאי 'Cappadocians' [Tg.]; *PYGMÆI* [Vg., deriving from גֹּמֶד, Judg. 3 16; see CUBIT]). In describing the political and commercial relations of Tyre, Ezekiel (27 11) says that 'the sons of Arvad were on [Tyre's] walls, and the Gammadim on [its] towers.' Plainly a proper name is required, and since 'Cappadocians' (Lagarde) and 'Cimmerians' (Halévy) do not accord well with the Phœnicians of Arvad, it is evidently wrong to emend נמדים into נמרים, with Lagarde and Halévy. Bearing in mind the numerous corruptions in the text of Ezek. 27, we need not hesitate to read צמרים 'the Simyrites' (or people of Simyra), called in EV 'the Zemarite(s)' (so Co. *Ezech.*, *ad loc.*; Wi. *AT Unt.* 180). צמרים might easily be corrupted either into שמרים (𝔊) or into נמרים (M, etc.). 'The Arvadite' and 'the Zemarite' are mentioned together in Gen. 10 18. Thus we once more get evidence of the close relation between Gen. 10 and **Ezek. 27.**

That a name so unfamiliar in later times as Ḳamadu (the Egyptian form) or Kumidi (*Am. Tab.* 87 75, and elsewhere) should be referred to (as נמד) is improbable, though it is not unnatural that some scholars,[2] who (needlessly) think Cornill's conjecture 'violent,' should think of identifying the two names. In *Am. Tad.* 87, Kumidi and Ṣumura[3] are even brought into some degree of connection; Rib Addi states there that the fall of Ṣumura makes it hardly possible to hold Kumidi for the king. Guthe, with the assent of E. Meyer and Petrie, recognises the name Kumidi in the mod. Kāmid el-Lōz, 29 m. SE. of Beirūt, 31 m. WNW. of Damascus. This is certainly 'an excellent position to command the upper Līṭānī basin,' so that the identification of Kumidi has a geographical value apart from the doubtful combination proposed by Muller. Cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 193; E. Meyer, 'Glossen' in *Ægyptiaca*, 72; Lag. *Mittheilungen*, 1 211; *OS*(2), 367. T. K. C.

GAMUL (גָּמוּל, 'benefited,' § 56; γαμουλ [B], -ουηλ [A], κα. [L]), representative of the twenty-second (so MT and 𝔊^AL) or the twenty-first (so 𝔊^B) of the courses of priests (1 Ch. 24 17).

GAR (*so* Aldine ed.), RV GAS (γας [BA], om. L), a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA ii., § 9, 58 *c*), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 after Pochereth-hazzebaim of ‖ Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59.

GARDEN (גַּן *gun*, Ass. *gannatu*, Arab. *jannat^un*, Syr. *gann^e thā*).

The Sem. word is derived from the root גנן *ganan*, 'cover,' 'protect,' the garden being secluded from the surrounding uncultivated country and the incursions of strangers, and concealed by overshadowing trees from observation (cp *Hellen.* iv. 1 15, περιειργμένοι παράδεισοι). In the Persian and the Greek period Hebrew also used פַּרְדֵּס *pardēs* (παράδεισος), park or garden of larger extent than κῆπος (or גַּן); see Neh. 2 8 Cant. 4 13 Eccles. 2 5. In Assyrian *kirū* (pl. *-ati*) means a plantation of trees.

'Gardens' of the sort just described came in very early times to be specially attached to temples and also to the residences of wealthy persons. An illustration of the former will be found figured in Lepsius' *Denkmäler* (3 95), reproduced from the wall-painting in the tomb of Mery rē', high priest of King Chuen'aten of the eighteenth dynasty (*circa* 1400 B.C.; discovered at Tell el-'Amārna). This figure represents the temple of the sun with the surrounding buildings. The space that intervenes between the buildings is planted with trees, and in every case the base of the trunk is enclosed in a round ridge of earth hollow in the centre in order to retain the water. Apparently there are also water-tanks for irrigation. All features, however, are not quite clear. From the same tomb we obtain other graphic details. A small house, the private residence of the priest, is depicted, and in one corner we have a glimpse of the garden portrayed in the conventional forms of old-world artists in which perspective is disregarded. Among the trees we can recognise the fig, the pomegranate, and the palm, whilst an arbour covered by a trailing grape-bearing vine is clearly visible.

1. Egypt.

The Theban tombs frequently represent gardens of considerable size divided into separate enclosures for vines, dates, and sycomores respectively. The interesting illustration given in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1 377, Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.* 195, represents a large garden of rectangular shape surrounded by a wall. A canal of water flows in front. Between it and the wall there is a row of trees.

We quote from Erman's description:—

The house is concealed in the furthest corner of the garden; no sound from the stirring life on the canal could penetrate its seclusion. . . . There is no entrance except in front where a broad flight of steps leads down from the large porter's lodge to two small doors which open upon the canal. Through the chief entrance . . . we pass out of a small door directly into the vineyard which is seen in the centre of the plan. The luxuriant vines. . . are trained on trellis-work built up with stone: through these vine walks the path leads straight up to the house. If we pass, however, through either of the side doors, we come to a part of the garden resembling a small park; here there is a fish-pond surrounded with palms and shrubs. . . . Two doors lead out of this garden; one into the palm-garden which occupies a narrow strip on either side of the piece of ground; the other door leads into the hinder portion of the garden. Whether we enter the right or left side we now come again to a "cool tank." . . . A pretty little arbour stands at the head of the pond; here the master would sit in the evening and watch the water-birds at their play in the water amongst the lotus and papyrus plants. Finally at the back surrounded by a double row of palms and high trees lies the house itself.' . . .

Egyptian sovereigns took great interest in horticulture. Rameses III. (1200 B.C.), according to the Harris papyrus (i. 8 3 *f.*), made 'great vineyards, walks shaded by all kinds of fruit-trees laden with their fruit, a sacred way splendid with flowers from all countries.' Queen Ḥa't-šepsut (Hatasu), living about 1500 B.C., imported

[1] Cp *Clem. Recog.* 165; Photius, cod. 171, p. 199.
[2] WMM, E. Meyer.
[3] Ṣumura should be the later Simyra = Ass. Ṣimirra though Winckler (*KB* 5 40*) doubts this. Cp Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, 183.

thirty-one incense trees from their habitats by the Red Sea.

In a footnote to Sir G. Wilkinson's work (1 378) we have a long list of trees which was discovered in the tomb of an officer of Thotmes I. In this catalogue we finddate-palms, sycomores, acacias, quinces, tamarisks, willows, and figs.

In Babylonia and Assyria the features of garden cultivation are very similar and there also monarchs interested

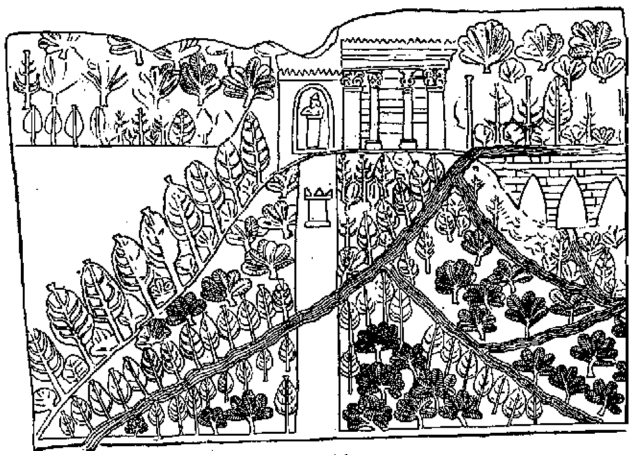
2. Assyria and Babylonia.

themselves in the art. Among ancient Babylonian documents we read of a garden similar to that just mentioned. This belonged to–Merodach-baladan and contained the names of seventy-two trees, shrubs, and plants. This inscription, called the 'garden tablet,' is entitled at the close *gannāti ſa Marduk-aplu-iddina šarri*, 'Gardens of King Merodach-baladan.'

Assyrian kings, as well as Babylonian, took a pride in planting gardens with choice and rare trees, brought from other lands. Tiglath-pileser I. (1100 B.C.) evinces this fondness for horticulture.

In his prism inscription (col. 7 17-27) he says : 'Cedar-trees, *urkarinu* and *allakanu* trees I took away from the lands which I had conquered; trees which no one among my predecessors [*lit.* former kings, my fathers] had planted, I planted them in the parks (*kirāti*). Valuable garden-fruit which was not to he found in my own country I brought away, and caused the plantations of Assyria to bear these fruits.'[1]

Four centuries later Sennacherib, in describing his 'palace without rival,' announces that he planted a great park 'resembling the Amanus land (mountain),' in which were 'all kinds of fragrant plants, fruit-trees, and the produce of the mountains and of Chaldea.'



River and Garden. After Layard.

Amid some obscure details we learn that a canal was dug 1½ *kaspu* from the river Ḫusur, and that a pond was made. Vines and other fruit-trees as well as *sirdu* trees, cypresses, and palms were planted. Birds and other wild animals were placed among them.[2] A bas-relief representing a river and gardens watered by a canal, discovered by Layard at Ḳuyunjiḳ, perhaps furnishes a rough illustration.

Esarhaddon also (in two prism-inscriptions), after describing the erection of a palace of hewn stone and cedar, passes on to describe (col. 6 14 *ff.*) the adjoining park thus : 'A lofty plantation like the Ḫamanu mountain, overgrown with all kinds of sweet-smelling bushes, I placed by its side' (*KB* 2 138).

From the deeds of Babylonian purchase and sale published by Peiser we may infer that a plantation of date-palms (*kirū gišimmari*), sometimes bordering on *a* canal (*ḫirītu*), formed a not infrequent accompaniment of a Babylonian private dwelling (Peiser, *Keilinsch. Actenstücke*, Sargonstein, col. 4 23-25 ; 12)

From the Babylonians the Persians acquired the art of horticulture and carried it to considerable perfection.

3. Persia.

Thence the skill in planting, as well as the name for a cultivated park (*pairidaêza*), spread to the Hebrews (פַּרְדֵּס) and also to the Greeks (παράδεισος ; see PARADISE).

It is from Greek writers that we mainly derive our information respecting these parks. Thus Xenophon employs the word *paradeisos* in describing the large park attached to the palace of Cyrus at Kelænæ in Phrygia through which the river Mæander flowed, and which was stocked with wild animals of the chase. Its extent may he surmised from the fact that Cyrus here reviewed his contingent of 11,000 Greeks (*Anab.* i. 2 7 *ff.*).

A biblical hint as to the size of these parks is conveyed in Esth. 1 5 where we are told that the Persian king gave a feast to all the inhabitants of Shushan in the precincts of the royal park attached to the palace. From *Hellen.* iv. 1 15 we learn that Pharnabazus also had his enclosed parks at Daskylēum, where animals for the chase were kept (cp *Cyrop.* i. 3 14). From Neh. 2 8 we acquire the additional detail that the keeper of the royal parks was an important court official by whom building materials were granted.

It is surely possible that Canaanite civilization presented features in the matter of garden cultivation

4. Canaan.

analogous to those of the ancient empires of the Nile and of the Euphrates and Tigris. Phoenician inscriptions, however, yield us no information on the subject, whilst the biblical evidence is exceedingly scanty.[1]

Under the circumstances mentioned above (§ 4) the features presented by the Paradise-narrative Gen. 2 8-17

5. The Paradise narrative.

are of special interest and value. The main portion of this account is acknowledged to belong to the earlier stratum of J (J_1). It is pointed out elsewhere (see PARADISE) that *vv.* 10-14 are probably a later addition[2] to the narrative of J_1. The critical result is of considerable importance as we thereby eliminate the most definite Babylonian traits (mention of Euphrates, Tigris, Aššur, etc.) from the narrative. There is accordingly left to us a Palestinian narrative apparently based on an ancient tradition of Babylonian origin which had survived for several centuries at least on Canaanite soil and had then been remoulded.

Even when *vv.* 10-14 are removed from the section, there remain traits in the narrative that remind us of Assyria and Babylonia (see again PARADISE). The expression 'all kinds of trees agreeable to sight and good for food' (*v.* 9) recalls the phraseology of Esarhaddon's above-quoted inscription *Kala riḳḳī u iṣī ḫurrušu* 'all kinds of fragrant spices and shrubs' (cp Khorsab. 143); and if we adopt the Assyriological explanation of אֵד as not 'mist' but 'stream of water' (cp Esarh. col. vi. 19 *f.*), the counterpart of the Babylonian irrigation canal is restored to us and the picture is fairly complete. It is clear too from Nu. 24 6 (J? —see BALAAM, § 5) that garden-plantations were familiar features in Palestinian scenery in pre-exilic times.

On the text of this difficult passage see Dillmann, also Cheyne, *Exp. T.* 10401 (June '99), who critically emends (*JQR* Jan. 1900) the text more folly ; cp CEDAR; PALM-TREE.

What are the precise facts underlying the tradition

6. Solomon's plant-lore.

of Solomon's botanic lore (1 K. 4 33 [5 13]), cannot be determined ; but Phoenician influences would help to

[1] *KB* 1 41 ; *uššib* is rendered as Pa'el of *ešēbu*.

[2] See Meissner and Rost's 'Bauinschriften Sanheribs,' 14-16 and notes, p. 39 *f.* Evetts in *ZA*, Nov. 1888, gives another text.

[1] The text of Gen. 13 10 is disputed ; hut Ball may he correct in reading מִצְרַיִם, 'Egypt,' and צֹעַן, 'Zoan.' If so, a familiarity with Egyptian gardens is presupposed in the narrator. [See, however, MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*, ZOAR.]

[2] Budde, to whose critical sagacity this observation is due, assigns the addition *to* the time of Ahaz (*Urgesch.* 515).

account for the great king's interest in plants. Later kings, at any rate, had their plantations. Ahab, who had a passion for building. coveted Naboths vineyard in order to secure a suitable plantation as an adjunct to his palace (1 K. 21 2). In Heb. גַּן הַיָּרָק, *gan hayyārāḳ*, furnishes, however, a very vague conception of its character.[1]

Gardens were naturally chosen as burial-places. Trees having a sacred character are often conjoined with tombs (cp Gen. 358 and *RS*[(2)] 196). Thus in 2 K. 21 18 26 we read that Manasseh and also his son were buried in the 'garden of Uzza' (see MANASSEH, UZZA ii.). In the time of Jesus, family burying-places were frequently in gardens (Jn. 19 41).

7. Gardens as burial-places.

Through 'the king's garden' the Jewish soldiers escaped, when Jerusalem was captured by the armies of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K. 25 4 Jer. 39 4 Neh. 3 15; see plan in Stade's *GVI* 1 593). In all these cases we have not a single descriptive trait presented in the biblical record. We, must therefore supply this lack by the legitimate inferences which may be drawn from the general features of Hebrew civilization presented in OT literature. In the first place it is evident that in the eighth and the following century Israel had advanced in civilization. Am. 3 15 clearly shows that it was a common custom for the wealthy Hebrew citizen to have a winter and a summer mansion.[2] These were adorned with cedar woodwork and inlaid ivory (cp Is. 9 9 *f.* [8 *f.*]). That gardens possessing orchards affording a grateful shade were attached, may he accepted as certain (cp Am. 5 11). These would contain the well-known Palestinian fruit trees, the vine, fig, and pomegranate. The ideal of a happy life 'to sit under the shade of one's own vine and fig tree' (1 K. 4 25 [5 5] 2 K. 18 31 Mic. 4 4, cp Jn. 1 50), as well as the general features of the Paradise narrative, enable us to supply these main traits. Probably in *pre-exilic* Israel fruit-trees predominated. Nowhere do we read of fragrant plants or trees.

8. Other reff.: earlier.

By Hos. 4 13 Is. 1 29 and 17 10 we are reminded that Hebrew sanctuaries had their plantations in sacred enclosures in which stood the terebinth, the oak, and the לִבְנֶה (see POPLAR), together with the sacred pole representing the deity Ashērah (see ASHERAH). Some different kind of sacred plantation is referred to in Is. 17 10 as 'plants of pleasance.' The view that they were connected with the worship of Adonis (see RV^mg.) is not improbable. Robertson Smith (*Proph.*[(1)] 273, 425) thinks that pots of quickly withering flowers are referred to.[3] The women who wept for Tammuz (Ezek. 8 14) may have covered the bier of their god with such pots or baskets. See, further, ADONIS.

Among the consequences of the Babylonian exile we may venture to place the improvement of Jewish horticulture.

9. Later.

As we pass into the literature of the Persian and the Greek period, the portrayals of gardens become more vivid and detailed. See especially the picture of the 'garden barred and bolted,' with its 'well of living waters,' and its fruit-trees and fragrant plants in Cant. 4 12-16 6 2, and the description in Eccles. 2 4-6 (see CANTICLES, § 15; BATH-RABBIM). The comparison of the righteous to a well-watered garden (Is. 58 11) suggests that the writer was well acquainted with Babylonian canal irrigation. This resembles the imagery of Ps. 1 3, and similar language appears in Ecclesiasticus, where wisdom is compared to various trees (24 13 *ff.*), as the cedar, palm, rose, olive, cinnamon, and so forth, and lastly to a garden canal' (*v.* 30 *f.*). The Book of Enoch, too, yields some illustrations of our subject. In 32 3 *f.* (Charles) we read, 'And I came into the garden of righteousness, and saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there, including the tree of wisdom of which Adam and Eve ate, and which was like the carob tree' (see HUSKS). So in 61 12, we have the 'garden of life.'

We may infer from these descriptions that rich men in the Persian and Greek periods delighted in their gardens (cp Susan. 4, 15). In the time of Josephus, Jerusalem was crowded with gardens and hedges outside its walls in the Gihon valley (?) which debouches into the Kidron (*BJ* v. 2 2). In the midst of these Titus nearly lost his life. Probably the garden of GETHSEMANE (*q.v.*) was not remote from this spot.

Baruch 6 70 [69] (Ep. of Jeremy) gives us an additional feature of magic superstition noticed by the Hellenistic Jewish writer. Gardens (including parks as well as the homely cucumber field) were provided not only with keepers (cp HUT), but also with *προβασκάνια* 'scarecrows' to ward off evil spirits and probably birds and beasts as well. O. C. W.

GARDEN HOUSE (בֵּית הַגָּן), 2 K. 9 27. See BETH-HAGGAN.

GAREB (גָּרֵב, 'leprous,' § 66), the ITHRITE, one of David's heroes. 𝔊's readings are :—

2 S. 23 38 : γηραβ ὁ ἐθθεναῖος [B], γαρηθ ὁ τεθριτης [AI, γαβερ ὁ ιεθεμ [L]; in 1 Ch. 11 40 : γαρηοβαι ιοθηρει [B], γαρηοβε ι. [א], γαρηβ ιεθερι [A], γ. ὁ ιεθρι [L].

GAREB, THE HILL (גִּבְעַת גָּרֵב; ΒΟΥΝΩΝ ΓΑΡΗΒ [BKAQ]), is named only in Jer. 31 39† as a landmark indicating the future great expansion of Jerusalem; see GOATH. Possibly it is the hill described in Josh. 15 8 at the N. limit of the Plain of Rephaim (Buhl, 95). In this case, G-R-B may be transposed from G-B-R—*i.e.*, Gibbor[im], a synonym of REPHAIM [*q.v.*, i.]. T. K. C.

GARIZIM (ΓΑΡΙΖ[Ε]ΙΝ [VA]), 2 Macc. 5 23; RV GERIZIM.

GARLAND. RV rendering of פְּאֵר, *pᵉēr*, Is. 61 3 10; see TURBAN. EV rendering of *στέμμα*, Acts 14 13; see CHAPLET.

GARLIC (שׁוּמִים; CΚΟΡΔΑ [BAF], -ΡΟΔΑ [L], Nu. 11 5†) bears the same name in Heb. Syr. and Ar., and its identity with *Allium sativum*, L., or some kindred species is thus assured. Pliny's statement (xix. 6 32), 'alium cepasque inter deos in iureiurando habet Ægyptus' (cp Juv. *Sat.* 15), points at least to such plants being common in ancient Egypt, though, according to Wilkinson (3 350), 'there is no direct evidence from the monuments of their having been sacred.'[2] It is not indigenous in W. Asia, but is a native of Zungaria, from which it must have been carried westward in prehistoric times. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

GARMENT, EV's rendering of (*a*) some *general* terms

[1] The combination of this phrase with Egypt in Dt. 11 10 gives the impression of good irrigation and elaborate cultivation (cp Gen. 13 10). On the other hand, the expression in Prov. 15 17 אֲרֻחַת הַיָּרָק 'daily portion [so Toy; Che. 'meal'] of vegetables' (*μετὰ λαχάνων*) suggests the idea of a homely meal to which the exceptional and festive meal of animal diet is placed in contrast. This view is reflected in 𝔊's rendering *κῆπος λαχάνων*; Ahab's garden, therefore, must have fallen far short of a true *παράδεισος*. But is a disparaging epithet here purposely applied, and can we detect the influence of Judaic and Deuteronomic redaction (designated D_2 by Kittel)? See 'Ahab' in Hastings' *DB*, *ad fin.*

[2] See HOUSE, § 3, and cp בית שתוא in the Bar-Rekub inscription from Zenjīrlī.

[3] [In Is. 17 11 the swift destruction of the 'gardens' is not presented in MT so vividly as we should expect. The trouble is with the second part of the verse, the text of which Che. ('Isaiah,' *SBOT*, Heb., 195) has critically emended, so that the whole verse runs thus :—

(Even) though as soon as thou plantest them, thou fencest them in
And early bringest thy shoots to blossom,
Thy grape-gathering shall perish in the day of sudden terror,
And thy young plants at the crash of ruin.]

[1] Cp also 40 27, where the fear of the Lord is compared to a 'garden of blessing.'

[2] De Candolle (*Orig.* 51) suggests that it was not represented because it was considered impure by the priests.

for dress—viz., בֶּגֶד, *béged*, Gen. 39 12 *ff.*; לְבוּשׁ, *lebhûš*, Job 30 18; מַעֲטֶה, *ma'ăṭéh*, Is. 61 3; שִׁית, *šîth*, Ps. 73 6 (DRESS, §§ 1, 3), מַד, *madh*, Lev. 6 10; ἔνδυμα, Mt. 22 11 (DRESS, § 3); and **also** (6) of certain special articles of dress, אַדֶּרֶת, *'addéreth*, Gen. 25 *25* Josh. 7 *21* (RV 'mantle'); שִׂמְלָה, *śimlāh*, Gen. 9 23; שַׂלְמָה, *śalmāh*, 1 K. 11 *29*; תַּכְרִיךְ, *takrîk*, Esth. *8* 15 (RV 'robe'); ἱμάτιον Mt. 9 16, στολή Mk. 16 5 (**RV** 'robe') ἐσθής Lk. 24 4 (RV 'apparel'), for all of which *see*, further, MANTLE. For כֻּתֹּנֶת, ***kuttóneth***, ***2 S.*** **13** 18 etc., χιτών Jude 23, ποδήρης Rev. 1 13, see TUNIC. Cp, further, DRESS.

GARMITE (הַגַּרְמִי), the gentilic name applied to KEILAH in 1 Ch. **4** 19, perhaps miswritten for Calebite (כַּלְבִּי); cp CARMI, 1.

𝔊's text in *v.* 19 evidently differed much from MT, though it is not easy to restore that text exactly, owing to the transcriptional errors (αταμει [B], ὁ ταρμι [A], ὁ γαρμει [L], *zmri* [Pesh.]). T. K. C.

GARRISON is used to render *maṣṣāb* (מַצָּב, once מַצָּבָה *maṣṣābāh*, 1 S. 14 12) in EV of 1 S. 13 23 14 1 *ff.* 2 S. 23 14. For *neṣîb* (נְצִיב) in 1 S. 10 5 13 3 *f.* (see SAUL, § 2 n.), *2* S. 8 *6* 14 **2** Ch. 17 2 (EV 'garrison'), a preferable translation is 'officer' (or the like) in spite of 1 Ch. 11 16 (where ‖ 2 S. 23 14 has **מַצָּב**). *Muṣṣab* מֻצָּב Judg. **9** 6 (RVmg. 'garrison') is probably an intentional alteration of מַצֵּבָה 'pillar' (EV), which rendering in RV of Ezek. 26 11 (מַצְּבוֹת עֻזֵּךְ) is to be preferred to **AV's** 'strong garrisons' (cp RV mg. 'obelisks'); see PILLAR, MASSE**BAH.** In **2** Cor. **11** 32 AV φρουρέω is rendered 'kept . . . with **a** garrison' for which RV prefers 'guarded' (cp Phil. 4 7). Cp, generally, FORTRESS.

GAS (ΓΑϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 34 RV, AV GAR.

GASHMU (גַּשְׁמוּ), Neh. 6 6. *See* GESHEM.

GATAM (גַּעְתָּם; ΓΟΘΟΜ [ADEL]), one of the 'sons' of Eliphaz in Gen. 36 11 1 Ch. 1 36 (γο[ω]θαμ [BA]); in Gen. 36 16 (γοθα [AL]) called **a** clan (read אֶלֶף).

GATE (שַׁעַר, *šá'ar*; ΠΥΛΗ, also ΠΥΛΩΝ [BAFL]; **cp** Bib. Aram. תְּרַע Dan. 2 49 3 26), used collectively of the whole structure, including posts (מְזוּזוֹת, ***mĕzūzōth***), and doors (דֶּלֶת, ***déleth***), as well as the open space before it (פֶּתַח, ***péthaḥ***, ΠΥΛΩΝ; cp Josh. 20 4). The doors themselves (the dual, Dt. 3 5 **etc.**, suggests that there were two) seem not to have been hinged to the posts but to have revolved upon pins in sockets. When closed they were kept secure by 'bolts' or 'bars' (בְּרִיחַ, ***berīăḥ***), made of metal (1 K. **4** 13), but often of some destructible material (see Am. 1 5 **Nah.** 3 13). For the **denom.** שׁוֹעֵר, ***šō'ēr***, 'gate-keeper,' see PORTER.

One of the exploits of Samson (Judg. 16 1-3) may be mentioned here. When lodging at Gaza the hero rose in the middle of the night and went to the gate of the city. There he 'laid hold of the doors of the city-gate and the two gate-posts, and pulled them up, together with the bar,' and carried **off** the doors and the whole framework to the top of the hill facing Hebron[1] (say 40 m.). The origin of the story can here only be glanced at. We may have in it **a** mere practical joke in keeping with Samson's jovial character. But **a** connection with some early mythical phrase, misunderstood by later generations, is not excluded. The descent of Heracles to the gates of the nether world has been compared by Steinthal.[2]

The sanctity of gates is well known (cp THRESHOLD, **§** 2); the gates of Babylon had their special names, and temples beside them. This partly explains why justice was administered 'in the gate' (2 S. 15 2 Dt. 21 19 etc.), and this perhaps is how 'your gates' came to be equivalent to 'your cities' (Dt. 12 12 etc.; cp Ps. 87 2, 'the gates of Zion' ‖ 'the dwellings of Jacob'). The 'gates' were also symbolical of the might of the city—gates of bronze such as could not easily be broken. Hence we read of the 'gates of Hades' (Mt. 16 18)—*i.e.*, the power of Hades (traditionally described as a city).

In NT θύρα is translated 'gate,' Acts 3 2 AV; but cp DOOR. The usual terms are πύλη (Lk. 7 12; cp the 'gate Beautiful,' Acts 3 10), and πυλών, the latter of **a** palace (**Lk.** 16 20), house (Acts **10** 17), or porch (Mt. 26 71; cp COURT, PORCH).

1 Possibly, however, (as Che. suggests), 'Hebron' should **be** 'Sharuhen' (see GAZA, SHARUHEN).

2 Goldziher, *Hebrew* ***Mythology***, 403 *f.*

Compare, further, CITY, § 2 (*b*), DOOR, FORTRESS, §§ 2, **5**; JERUSALEM, TEMPLE.

GATH (גַּת, 'wine-press'; ΓΕΘ [BℵAL]; Jos. ΓΙΤΤΑ; Vg. *GETH*), one of the five royal or princes' cities of the Philistines (Josh. 13 3 1 S. 6 17). The ethnic form is GITTITE (גִּתִּי; ὁ γεθθαῖος [BAL]); see 2 S. 6 10 *f.* 15 18 etc.; whether GITTITH in Ps. 8 (title) means 'Gittite,' is disputed (see GITTITH). It is not assigned in Josh. to any of the Israelitish tribes, and in Josh. 11 22 (D) [𝔊B om.] it is mentioned as inhabited by ANAKIM. The Philistine champion, Goliath, came from Gath (1 S. 17 4 etc.), and David took refuge with Achish, king of Gath (1 S. 21 10 [11] 27 2;[1] see DAVID. § 5).[2] According to 1 Ch. 18 1 David 'took Gath and her towns out of the hand of the Philistines'; this statement, however, may be based on a conjectural restoration of a defective text (see METHEG-AMMAH). At any rate, a Gittite named Ittai was the leader of 600 men in the service of David (2 S. 15 18, emended text; see ITTAI, 1), and on one occasion had equal rank with Joab and Abishai (18 2). Rehoboam is said to have fortified Gath (*2* Ch. 11 8); but Uzziah, according to 2 Ch. 26 6, found Gath still a Philistine city, and when warring against the Philistines 'broke down the wall of Gath.' About fifty years earlier the Syrian king Hazael is said to have taken Gath as a preliminary to the siege of Jerusalem (2 K. 12 17). In Am. *6 2* (a passage later than the time of Amos; see AMOS, **§** 6 *b*) reference seems to be made to another disaster that befell Gath—a disaster similar to, and nearly contemporaneous with, that which befell Calneh in 738 and Hamath in 720. The presumption, therefore, is, that Gath, as well as Ashdod, was taken by Sargon in 711. This is indeed attested as a historical fact by Sargon himself, who says, 'Asdudu, Gimtu, Asdudimmu[3] I besieged, **I** conquered' (Khorsahad inscr., 104 *f.*). That Gimtu (= Gath) is here mentioned between Ashdod and the port of Ashdod (?) is probably no mere error of a scribe, but indicates that Gath then formed part of the Ashdodite territory (see ASHDOD). This may perhaps explain the fact that Amos (1 6-8), Zeph. (2 4), Jer. (? **47** 5), and II. Zech. (9 5 *f.*) make no mention of Gath among the Philistine cities; it had fallen to a secondary position.

1. References.

We also find Gath mentioned in a fragmentary context in 2 S. 21 *20 22* (David's war with the Philistines). This derives plausibility from the fact that Goliath was certainly a Gittite. 𝔊BA and Pesh. (Gra.) also read 'Gath' for 'Gob' in *v.* 18 (𝔊L ταζεθ), and Gratz would read 'Gath' for 'Gob' in *v.* **19** (see GOB).

'Gath' is referred to also in 1 S. 17 52 (cp 𝔊; see H. P. Smith), and in the elegy of David (2 S. 1 20), **a** reminiscence of which has produced the doubtless incorrect reading in Mic. 1 10, בְּגַת אַל־תַּגִּידוּ, 'Tell it not in Gath.' 𝔊 agrees in reading 'in Gath,' and introduces **a** reference in the next clause to οἱ ενακειμ [Sw. οἱ ἐν ακειμ], 'the Anakim.' Elhorst and Winckler (*AT Unters.* 185) would read בְּגִלְגָּל אַל־תָּגִילוּ, 'in Gilgal rejoice not'; Cheyne, for the sake of geographical consistency, בְּגִלֹה אַל־תָּגִילוּ, 'in Giloh rejoice not' (*JQR* 10 573 *f.* ['98]).

'Gath of Philistia' (as Am. 6 2 calls it) is very probably referred to (as Kn-tu) in the Palestinian list of Thotmes III., nos. 63, 70, 93 (*RP*(2) 5 48[4]), and (as Gimti and Ginti) in the Amarna tablets (183 8 *a*; 185 6). Am. Tab. 183 8*a* will be referred to again (see GEZER, § 1); it states that the warriors of Gazri (Gezer), Gimti (Gath), and Kilti (Keilah) have joined together to attack the land of Rubuti and of Urusalim (Jerusalem). The sites of Gazri, Kilti, and Urusalim are known; those of Gimti and Rubuti have to be investigated. Gimti ought to lie between Gazri and Urusalim, and it ought to be not less important a fortress than these places.

The biblical evidence with regard to the site of Gath

1 On these and some other passages, however, see JUDAH, § *4f*.

2 Possibly, too, David took **a** wife from Gath (see HAGGITH).

3 So Wi. (*Textbuch* **29**) and Peiser (*KB* **267**).

4 This can hardly de douhted. See WMM ***As. u. Eur.*** **393** (cp 159); E. Meyer, 'Glossen' in ***Ægyptiaca*****, 73.**

is not as decisive as could he wished. The most definite passage is 2 Ch. 11 6-10, where, in the list of the cities fortified by Rehoboam, Gath occurs after Soco and Adullam and before Mareshah and Ziph. If, however, the Chronicler means the Philistine Gath, one cannot help thinking that he is in error (Jos. seems to call this place ειπα, or *ma)*; such an error might account for the name Betogabra borne by Eleutheropolis at a later time (see ELEUTHEROPOLIS, § 1). Such a name as 'Wine-press-town,' however, may surely have been borne by more than two places in S. Palestine. Conder speaks of a large ruin called Jenneta, S. of Bēt Jibrin, which he proposes for the Kn-tu in the list of Thotmes 111. (no. 70). From 1 S. 17 52 (RV GAI [*q.v.*]) we gather simply that Gath lay more inland than Ekron.

2. Site.

The notices of Ens. and Jer. (*OS*(2) 244 20 127 15) are so confused that we are driven to suppose that'they had no exact knowledge of the site of the Philistine city. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1 22) places Gath within the tribe of Dan, and couples it with Jamnia ; the Crusaders actually identified the two places.

At present there are two sites which have been defended by geographers of repute. M. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQ*, July '99, p. 204) has lately revived the theory of Thomson (*LB*, 564) and Tristram (***Bible Places***) that Gath, Elentheropolis, and Bēt Jibrin are the same place. The most plausible argument is derived from the name Moresheth-Gath (Mic. 1 14), which is thought to suggest that Mareshah was a suburb **of** Gath. Mareshah, however, was no mere suburb; and if 'Gath' in Mic. 1 14 is correct, we must regard it, with Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph.*(1)), as a vocative, and render 'Therefore must thou, O Gath, give farewell gifts to Moresheth.' More probably, however, גת is a corruption of בת (cp Che. *JQR* 10 576 *ff.*, and see MORASTHITE).

There is only one site that seems to meet all the requirements of the case; it is worth mentioning, even if Dr. Bliss's excavations should one day prove it to he the wrong one. It is *Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh*[1] (*collis clams.* William of Tyre), the *Blanca guarda* of the Crusaders, a tall white cliff **300** ft. above the valley of Elah, 18 m. from Ashkelon, 12 from Ashdod, and 6 from Eleutheropolis. J. L. Porter made a careful topographical study of Philistia in 1858 with the result that he convinced himself of the claims of Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh to he the ancient Gath. Some of our best geographers have followed him, though others prefer to keep Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh for the Mizpeh of Josh. 15 38. The objection of Sir C. Warren (Hastings, *DB* 2 114 *a*) that the sites of other Philistine fenced cities 'do not present any natural features capable of defence,' does not seem decisive. The disappearance of Gath from history is surely not more surprising than many other sudden blows to flourishing fortified cities.

'The site,' says Porter, 'is a most commanding one, and would form, when fortified, the key of Philistia. It is close to the mountains of Judah. The Tell is about 200 ft. high, with steep sides, now in part terraced for vineyards--*Gath* signifies a wine-**press.'** 'On the summit are the foundations of an old castle, probably that built, or rebuilt, by the Crusaders ; and all around the hill are great quantities of old building stones. On the NE. is a projecting shoulder, and the declivities below it appear to have been scarped. Here stands the modern village. Its houses are all composed of ancient materials, and around it are ruins and fragments of columns. In the sides of the hill, especially towards the S., a great number of cisterns have been excavated in the limestone rock' (Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.* **276**; cp Porter, *Handbk. for S and P* **252**).

Dr. Bliss's first report of his exploration of Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh (*PEFQ*, July **'99**) leaves it quite uncertain whether Gath was, or **was** not, on this interesting and important site. Inscriptions, however, such as will determine the point, may be reasonably hoped for. Dr. Bliss states ('Second Report,' *PEFQ*, Oct. **'99**) that the boundary of the ancient city on the S. E., and W. has been determined by the discovery of a massive rampart. The town was irregular in shape, measuring about **400** yds. in maximum length and ahout 200 yds. in maximum breadth, and thus contained a space about **six** times the size of the fort on Tell Zakarīyā (Azekah?). The city walls are 12 ft. thick ; they are built without mortar, like those at Tell Zakarīyā, but are twice as thick and twice as high ; they are preserved in places to a height of **33** ft., and show a system of buttresses regularly spaced. They rest not on the rock, but on some 6 ft. to 10 ft. of *débris*, which is characterised by very early pre-Israelitish pottery. **As** their massive foundations must have been sunk in a considerable quantity of soil, we gather that they were not erected much before Jewish times. The gate has still to be found. At the NE. of the Tell, at a depth of from 18 to 20 ft., has been discovered what appears to be a primitive sanctuary, with three standing stones, or menhirs, surrounded by a rude enclosure (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 200 *ff.*); it is shown by the pottery to belong to what Dr. Bliss calls the later pre-Israelite period. It is unnecessary to give details of minor discoveries. It is much to be regretted that the position of the village and the cemeteries prevents a complete examination of the site of Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh, which must certainly have been occupied by a fortress long before the appearance of the Israelites and the Philistines.

T. K. C.

[1] Clermont-Ganneau states that the locality figures upon the mosaic map **of** Medeba under the Greek name of Saphitha, a name which shows that it was still flourishing during the Byzantine period (***PEFQ***, Oct. **'99, p. 359).**

GATH-HEPHER (גַּת הַחֵפֶר ; ΓΕΘΧΟΒΕΡ [B], ΓΕΘΟΦΡΑ [L]; cp HEPHER), a place on the border of Zebulun, where the prophet Jonah was horn (2 K. 14 25, ΓΕΘ ΑΧΟΒΕΡ [A]), mistakenly called GITTAH-HEPHER in AV of Josh. 19 13 (RV, Gath-hepher ; ΓΕΒΕΡΕ [B], ΓΑΙΘΘΑ [A], ΓΕΘΘΑΕ ΦΕΡ [L]); Jerome (*Proœm. in Jon.*) says that the tomb of Jonah was shown in his day at the small village (*haud grandis viculus*) of Geth, 2 R. m. from Sepphoris on the road to Tiberias. In Talm. Jer. (*Shĕbīʿīth* 6 1) the place is called Hepher[1]; a disciple of the school of Sepphoris could live at Hepher, because the two places were not 12 m. apart. Benjamin of Tudela (12th cent.) states that the tomb of Jonah lay on a mountain near Sepphoris. These data seem to point to the village of el-Meshhed, about 3 m. NE. from Nazareth and 2 E. by S. from Sepphoris, where a tomb of Jonah is shown; the place lies between Yāfā (Japhia) and Rummāneh (Rimmon), as Gath-hepher did, according to Josh. 19 12 *f.*

T. K. C.

GATH-RIMMON (גַּת־רִמּוֹן). 1. A Danite town (Josh. 19 45, γεθρεμμων [BAL]), assigned to the Levites (Josh. 21 24, γεθερεμμων [B]). On the ***apparent*** misstatement of 1 Ch. 6 54 [69] (γεθωρων [B]) see DAN, § 8. Gath-rimmon must have lain a little to the E. of Joppa. In 'OS 246 59 it is placed between Diospolis and Eleutheropolis; but this is too far S. **A** γεθθα (Gath), however, is mentioned (OS **246** 73) as situated between Antipatris and Jamnia, and as otherwise called γιθθαμ. Knobel suggests that this may he the GITTAIM of the OT; and our Gath-rimmon. There is a city called Giti-rimu[nu?] in *Am. Tab.* **164** 45.

2. **A** miswritten name in text of Josh. 21 25 (ιεβαθα [B], **βαιθσα** [A], but γεθρεμμων [L]). Gath-rimmon occurs in *v.* 24. The true reading must be either Beth-shean (בית־שאן), which is supported by 𝔊B (נבתא) and 𝔊A (ביתשא), or, less probably, Bileam (1 Ch. 6 55 [70])—*i.e.*, IBLEAM [*q.v.*]. Dillmann prefers the latter; but we want a compound name corresponding to Gath-rimmon. בית־שאן can easily have become גת־ר[מו]ן. Beth-shean and Ibleam are both mentioned in Josh. 17 11.

T. **K.** *C.*

GAULANITIS. See GOLAN.

GAULS (οι ΓΑΛΑΤΑΙ [VA]), 1 Macc. 8 2 2 Macc. 8 20 RV; RVmg. in 2 Macc. and AV GALATIANS. See GALATIA, § 32.

GAUZE, in Is. **40** 22, RVmg. rendering of דֹּק, *dōḳ*; **EV CURTAIN.** The Hebrew word is doubtful; 𝔊 καμάρα, suggesting רָקִיעַ (Klo., Che. ***SBOT***), whilst Aq., Symm., Theod. have λεπτόν (דַּק).

GAZA, or AZZAH [*q.v.*] (עַזָּה ; ΓΑΖΑ [BAL]; Ass. *Ḫa-zi-ti*, *Ḫa-az-zu-tu*, *Ḫa-(az)-za-at-tu* ; Eg. *Ga-d̠a-tu* [WMM *As. u. Eur.* 159]; Gentilic הָעַזָּתִי, ο ΓΑΖΑΙΟΣ [BAL], Josh. 13 3 AV **Gazathites, RV Gazites).** The most southern (2 K. **15 8**) of the five chief cities of Philistia (1 S. 6 17; cp Zeph. 2 4 Zech. 9 5), mentioned in the lists of Rameses II. and III. (*RP*(2) **6 27 41**). In primitive times it was the S. limit of the AVVIM [1]

1. OT references.

[1] Neub. *Géogr. du Talm.* 201.

(Dt. 2 23), and afterwards was regarded as the most southern point of Palestine (Judg. 6 4; cp Gen. 10 19), and of the province W. of the Euphrates (1 K. 4 24 [5 4] [𝔊BAL omit]).

According to Judg. 1 18 (γαζερ [A*vid]) it was conquered by the tribe of Judah; but this verse is inconsistent with *v.* 19, and is based on a misunderstood gloss (see Budde's note). In Josh. 15 47 (R) Gaza is assigned to Judah; but this late passage has no historical authority. The enigmatical AVVA (AV AVA) in 2 K. 17 24, and IVVAH in 2 K. 18 34 19 13 Is. 37 13, should very possibly be Azzah = Gaza (עזה for עוה). See AVVA.

Gaza is mentioned once again in Judges (16 1-3); the passage has a twofold interest, legendary (see GATE) and topographical. An error has made its way into the text, which can perhaps be corrected; this we shall reserve for the close of the article. The next reference of interest (for 1 K. 4 24 [5 4] is late and unimportant) is concerned with Hezekiah's victory over the Philistines 'as far as Gaza' (2 K. 18 8). This victory is probably connected with the circumstance that Hezekiah sympathised with Ashdod in its rebellion against Assyria (713-711 B.C.), whereas Gaza remained quiet. Hezekiah's success against Gaza, however, was not lasting, for in 701 Sennacherib transferred a part of the territory of Judah to his faithful vassal Ṣil-Bel (?) of Gaza.[1] This strong city, however, had not always been so devoted to Assyria. In 734 B.C. Ḥanun sought, though in vain, to resist Tiglath-pileser, and in 720 Sargon in his turn had to take the field against this same king. How ill Ḥanun fared at the battle of Raphia is well known (see SARGON).

What happened to Gaza we are not told; but if the emendation of 2 K. 18 34, etc., proposed above be accepted, Sargon carried away the idols of Gaza, or, at any rate, introduced Ašur as the supreme deity. (The local deity of Gaza was called Marna 'Lord' or 'our Lord.') So much at any rate would be implied by the words, 'Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad—of Sepharvaim and of Azzah [Gaza]?' Regardful of its commerce, Gaza seems from this time forward to have been punctual in its payment of tribute. Nabuna'id says that all his vassals as far south as Gaza contributed to the building of the temple at Ḥarran (555 B.C.).

In the prophets there are three references to Gaza. Of these, Am. 1 6 *f.* is the only one that is undoubtedly genuine. Gaza is there threatened with punishment for delivering up Hebrew slaves to Edom, a country with which it naturally had close trade relations. Zeph. 2 4-6 is without a historical point of contact, and may therefore be a late insertion, framed on old models (see ZEPHANIAH ii.); so also Jer. 47 1-7 (where the heading is late; only Q^mg. of 𝔊 has γάζαν), and Zech. 9 5 (see JEREMIAH ii.; ZECHARIAH ii.). Herodotus, writing probably in the time of Nehemiah, calls the city of Gaza καδυτις; he says that it seemed to him not inferior to Sardis (3 5).[2]

In the NT there is one reference to Gaza (§ 3); but before referring to it we must briefly sketch the later

2. Later history. history of the city. Its name means 'the strong'; and this strength is illustrated by its resistance for five months (332 B.C.) to the powerful engines employed by Alexander in besieging it (Arrian, *Alex.* 2 26 *f.*; Q. Curt. iv. 6 7); Strabo (as quoted next col., n. 5) states that it was destroyed at this time, and that it 'remained deserted' until his day. If, however, Strabo wrote this, he committed an error, for Gaza was a strong place in the wars of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, and is mentioned as such in the story of Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Macc. 11 61 *f.*).[3] It was razed to the ground by the fierce Alexander Jannæus after a year's siege (*Ant.* xiii. 13 3). Gabinius, governor of Syria, rebuilt it (*Ant.* xiv. 5 3); Augustus gave it to Herod (*Ant.* xv. 7 3), after whose death it was annexed to the province of Syria (*Ant.* xvii. 11 4). In 65 A.D. it was destroyed by the Jews (*BJ* ii. 18 1), but soon recovered. Mela (temp. Claudius) calls it 'ingens urbs et munita admodum'; Eusebius (*OS*(2) 242 62) says that it 'even now remains, a notable city of Palestine.' The most southern fortress of the Crusaders, however, was not Gaza, but Daroma,—*i.e.*, Dēr el-Balah, S. of Gaza, near the Egyptian frontier.[1] See further, GASm. *HG* 187-189.

We now turn to the much-disputed passage, Acts 8 26. As Philip was starting to meet the Ethiopian eunuch,

3. Acts 8 26 examined. an angel said to him, 'Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza: the same is desert' (so RV)—αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος. Many commentators (*e.g.*, Holtzmann and Blass) suppose one of the roads from Jerusalem to Gaza to be meant. This view is best supported by Robinson (*BR* 2 640 *ff.*).

'The most frequented at the present day, although the longest, is the way by Ramleh. Anciently, there appear to have been two more direct roads; one down the great Wādy eṣ-Ṣarār by Beth-shemesh, and then passing near Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh; the other to Gaza through a more southern tract. Both these roads exist at the present day; and the latter now actually passes through the desert; that is, through a tract of country without villages, inhabited only by nomadic Arabs.'

It is not, however, the most natural interpretation of αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος that these remarks presuppose. If the phrase were ἥ ἐστιν ἔρημος, Robinson's view would be, very much more plausible. We could not, indeed, illustrate by Arrian's words (bk. 3, p. 211) referring to the time of Alexander, ἐρήμην δ' εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἀνυδρίαν (quoted by Wetstein), because the narrator expressly says that there was water to be found on the road,[2] so that the eunuch could be baptized.

The word 'this' (αὕτη), however, must surely mean Gaza,[3] not the road to Gaza, and then the difficulty arises, that Gaza in the time of Philip was (as we have seen) a large and flourishing city. Hug's explanation that the words αὕτη κ.τ.λ. refer to the destruction of Gaza by the Jews in 65 A.D., mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* ii. 18 1), is forced; what object would the notice serve? It has often been held (*e.g.*, by Erasmus) that after Old Gaza had been destroyed, the new city was built on another site. G. A. Smith (*HG* 187) defends this with much plausibility. He thinks that the road to Egypt passed by the deserted Gaza, not by the new city, which was nearer the sea (but does not this involve an unnatural use of αὕτη?). And even if old Gaza were not absolutely deserted in Philip's time—even if the fine position had drawn people back, yet 'the name ἔρημος might stick to it.' Evidently this is not quite satisfactory. If Gaza were characterised at all, some other epithet than ἔρημος would have been used, at least if the notice αὕτη κ.τ.λ. comes from the writer of Acts. But does it really come from that writer?

From Beza's time to our own the words have repeatedly been viewed as a gloss, and it can hardly be denied that the clearness of the narrative gains by their omission. Schmiedel[4] suggests that they may have a purely literary origin, and be the marginal note of a man who knew, perhaps from Strabo,[5] that Gaza had been destroyed, and wondered that the road to a deserted city should be mentioned.

The only alternative to treating the words as a gloss seems to be to suppose a lacuna in the text, and to read αὕτη ἐστὶ πλησίον τῆς ἐρήμου, 'the same is near the desert' (whence the Ethiopian eunuch comes).

From its position as the last town on the road to Egypt Gaza was bound to be a place of import-

4. Site, etc. ance (cp GASm. *HG* 184). Even now it has tolerable bazaars, resorted to by native travellers.

[1] Taylor cylinder, 3 25; cp Wi. *GI* 1 220 *f.*
[2] On the Kadytis of Herod. 2 159 see JOSIAH, § 2.
[3] In 1 Macc. 13 43, too, the MSS read 'Gaza.' See, however, GAZARA.

[1] Conder, *PEFQ*, 1875, p. 160.
[2] Robinson (*BR* 2 641) suggests that the water in the Wādy el-Hesy may be intended. There is no such water in the second part of the road by Bēt Jibrin, which from its directness comes first into consideration. In the time of Eus. the spring connected with the story was on the road to Hebron. Since 1483 A.D. a well in the Valley of Roses near 'Ain Kārim has been pointed out by tradition.
[3] So Wetstein, who thinks that the narrator remarks the coincidence that the prefect of the treasure (γάζα) was on the road to *Gaza*. He also quotes ancient authors who state that Gaza was so named from its riches.
[4] *Theol. Z. aus der Schweitz*, 98, p. 50 *f.*
[5] Strabo xvi. 2 30, ἔνδοξός ποτε γενομένη, κατεσπασμένη δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μένουσα ἔρημος. The correctness of the last three words, however, is disputed. Jos. (*BJ* ii. 18 1) remarks that when Gabinius rebuilt Gaza, it had been 'long time desert.'

The modern town (*Ghazza*) consists of four quarters, resembling so many large villages. Of these, one stands on the flat top of a hill, whilst the others are on the plain below.[1] The hill, within which no doubt are the ruins of successive cities, is crowned by the great mosque which was originally a Christian church, built by the Crusaders out of ancient materials. The town bas no walls; but the sites of gates remain, and one of them (see below) is actually shown as that of the gate famous in the story of Samson (GATE). Broad, yellow sandhills separate Gaza from the sea; the sand is steadily encroaching on the cultivated ground. However, between the sand and a long ridge of low hills parallel to the coast the fertile soil produces abundance of the choicest fruit and vegetables. A large and magnificent olive grove, said to be of great antiquity, stretches to the northward; orchards of fruit and palm trees encompass the suburbs.[2]

The exact site of ancient Gaza is doubtful. It is certain, however, that the town stood on a hill in the time of Alexander, and this hill may have been that on which the main part of the modern Gaza stands.

'Broad mounds,' says Conder, 'surround this eminence, and appear in the middle of the buildings.' The ruins among the sandhills seem to be those of the ancient Majumas or port. 'A beautiful garden of lemons, surrounded by a mound, seems to mark the site of this second town; near it is a ruined jetty on the seashore.'[3]

Samson's gate, referred to above, is on the SE., and, riding farther for a mile, we come to the hill of el-Munṭār, which commands a wide view over the whole plain away to the distant mountains that encircle Hebron. It is the highest point in the ridge of hills on the E., and is pointed out as the hill (הָהָר) to which Samson carried the gate. Porter and Conder accept this as the 'real site.' Gautier, too (*Souv.* 128), thinks that el-Munṭār must be the mound which the biblical narrator had in view. But how should the giant have got tired so soon? and how can 'before Hebron' mean 'looking towards the distant Hebron mountains'? 'Hebron,' however, is an improbable reading. The Danite champion would naturally keep to the SW. of Palestine. Probably the true reading in Judg. 16 3 is 'before Sharuhen,' not 'before Hebron.' On the site of Sharuhen, or Shaaraim, see SHARUHEN.

Besides the works referred to, see Reland, *Pal.* 788 *ff.*; Guérin, *Judée*; Stark, *Gaza* ('52); Gardner, *Index* 2 178 *ff.*; Gautier, *Souvenirs*, 166 *ff.* ((2) '98, pp. 114-134); Gatt in *ZDPV* 10 149 ('88), (plan of Gaza). T. K. C.

GAZA, RV AZZAH (עַזָּה; 1 Ch. 7 28; so in most printed Bibles). There is much variation; עַיָּה (cp EPHRAIM, § 13) and עַזָּה; עַדְעַיָּה and עַדְעַזָּה are also supported. RVmg. (following Gi., Ba.) gives **AYYAH** (עַיָּה; γαιαν [B], γαζης [A], [και] αδια [L]). The Philistine Gaza cannot be meant. The text may be corrupt.

GAZARA (SO RV always), **GAZERA** (ΓΑΖΑΡΑ[Ν] [AℵV]); one of the three chief fortresses of Judæa in the early Maccabæan story. Judas the Maccabee pursued Gorgias as far as Gazera (1 Macc. 4 15 γασηρων [A]: γαζ. [KV]). Bacchides, the adversary of Jonathan, fortified it against the Jews (9 52; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 3), and among the exploits of his great successor Simon, the conquest of this stronghold takes a leading place (1 Macc. 13 43-48;[4] cp 14 7 [γαζαρων, AKV], 33 *f.* [γαραζαν, ℵ*], 15 28 35 [γαζαρηνων, A]).

A different account of this event is given in 2 Macc. 10 32-38. The writer, who is opposed to Simon because he assumed the high-priestly dignity, transfers this achievement to his hero Judas, whose behaviour is so described as to contrast with the conduct ascribed to Simon in the authentic historical record of 1 Macc. (see Kosters *Th.T*, 1878, p. 519 *f.*; MACCABEES, SECOND, § 2 *f.*). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 6 7 9 2; *BJ* i. 2 2), as might be expected, follows the account given in 1 Macc.: nor can we attach any historical importance to the strongly biassed statement of 2 Macc.

On obtaining possession of Gazara Simon installed his son John there as commander-in-chief of the Jewish forces (see MACCABEES i., § 7). Gazara or Gazera is of course the same place as GEZER (*q.v.*, § 1). There is no occasion to seek for a second Gazara in order to avoid a discrepancy between 1 Macc. and 2 Macc.

[1] Porter in Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.*, *s.v.* 'Gaza.'
[2] Robinson; Porter.
[3] *PEFQ*, '75, p. 161.
[4] We are indebted to Josephus for the right reading in *v.* 43, which is required by *v.* 53 (cp *v.* 48) and by subsequent references to Gazara. The MSS and versions, however, read 'Gaza' (γαζαν [AℵV]); so AV, but not RV. Cp Schürer, *GJV*(2) 1 194, n. 12.

GAZELLE, the better rendering of *ṣᵉbī* (צְבִי, fem. צְבִיָּה, *ṣᵉbiyyāh*; δορκάς [BAFL]), adopted by RV in Dt. 12 15 22 14 5 15 22 1 K. 4 23 [5 3] (‖ אַיָּל, *'ayyāl*; see HART), and by RVmg. in Is. 13 14 (δορκάδιον, 𝔊) Prov. 6 5 etc.[1] for AV ROE (*q.v.*).

The gazelle—the word is derived through the Ar. *gad*—was known to Assyrians, Aramæans and Arabians alike under the cognate forms *ṣabīṭu*, *ṭabyā*, and *ẓabyun* respectively; it is still common in all the country S. of Lebanon, and extends into N. Africa, and Asia Minor.

The modern representative *Gazella dorcas* is commonly known in Arabia as the *thobby* (cp Doughty *Ar. Des.* Index, *s.v.*). It stands two feet in height at the shoulder, and its horns, which are lyrate, attain a length of 13 inches. In the broad sandy plains it is white in colour, but in the volcanic districts dark gray, closely approaching the colour of basalt (*Ar. Des.* 1 328 395). For other species see ANTELOPE.

The gazelle has always been remarkable for its graceful appearance[2] and its extraordinary speed (cp 2 S. 2 18 1 Ch. 12 8). It is usually found in small herds, and is hunted at the present day by the Arabs with dogs and falcons. The 'chased gazelle' was a frequent sight not only in Palestine (Is. 13 14 Prov. 6 5), but also in Assyria, and Egypt (see illustration in Riehm's *HWB* 1 669).

The flesh of the gazelle was eaten by the Hebrews (1 K. 4 23 [5 3] Dt. 14 5); but the animal was not accepted as a sacrifice (Dt. 12 15 22 15 22)—even among the Arabs a gazelle is regarded as an inferior substitute for a sheep (We. *Heid.*(2) 115). Whatever be the origin of this usage, it can scarcely be due, at all events, to the belief that so common an animal would be an unworthy sacrifice.

Abundant analogy suggests that an animal that may be eaten, but not sacrificed, possessed at an early period, a sacred character, and also was associated closely with some deity.[3] Now in Arabia there were herds of sacred gazelles at Tabāla and Mecca, even in the time of Islām (We. *Heid.*(2) 106, cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 466), and it was told of the clan Ḥārith of S. Arabia that when they come across a dead gazelle they wash and bury it, and the whole tribe mourn over it for seven days (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 444). The latter practice implies either that the members of the tribe considered themselves of one kin with it, or that it was to them a deity (cp the weeping for ADONIS [*q.v.*]).[4] The gazelles of Mecca were probably connected with the cult of el-Uzza, who is usually identified with Aphrodite (Venus, Ashtoreth), and Robertson Smith points out that among the Sabæans the antelope was connected with the worship of 'Athtar (see ASHTORETH, § 3), and has been found figured upon coins from the Phœnician Laodicea[5] along with the star and the dove, symbols of Ashtoreth (*Kin.* 194 *f.*). Was the gazelle sacred to Ashtoreth?

Personal names derived from the gazelle are found in the Ar. clan-name Ẓabyān, the S. Judæan ZIBIAH (cp also ZIBIA), and the later DORCAS and TABITHA. See further GOAT.

A. E. S.-S. A. C.

GAZER (גָּזֶר), 2 S. 5 25 AV, RV **GEZER**.

GAZEZ (גָּזֵז)[6] is twice mentioned in 1 Ch. 2 46, as a son of Caleb b. Hezron by his concubine Ephah, and as the son of Caleb's son Haran; 1 Ch. 2 46 (ὁ γεζουε [BA], ὁ γαζει, but in 46b ὁ γαζας [L], גזון [Pesh.]). Pesh., omitting all mention of Moza and (the first) Gazez, presents the simple genealogical series, Caleb, Haran, and Gazez. Houbigant supposes the second Gazez to be an error for JAHDAI (*v.* 47).

[1] In 2 S. 2 18 1 Ch. 12 8, however RV follows AV.
[2] Hence used as a simile in describing female charms by the Arab poet up to the present day; cp Cant. 2 9 etc., and see Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 271, who notes Indian analogies. הַצְּבִי in 2 S. 1 19, for which the interpretation the 'gazelle' has been suggested, should perhaps be pointed הַצְּבִי; see, however, H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*
[3] To whom (according to analogy) it was probably sacrificed on exceptional occasions.
[4] The two views, however, are not unrelated.
[5] The annual stag-sacrifice at Laodicea illustrates n. 3 above.
[6] We., *De gent. et fam. Jud.*, 26, would point גָּזָז. The readings γεζουε, γαζει are due to scribes' errors; but cp 𝔊L's second reading γαζας.

GAZZAM (גַּזָּם; ΓΑΖΑΜ [L]), family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 48 (γαζεμ [BA]) = Neh. 7 51 (γηζαμ [BℵA]) = 1 Esd. 5 31 (καζηρα [B], γα. [A], GAZERA [EV]).

GEBA, or (thrice in AV) GABA.

1. (גֶּבַע; ΓΑΒΑΑ [BAL]), a town of Benjamin, mentioned certainly in Josh. 18 24 21 17 (ΓΑΘΕΘ [B], ΓΑΒΕΕ [A], ΓΑΒΕ [L]), 1 S. 13 16 (ΓΑΒΕΕ [B; A om.], 14 5 (ΓΑΒΑΕ [B, A om.]), 2 K. 23 8 (ΓΑΙΒΑΛ [B]), 1 Ch. 6 45 [60] (ΓΑΒΑΙ [B], ΓΑΒΕΕ [A], ΓΑΒΕΑΙ [L]), Ezra 2 26 = 1 Esd. 5 20 (AV GABDES, RV GABBE; ΚΑΒΒΗΣ [B], ΚΑΙ γ. [A]), Neh. 7 30 (ΤΑΜΑΛ [B], ΤΑΒΑΑ [ℵ]), 12 29 (ΓΑΒΑΕ [ℵ c.a.mg.], ΓΑΒΕΕ [L]), Is. 10 29 (not in 𝔊), Zech. 14 10 (ΓΑΒΕ Bℵ*Γ'], ΓΑΒΕΕ [ℵ c.a A], ΓΑΒΕΛ [Q]), and hardly less certainly in the emended texts of 1 S. 13 2 (ΓΑΒΕΕ [B, A om.]), 15 (A om.), 14 2 (𝔊 BL. ΒΟΥΝΟΥ; A. om.), 16 (ΓΑΒΕΕ [B]), and perhaps also in 1 K. 15 22 (see below). On the confusions between Geba and Gibeah see GIBEAH, § 1.

During the Philistine domination there was a triumphal 'pillar' (see SAUL) at Geba (1 S. 13 3; τῷ βουνῷ [BL; A om.]), the primitive sanctity of which place is shown by its second title (according to a probable interpretation of 1 S. 10 5 [𝔊 τὸν βουνόν]; see GIBEAH, § 2 [3]), 'Gibeah of God.' The pillar was probably dedicated to the god of the Philistines. It was from Geba that JONATHAN started on the daring enterprise described in 1 S. 14; the expressions of *v.* 5 prove that Geba was on the S. and Michmash on the N. of a ravine; the ravine is the wild glen of Suweinīṭ; and Geba must consequently be the modern *Jebaʿ*. Under ASA [*q.v.*] Geba was fortified with the stones and timber with which Baasha had begun the fortification of Ramah (1 K. 15 22 = 2 Ch. 16 6). So at least the present text states. It is a question, however, whether either Gibeah (Buhl, *Pal.* 171) or Gibeon may not rather be meant.

In 1 K. 15 22 𝔊 (πᾶν [τὸν L] βουνὸν βενιαμιν) certainly favours Gibeah; Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon are easily confounded. Nor can we in any case be quite sure that Geba from this period forward marked the N. limit of the southern kingdom,[1] Zech. 14 10 ('from Geba to Rimmon') and 2 K. 23 8 (in its present form) not being of pre-exilic origin. It may also be noted that in Is. 10 28-32, which describes the route of a northern invader, the writer takes an **equal** interest in the fate of Aiath (Ai), Geba, and Jerusalem.[2] It may plausibly be inferred that Ai was near the border of Judah when this passage was written, and we know that Josiah claimed sovereign authority over Bethel, NW. of Ai—*Jebaʿ* is about 5½ m. N. from Jerusalem; it stands on the top of a rocky ridge, commanding an extensive view, especially towards Dēr Dīwān (near Ai) and eṭ-Ṭayyibeh. The large hewn stones that appear in the foundations and walls of the houses are evidently ancient.

2. (γαιβαι [B], -αν [ℵ], ταιβαν [A]), a place in N. Palestine, between which and Scythopolis Holofernes is said to have encamped (Judith 3 10). According to Grove (Smith's *DB*(1) 1659) it is the modern *Jebaʿ*, in a strong position, 3 m. N. of Samaria on the road to Jenin (En-gannim); but this is not near enough to Scythopolis; the place was N. of Dothan (see *v.* 9). It is perhaps rather ENGANNIM [*q.v.*, 2], the Γιναία of Josephus, which is on the boundary between the mountains of Samaria and the plain of Esdraelon. Cp, however, Buhl, 210. T. K. C.

GEBAL (גְּבַל, 'mountain-height,' probably a false vocalisation for *gŭbăl*; cp Ass. *gubli*, *gubla*), the Byblus of the Greeks, and, according to ancient legends, one of the oldest places of the habitable globe, still survives in the small maritime village *Jebeil*,[3] S. of el-Batrūn (Botrys) and about 4 m. N. of *Nahr Ibrāhīm* (the river Adonis). It is rich in archæological remains, dating from the early times of Egyptian suzerainty; cp Renan, *Miss. de Phén.* 153 *ff.*; Baed. *Pal.*(3) 386, and on its religions associations esp. Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 172 *ff.*

Like all Phœnicians the men of Gebal were renowned sailors, and were skilled in shipbuilding (cp Ezek. 27 9, βυβλιοι [B*Q mg.], βι. [B? vid. AQ a], γαιβαλ βυβλιῶ [Q mg.]), a reputation of many centuries' standing. The Egyptian *Kupnā* (*k* = ג, *p* = ב, *n* = ל) is already a well-known seaport (see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 188 *ff.*). Gebal is frequently mentioned in the Amarna tablets (*Gubal*, *Gubla*) and in the later cuneiform inscriptions. The names of some of its kings have been preserved. These are Tà-kà-ru-b-ʿ-ra in the Egyptian Pap. Golenischeff (*As. u. Eur.* 395 *f.*), cp Punic Sicharbas (both = זכר־בעל); Si-bi-it-ti-bi-'-li (שבעת־בעל?) temp. Tiglath-pileser III.; Mil-ki-a-sa-pa (מלכי־אסף), temp. Esarhaddon; and U-ru-mil-ki (cp ארמלך, ancestor of יחו מלך below), temp. Sennacherib.

Apart from the passage in Ezekiel (above) further reference to Gebal in the OT is obscure. Were the **Gebalites,** as RV supposes, employed by Solomon as stone-masons in the building of the temple, 1 K. 5 18 [32] (הַגִּבְלִים or rather הַגְּבָ׳, cp above)? The specific mention of Gebal after the 'builders of Hiram' is strange and unnatural. AV's rendering 'stone-squarers' is equally unreliable, and the suggested emendation וַיַּגְבִּלוּם, 'and they bordered them' (Then., Klo., Benz., cp Ges.-Buhl, and BDB, *s.v.*), finds scanty support.[1] Again, in Josh. 13 5, the land of the GIBLITES (RV GEBALITES; την γῆν γαλιαθ φυλιστιειμ [B], τ. γ. γαβλι φ. [A], τ. γ. γαβαι φιλιστιειμ [L]) is mentioned by D2 as one of the confines of the land unconquered by Israel. Di. (cp also Bennett, *SBOT*) has already pointed out that the present MT is corrupt, and reads (עַד) גְּבוּל הַגִּבְלִי. It seems probable, however, that (והארץ) הגבלי has corruptly arisen from the following הַלְּבָנוֹן; we have no reason to suppose that Gebal was the name of a district in D's time. The difficulty is evaded in a different manner by Bu., Steuernagel, who read הארץ הַגִּבְלִית בַּלְּבָנוֹן.

Gebal, famous as the birthplace of Philo, was formerly the centre of the Tammuz cult. Already in the Egyptian period it was under the patronage of Hathor-Astarte, with whom we may compare the *bêlit ša Gubla* of frequent occurrence in Am. Tab., and the בעלת גבל upon the well-known Phœnician inscription of Yeḥawmelek (יחומלך), king of Byblus (*CIS* 1, no. 1). There may be an allusion to the 'Lady of Gebal' in Is. 10 4, where, according to the emended text (see Lag. *Academy*, 15th Dec. 1870), the (northern) Israelites are taunted with their futile attempts to propitiate Phœnician, Egyptian, and Assyrian (Babylonian) deities. The words are:

> Beltis has sunk down Osiris is broken,
> And under the slain they fall.

The first line of the couplet seems to have taken the place of some effaced words; it represents, therefore, the thoughts of a writer later than Isaiah (cp Am. 5 26). By Beltis (the female counterpart of BEL) he means the goddess of Gebal, whose cultus was fused with that of the Egyptian Isis (see Che. 'Isaiah,' *SBOT*, *ad loc.*).

S. A. C.

GEBAL (גְּבָל). Among the enemies of Israel enumerated in Ps. 83 7 [8] (ΝΑΙΒΑΛ [B], ΓΑΙΒΑΛ [ℵ c.a(?R)], ΓΕΒΑΛ [A(?R)T])[2] we find the name of Gebal. This has long ago been identified with *Jibāl*, the term used by Arabic writers, and even by the Arabs of the present day, to designate the northern part of Mount Seir, the ancient home of the Edomites. The Arabic name *Jibāl*, which means simply 'mountains,' 'mountain country,' probably came into use at the time when the Arabic-speaking Nabatæans took possession of the country in question, while the Edomites settled in southern Judæa.

1 So Stenning in Hastings' *DE* 2 116 *b*.

2 Grove (Smith's *DB*(1) 1658 *a*) argues from the reference to the bivouac (מָלוֹן) at Geba that this place is mentioned 'as the northern boundary' of Judah. This seems rather arbitrary.

3 At the time of its capture by the Crusaders it was known as *Giblet*.

1 הגביל elsewhere 'to set bounds for' (with people, etc., as obj.). A connection with מִגְבָּלֹת, גַּבְלֻת does not help us. No stress can be placed upon the rendering of 𝔊 (καὶ ἔβαλαν [B], ἐνέβαλον [L], βιβλιοι [A]). It is probable that B and L have simply adopted the reading from its similarity to the MT (גבל misread נבל; for examples see Dr. *ad* 1 S. 5 4, and We. *TBS* to n. 58 *f.*).

2 A psalm of the Maccabæan period.

In Jos. (*Ant.* ii. 1 2 and iii. 2 1) the country is called γοβολῖτις a form with a peculiar vocalisation; but the same writer employs γαβαλῖται as the *nomen gentile* (*Ant.* ix. 9 1). Eus. (OS) several times mentions γεβαληνή (so apparently Steph. Byz. (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 2 1]) as well as γαβαληνή and γαβαλιτική. The name is likewise found often in the Targums, somewhat rarely in the Pesh.,[1] to represent the Heb. שֵׂעִיר (SEIR). T. N.

GEBER (גֶּבֶר, 'a man,' see NAMES, § 64, and on vocalisation, § 6).

1. The son of Geber or: better, BEN-GEBER (so AVmg. and RV) was prefect of Argob under Solomon (1 K. 4 13; υἱὸς γαβερ [BA], υἱ. γαβερ- [L], γαβαρης [Jos. Ant. viii. 2 3]). See RAMOTH-GILEAD (2).

2. Geber b. Uri, prefect of the land of Gad (so 𝔊BA; MT wrongly 'Gilead'), which is described further as 'the country of Sihon'[2] (1 K. 4 18[19], υἱὸς αδαι [B], υἱ. αδδαι [L], γαβερ υἱ. αδαι [A]). 'Uri' is hardly right. Klo. suggests 'Uriah' (2 S. 23 38); but 𝔊 suggests עִדּוֹ, 'Iddo' (1 Ch. 6 21 [6], αδει [B]); a Zechariah b. Iddo held another prefecture beyond Jordan (*v.* 14). HIDDAI (cp 𝔊L αδδαι) is less probable. The close of the verse contains a great error. The Hebrew (with which *contrast* EV) has 'one prefect who was in the land'—an imperfect and quite unintelligible clause. Ewald and Tg. read 'in the land of Judah'; but this leaves the most faulty part of the clause untouched—&c., that which precedes 'who' (אשר). Klo., who has done so much for this obscure section, reads 'and one (chief) prefect was over all the prefects who were in the land'; he also supplies the name of this chief prefect from *v.* 5 where we read, 'And Azariah b. Nathan was over the prefects." T. K. C.

GEBIM (הַגֵּבִים, ΓΙΒΒΕΙΡ [BℵAQ]), a place near Jerusalem, mentioned between Madmenah (?) and Nob (?), Is. 10 31†. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*(2) 248 2 130 5) identify it with Geba, 5 R. m. N. of Gophna, probably the mod. *Jībiā*, and Conder (Hastings' *DB* 2 117 *b*) approves this; but neither Jībiā nor el-Jib (usually held to be GIBEON [*q.v.*, § 4]), with which Hitzig (cp *PEFQ* ('75) 183) identifies Gebim, is in the right district. No such place as Gebim is known elsewhere, and several names in Is. 10 28-32 are probably, or even certainly, corrupt.

This name in particular ('the cisterns'?) is in itself improbable. It is proposed (*SBOT*, 'Isa.' Addenda) to read בַּחֻרִים—*i.e.*, Bahurim; this place seems to have been not far from Jerusalem on the old road to Jericho. The emendation suits the mention of Annthoth in *v.* 30 and of the Mt. of Olives (if this is really referred to; see NOB) in *v.* 32. T. K. C.

GECKO (אֲנָקָה), Lev. 11 30† RV, AV FERRET [*q.v.*].

GEDALIAH (גְּדַלְיָהוּ, and גְּדַלְיָה in 1, 4, 5; 'Yahwè is great,' § 38; found also on tombs near Nippur, time of Darius [Hilprecht]; [ο] ΓΟΔΟΛΙΑϹ [BℵAQL]).

1. b. Ahikam b. Shaphan, a Jewish governor of Judah (under Nebuchadrezzar), who resided at Mizpah. A man of upright character, trusted alike by Jews and by Chaldæans, he was cruelly murdered, as a nominee of the hated Babylonians, together with the Chaldæans who were about him. One of the traders of the Jewish guerilla bands (Johanan b. Kareah) heard of the plot against the governor's life, and warned him; but in vain. He was treacherously slain by ISHMAEL [*q.v.*, 2], who, with ten companions, had been entertained by the governor. Johanan pursued the murderer, but was only able to deliver the Jewish captives whom Ishmael had carried off (2 K. 25 22 Jer. 40 [𝔊 47] 5-41 [𝔊 48] 16; in Jer. 40 8 γαλαδιαν [Qmg.], 41 1 *f.* גדליה γολιαν [ℵ*]). See AMMON, § 5 (end); ISHMAEL, 2; ISRAEL, § 43; JEREMIAH.

2. b. Pashhur, a chief belonging to Jerusalem, temp. Jeremiah, Jer. 38 1 (γολιας [ℵ*]).

3. b. Hezekiah, an ancestor of Zephaniah (Zeph. 1 1).

4. b. Jeduthun, 1 Ch. 25 3 (τουνα [B]) 9 (γαλουια [B]).

5. One of the b'ne JESHUA [*q.v.*, ii., 5], Ezra 10 18 (γαδαλεια [BA], γαλαδεια [ℵ], -δαιας [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 19, JOADANUS (ιωδανος [B], ιωαδανος [A], ιαδδειας [L], a corruption of γαδαλειας; see the form in 𝔊L).

GEDDUR (ΓΕΔΔΟΥΡ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 30 = Ezra 2 47, GIDDEL, 1; or GAHAR.

[1] For its use in Samaritan cp Gen. 33 14 16 36 8 *f.*; in the Targ. see Levy, *NHW* 1 123. In Syr. cp Payne Smith, *Thes.* 647 and see 1 Ch. 4 42 2 Ch. 20 10 25 11 14 and Ecclus. 50 26 (Pesh.).'

[2] The words, 'and of Og, king of Bashan,' are obviously an incorrect interpolation (see *v.* 13).

GEDEON (ΓΕΔΕΩΝ [A], ΓΕΔϹΩΝ [ℵ], om. B), Judith 8 1; also Heb. 11 32 (ΓΕΔΕΩΝ [Ti. WH]) RV GIDEON [*q.v.*].

GEDER (גֶּדֶר—*i.e.*, 'wall' or 'fortified place'; cp GEDERAH), one of the thirty-one royal Canaanite cities in the list of Joshua's conquests, mentioned with Gezer, Debir, Arad, and Libnah; Josh. 12 13 (ΑϹΕΙ [B], ΓΑΔΕΡ [AL and Eus. *OS*(2) 244 27]). BAAL-HANAN, 2, the **Gederite** (1 Ch. 27 28, גְּדֵרִי, γεδωρείτης [B], γεδωρ [A], γεδδωριτης [L]), may have been a native of this place. See also BETH-GADER. It should be noted that in 1 Ch. 2 51 Beth-gader seems, according to one view of *v.* 55, to stand in close relation to Kirjath-sepher.

GEDERAH. 1. (הַגְּדֵרָה—*i.e.*, 'the enclosed [fortified] place,' cp Geder, ΓΑΔΕΙΡΑ [*OS*(2) 245 37]). One of the towns in the lowland of Judah mentioned with Adullam, Socoh, Azekah, and Shaaraiin (Josh. 15 36 γαδηρα [BA], -ιρ. [L]). Its position agrees fairly with that of the *Kh. Jedīreh* (see GEDEROTH); but more probably (see KIDRON, § 1) Gederah in Josh. 15 36 = κεδρων of 1 Macc. 15 39 = mod. *Ḳaṭra.* The gentilic **Gederathite** (1 Ch. 12 4: הַגְּדֵרָתִי, γαδαραθειειμ [B], γαδαρα [K], γαδηρωθι [AL]), applied to JOZABAD, [*q.v.*, 1], may be derived from this place, or may refer to the Judahite GEDOR [*q.v.*, 1].

2. Gederah (גְּדֵרָה) is mentioned with NETAIM (נְטָעִים) in a singular account of a guild of brothers of the B'ne SHELAH [*q.v.*, 1]; 1 Ch. 4 23 KV. AV, however, translates '(among) plants (*nĕṭā'īm*) and hedges' (*gĕdērāh*); cp RVmg.. (αζαειμ και γαβαηρα [B], ατα. και γαδηρα [A], ετα. και γαδειροις [L].) See SHELAH, 1.

GEDEROTH (גְּדֵרוֹת, Josh. 15 41, or הַגְּ״, 2 Ch. 28 18; ΓΑΔΗΡΩΘ [AL]), one of the third group (which includes Lachish, Eglon, and Lahmam) of lowland cities of Judah; Josh. 15 41 (ΓΕΔΔΩΡ [B]). It is mentioned also in 2 Ch. 28 18 (ΓΑΛΗΡΩ [B]) along with Beth-shemesh, Aijalon, and Soco as having been taken from Ahaz by the Philistines. This collocation suggests that there may have been two cities of the same name, one lying more to the E. than the other. The more westerly is probably the κεδρων [AKV] of 1 Macc. 15 39 41 16 9 (CEDRON, RV KIDRON, καιδρων [A] in 15 39; χεβρων [ℵc.a c.b], κεδρω [VA], κεδρων [ℵ*], in 15 41), and the γεδρούς [Gedrus] of Eusebius and Jerome (OS 127 32 245 39), defined by them as a 'very large village 10 R.m. from Lydda on the road to Eleutheropolis (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 188). This corresponds fairly well with the modern '*Ḳaṭra* 3½ m. S. by W. from 'Āḳir' (Ekron), or '*Ghedera* about 4 m. SE. of Jabneh'; but the site seems to be too much in Philistine territory. The more easterly one may possibly be the Khirbet Jedireh (see *PEF* map, sheet 14) situated in close proximity to 'Ain-Shems (Beth-shemesh) and Yālō (Aijalon).

In Jer. 41 17 for Geruth-chimliam we should probably read Gidroth-chimham (see CHIMHAM).

GEDEROTHAIM (גְּדֵרֹתַיִם, 'place of enclosures,' see NAMES, § 107), a place in the Shephelah of Judah, Josh. 15 36†, in which passage 𝔊BAL has καὶ αἱ ἐπαύλεις αὐτῆς, possibly through misunderstanding a mark of abbreviation in the Heb.. (גדרתי').

Nöld. (*Untersuch.* 101) omits Gederothaim, as due to a corrupt repetition of Gederah; similarly Miihlau in Riehm's *HWB*(2).

GEDOR (גְּדוֹר,—*i.e.*, 'enclosure'; ΓΕΔΩΡ [BAL]).

1. A city in the hill country of Judah: Josh. 15 58 (γεδδων [B]), 1 Ch. 12 7 (γεδδωρ [KL]), the modern *Jedūr*, a small rum, 2890 feet above sea-level, 6½ m. N. from Hebron, somewhat westward of the road to Bethlehem, with which also should perhaps be identified the BETH-GADER (*q.v.*) of 1 Ch. 2 51.

In 1 Ch. 4 17 *f.* Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah are represented as second cousins of Eshtemoa; they were grandchildren of MERED by his Jewish wife whilst Eshtemoa was his grandchild through his Egyptian (?) wife. In 1 Ch. 4 4 Gedor is into logical relationship with Bethlehem: in 1 Ch. 8 31 (δουρ [B], γεδουρ [A], γεδδωρ [L]) 9 37 (ιεδουρ [Bℵ], γεδουρ [A], γεδδωρ [L]) with Gibeon.

2. For Gedor (גְּדֹר) in 1 Ch. 439 we ought to read with 𝔊 Gerar (*γεραρα* [BAL]—*i.e.*, גְּרָר). See Simeon.

GE-HARASHIM (גֵּיא חֲרָשִׁים), 1 Ch. 4 14 **RV,** and **Gehaharashim** (גֵּי הַחֲרָשִׁים), Neh. **1135** RVmg.. *See* **Charashim.**

GEHAZI (גֵּיחֲזִי and גֵּחֲזִי = 'valley of vision'?, cp Is. *22 5*; γιεζ[ε]ι [BAL], *Giezi*; or perhaps rather **Gihoni** [גִּיחֹנִי, see **Vision, Valley** of], § 76), the confidential servant (נַעַר) of Elisha. He is introduced twice in the story of the Shunammite woman (2 K. 4 12 14 25-31); first as suggesting that the birth of a son would be the most acceptable return for her hospitality (*vv.* 13-15, however, seem to interrupt the text, and may come from another source; see *KAT* 392), and secondly **as** running before Elisha to lay the prophet's staff on the dead child's face. He is mentioned again at the close of the story of Naaman as fraudulently obtaining from the restored leper two talents of silver and two 'changes of raiment,'—*i.e.*, sets of costly or holiday garments, and as being smitten with the 'leprosy of Naaman' (2 K. 5 20-27). See **Leprosy.** Another narrative (8 4 *f.*), evidently out of chronological order (see especially Kue. *Ond.* i. *b.*, § *25*, n. 12 *f.*), represents Gehazi as engaged in familiar converse with a king of Israel who is questioning him on the great deeds of Elisha (see Elisha, § 2). **W. E. A.**

GEHENNA (γεέννα [Ti. WH]; also γέεννα, but incorrectly, the word being derived from Aram. גְּהִנָּם). On the original Hebrew expression, and on the position and history of the locality so designated, see Hinnom; and on eschatological developments, see Eschatology, §§ 10 *ff.* **63** (3) 70 (iii *f.*) 81 **(3, iii.).**

GELILOTH,—*i.e.*, stone-circles (Josh. 18 17; γαλιαωθ [B], αγαλλιλωθ [A], γαλιλωθ [L]). See **Gilgal,** § 6 (*b*), and Gallim, 2.

GEMALLI (גְּמַלִּי), father of Ammiel, 1, Nu. 13 12 (γαμαι [B], γαμαλι [AL], Μ.|λι [F]).

GEMARIAH (גְּמַרְיָהוּ, גְּמַרְיָה, 'God accomplishes,' § 31; *γαμαρ[ε]ιας* [BℵAQ]).

1. The son of Shaphan and father of **Michaiah,** mentioned in connection with the reading of Jeremiah's prophecy by Baruch (Jer. 36 10 *f.* 12, **25**).

2. b. Hilkiah; he was sent by Zedekiah to Nebuchadrezzar and bore a letter of Jeremiah to the captive Jews (Jer. **293).**

GENEALOGIES. The word 'genealogy' is frequently found in the ordinary sense of an enumeration of ancestors and descendants in the natural order of succession, in the EV of Chron.-Ezra-Neh., where יַחַשׂ[1] (deriv. uncertain) 'genealogy' (Neh. 7 5†), and its denominative

1. Characteristics.

הִתְיַחֵשׂ 'to reckon by genealogy,' are used to express the book and the act of registration respectively. The Hithpael of ילד **is** once found with the meaning 'to declare one's pedigree' in Nu. 1 18 [P], and the derivative *tōledōth* (תּוֹלְדוֹת), 'generations,' is of frequent occurrence, especially in P in Genesis (*q.v.*, § 2), to denote genealogies properly so called. This is the sense in which the English word is used in RV of Heh. 7 3 (*ἀγενεαλόγητος*), 6 (*μὴ γενεαλογούμενος*).

To form **a** correct estimate of the nature and worth of OT genealogies we must remember that the terms of relationship are used in a wider sense among the Semites than with **us.** When two or more clans have a traditional sentiment of unity and regard each other as brothers (cp **Government,** § 9, end), this may be a survival from a time when the groups formed but one; on the other hand, a historical tradition of a common ancestor does not always necessarily follow, since, according to Semitic custom, any covenant relation makes men brothers.'

Other terms 'father,' 'mother,' 'son' and 'daughter,' are used in an equally wide sense (see Kinship, § 6, etc.). It is a common Semitic idiom to call a land or town the father or mother of its inhabitants or of its various divisions, thus Mizraim begets Ludim, etc. (Gen. 10 13), Salma [*q.v.*] is the father of Beth-lehem (1 Ch. 2 51), the dependencies of Beth-shean are called its 'daughters' (Judg. 1 27; cp Daughter), and the members of any guild or clan are frequently referred to as 'sons' (cp *e.g.*, sons of Jeduthun).[2] Observe also such notices as 'Gilead begat Jephthah' (Judg. 11 1*b*, based on *vv.* 1*a* 7; see Moore, *SBOT*, *ad loc.*).

Hence the scheme by which statistical information and geographical data are represented in the form of a narrative, or an ethnology, becomes perfectly intelligible (cp Gen. **10 22** 20-24 25 1-4 **13-16**, and see below). It is always possible to put into the form of a genealogy the composition and relative history of any people or place at any given time,[3] and obviously, therefore, lists which have originated at different times (when clan or tribal-divisions may have varied) will be found to contain formal contradictions.[4]

2. Theory of Genealogists.

The early conception of the formation and division of clans and tribes in the Semitic world is most clearly seen in the genealogical schemes of the Arabs.[5] It was commonly assumed by them that all groups were patriarchal tribes formed by subdivision of an original stbck on the system of kinship through male-descent, and that each tribe bore the name or cognomen of the common ancestor.

After a while, it was supposed, **a** tribe would break **up** into two or more divisions, each embracing the descendants of one of the sons of the great ancestor and each taking its name from him. Successive divisions and subdivisions would take place until at length there would be a number of divisions, clans, septs, etc., all of which traced themselves back to **a** common ancestor (see Government, § 2). In Arabia, there were, in fact, two ultimate stocks, the Yemenite (*Kaḥṭān*) or S. Arabian, (cp Jvktan), and the Ishmaelite (*'Adnān*, subdivided into *Nizār*, *Ma'add*) or N. Arahian, and every individual who possessed a *nisba*, or gentilic, was able to trace his genealogy back to one of these.

Similarly in Israel every man by virtue of his being a member of a clan or tribe was able to point to Jacob, the father of all the tribes, as his great ancestor.[6] Now this theory—for it is nothing more—is based upon the mode of reckoning descent in the male line, which, as is becoming ever more generally recognised, is an aftergrowth and has superseded the more primitive method of matriarchy; see **Government, §§ 2-4, Kinship,** § 3 *f.*

3. Rise of genealogical zeal.

1. The great majority of OT genealogies of *individuals* are found only in post-exilic writings. Whereas in Judges; Samuel, and Kings there are scarcely any genealogical statistics at all, Chronicles and the writings belonging to its age are full of them. We find no trace in the earliest times of any special class (similar, *e.g.*, to that found among some tribes in India and elsewhere) whose business it was to keep a knowledge of the facts of relationship. Genealogies of individuals are the exception, and those which are found rarely reach back more than one or two generations.[7]

1 𝔊 renders *γενεαλογεῖσθαι* (1 Ch. 5 1), *ἐγκαταλοχίζειν* (2 Ch. **31** 18 [B]), *καταλοχισμός* (six times), *καταλοχία* (2 Ch. **31** 18 [A]), *ἀριθμός* (four times); *βιβλίον τῆς συνοδίας* [BRA], *β. τ. γενεαλογίας* [L] for ספר היחש (Neh. 7 5). In Ezra 2 62 המתיחשים is simply transliterated *οἱ μεθωεσειμ* (BA; but *οἱ γενεαλογοῦντες* in L). From יחשׂ (יחס) are derived the later names of the books of Chron.-Ezra-Neh.; viz.—מגילות כתבי היחס (*Bab. Bathra*, 15 *a*), ספר היוחסים (*Pes.* 62).

1 Thus Amos (1 9) speaks of Tyre (but see Mizraim, § 2 *b*) and Israel as allied by a 'covenant of brothers' (בְּרִית אחים).

2 As a corollary to this the taking of a wife is sometimes used genealogically to signify that **a** clan (personified as a man) has settled upon a certain district (personified as a woman); see Azubah, 1, and cp Caleb, § 3 *f.* See also Daughter, 3 *f.*, Father.

3 For artificial examples see Sprenger, ***Das Leben u. d. Lehre d. Mohammad***, iii. cxliv; G. A. B. Wright, *Was Israel ever in Egypt?* 33 *f.*

4 This may explain, *e.g.*, why Sheba (*q.v.*, iii.) is a son of Cush in Gen. 10 7 hut a son of Joktan *ib.* 28. *See* also Timna, Uz.

5 On Arabian genealogies see Sprenger, *op. cit.* iii. cxx-clxxx, and, more especially, Robertson Smith's luminous exposition in *Kinship*, chap. 1.

6 Whether the names Jacob-Israel may represent a fusion of two separate stocks cannot he discussed here; see Tribes.

7 Contrast, for example, the brief Joshua b. Nun (Josh. 1 1) with the lengthy ancestry ascribed to Bezaleel (Ex. 35 30 [P]). The exceptions will be found to be due chiefly to the presence of a conflate text.

The same remark holds good, also, in the case of the older Arabian genealogies. Meyer (*Entst.* 163) observes that an analysis of the Ar. genealogies in Wiistenfeld's tables shows that those of the contemporaries of Mohammad hardly ever go hack heyond the grandfather, often not even heyond the father.

A census-taking is mentioned in 2 S. 24, but the chapter is not an early one, and even civic lists are only alluded to in comparatively late passages (cp Dt. 23 2-8 [3-9] Jer. 22 30 Ex. 32 32 [P] Ps. 56 8 [9] 69 28 [29] 87 6 Mal. 3 16 Ezek. 13 9 Dan. 12 1 Is. 4 3 [see ISAIAH ii., § 5], etc.).

There is no reason for doubting, however, that a distribution of communities into clans and families goes back to an early age (cp § 4 *f.*, below, and see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2), but such a division of Israel as is spoken of in Josh. 7 15 *ff.* and 1 S. 10 21 can scarcely refer to pre-Davidic times; the unity of Israel, there represented, is in itself a sign of a later view. In Josh. *l.c.*, Achan is usually designated 'b. Zerah' simply (see Bennett, *SBOT*), and Zerah is better known as a post-exilic Jndahite clan.[1]

It may be added that genealogies were not common among the Egyptians of the Old Empire. It is always the individual, seldom the race or family, who is dealt with. A genealogy of seven generations, cited at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, and another reaching hack to the grandfather, in the following dynasty, are therefore exceptional. Complete genealogical trees only appear during the latest epoch of Egyptian history, in the times of the Ethiopian kings, the Psammetichi and the Persians. There is no trace of surnames, not even of vague appellatives, until we reach the decadence of the Egyptian kingdom (Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.* 158).

2. Genealogical zeal among the Jews seems to have first arisen during the Exile. They feared lest the continuity of the race should be broken ; they desired to be written in the register (כתב) of the 'house of Israel' (cp Ezek. 13 9) ; and hence it happened as one of the results of their religions isolation that the man who could claim descent from the exiles in Babylon was considered to be a member of the community rather than the native of Judæa.[2] This importance attached to genealogical pretension and to the proof of the absence of foreign admixture is one of the chief evidences of the legal spirit manifested among the Jews after the Exile, which could hardly have appeared before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the case of the priests a special impetus was afforded by the newly established desire to distinguish between the priests, the sons of ZADOK, and the Levites—a feeling which appears in Ezekiel as a novelty. The growth of the care bestowed upon priestly genealogies is well known (see below, § 7 [iv.]), and an early example of the result is seen in Ezra 2 59 *f.*, a passage belonging perhaps to a register of the restored Israel (see EZRA ii., § 9) where certain families, both ***secular*** (the b'ne Delaiah, Nekoda, Tobiah) and *priestly* (the b'ne Habaiah, Hakkoz, Barzillai), were unable to produce their genealogies, in consequence of which the latter were deemed 'polluted' and dismissed from the priesthood.[3]

3. To Arabia again we may turn for an instructive example of the rise of a love for genealogies (see WRS *Kin.* 6 *ff.*). In the reign of the caliph Omar I. a system of registers was drawn up to prove the right of each claimant, who was entitled through kinship with the prophet or through participation in his early struggles, to the spoil taken from the 'infidels,' and to ensure its just distribution among the 'true believers.' A great impetus was thus given to genealogical research, and from that time onwards the genealogists became an important class. Much oral tradition existed, and doubtless material was to be found in the official records; but as these sources were fragmentary and limited in range, conjecture had to be resorted t0.[4] The genealogists made the pedigree of Mohammad (obviously a most untrustworthy one) the back-hone of all their work, and grouped the northern Arabs in such a way that every great ancestor or tribe was a hrother or cousin of some ancestor of Mohammad. To make the number of ancestors tally with the lapse of time presumed to int-rvene, 'dummy' names (*e.g.*, Ḳais, 'Amr, Zaid, 'Abdallah) were introduced.[1] In dealing with the older material, place. names were transformed into ancestors or ancestresses, and sometimes even tribal designations were taken and treated as the names of ancestors.[2] It was to the advantage of a weak community to discover some bond of connection with a stronger neighbhour, whilst a powerful chief was equally desirous of including as wide a kinship as possible. Moreover, it was the scheme of the genealogist to treat the political combinations of his time as the expression of ancient bonds in kinship (for an example see SPARTA). The inevitable result was much genealogical fiction ; not only were the names of his own time thrown back by the genealogist into the past, hut also those which had become traditionally famous were inserted in the ancestry of his contemporaries, and the more honourable the individual the more reputable and famous became his ancestry. In fine, 'the system of the genealogists and the method by which traditional data are worked into the system are totally unworthy of credit' (*Kin.* 11).

4. Genealogies in Genesis. The OT genealogies begin with the creation of mankind. A man and a woman stand at the head[3] (see ADAM AND EVE), and a series of seven names carries mankind down to Lamech (Gen. 4 1-24 [J]). This list, like the old γενεαλογίαι of the Greeks,[4] is doubtless the remains of a historical connection once woven out of primitive stories, and deals with the introduction of civilisation (see CAINITES ; HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2).

A parallel genealogy based on it is given by P in chap. 5 ; it is a dry uninteresting list, and the primitive simplicity of the legend is cumbered with a complicated system of chronology (CAINITES, § 12, SETHITES). P's genealogies in Genesis are based throughout upon a specific scheme (GENESIS, § 2), in marked contrast with those in JE—where they are merely the string connecting the narratives—they form in fact the principal feature of his history.

For Gen. 10, which in the form of a genealogy gives a conspectus of the surrounding nations, and shows the supposed relation of the Hebrews to the other peoples of the habitable globe, see GEOGRAPHY, § 11 *f.* P now confines himself to Shem, the 'father' of the Hebrews, and brings us down by a list of seven names to Terah, Abraham's father (chap. 11).[5] Here again there is much dispute as to the nature of the names occurring in the list, although it is probable that they are ethnographical.[6] From Abraham onwards a number of old genealogies are presented by J. Jacob and Esau are brothers, the former intentionally represented as the younger (see ESAU). Moab and Ben-Ammi (Ammon) are sons of Lot (cp the Edomite name LOTAN), and the relationship presumed between Israel (Jacob), Edom (Esau), Moab and Ammon points to their belief in having had at some time a common history. The close relationship with Aram which finds expression in Gen. 28 *ff.* expresses a feeling which could hardly have arisen before David's time.

The assumption that certain tribes were of Aramæan origin may perhaps explain that phase of the early Hebrew tradition which brings the patriarch Jacob into connection with Aram and marries him to an Aramæan stock. When tribes of different origin unite, their early tribal traditions (*Urgeschichte*) become fused, with the result that they possess a tradition in common.

Other genealogies express relations between Ishmael

1 Note that נקב 'to name,' כתב 'to write' or 'enrol,' are late usages. כְּתֻבִים (Nu. 11 26 *b*), it is true, occurs in a context which may be ascribed to a late Elohist source, but the word is part of a gloss (see ELDAD AND MEDAD).

2 We. *Prol.*, ET, 494.

3 The passage is later than Ezra ; the names of the priestly families occur elsewhere in the book, cp Meyer, *Entst.* 170.

4 But the shortness of memory among the Arabs is well known—indeed in the time of Mohammad they had no trustworthy tradition of any of the great nations which flourished after the time of Christ (cp Nöld. *Amalekiter*, 25 *ff.* ; WRS *J. Phil.* 9 80).

1 'These were got by doubling known names or using personal names of no tribal significance,' (*Kin.* 10); cp the Gershonite genealogies, § 7 (iii. 6) below.

2 The Ar. *Khozā'a* ('separated ones') were so called because they broke off from the *Asd* in the great Yemenite dispersion. The genealogists, however, made *Khozā'a* the name of their ancestor (see WRS *Kins.* 17). The member of the dog-tribe '*banu Kilāb*' were similarly made to descend from an ancestor '*Kilāb.*' The genealogical notices of Anak and Arba were not less curiously derived ; see ANAKIM.

3 This is a later conception, for, on the analogy of other peoples, the Hebrews would have traced themselves hack to gods or demigods ; and, indeed, traces of this are found in the early writings; cp Gen. 6 1. For Arabian examples see *Kin.* 17 *f.*

4 Of such a kind. probably, are the 'genealogies' referred to in Tit. 3 9 1 Tim. 1 4 ; the combination '*myths* and genealogies' is significant.

5 The triple division of the b'ne Terah finds an analogy in the three Levitical heads, and the three guilds of singers.

6 The list includes the mythical ancestor of all Hebrews—viz., '*Ēber*' (see EBER, 1). Similarly the Berbers (lit. 'barbarians') invented an ancestor Berr whom they, influenced by Mohammedan lore, connected with Noah. (Another genealogy represents their ancestor as 'Berber,' a descendant of Canaan b. Ham h. Noah.)

and Isaac (half-brothers), and tribes of the great spice-hearing region in S. Arabia are traced from Abraham through a wife who bears the significant name Keturah ('incense'); Gen. 25 1-6 (J).

A later genealogy makes Ishmael the father of certain Arabian tribes which, at the time of its compilation, occupied the Syrian desert (Gen. 25 13 P). Ishmael, in post-exilic and Rabbinical times, became the common designation for the Arabs generally, and these, in turn, were wont to trace their ancestry hack to *Nabit* (Nebaioth), or *Kaḥṭān* (Joktan), sons of Ishmael; cp above, § 2.

Jacob, the younger son of Isaac, is understood to be the father of the twelve tribes, the chief of whom were descended from his wives, RACHEL and LEAH [*qq.v.*]. That four of the tribes are sons of concubines might show that they were looked upon as of less importance, and as not belonging to Israel in the same sense as the others (see DAN i.; GOVERNMENT, § 13).

5. Tribal genealogies.

It is only in the later writings that the twelve tribes are represented as coexistent and enjoying unbroken continuity. Moreover, the number twelve is certainly artificial[2] and was obtained, either by the omission of Levi or by reckoning the two 'sons' of Joseph as one.

Further, it may be questioned whether 'Judah' with its S. Palestinian elements (see CALEB, JERAHMEEL) was ever a tribe previous tn the time of David, and whether the priestly tribe of Levi does not owe its enumeration among the 'twelve' to the desire to place its members on the same genealogical footing with the rest. See, further, JUDAH, LEVI, and cp TRIBES.

The subdivisions of the tribes are enumerated in Gen. 46 8-27 Ex. 6 14-26 Nu. 26 5-51 [all P], and at greater length in 1 Ch. 2 *ff.* For an estimation of their contents and value, see the separate articles.[3]

It must suffice here to observe that a study of the names which are found in these tribal lists often affords suggestive hints concerning the relations of the tribes to one another. The truth of the old folk-legend which spoke of Israel and Edom as brothers is fully borne out by the significant number of names common to Edom and Judah (and Benjamin).[4] The tribe of Simeon, though unknown in historical times, seems, nevertheless, to have dwelt on the extreme SW. of Judah, and hence it is not surprising to find names in the Simeonite list which have affinities with Edom (see BILHAH, 1. SHAUL), Judah (ZERAH, HAMUEL), Ishmael (MIBSAM, MISHMA) and Jerahmeel (ISHI). See also below, § 7 [v.].

It has been stated above (§ 3 [1]) that the great majority of genealogies are found only in P and kindred literature (Ch.-Ezra-Neh.), and it remains now to consider their genuineness and value. It is only just to suppose that the Chronicler had older lists to work upon; but the Oriental genealogist was no incorruptible judge, and not only would he he sure to have spurious evidence placed before him—'a *novus homo* desires a noble pedigree'—but his lists when fragmentary would have to he supplemented and completed.[5] Faithful to the spirit of his age he idealizes and magnifies the past, and in many of his genealogies we are able to see that he employed the same methods as did his Arabian brother centuries later.

6. The Chronicler's genealogies.

Thus over sixteen of the twenty-four 'heads' ordained by David (1 Ch. 24) are names of post-exilic priests and Levites and it is only reasonable to suspect that the Chronicler desire; to show that the honourable families of his own day lived, or were founded, centuries previously under David.

A list in Neh. 11 13 mentions 'Meshillemoth b. Immer.' But the name Meshillemoth is essentially the same as Meshullam and when the writer of 1 Ch. 9 12 found in his copies *both* form; (so, at least, we are entitled to assume) he accordingly wrote down 'Meshullam b. Meshillemoth (so 𝔊BAL for Meshillemith; see MESHILLEMOTH. 2) b. Immer' (for another similar instance cp below § 7 [iv.] end):

Of a different character are the lists in 1 Ch. 2 18-24 7 30-40, where it is evident that we are dealing no longer with individuals but with clan- or place-names; cp Gray, *HPN* 239 *f.* In 1 Ch. 2, for example, one can distinguish pre-exilic from post-exilic sources, and it is pnssihle to *see* expressed in genealogical form the fact which is known from other sources, that Caleb, whose seat in pre-exilic times lay in the Negeb of Judah, migrated north, and after the Exile appears in the district around Jerusalem (see Wellh. *De Gent.*; CHRONICLES, § 10; and cp CALEB, § 2 *f.*).

The structure and nature of the names themselves may sometimes prove helpful in considering the antiquity of a list, and the fact that the majority of the names in the list 1 Ch. 4 34-41 are those of the Chronicler's own time and 'are at least not genuine survivals' makes it probable that the list is largely an invention (Gray, *op. cit.* 236 *f.*). It is not difficult to observe the methods of the genealogist in compiling ancestral lists, and a good example is seen in the post-exilic genealogy of David which is wholly wanting in the earlier writings (see DAVID, § 1 *a*, n. 1). It is the object of the author of ESTHER (*q.v.*, § 1, end) to make Mordecai a Benjamite, and so, when he fashions a genealogical list, he includes among the ancestors of Mordecai such well-known Benjamites as Kish and Shimei (see SHIMEI, 10), whilst the second Targum actually adds Machir and Mephibosheth.[1]

(i.) *Method.*—Fuller details regarding the intricate genealogies of the Levites and priests must he sought for in the minor biographical articles; here it must suffice to indicate the lines upon which the Hebrew (post-exilic) genealogist seems to have worked, and to try to discover the various views to which he intended his lists to give expression.

7. Levitical and Priestly genealogies.

To start with the belief that these genealogies are wholly trustworthy nr that they proceeded from one hand[2] would quickly involve ns in a hopeless maze. Contrast, for example, the ancestry which 1 Ch. 6 gives of the three contemporaries Asaiab (seven members, 1 Ch. 6 30 [15] 156) Ethan (twelve), and Heman (nearly twenty),[3] and observe 'that Ethan's immediate ancestors reappear in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29 12). Libni and Shimei are both Gershonite and Merarite divisions; Jahath and Shimei are varyingly sons and grandsons of Gershon. Amasai and Mahath, like Mushi and Mahli, are sometimes brothers, at other times father and son. Instances of similar inconsistencies might easily he multiplied.

In order to gain some idea of the origin of the Levitical genealogies we may start with the working theory that they are the result of later genealogizing skill, which has endeavoured to bring together into some sort of family relationship clans and divisions formerly quite distinct (cp § 2 above). Thus we find that one of the simplest lists of the Levitical families enumerates merely the clans of Jeshua, Bani (or Binnui), Hodaviah (Judah, Hodiah), and Kadmiel (cp Ezra 2 40 [see HODAVIAH, 4] 3 9 Neh. 9 4).[4] Another equally simple hut more interesting scheme in Nu. 26 58[5] enumerates five *mišpeḥōth* of the Levites—לִבְנִי, חֶבְרוֹנִי, מַחְלִי (𝔊BAFL om.), מוּשִׁי, and קָרְחִי. Again, when 1 Ch. 155-7 divides the Levites among the families of Gershom, Kehath (EV Kohath), Merari, Elizaphan, Hebron, and Uzziel, it is apparent that we are a step nearer the famous triple division—the three

1 It is noticeable how many of the descendants of Terah who became famous and strong were the younger sons. See J. Jacobs, 'Junior Right in Genesis' (*Studies in Biblical Archæology*).

2 Cp the nnmher of the b'ne Nahor (Gen. 22 20 *ff.*), the b'ne Ishmael (Gen. 25 13 *f.*), the families of Gad and Asher (Nu 26 15 *ff.* 44 *ff.*) and of Ephraim and Manasseh (*ib.* 28-37). For non-Semitic analogies see Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, 2 23 *ff.*

3 The tribes with their subdivisions amount to seventy; this number, too, is most prohahly artificial.

4 Common tn (*a*) Edom and Judah are Husham (cp Hushah), Iram (cp Ira), Jether (cp Ithran and see JETHETH), Korah, Onam (cp Onan), Shohal and Zerah; (*β*) Edom and Benjamin, Ashbel (cp Ashhea), Iri (cp Iru, IRAM), Jeush, Manahath, Shepho (cp Shephupham and SHUPPIM?), Onam (cp Oni), Bela, Jobab.

5 The nature of the hook of Iddo the Seer. 2 Ch. 12 15, is unknown. להתיחש, as Hi. suggests, may have been accidentally transposed from 11 16: cp Be. *ad loc.* The Chronicler's 'ancient records' of 1 Ch. 4 22*b* are equally obscure, although in point of age they may have been only exilic.

1 Cp Salamiel b. Salasadai (*i.e.*, Shelumiel b. Zurishaddai, the Simeonites, Nu. 16) in Judith's genealogy (8 1).

2 A study of the name-lists alone supports the recognized view that P, in its present form, is composite. Similarly the genealogical and other lists of the Chronicler in Ch.-Ezra-Neh. are not from the same hand. On the whole, it is probable that some of the latest specimens of genealogical zeal survive in the genealogies of the high priests, and the three singers (1 Ch. 6).

3 Note further the inconsistency in the number of generations from Judah to David, from Levi to Zadok, and from Levi to Heman (see Wright, *Was Israel, etc.* 76 *f.*).

4 The names remind us of priestly families. This older division seems to have died out—with the doubtful exceptions of Hashahiah b. Kadmiel, a Levite in 1 Ch. 27 17 (reading קדמיאל for MT KEMUEL), and the b'ne Bunni (Neh. 11 15 ‖ 1 Ch. 9 14 מררי).

5 The verse is hardly from the same source as *vv.* 57, 59 *ff.*

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great names have been introduced, but are on an equality with the rest. At a later stage Libni is assigned either to Gershon or to Merari, to the latter of which Mahli [1] and Mushi were consistently reckoned; the rest were ascribed to Kehath.[2]

(ii.) *Singers and* **Porters.**—Together with these developments we have to notice the gradual 'Levitizing' of divisions and classes formerly distinct—viz. the singers and porters (or doorkeepers).

(*a*) The familiar triple division of Asaph, Heman, and Ethan (or Jeduthun), assigned to Gershon, Kehath, and Merari respectively (1 Ch. 6), is preceded by an earlier in Neb. 11 17, where the singers are Mattaniah b. Mica, Bakbukiah (see BAKBAKKAR), and Abda (or Obadiah) b. Shammua.3 A later hand has probably supplied the names of ancestors tending to associate them with Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (cp 𝔊BA).

(*b*) Now the singers or 'b'ne Asaph' were primarily kept distinct from the porters, and both classes were separated from the Levites (Ezra 2 41 Neh. 7 44; see WRS, *OTJC* (2) 204); see ASAPH, 3. The next step was the inclusion of the guild of porters in the name 'Korah,'[4] although it must be observed that Korah is not yet a Levite. He is absent from the list of Levites in 1 Ch. 23, and in the earlier phase of P's account of the rebellion in Nu. 16 Korah is actually not yet a Levite (cp Kue. *Hex.* 334 *f.*, and see KORAH ii., § 2).[5] Next we find that both Asaph and Korah are Levitical divisions. There are, therefore, Levites of Asaph (2 Ch. 29 13, cp 20 14), and Levites of the Korahites (2 Ch. 20 19). Still another stage finds Asaph incorporated in Korah under the eponym of Abiasaph or Ebiasaph (see ASAPH, *3*, ABIASAPH), and finally Korah is assigned to Kehath—observe that in 2 Ch. 20 19 Korah and Kehath are still distinct—and, strangely enough, Asaph is removed from Korah b. Kehath and assigned to Gershon.

(c) Traces of these changes are seen in the survival **of** the eponym Ahiasaph (see ASAPH, 3), which is reckoned **as** a 'son' of Korah, and in the fortunes of certain names belonging to these classes. In 2 Ch. **29** 13 Mattaniah and Zechariah are **of** the b'ne Asaph (cp Zaccur and Nethaniah, **sons** of Asaph in 1 Ch. **25** 2), in 2 Ch. **20** 14 they reappear in the genealogy of Jahaziel an Asaphite Levite.[6] Comparing 1 Ch. 9 19 31 (Mattithiah) 26 1 *f.* we find them **sons** of Shallum (or Meshelemiah) traced through Asaph to Korah: and finally Zechariah and Meshullam (=Shallum) turn up **as** Kehathites in 2 Ch. **34** 12.

(*d*) According to the later genealogies the singers and porters Ethan (or Jeduthun), Hosah and Obed-edom belong to Merari. Quite consistently, **therefore,** the names Hashabiah and Jeshaiah appear **as** sons of Merari (Ezra 8 19), or sons of Jeduthun (1 Ch. **25** 3), and the former is **a** Merarite (1 Ch. 9 14), and a member of Ethan's genealogy (1 Ch. **6** 45 [30]). Of the two sons of the Merarite Jeduthun, Uzziel and Shemaiah (2 Ch. **29** 14), the latter is **a** descendant of Jeduthun (1 Ch. 9 16 = Neh. **11** 17 [Shammua]), a son of Obed-edom (1 Ch. 26 4), and a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 9 14), and both names perhaps go to build up the genealogy **of** the Merarite Asaiah in the forms Shimea b. Uzza (1 Ch. 6 29 *f.* [14 *f.*]). Similarly Hilkiah and Shimri, **'sons'** of the Merarite **Hosnh** (1 Ch. **26** 10 *f.*), may perhaps correspond to the Shemer and Hilkiah in the **genealogy** of the Merarite Ethan (1 Ch. 6 45 *f.* [30 *f.*]). See **also** IBRI.

Not only was Asaph removed from Korah to Gershon, but it is probable that Ethan was once ascribed to Gershon, and, curiously enough, from 1 Ch. 15 7 17 we should expect to find that Heman, too, was Gershonite![7] This is apparently due to the fact that the three heads **of** the 'singers' were, at one stage, treated as independent Levitical divisions (see Neh. 11 15-17),[1] and in the process of incorporating *all* the Levites among the three 'sons' of Levi, the positions of the heads of the singers were not at first definitely settled.

(iii.) Levitical *lists* ***in*** 1 Ch. 6.—The Chronicler's method of building up genealogies from names traditionally current will account for the remarkable inconsistencies and striking resemblances which the most superficial consideration reveals.

(*a*) Some of the Merarite names in 1 Ch. G have already been noticed (above [ii.] *d*). Of the others, Malluch and Amzi **(ti44** 46) **have** priestly associations (cp Neh. **11** 12) Mahli and Mushi are **usually** brother clans, and the former is also the head of a Merarite genealogy ending with ASAIAH [3] (1 Ch. 6 29 *f.* [14 *f.*]). It is, moreover, a feature of considerable significance that this Merarite list has little in common with that in 1 Ch. 23 21-23, 24 27-30, which probahly represents an earlier stage **in *the*** genealogical schemes.[2]

(6) The Gershonite genealogies in 1 Ch. 6 descend ***(a)*** to Jeatherai (or Ethni), and (*β*) to Asaph, the intermediate names being probably 'dummy' names (Maaseiah [of which Baaseiah is a corruption], Berechiah, Malchijah, Michael are sufficiently colourless and common). The names ערו בן־יואח בן־זמה seem to be related in some way to the Gershonite ערן בן יואח and יואח בן זמה of 2 Ch. **29** 12.[3]

(c) The largest and most important branch of post-exilic Levites are the b'ne Kehath, the most prominent branches of which are Amram—to which Moses (the father of the subdivision Gershon) and Aaron belong—and Korah b. Izhar[4] b. Kehath. Korah is associated with the porters (see above), and his three 'sons' Assir, Abiasaph, and Elkanah (Ex. 6 **24** etc.) are here descendants in a regular line (1 Ch. **6** 37 [22]). The ancestry of the Korahite Heman is rendered particularly complicated by repetitions.[5] The names in 2 Ch. 29 12 *ff.* again proved an invaluable quarry for the genealogist, and from them he borrowed Mahath b. Amasai, and Joel b. Azariah. The list comprises, appropriately enough, names borrowed from the genealogy of Samuel, who, as the genealogist knew, was a doorkeeper (1 **S.** 3 15).[6]

(iv.) ***High priests' genealogy.***—The high priests from Aaron to the captivity are traced through Amram **to** Kehath (1 Ch. 6 **3-15** [5 29-41], cp 49-53).

The list is substantially the same as the genealogy of Ezra in Ezra 7 1 (=1 Esd. 8 2), which recurs, with some changes, in 2 Esd. 1.[7] That in 1 Ch. **6** starts with (1-3) Aaron, Eleazar, and Phinehas, names common to, and derived from, P. **(4)** Abishua[8] (Abiezer, Jos. *Ant.* v. **11** *5*) **is no** longer extant. The following five names are new (5-9):—Bukki, Uzzi, Zerahiah, Meraioth, and Amariah (in Jos. ***Ant.*** viii. **1 3**; Bukki, Joatham, Meraioth, Arophæus). Nos. 10-12: Ahitub, Zadok, and Ahimaaz are derived from 1 and 2 S. (see AHITUB, 1, AHIMAAZ, 1). Of nos. **13-15** (Azariah, Johanan, Azariah) **it** must be to the first that the misplaced note **6** 10*b* [5 36*b*] refers; it is related to 1 K. 4 2*b* (also a gloss). Nos. 16-18 duplicate 9-11, and finally nos. **19-22** (Shallum, Hilkiah, Azariah, Seraiah) **carry us** down to Jehozadak. An allowance of forty years for each generation gives **us** nearly 960 years, agreeing approximately with the received post-exilic chronology. The thirteenth name will coincide with the rebuilding of the temple and the twenty-thirds with the captivity; cp the similar artificiality in GENEALOGIES ii., § 1.

The unhistorical nature **of** this list of high priests needs no demonstration. The inclusion of Zadok is as remarkable as the ignoring of the famous line from Eli to Abiathar (1 S.), due, perhaps, to the later exaltation of the Zadokites (see ZADOK, 1).[10] We find no men-

1 Mahli appears to be distinct from Merari in Ezra 8 18 *f.*

2 Observe that Elizaphan is a 'son' of Uzziel, the Kehathite, in Nu. 3 30 (P).

3 𝔊BA omits the second name; perhaps the earliest division **was a** twofold one.

4 Strictly speaking, the guilds of the porters (Obed-edom, Jeduthun, Hosah, etc.) are assigned to Korah and Merari; cp 1 Ch. **26** 1-19. They seem to be separated from the Levites proper in *vv.* 20 *ff.* (in *v.* 17 read למזרחה ליום). Note that when the Asaphite Kōrē (*v.* 1) is made a Levite in 2 Ch. **31** 14 he appears **as** the son of Heman (reading היכן for ימנה)—**Asaph,** Korah, and Heman are (in the final stage) consistently assigned **to** Kehath.

5 'But Israelite,' adds Kuenen; on this, however, see below, v., col. 1665.

6 Cp **also** Mattaniah and וכרי Levites **of** the b'ne Asaph (1 Ch. 9 15).

7 See ETHAN, 3, and cp Jahath, Shimei and Lihni, names common to Gershon and Merari, Shimei: also, is the name of a son of Jeduthun (=Ethan); see SHIMEI, 12.

1 2 Cb. **29** 12-14 enumerates Levites of Kehath, Gershon Merari, Elizaphan (see $ 7 [i.] end), Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun:

2 Note, *e.g.*, the mention of Moses, 23 14 *f.*

3 Perhaps we may connect the Gershonite יואל (1 Ch. **15** 7) with Joel (יוֹאֵל for MT לָאֵל) b. Eliasaph in Nu. **3** 24.

4 In 1 Ch. 6 **22** [7] his 'father' is called Amminadab; but see ELISHEBA.

5 Elkanah to Elkanah, **6** 34 35*a* [19 20*a*] = 25 [10] *f.* Joel to Ebiasaph 366 37*a* = 23 [7] *f.*

6 Hence, also, we see the appropriateness (and probable origin) of the choice of the names Elkanah and Rerechiah (in 1 Ch. 9 16 6 Levites only, in *ib.* 15 **23** door-keepers), the latter of which is borne by the father of Asaph.

7 See, for other lists, Jos. *Ant.* **x.** ***86,*** and the Jewish *Seder Olam.*

8 Perhaps rather Ab-yeshua 'father of Jeshua'; cp JESHUA.

9 Jos. *Ant.* (xx. 10) speaks of **31** names.

10 When, for example, Abiathar is assigned a lower order in 1 Ch. **24** 36 this is perhaps **a** later genealogical fashioning to

tion of Jehoiada, Zechariah, or Urijah ; nos. **15-18** find no support in the historical books, nor can we reconcile the priests Amariah (2 Ch. 19 11), Azariah (2 Ch. 26 17 31 10), Hilkiah (2 Ch. 34 9) with no. 20 *f.*

So highly was Ezra the scribe esteemed that his name takes the place of Jehozadak, and he appears in Ezra 7 2 as the son of Seraiah at the end of the long list of high priests. (Nos. 9-14, however, are omitted in 1 Esd. 8 2 Esd. 1, and by MT [and 𝔊BAL] in Ezra, *l.c.*) He is thus made to be a contemporary of ZEDEKIAH, who lived 130 years previously. His genealogy in 2 Esd., however, has received an interesting addition ; between nos. 16 and 17[1] are inserted the names of Eli, Phinehas. and Ahijah, derived directly from 1 S. (cp 14 3). The new names in Jos. (*Ant.* x. 86) and the *Sēder 'Ōlām* are of no critical value ; the former enumerates ten names between nos. 13 and 19, several of which recur in the latter writing.[2]

The key to the origin of the high priests' genealogy is perhaps found in Neh. 11 11, where nos. 20, 19, 18, Meraioth (=Amariah, no. 16?), and 17 are the ancestors of the priest Seraiah, the grandfather of Jeshua (cp 1 Ch. 6 14 [5 40], Ezra 3 2) in the ascending line. It is interesting to find that ‖ 1 Ch. 9 11 has Azariah for Seraiah, and that the genealogist has been content to incorporate *both* names in the list of high priests (no. 21 *f.*), an exact parallel to which procedure is seen in 1 Ch. 9 12 (see above, § 6). The intervening names from Aaron downwards would be easily supplied once the start had been made (observe the duplicates). A place had to be found for Zadok, and (as in 1 Ch. 24 ; cp § 6) the most important care of the genealogist was to introduce priestly names famous in his own time or traditionally renowned.

(v.) *Origin of Levitical names.* — When it is recognised that the Levitical genealogies have passed through several stages before reaching their present form, it is obvions that in discussing the origin of the Levites too much stress must not be laid upon the names of the three great heads. As representing Levitical divisions they have no great claim to antiquity. Gershon is derived directly from Gershom b. 'Moses, and it is not impossible that Merari (מְרָרִי, an ethnic) has originated from Miriam (מִרְיָם, cp MERAIOTH). This leads us to the 'Mosaic' origin of Levitical names, the most famous example of which is Mushi—'the Mosaïte' (see also ELIEZER, GERSHOM, GERSHON, MUSHI).

That names in the family of Moses were derived from Levi (1 Ch. 23 14) is a perversion in the interests of a post-exilic age; note that Sbebuel b. Gershom b. Moses (1 Ch. 23 16) is no other than Shubael, an Amramite (1 Ch. 24 20) ; and that Shelomith b. Eliezer (1 Ch. 26 25 *f.*) becomes chief of the (Levitical) b'ne Izhar (23 18).[3] It is curious, also, to find in the genealogy of the Levite Gershom, properly the son of Moses, the names SHIMEI (11), JAHATH (2), Zimmah (זִמָּה), and ZERAH (2), corresponding to SHAMMAH (1), NAHATH (1), Mizzah (מִזָּה), and ZERAH (3), sons of the Edomite Reuel (Gen. 36 13), the traditional name of Moses' father-in-law.

Suggestive of S. Palestinian origin are, moreover, the names KORAH (*q.v.*, i.), JESHUA and, in Nu. 26 58, Mahli (cp MAHALATH), where, moreover, the ethnics Hebroni and Libni remind us of the S. Palestinian Hebron and Libnah. The 'Hebronite' Jekameam (יקמעם) perhaps derives his name from יקנעם (see JOKNEAM), the Merarite Eder and Jeremoth (יְרֵמוֹת) from Eder (Josh. 15 21) and יַרְמוּת (see JARMUTH), and the Kehathite Shamir from the locality in Josh. 15 48. Jerahmeel b. Mahli b. Merari is, in itself, a significant hint for the origin of some of the Levitical clans"; for other connections see AMASAI (1), AMASA, JEUSH. Finally, one notes the un-Hebraic character of several of the Levitical names (Kehath, Ithamar, Izhar, Jeatherai [if correct], etc.), which, perhaps, may be due to their S. Palestinian origin ; cp the name GERSHOM (*q.v.*). The eponym Simeon,' the 'brother' of Levi, has probably left its mark in the Levitical division Shimei,[2] variously assigned to Gershon or Merari, and it is not impossible that the Kehathite Izhar (יִצְהָר) was primarily the same as the 'son' of Simeon who is named צחר (see JAHATH, 2, n.).[3] These evidences, pointing to a S. Palestinian origin for the Levites, agree with the tradition that Yahwè's worship came from the S.[4] See LEVITES.

From the above evidence we may infer that the Levites came from the S. of Palestine, and that they were not confined to any one particular tribe or clan. This makes it probable that the term 'Levite' (on its meaning see Hommel, *AHT* 278 *f.*) was a later designation applied to special members of the southern clans who, it has been suggested elsewhere, had come originally from Kadesh-barnea (EXODUS i. §§ 4 *ff.*, KADESH i. § 3). Since therefore, there is reason for supposing that such well-know; figures as ETHAN (2), HEMAN and OBED-EDOM were of southern extraction (see also MAHOL), it would appear that the Chronicler was not wholly unwarranted in making them Levites. Moreover, when he ascribes to David the inauguration and establishing of the Levites, may this not be merely based upon the circumstance that the southern clans did actually attain importance first under David?

8. Genealogies in later times.

The care spent over genealogies by no means diminished in later times (1 Macc. 2 1 Bar. 1 1 Tob. 1 1), and in the time of Josephus (*c. Ap.* 1 7, see also *Vita*, 1) all the priests were able to adduce evidence to show the purity of their descent by means of public documents which he refers to as δημοσίαι δέλτοι. According to the Talmud (*Kidd.* 76 *b*) there were men who spent their time wholly in making and studying genealogies which were based upon those in Ch.-Ezra-Neh.[5] But when Elizabeth is called a daughter of Aaron (Lk. 1 5), Anna an Asherite (*ib.* 2 36), or Paul a Benjamite (Rom. 11 1), and Hillel the Babylonian is traced back to David (even the 'desposyni' in Domitian's time claimed a direct descent from David), we cannot suppose that every link in the long chain of ancestors was known. Yet, how great aas the importance attached to the registry of birth and ancestry is proved by the genealogies prefixed to the gospels of Matthew and Luke in which Christ's origin is traced back to Abraham and Adam respectively (see article below).

9. Literature.

See Sprenger, *Das Leben u. d. Lehre d. Mohammed ;* WRS *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (especially chap. 1) ; Wellh. *de Gentibus*, etc., *Prol.*(4) 211 *ff.* ; art. 'Genealogy' in *EB*(9) ; Guthe, *GVI* ('99), 2-6 ; art. 'Genealogy' by Curtiss in Hastings' *DB* (a useful collection of material); and M. Berlin, 'Gershonite and Merarite Genealogies' in *JQR* 12 291 *ff.* (1900) (illustrates their complicated character, and seeks to show that the Levites fell into twenty-four subdivisions corresponding to the 'heads' in 1 Ch. 24 1-19). For general principles see M'Lennan, *Studies in Anc. Hist.*, 2nd ser., chap. 9, 'Examples of fabricated genealogies,' and on the genealogical knowledge in the time of Jesus, see Dalm. *Worte Jesu* ('98), 262 *ff.* S. A. C.

GENEALOGIES OF JESUS IN MATTHEW AND LUKE. While Mk. and Jn. manifest no interest in the pedigree of Jesns (βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ti. WH])—Jn. 7 27 representing the tenet of Messianic doctrine current among the Jews (cp Weber, *Syst. d. altsyn. Theol.* 339 *ff.*) that the origin of the Messiah is a secret—the two fuller gospels produce formal genealogical tables.

The first point of interest was to prove that Jesns was

account for the omission of his 'house' in the list of high priests (but see ABIATHAR, and cp WRS, *OTJC*(2) 266, n. 1).

1 Arna and Marimoth, Aziei and Amarias, correspond to 7 *f.* 15 *f.* respectively.

2 φιδεας and Pedaiah, ιουηλος and Joel, ιωθαμος and Jotham, ουριας and Urijah, νηριας and Neriah, ωδαιας and Hoshaiah.

3 The Aaronite Eleazar is later than the Mosa'ite Eliezer just as Shubael is probably a modification of the Calebite Shobal (see SHUBAEL).

4 Undue stress, perhaps, should not be laid upon the circumstance that Ahihail and Obed are names common to Jerahmeel and Merari (the latter through Obed-edom). Abihail (see MICHAL) perhaps occurs also in the family of Kish (also a Merarite name, *see* KISH, 2). With the Jerabmeelite Zaza we may probably connect the Gershonite Zizah (1 Ch. 23 11).

1 The name may survive in the Assyrian land of Sa-mí-n[a] on the road S. to Muṣri (Wi. *Muṣri, etc.*, 8).

2 See WRS *JPh.* 9 96 ('80).

3 Of the Simeonite names which are reported (1 Ch. 4 24 *ff.*), several are elsewhere borne by Lerites: Rephaiah, Seraiah, and Shallum are also Judahite, and one (see HORI) distinctly suggests a S. Palestinian origin.

4 Thus, *e.g.*, there were worshippers of Yahwi: at Zephath in the time of Elijah (1 K. 17 g, MT Zarephath, see ZAREPHATH).

5 Cp Talm. לא נתנו דברי הימים אלא לדרש, and *Pes.* 62 *b*, where it is said that the commentaries on 1 Ch. 8 37-9 44 (from Azel to Azel) amounted to 900 camel-loads. For the *Mĕgillath Yūḥăsīn*, see Dalm. *Worte Jesu*, 4.

descended from David. For whilst this question is only once touched upon in Jn. (7 42) and only thrice in Mk. (10 47 *f.* 11 10 12 35-37), the Davidic sonship appears in Mt. and Lk. (not to speak of the passages parallel to those cited from Mk.) as a matter of fundamental importance in the preliminary history (cp Lk. 1 27 32 69 2 4 11 Mt. 1 20, and in the story of the Magi, Mt. 2, the designation of the 'new-born king of the Jews'), as it is also emphasized further, in a manner analogous to the cases in Mk., in Mt. 9 27 12 23 15 22. The genealogies, however, reach back even beyond David: in Mt. to Abraham, in Lk. to Adam. This tracing of the line back to Adam (Lk.) may be connected with the conception of the Messiah as a second Adam, for which reason the patriarchal head of the new mankind is brought into relation to that of the old. On the same analogy, since there is no interest, anywhere else in the NT, in regarding Christ as the son of Abraham, the tracing back of the line at least as far as to him might be due to a wish to bring into mutual relation the father of the people of promise and the father of the people of fulfilment.

1. Aim and specific character.

That the pedigree in Mt. is in **a** special degree specifically Jewish in its character, appears from its delight in playing with numbers—three series each of twice seven names—and from the succession downwards from David being traced through the line of Jewish kings. The pedigree adopted by Lk. at least does not emphasize numerical features (11 X 7), follows a different branch of David's family, and does not pause at Abraham any more than at David. We may perhaps distinguish it as the Hellenistic, and Mt.'s as the Palestinian, attempt to connect Jesus the Messiah with sacred history by **a** genealogy. That the one came into the hands of the first evangelist, the other into the hands of the third, may be accidental.

The two genealogies are beyond doubt mutually independent scholarly attempts. That adopted by Mt. (1 1-17) follows the linguistic fotm of Gen. 418 Ruth 4 18-22 1 Ch. 2 10-14, the heading, the phrase 'Book of the Generation' (βίβλος γενέσεως), being taken from Gen. 5 1. The table contains thrice fourteen names, fourteen from Abraham to David, fourteen from David to Jechoniah, fourteen from Jechoniah to Jesus.

2. Mt.'s list.

The reckoning, however, is not quite accurate. For the first series (*vv.* 2-6) needs both Abraham and David and the third (*vv.* **12-16**) both Jechoniah and Christ, to make'up the number fourteen, and yet the second series (*vv.* 6-11) must count either David or Jechoniah over again, without which it contains but thirteen names (see, further, below, *b*).

(a) The series from Abraham to David (*vv.* 2-6) is taken from 1 Ch. **21-14;** only, in addition to the case of Thamar (RV Tamar) the wife of Judah (*v.* 3), mention is twice made of the mother, viz. in the case of Rachab (RV Rahab *v.* 5) the mother, and of Ruth (*v.* 5) the wife, of Booz (RV Boaz)—the latter based on Ruth 4 13, the former without any support from the OT and indeed in the face of chronological impossibility.

. Rabbinic scholars also interested themselves in these women. On Tamar and Ruth compare Weber, *Altsynag. Theol.* 341. Rahab they transformed into an inn-keeper (Jos. *Ant.* **v.** 1 27) and traced to her eight prophets (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* 180; Menschen, *NT u. Talm.* **40).** She was an object of interest also to the early Christians, as Heh. 11 31 and James **2 25** show; Perhaps they interpreted 'harlot' allegorically **as** 'heathen': the fact that Ruth was **a** Moahite, and Rahah a heathen, would then explain the interest of Christians in their mention in the pedigree of the Messiah.

(*b*) In the second series (*vv.* **6-11**) the list of kings is reduced to fourteen.

As compared with 1 Ch. 3 11 Joash (mas), Amaziah (αμασιας) and Azariah (αζαρια) are omitted between Ozias (RV Uzziah, οζειας) and Joatham (RV Jotham, ιωαθαμ [*v.* 9]), and Jehoiakim (ιωακειμ) hetween Josias (RV Josiah ; ιωσειας) and Jechonias (RV Jechoniah, ιεχονιας [*v.* 11]). Zedekiah (σεδεκιας) may he represented by 'brethren'. (ἀδελφούς [*v.* 11]) inasmuch as, according to 1 Ch. 3 16 2 Ch. **36** 10 he is mentioned **as** hrother—sole brother it is true—of Jechoniah (ιεχονιας) (otherwise in Jer. 37 1 and 2 K. 2417). Perhaps Jehoiakim (ιωακειμ) dropped out later, ***so*** that the second series also originally contained fourteen names.

(*c*) For the third series (*vv.* 12-16) there is no authority in the OT which mentions (1 Ch. 3 17 Ezra 5 3 Neh. **12** 1 Hag. **1** 1) only Salathiel (RV Shealtiel; σαλαθιηλ [*v.* 12]) and Zorohahel (RV Zerubbabel; ζοροβαβελ [*v.* 12 *f.*]), and we have no hint of the origin of the names. For the rest, the names from David to Jechoniah are to be distributed over **a** period of about **460** years, those from Jechoniah to Christ over one of ahout 590 years.

The genealogy given by **Lk.** (3 23-38) begins with Christ and leads upwards, using the simple formula, usually employed in the OT in giving names, of adding the father's name in the genitive.

3. Lk.'s list.

The series from David to Adam (*vv.* **32-38**) follows the lists of 1 Ch. 1 1-4 24-27 2 1-14 and Ruth 4 18-22. However, in the line From Abraham to Adam (*vv.* **34-38**) the name Cainan (καιναμ BN etc.]) is used a second time (*v.* 36; cp **v.37**) between Sala (RV. Shelah; σαλα [*v.* 35]) and Arphaxad (αρφαξαδ [*v.* 36]); while in the line from David to Abraham (*vv.* **32-34**) αδμειν (B etc.; omitted in EV. Admin in RVmg.) and αρνει (RV Arni, **AV** has 'Aram') have'been inserted (*v.* **33**) in place of αραμ between Aminadab (αμιναδαβ) and Esrom (εσρωμ). Neither change finds any support in the OT. Arni (αρνει) might indeed he an ancient variant for Aram (αραμ). In this case, what we have is the insertion of new names at some place that seemed suitable before and at another after Abraham—additions which, like the omissions of Mt. may he explained by the love for round numbers. For thkre arc now (*vu.* **38-31**) from Adam to David (inclusive) 35 (*i.e.*, 5×7) names, or (if we look more closely) from Adam to Abraham (*vv.* **38-34**) **3×7** and from Isaac to David (*vv.* **34-31**) 2×7 (*i.e.*, 14 as in Mt.). Between Christ and David (*vv.* 23-31), however, Lk. gives us **a** list nowhere to he found in the OT. Instead of the line of kings he gives us that of David's son NATHAN [2] (ναθαμ; 1 Ch. 3 5). It is **all** the more remarkable that the list coincides with that of Mt. in the names Salathiel (RV Shealtiel; σαλαθιηλ) and Zorobabel (RV Zerubbabel, ζοροβαβελ, *v.* 27) and in no more. From Nathan (ναθαμ [Bℵ*] *v.* 31) to Salathiel (*v.* **27**) we have again **3**×7 names, and so from Zorohabel to Christ (Mt. giving in each case fourteen, or, rather, from Zorobabel only twelve). The father of Salathiel, however, is called Jechonias (RV Jechoniah; ιεχονιας [*v.* 12]) in Mt., Neri (νηρει [*v.* 27]) in Lk.; while the son of Zorohahel is Ahiud (αβιουδ [*v.* 13]) in the former and Rhesa (ρησα [*v.* 27]) in the latter. The intention, however, is in both cases unmistakably the same, in spite of the divergence of the genealogies, to find a place in a list for the two famous names. The agreement on the other hand of Mt. and Lk. in the name of Joseph's grandfather, Matthan (μαθθαν [*v.* 15]) and Matthat μαθθαθ [*v.* 24] respectively, may well he accidental, since the father and son of the latter bear quite different names in the two lists.

Lk.'s plan of following, not the royal line, but a lateral branch of David's house, may have been clue to the reflection that the Messiah could not come of the line rejected in Jechoniah (Jer. 22 28 30 36 30). The conjecture that one of the genealogies follows the line of Mary is excluded by the fact that both end in Joseph, as well as by the Hebrew custom of attending only to the ***genus patris***. Moreover it is Joseph, not Mary, that Lk. declares to be of Davidic descent (1 27 2 4). The two genealogies are independent attempts to establish the ancestry of Jesus as Messiah and thus to connect him with the sacred past. The round numbers figuring in both of them show how little they aimed at simply reproducing documents. The complete divergence makes it more probable that the pedigree did not admit of documentary establishment. All that was postulated was descent from Zerubbabel, David, and Abraham. The mode of supplying the intervening links was a matter of indifference. Proof of the physical descent of Jesus from David was doubtless not to be found. Nor in Jesus' days was there need for such; for the Messiah was in any case *de jure* David's son—*i.e.*, heir and legitimate successor; and if any one ever had occasion to turn this ideal into a natnral sonship, this was done by deducing the latter from the former. If Jesus was the Messiah, he was David's son, and no documentary proof of the fact was needed. For there is no trace anywhere of any one's having deduced the Messiahship of Jesus from his being son of David, or having sought to oppose the former claim by questioning the latter. *H.* v. S.

4. The two lists and their value.

[One singular error in Lk.'s genealogy may be indicated here, the more so as Bacon (Hastings, *DB* 2 140), following Plummer (*Comm.* **on** *St. Luke*, 104), has perhaps not explained it aright. It is the introduction of the name Rhesa (ρησα) between Joanan (so RV; AV Joanna) and Zorobabel (Lk. 3 27).

5. Rhesa, etc.

The view of these two scholars is that Rhesa is simply the Aram. word רֵישָׁא (Rēshā), 'chief,' which was mistaken (as Dr. Plummer puts it) by 'some Jewish copyist (?)' for a fresh name in the genealogy, but which was really a title appended to **the**

name Zerubbahel. Thus the original order of the names will have been, Zerubbabel-Resha, Joanan, Juda. The title of Zerubbabel, however, was not, **as** far as we know, *Rēshā*. He **was** governor of Judah'; not merely one of the 'heads' of the community, but in supreme authority; in Hag. 1 1 22 the Targ. renders פַּחַת 'governor (of)' by רַבָּא. We must not, of course, follow Herzfeld (*Gesch.*, **A**, 379 *ff.*) in his inferences from the Breviarium of the pseudo-Philo (on which cp *op. cit.* 264 *f.*). If, then, **a** disarrangement of names is to he supposed, it is better *to* identify Rhesa with ASSIR [*q.v.*], and to suppose the original order *to* have been this 'the son of Joanan, the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Assir, the son of Neri.' 'Assir ***his son***' is **a** Talmudic reading in 1 Ch. 3 17 and may have been that adopted in the genealogy reproduced in our ***text*** of Lk. 3 23-38. אסיר might, hy accidental transposition of letters, easily become רֵיסָא or רְסַיָא; or, since the error began in **a** Greek document, ασιρ might become ρησα (ρησια). Note that μελχει (Melchi) may be **a** fragment of μελχ[ε]ιραμ (1 Ch. 3 18), κωσαμ ***(Cosam)*** of ωσαμω[θ], and even perhaps ελμαδαμ of ναβαδιας [ελναδαβ]; though see ELMODAM. **W.** C. Allen (*Exp. T.* 11 135 *ff.*) has argued that the writer of Mt. compiled the genealogy in chap. **1** with the help of 1 Ch. **1-3**; it is clear **at** any rate that the second genealogy is partly derived from this source.—T. *K.* C.] **H. v. S., §§ 1-4; T. K. C., § 5.**

GENESIS

1. Name and contents. Genesis is to modern apprehension the first book of a comprehensive Hebrew history from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (Gen.–2 K.); more particularly of its former half, which ends with the conquest and settlement of Canaan (Gem–Josh.). To the Jews who made the division, however, Genesis was the first part of a smaller whole, ending with the death of Moses (Gen.–Dt.), which, from its predominating character, they called the law (Torah), and which they divided into five books (Pentateuch).[1] The first book, whose opening chapters describe the creation of the world, bears in the Greek Bible the title Γένεσις κόσμου,[2] commonly abbreviated Γένεσις,[3] which is derived from Gen. 2 4 ($\mathfrak{G}^{AEL}$). In Hebrew it is usually cited by its first words בראשית ('In the beginning').[4]

The Book of Genesis consists of two parts: *first*, The Primæval History of Mankind (1-11 26); including the creation of the world, the origin of evil, the beginnings of civilization, the great flood, the confusion of tongues and dispersion of peoples; and exhibiting in the form of genealogies the relation of the races of men *to* one another, and the place of the Semites, and particularly of the Hebrews, among them; and, ***second***, The History of the Forefathers of the Israelitish People, beginning with the migration of the Terahites **(11 27-32)**, and ending with the burial of Jacob at Hebron and the death of Joseph in Egypt (50). The periods of this history are represented by three generations: Abraham **(12 1-25 18)**, Isaac **(25 19-36)**, and Jacob **(37-50)**. In each of these periods the **sou** through whom the line descends becomes the central figure **in** the story before the death of his father; the other branches of the family are briefly catalogued and dismissed (the sons of Keturah, **25 1-4**; Ishmael, **25 12-18**; Esau, **36**: cp also Moah and Ammon, **19 30-38**; the descendants of Nahor, **22 20-24**). The goal of the history is kept constantly in view by **a** series of promises of numerous posterity and of possession of the land of Canaan, made first *to* Abraham and repeated in like terms to Isaac and Jacob.[5] A similar method appears in **1-11 26**. Closer examination shows **a** somewhat more artificial scheme marked by the recurrence of the formula, 'This is the genealogy of N. N.,' by which the book appears *to* be divided into ten sections: **viz.—1-4**[6] **51-68 6 9-9 29 10 1-11 9 11 10-26 11 27-25 11 25 12-18 25 19-35 29 36 1-43 37-50.**

It is a fortunate circumstance that the author of the Pentateuch has so faithfully preserved the representation and even the language of the earlier works from which he borrows. This renders critical analysis possible, and enables us to recover, at least in part, the older histories from which our Pentateuch was compiled.[1] These older works are primarily two, one of which is commonly called, from its predominating interest in the religious and especially the sacerdotal institutions of Israel, The Priestly History and Law-book (P); the other, from its affinity with the literature of the flourishing period of prophecy, is sometimes named The Prophetic History (JE).[2] The former is marked by such peculiarities of matter, style, and diction that the parts of Genesis which are derived from P are easily separated from JE; and consequently in this part of the analysis there is substantial unanimity among critics.[3] It is not always so easy to distinguish from P the additions and changes which were made by the author, or rather compiler, of our Hexateuch (R_P), or by later editors; since both R_P and the diaskeuasts who followed him belonged to the school of priestly scribes, and in thought and expression show close affinity to P. In Genesis, however, the additions are of small **extent**,[4] and the changes only such as the union of two distinct and not always consentaneous sources rendered necessary.[5] For the present purpose, therefore, the priestly stratum may be treated as a whole.

2. Sources: P.

To it are assigned:[6] Gen. **1 1-2 3 4*a* 5 1-28 30-32 6 9-22 7 6 11 13-16*a* 17a 18-21 (22*a* 236** in part R_P), **24 8 1 2*a* 36-j 13*a* 14-19 9 1-17 28 29 10 1-7 20 22 *f.* 31 *f.* 11 10-27 31 *f.* 12 4 6 5 13 6 11*b* 12*a* (14)**[7] **16 1*a* 3 15 *f.* 17 19 29 21 1*b* 2*b*-5 23 25 7-11*a* 12-17 19 *f.* 26*b* 26 34 *f.* 27 46 28 1-9 29 24 28*b* 29 30 22*a* 31 18*b* 33 18*a* (34 1-3* 4-6 8-10 13* 14* 15-17 20-24 25* 27** zg—late midrashic addition) **35 5** (R_P) **9-15* 22*b*-29 36 5*b*-8 40-43 (1-5*a* 9-39** R, in part after other sources) **37 1 2*a* 41 36 46 47** (? R_P) **46 6 *f.* (8-27** R_P or later) **47 5*b* 6*a* 7-11 27*a***b* 28 48 3-6 (7** R_P**) 49 1*a* 28*b*-33*a* 50 12 *f.***

The reconstruction of P discloses no serious gaps;[8] and the redactor's partiality for this source makes it antecedently probable that he preserved it substantially intact. It thus appears that **P's** Genesis—if we may use the name thus—was much shorter than the history of the same period in JE.[9] The groundwork of P is a series of interconnected genealogies—viz., Adam **(5 1-28 30-32)**, Noah **(6 9 *f.*)**, Noah's sons (10 1-7 20 22 *f.* 31 *f.*), Shem **(11 10-26)**, Terah **(11 27 31 *f.*)**, Ishmael **(25 12-17)**, Isaac **(25 19 *f.* 26*b*)**, Esau **(36)**, Jacob (35 **22*b*-26 37 2**).[10] These are constructed upon a uniform plan: each bears the title, 'This **is** the genealogy of N. N.'; each begins with a brief recapitulation connecting it with the preceding table;[11] the method is the same throughout. The genealogies are made the basis of a systematic chronology;[12] and short historical notices are appended to them, as in the case of

[1] Cp CANON, §§ 6, 23 *ff.*

[2] Title in cod. **A.**

[3] Philo, *de Abrahamo*, § 1. See Ryle, ***Philo and Holy Scripture***, xx. *f.*

4 βρησι, Origen in Eus. *HE* **625**; *Beresith* Jer. *Prol. gal.*

5 These promises or covenants are found in doth the principal strata of the narrative: 17 1-8 28 1-4 35 9-12 48 3 *f.*: (P); 12 1-3 13 14-17 15 5 13-16 18 18 *f.*; 22 15-18 26 2-5 24 27 27-29 28 13-1j 40 10 (chiefly J and R_{JE}).

6 The formula, catachrestically applied *to* the creation of heaven and earth (cosmogony), has been transposed *to* the end of the section (2 4*a*) at the beginning of which it originally stood.

1 Cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, **§ 3.**

2 This name must not he taken *to* imply that JE **was** written by prophets, nor that it has in the proper sense **a** prophetic character; still less must 'prophetic' be understood *to* connote antagonism *to* the priesthood. 'Popular History' **would** perhaps be **a** better designation.

3 See Nöld. ***Untersuch.*** **1869**, pp. 1-144. For **a** comparison of the analyses of different critics see Bacon, *Hebraica* 4 216-243, **5 7-17**, or the tables appended to Holzinger's *Einl.* Typographical presentations of the sources will be found in the works of Kautzsch and Socin, Bacon, Fripp, Addis, Ball and Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, the titles of which are given in **§ 9.** For the history of the analysis see HEXATEUCH, § 1 *ff.*

4 They are found especially in **14 34 36 4G.**

5 On the procedure of R_P in Genesis, see Kue. ***Hex.*** 5 **16**, n. 12; **Co.** *Einl.*(3) (4) 75 *ff.*

6 The asterisk indicates contamination.

7 See below, **§ 8.**

8 For such a reconstruction see Bacon, ***Genesis***, 315 *ff.*; Fripp, 151 *ff.*, or Addis, **2** 193 *ff.*

9 By **a** rough estimate, P in Genesis is about one-third **as** long as J, and three-fifths as long **as** E. In Gen. **12-50** P is only one-fifth as long as J, though the latter has been much abridged by R_{JE}.

10 Here the title only remains in place.

11 Similar recapitulations in the following hooks; see EXODUS, § 2, n. 2.

12 See CHRONOLOGY, **§ 4.**

Abraham and Lot (*12 46 5* 13 6 11 6 12*a* 16 1*a* 3 15 *f.* 19 29); but the only things in the story of the patriarchs which are related in any detail are the covenant with Abraham (**17**; cp 35 9-12 48 3-6) and the purchase of the family sepulchre at Hebron (23). With the exception of these chapters, the patriarchal history in P is **a** meagre abstract,[1] and would hardly be intelligible except to readers familiar with the fuller narratives. In the primæval history the creation and the flood are narrated at some length; for all the rest we have only genealogies and a chronology. The author's predominating interest in the history of religious institutions is apparent throughout. The sabbath had its beginning and its perpetual type in the rest of God after the creation of the world; the prohibition of eating flesh with the blood in it is the new commandment given to Noah and his sons (*i.e.* to all mankind) after the flood; the covenant with Abraham has the seal of circumcision, practised, in somewhat different form, by Ishmaelites (and presumably Edomites) as well as Israelites. The contrasted accounts of the marriages of Esau and Jacob (26 34 *f.* 27 46 28 9) reflect the stress which strict Judaism put upon purity of race—unlike Edom, Israel shunned intermixture with the peoples of Canaan.

In contrast with the popular character of JE the treatment of the history in P makes the impression of a work of study and reflection. An antiquarian interest is often apparent. The unconscious anachronisms of the older writers, in whose pictures of the past their own present is always recognisable, are sedulously avoided; in their place we find a calculated archaism. The chief sources of P in the patriarchal history were obviously the same older narratives which, united with P, have been preserved to us—viz., J and E; nor is it demonstrable that in these chapters any other sources were employed.[2] In the primaeval history the dependence of P upon J is evident; but the problem is rendered difficult by the lack of homogeneity in J itself (see § 7). The marked differences between P and J in the story of the flood are most naturally explained by the hypothesis of recurrence to the Babylonian original, perhaps in a variant form. It has been conjectured, not without plausibility, that Gen. 1 is based upon a Yahwistic cosmogony which it supplanted; but the relation of this assumed original to the main stock of J is obscure. In any case our J was not P's sole source in Gen. 1-11.[3]

3. P contrasted with J and E.

From its very nature P's compend lacks the living interest of JE's fuller narrative. From a literary point of view also there is a vast distance between the freedom, ease, and poetic charm of the older writers and the stiff and constrained style of P, who always seems to be labouring not to be misunderstood.[4] Theologically, on the other hand, P stands on a higher plane than his predecessors. The unity of God is assumed without controversy; God is absolute and supramundane; creation is a transcendent act for which a specific term is necessary; history is in an eminent sense the work of God, the execution of a divine plan; revelation is without sensible mediation—theophanies, angels, dreams have disappeared; its successive stages, marked by the names of God—Elohim, El-Shaddai, Yahwè—correspond to three stages in the history of religion, the covenants with Noah, Abraham, and Israel. The religious institutions of Israel had their origin at Sinai; sacrifices were not offered in the patriarchal age. Anthropomorphisms are avoided, or reduced to those harmless figures without which men can hardly speak of a personal God at all; anthropopathisms are still more scrupulously shunned. The mythical elements in the primæval history are almost completely eliminated or neutralised. The chapters in the lives of the forefathers which gave offence to a more refined morality are passed over in silence. The colourlessness of P's narrative is in part due to this expurgation. Alike in the lofty theology, the historical pragmatism, and the moral depuration, the reflection of a later age is manifest.[1]

4. Sources: JE.

The removal of P leaves a continuous and almost complete history, extending, like that of P, from the creation of the world to the death of Joseph,[2] in which we recognise the second chief source used by the author of our Genesis (JE). This narrative has a distinctly popular character, resembling the older parts of the books of Judges and Samuel. The stories are such as we may suppose to have been gathered from living tradition, and they are told with the spirit and freedom of the best folk-tales. Compared with P, this source as a whole represents a less advanced stage of religions development. Certain differences in this respect which may be observed in particular stories, as well as some diversities of conception and expression, might be attributed to the diverse origin of the stories or to divergence in oral tradition. The numerous and striking doublets in the patriarchal history, however, and especially the way in which they are combined, prove that the material of JE was not drawn immediately from popular tradition, that the author had before him at least two older written histories of this period.[3] One of these histories (J) from the beginning uses the name Yahwè; the other (E), like P, throughout Genesis employs only *Elōhīm* or *hā-Elōhīm*—a peculiarity which for a time deceived the critics, and led them to attribute the elohistic stories of the patriarchs to P, with which they have otherwise no affinity.[4] In all other respects E is much more nearly akin to J; the resemblance in matter, form, and spirit is indeed so close that, where for any reason the criterion of the divine names fails us, it is often impossible to determine with confidence from which of the two sources, J or E, certain parts of the composite narrative are derived. The difficulty of the analysis is enhanced by the fact that the author of the older history (R_{JE}) united his parallel sources more intimately, and in general treated his material more freely than did the author of our Genesis (R_P).[5] In the analysis of JE there is therefore a wider margin of uncertainty, and much greater diversity of opinion among critics.

The narrative of E begins abruptly in Gen. 20, plunging into the midst of the story of Abraham;[6] the beginning has not been preserved.[7] In *20-22* E is the principal source (J in *21* 1*a* 2*a* *6*6 7—combined with *P—33 22* 20-24; R_{JE} **20** 18 *21 34 22* 14*b*-18). In 24 *f.* the removal of the parts assigned above to *P* (§ 2) leaves the narrative of J unmixed.[8] At the beginning of *26* (1-6) R_{JE} has enlarged upon the original text of J which may be recognised in 1*aa* 6 2*a* 3*a* *6* (*5* R_D); 15 18 are **also** by R_{JE}; the remainder is from J. In **27** 1-45 J is the main source: but the duplication at more than **one** point and certain peculiarities of expression show that the (closely parallel) narrative of E has also been laid under contribution; to the latter we may with some probability ascribe the verses which represent Jacob as deceiving his father by wearing kid skin on his neck and hands.[9]

1 See Wellhausen, *Prol.*(4) 331-336 = *Hist. Isr.* 327 *ff.* *('84)*.
2 Even for Gen. *23* it is perhaps unnecessary to assume **a** special source. Gen. **14** was not contained in P; see § 8.
3 On these points see **Holzinger,** *Einl.* § 45.
4 See HEXATEUCH, § 19, where these points are more fully discussed. On the **style of** P see Nöld. *Unters.* 108 *ff.*; Holzinger, *Einl.* 349 *ff.*; Dr. *Introd.*(6) 129 *ff.*

1 See We. *Prol.*(4), chap. 8 = *Hist. Isr.*, chap. 8 ['84]; Sta. *GVI* 2 144 *ff.*; Holzinger, *Einl.* 376 *ff.*; Dr. *Introd.*(6). 122 *ff.*
2 Exhibited in Addis, ***The Documents of the** Hexateuch*, 1 ('93).
3 This may be most clearly seen **in** Gen. 20-22. Cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2 *f.*
4 See HEXATEUCH §§ 2, 6 *ff.* 12.
5 Those critics who, like Di. suppose that E and J separately were united with P by R are led in their analysis to ascribe to J **a** great deal which belongs to R_{JE}, and thus **to** form an erroneous notion of the character of J.
6 E seems to have been used, however, by R„ in the first verses of **15**.
7 For **a** conjecture as to the reason, see Kue. ***Hex.*** § 8, n. 8. On the question whether E originally had a primaeval history parallel to Gen. 1-11 see below, § 7.
8 Some transposition has probably taken place **in** ***24-26.***
9 An exact analysis is impossible; by more or less probable conjecture we may assign to **E** 1*b* *46 11-13* **16** 18*b* 19 21-23 28*a* 29*aa* 30*aβ* *33 6 34* 39.

In 28 10-22, *vv.* 11 *f.* 17 *f.* 20-22 are from E (13-16 R). The greater part of 29 *f.* is from J; but with a considerable, though not always precisely definable, admixture of E—notice the interchange of Yahwè and Elōhim, the double etymologies of the names of several of Jacob's children (30 16 and 18, 20, 23 and 24), and the different accounts of Laban's contract with Jacob (30 25 *ff.*).[1] Chap. **31** is chiefly from E (J in 1 3 25-27 46 48-50*). To E belong also **31** 55-32 2 [32 1-3] 13*b*-21 [14*b*-22] 23 [24]; the rest of the chapter is from J (? R_{JE} 9-12 [10-13] 32 [33]). In 33 J is still the chief source (E in 56, perhaps 8-10* 18*b*-20). The groundwork of **34** is J (1-3* 7 11 *f.* 13* 19 25" 26 30 *f.*); the second element, ascribed by some critics to E_2, is more probably of later origin (see above, § 2). Chap. **35** 1-8 16-20 are chiefly E; 21 *f.** J (the rest of the chapter is from P). Chap. **36** 10-39, or at **least** 31-39 are ascribed by many to J (or J_2). In **37** J is found in 2* 3 *f.* 12-18 (in the main) 20*a* 21 236 25-27 28* 32 *f.* 35; the remainder is from E. In the rest of the story of Joseph the two sonrces are not so closely interwoven; the author's method was to make large extracts from one or the other, introducing here and there traits taken from the parallel narrative. Thus 38 **39** are almost wholly from J (traces of E in **39** 1-7); **40-42** are from E, with spotadic verses or clauses of J (40 16 **36** 5*b* **156**; **41** 41 **49***; **42** 2*a* 4*b*-6*a* 7 27 *f.* 38); 43 *f.* again are from J (E only in 43 **14** 236); **46-48** 5*a* are chiefly E (J in 45 1*a* 2* **46** 5* 13 *f.* 28 46 1*a*); 46 28-47 6 47 13-26 29-31 is from J; in 48 E is found in 1 8 6 9*a* 10*b*-12 15 *f.* 20-22; the rest (after P is removed) is J. Chap. 49 1-27, the so-called Blessing of Jacob **was** probably included in J. Chap. 50 1-11 **14** are chiefly, if hot wholly, from J; 15-26 from E. **For** a fuller exhibition of the grounds and resnlts of the analysis, and discussion of particular points, see the works whose titles are given in § 9.

5. Character of the sources: J and E in Gen. 12-50.[2]

The history of the patriarchs is related at considerable length in both J and E. The two narratives are in general closely parallel, representing slightly different versions of the same stories. These chapters therefore offer the most favourable opportunity for a comparison of the two sources. From a literary point of view J is the better narrator. His vocabulary is rich and varied; while the intractable Semitic sentence becomes in his hands wonderfully flexible and expressive. He tells his story directly, swiftly, with almost epic breadth, and with just that degree of circumstance which gives the note of reality. Nor is he simply content to bring before us with unequalled vividness the external action; he makes us enter into the inner drama, the feelings, and motives of the actors.[3]

The religious element in the stories is constant and pervasive. The forefathers are favourites of Yahwè, who guides them in all their migrations, and is with them everywhere to protect and bless them. He appears to them in person, and holds converse with them as a man with his friends; they answer him with pious reverence, but with the freedom of intimacy.' Yahwè is the living God of simple faith and childlike imagination; reflection has not yet begun to find his immediate intervention in the ordinary affairs of men inconsistent with his exalted Godhead. The morality of the patriarchs naturally reflects in the main the moral standards of the author's age; in this, as in religion, the forefathers are idealised by popular legend, and are not consciously created ideal figures. **A** didactic aim, a disposition to underscore the lesson of the story, nowhere appears. The 'fine vein of ethical and religious reflection' which has sometimes been attributed to J is the result in part of an erroneous analysis; in part it comes of ascribing to the author the very modern reflections of his interpreters. Of the influence of the prophetic movement of the eighth century there is no trace in those parts of J which on other grounds we have reason to regard as original; the work represents the soil in which the new prophecy had its roots, not the first fruits of that prophecy.

E is not quite the equal of J in the art of narrative or in mastery of the language; though the distance between them is not very great. The treatment is on the whole less poetical, the impression which his story makes less vivid. Compared with the parallels in J, the patriarchal legends in E show the beginnings of theological reflection. The consistent avoidance of the name Yahwè down to the moment of its revelation to Moses (Ex. 3 14) is evidence of this. The story of the offering of Isaac, teaching that God refuses human sacrifice, and accepts a ram instead of the firstborn, is also from E.[1] True theophanies, such as J describes, do not occur in E; if God appears to men, it is not in bodily reality, but in dreams; when he speaks to them, it is by a voice from heaven. The idealising of the patriarchs goes a step farther; Abraham, for example, is a prophet, whose intercession is effectual with God; a disposition to remove or mitigate offensive traits of the tradition is hardly to be ignored. There is also a touch of learning in E; he notes that the Syrian Laban spoke Aramaic (Jegar-sahadutha; but see GALEED, 1), and that the ancestors of Israel in their old home beyond the Euphrates were heathen;[2] especially in things Egyptian—topography, customs, nanies, etc., he brings out a good deal of knowledge. In this also E appears to be younger than J.

The great mass of material common to J and E, and the close resemblance, even in details, between the two versions of the patriarchal story, prove that they must have had a proximate common source, in which the traditions of the forefathers had been united, and to a certain degree fixed.

In this common stock, from which both J and E are drawn, a fusion of the traditions of Israel and Judah had already been effected; traditions of the central sanctuaries—Bethel, Shechem Gilgal—stand side by side with those of Hebron and the remote; south—Beersheba and Beer-lahai-roi—and of Mahanaim and Penuel E. of the Jordan.[3] There can he no doubt that this fusion took place in Israel, rather than in Judah;[4] observe that—in J as well as in E—Rachel is the beloved of Jacob, Leah the unloved wife who was foisted on him by deceit, that Joseph and Benjamin are his favourite sons; and that Joseph is the one character who is throughout above reproach. The variations which J and E present in the reproduction of this common tradition are in part attributable to the individuality of the authors, in part, as has been already intimated, to a somewhat different religious point of view; in part, however, they reflect the particular interests of Israel and Judah. When we find, for example, in the story of Joseph and his brethren that in E Reuben is the good brother who tries to save Joseph from them, and is afterwards their leader and spokesman, as it was his birthright to be, whilst in J this *rôle* is played by Judah, we can hardly fail to recognise in the latter a Judæan recension of a story which in its origin was certainly Ephraimite.

6. Age of J and E; method of R_{JE}.

Critics are agreed, without dissent,[5] that E was written in the northern kingdom. In regard to J there is not the same unanimity, some scholars attributing it also to an Ephraimite author,' whilst the majority believe it to be of Judæan origin. The reasons for the former opinion, however, prove no more than that the common stock of Israelite tradition from which both J and E are drawn was collected and systematised at the Ephraimite sanctuaries (§ 5, end). On the other hand, we have already noted in the story of Joseph (§ 5, end) one decisive indication that J gives us a Judæan version of the history. This is confirmed by other evidence. The legends of Abraham and especially of Isaac—the heroes of the southern saga—are given much more fully in J than in E; and, what is more significant, the original locality of the story is preserved, whilst in E Abraham is removed from Hebron to Beersheba, a sanctuary much frequented by pilgrims from the northern kingdom. In other points also the greater interest of J in the situation in the south of Palestine is

[1] In 29 E is generally recognised in 1 15-18; others include 15-23, or even 15-30 (except 26, and the verses given to P). In 30 the parts ascribed to E are 1-3a 6 8 17-20*a* 22*aβ* 236 26 28; in 30 31 *ff.* R_{JE} has made many additions or changes.

[2] See especially Holzinger, *Einl.*, §§ 13-17, 24.26; Kittel, *Hist.* 1, § 8.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Gen. 43 *f.*

[4] See, *e.g.*, Gen. 18.

[1] Not, however, from the oldest stratum.

[2] These passages, like 22, are believed by some critics to be secondary (E_2).

[3] The brother pairs, Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, *perhaps* belonged originally to the southern and the northern tradition respectively. The real relation of Jacob to Israel is not clear, see JACOB, § 6.

[4] We. *Prol.*(4) 323; Holz. *Einl.* 161.

[5] [See, however, Wi. *GI*, ii.]

[6] See Holz. *Einl.* §§ 20, 28, 61.

[7] Schr., Reuss; in a modified form also Kue.

manifest; note the genealogies of (Joktan) Keturah, Ishmael, Esau (all J; see GENEALOGIES i., § 4); the large space given to the relations of Jacob and Esau; local Judæan clan-legends such as Gen. 38; Kenite traditions in the primæval history, etc. (see CAIN).

There is no evidence of literary dependence on either side; what J and E have in common is drawn from the common stock of tradition. A comparison of the two such as we have made in § 5, especially in their religious standpoint, shows that J is the more primitive; E gives signs of more advanced historical and theological reflection. Since we have no reason to think that the development of the southern kingdom was much behind that of Israel, we may safely infer that J is the older of the two sources.[1] Both were written at a time when the national spirit was unbroken, and when the ancient holy places which are the scenes of so much of the patriarchal history were in all their glory. Nor did the authors who tell with so much interest of the founding of the cultus at these sanctuaries dream that the worship which was offered to Yahwè there in their own day was not acceptable to him. They wrote, therefore, before the fall of the northern kingdom (734, 721 B.C.); and since even E is untouched by the teaching or the spirit of Hosea,[2] we must take our lower limit at least a generation earlier, say about 750 B.C.

The rare historical allusions in Genesis do not enable us to determine the date of the two sources more exactly. Gen. 9 2 j presupposes the complete subjection of the Canaanites, the work of David and Solomon; 27 29 (J) refers to the conquest of Edom by David, and 40 to the re-establishment of its independence under Joram (died 842 B.C.; 2 K. 8 20 *ff.*); 31 44 *ff.* (J and E) derives its significance from the conflicts between Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus over the frontier in Gilead in the second half of the ninth century. The Egyptian names in the story of Joseph (E; ?E_2) in the judgment of competent Egyptologists point to the times of the twenty-sixth dynasty (7th cent. B.C.). To this century Gen. 22 also probably brings us.

The allusions in the prophets of the eighth century, especially in Amos and Hosea, to the patriarchal stories are not of such a nature as to make it certain whether they are derived from J or E, or from some other source. On the whole, so far as the evidence in Genesis goes, we should be inclined to assign to E a date near the middle of the eighth century, while J may be put a half-century or more earlier.

Additions have been made to both J and E by later hands. Thus, Gen. 12 10-20, though exhibiting affinity to J, is manifestly a younger variant of the story 26 6-11 (J), and is violently intruded in its present connection. A number of other passages are regarded by most critics as secondary accretions to the original narrative of J;[3] it is in some cases difficult to say whether they should be ascribed to R_{JE} or to previous editors of J. (On the strata of J in the primaeval history, see § 7 below.) The secondary elements in E are in Genesis of less importance; one strand of 34 is by some thought to have this origin.[4]

In uniting J and E, R_{JE} plainly desired to make the history as complete as possible, and took pains to omit no significant detail which he found in either narrative.[5] He adapted his method to the nature of the sources and their mutual relations; sometimes transcribing almost unchanged long passages from one or the other, sometimes so closely interweaving them as to baffle our analysis. In general he appears to reproduce the text of his authors faithfully, though not altogether so mechanically as R_P. His own additions are for the most part designed either to connect and harmonise the extracts from the sources or to emphasise the religious motives of the history. The language of these additions resembles that of J rather than of E; but in both thought and style there is a marked approximation to the Deuteronomic school. There is no doubt that the author was a Judæan, and that his history was composed in the seventh century. In Genesis there is nothing to indicate whether he wrote before or after the reforms of the year 621. Nor are there in this book more than sporadic traces of a Deuteronomistic redaction.

7. J in the Primæval History, Gen. 1-11.[1]

We have seen that E first appears in the story of Abraham (Gen. 20-22; perhaps in 15 1-5); if this source also included a history of the beginnings of mankind, no part of it has been preserved.[2] In the primaeval history the subtraction of P leaves a narrative which has the general characteristics of J. Closer examination shows, however, that this narrative is not consistent throughout. It was long ago observed that by the side of the Yahwistic version of the deluge-myth there are passages which know nothing of the great flood, and by all their implications exclude such a catastrophe. This is conspicuously the case with the account of the origin of civilisation among the posterity of Cain (4 17-24); further, in 9 20-27 11 1-9 (see CAINITES, § 2; DELUGE, § 14). Nor, if we remove the story of the flood and what else is obviously connected with it, does the remainder appear to be homogeneous; chap. 4 1-16, for example, is in striking conflict with 4 17-22 (see CAIN). The conviction has thus forced itself upon critics that J in Gen. 1-11 is not a unit; and much labour and ingenuity have been expended in efforts to solve the difficult problems which the chapters present.[3]

The simplest hypothesis is that the original primaeval history of J, which embraced 2 4*b*-3 4 1 2*a* 16*b*-24 6 1-4 9 20-27 11 1-9, was supplemented by another writer who introduced the Babylonian deluge-myth; a Sethite genealogy (now supplanted by P's) of which only 4 25 *f.* 5 29 remain (see SETHITES); and an ethnographical table in the form of a genealogy of which parts are preserved in chap. 10: chap. 4 2*a** 3-16*a*, though also secondary, is of different origin and was probably inserted by an earlier hand.[4] A methodical and acute attempt to explain the phenomena by the hypothesis of composition has been made by Budde,[5] who supposes that two distinct, though not independent, Yahwistic versions of the primaeval history were combined by a third hand. The older of these (J_1), the ancient Hebrew primæval history, comprised substantially the same parts of Gen. 1-11 that are ascribed by Kuenen to the original text of J. A later writer (J_2) enlarged this to a primaeval history of mankind by taking up the Babylonian mythical cycle transformed in the spirit of a lofty monotheism. This writer incorporated in his work as much of J as he was able to adapt to his other material and to his religious standpoint; producing thus, not an enlarged edition of J_1 hut a counterpart designed to supersede it. A subsequent editor (J_3) united J_1 and J_2, harmonising them as well as he was able. It was in this composite form that the Yahwistic narrative in Gen. 1-11 lay before the author of the Hexateuch (R_P) and was by him combined with the primreval history of P.[6]

8. Special sources; Gen. 14-49.

Two chapters in Genesis have been thought to be derived from special sources. (*a*) Gen. 14 narrates the campaign of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and his allies or vassals in Palestine, Abraham's pursuit of them, deliverance of Lot, recovery of the spoil of Sodom, and meeting with Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of El-'elyōn.

Opinions differ widely about the historical value of this chapter, some critics regarding it as a factitious legend, without any discoverable basis of fact, whilst others take it for a substantially trustworthy record of that remote age. This much controverted question is discussed in the article CHEDORLAOMER; here we must confine ourselves to the literary problem. It is now generally recognised that in its present form the story cannot be derived from any one of the chief sources of the

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1 This is of course not inconsistent with the fact that in many cases E has preserved a more primitive form of the tradition.

2 Later additions to E (E_2), which in Genesis are not many, are here disregarded.

3 Gen. 13 14-17 18 17-19 22*b*-33*a* 39 (Kue., Co.). Kuenen thinks that such passages belong to the Judæan recension of J; the original work (J_1) was Ephraimite.

4 Co. *ZATW* 11 1 *ff.* ('91).

5 On the work of R_{JE} see Kue. *Hex.* § 13, n. 29; Holz. *Einl.* § 61.

1 For the literature see § 9.

2 Among the Greeks Zoilus wrote a history from the theogony to the death of Philip (his own time), while Ephorus began his history with the migration of the Heracleidæ.

3 For a synopsis of various theories see Holzinger, *Einl.* § 19.

4 Thus Kue. *Hex.* § 13, n. 26; similarly We. *CH*(3) 7-14.

5 *Urgesch.* 455 *ff.*

6 Budde endeavours to define minutely the work of these successive redactors and to restore the primitive text of J_1. For a synopsis of his argument and results, see Holzinger. In accordance with his theory of the relation of the sources, Dillmann ascribes the flood stratum in Gen 1-11 to J; the passages which conflict with this part of the narrative were found by J in one of his sources (presumably E) and recast by him.

Pentateuch. Dillmann and Kittel (cp Ewald) endeavour to show that the late author (R or R_P) found the substance of the story in E, which in turn drew the facts from an older special source, presumably **a** Canaanite account of the Elamite invasion.[1] The point of view and interest of the story are, however, distinctly Israelite throughout ; there is no trace of a different representation ; the supposed foreign original can hardly have furnished more than the mere setting—Dillmann himself admits that it may only have narrated the successful participation of the Hebrews in the war against the Eastern Kings—and for this it is unnecessary to assume **a** special source. Nor is the hypothesis that E furnished the basis of the present text much better supported.

The impression which the contents and style of the chapter make as a whole is of affinity with P and the midrashic elements in Chronicles rather than with the older Israelite historians.

(*b*) Gen. 49 1-27 [2] is a poem, in which the dying patriarch Jacob delineates the character and forecasts the future **of** his twelve sons. Praises for some and prophecies of power and prosperity are mingled with severe censure of others and unfavourable predictions, so that Testament of Jacob would be a more suitable name for the poem than Blessing.[3] The predictions reflect historical events long subsequent to the supposed time of their utterance—the settlement of the tribes in Palestine, the decadence of Reuben, the breaking up of Simeon and Levi, the rise of Judah to preeminence. Nothing in the poem points to a date earlier than the establishment of the Davidic kingdom.

The blessing of Joseph is thought by many critics to contain allusions to the northern kingdom (26*b*), and to the Syrian wars of the ninth century **(23 *f.*)**, to which **a** reference is also found in 19 (Gad) ;[4] the interpretation of these verses is, however, controverted. Reminiscences of the Song of Deborah (Judg. ***5)*** are unmistakable in **13 *f.*** ; on the other hand the blessing of Moses (Dt. **33**) is plainly dependent upon Gen. **49.5**

Some scholars question whether the historical background is the same throughout ; the chapter seems to them rather a collection of sayings of diverse-origin and age, from the period of the Judges to that of the Syrian wars, to which only a unity of redaction belongs.[6] The poem as a whole makes, however, the impression of a work of one conception, though it is not free from glosses and perhaps longer interpolations.'

The pre-eminence given to Judah leaves no doubt that the author was of that tribe ; the historical allusions which can be most certainly traced (in 4 to Gen. ***3522*** in 5-7 to Gen. **34)** are to the Judæan Tradition (J). It is, therefore, generally, and with all probability, inferred that the Testament of Jacob was incorporated in J.

9. Literature. 1. *Commentaries.*—v. Bohlen, '35 ; Fr. Tuch, '38 ; (2) (by Arnold and Merx), '71 ; Fr. Delitzsch, (1), '52, (5) (*Neuer Commentar üb. d. Gen.*), '87, ET 2 vols., '88, '89 ; M. Kalisch, London, '58 ; A. Knobel, '52 ; (6), A. Dillmann, '92 ; J. P. Lange, '64 ; (2), '77, ET. For the older commentaries see Dillmann, *Genesis*(6), xx ; E. Reuss, *La Bible*, Pt. 8, '79 ; *Das AT* 3, '93 ; E. H. Browne, '71 (Speak. Comm.) ; R. Payne Smith, '82 (Ellicott's Comm.) ; Strack, in *KGK*, '92-'93.

2. *Critical.*—(For the history of criticism see HEXATEUCH, § 1 *ff.*). Hupfeld, *Die Quellen der Gen.*, '53 ; E. Böhmer, *Das erste Buch der Thora*, '62 ; Th. Nöld. *Untersuch.*, '69 ; Kau. u. Socin, *Die Gen. mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellen*, '88 ; (2), '91 ; B. W. Bacon, 'Pentateuchal Analysis,' *Hebraica*, 4 216-243 5 7-17 ; *The Genesis of Gen.*, '92 (with an introduction on the method of criticism) ; W. E. Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, 2 vols., '93, '98 ; E. J. Fripp, *The Composition of the Book of Gen.*, '92 ; A. Westphal, *Les Sources du Pentateuque*, 2 vols., '88, '91 ; Piepenbring, 'Le livre de la Genèse,' *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, 21 1-62 ('90) ; C. J. Ball, *Genesis*, '96 (*SBOT*; the analysis indicated by colours) ; J. Halévy, *Recherches Bibliques*, 1 (Gen. 1-25), '95, against recent criticism; *The Hexateuch*, edited by J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, 1900. The most exhaustive recent discussion of the analysis of Genesis is that carried on in *Hebraica* by Professor **W.** R. Harper **(5** 18-73 243-291 **G 1-48)** and Professor **W.** H. Green (*ib.* **5** 137-189 **6** 109-138 161-211 7 1-38) ; see also W. **H.** Green, ***The Unity*** *of Genesis*, '95. **G. F. M.**

1 See CHEDORLAOMER and related articles.

2 *See* Diestel, ***Der Segen Jacobs***, **'53**; J. P. N. Land, *Disputatio* ***de carmine*** *Jacobi*, '58; C. Kohler, ***Der Segen Jacob, mit Berücksichtigung*** **des** ***Midrasch***, **'67**; Doorninck, ***De Zegen van Jakob***, **'83; C.** J. Ball, *PSBA* 17 164-191 ('95)', Zimmern, 'Der Jakobssegen und der Tierkreis,' ***ZA*** **7** 161 *ff.* ('92); Cheyne, 'The Blessings on Asher, Naphtali, and Joseph,' *PSBA*, June '99. Older literature in **Di.** *Gen.*(6) **456.**

3 In this respect it differs from the Blessing of **Moses, Dt. 33.**

4 We.. Kue., St.

5 See DEUTERONOMY, § 25 *f.*

6 Renan, Land, Kuenen.

7 Verse 10 is particularly suspected ; and 26*b* may he. Fripp (*ZATW* 11 262 *ff.* ['91]) regards 24*b*-26 **as a** later addition.

GENNÆUS (ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΥ [V]), 2 Macc. **122** RV, AV GENNEUS (*q.v.*).

GENNESAR ([τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ] γεννησαρ [A], 1 Macc. **11** 67) and **Gennesaret** (γεννησαρετ ; but D, It. (Vg.), Pesh., Syr. Cur. and Lewis, γεννησαρ), a name of the Sea of Galilee, derived from a district, also called Gennesaret, on the W. side of the sea, towards its N. end : Mt. **14** 34 and Mk. **653**, 'they came **to** the land, unto Gennesaret' (ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς γ. [WH]); Lk. **51,** 'he was standing by the lake of Gennesaret' (παρὰ τὴν λίμνην γ.). The best form is Gennesar, the גניסר (גינוסר) of the Talmud and the Targums, the γενησαρ of Josephus (γ. λίμνη or ἡ γεννησαρῖτις). Talmud and Targums identify Gennesaret with the Chinnereth of the OT—*i.e.*, the name belongs primarily to a city supposed by the Jews to have lain on the W. shore of the Sea of Galilee.

Thus, 'Chinnereth,' said R. Johanan (*Meg.* 6*a*), 'is Gennesarat. Why? Because its fruits are as sweet as the artichoke (כְּבִינָרָא).' According to R. Berachya, however (*Ber. rab.* 98), Gennesar was so called because it had princely gardens (גִּנֵּי שָׂרִים).[1] Though Dillmann accepts the old Jewish identification, it is difficult to see the critical grounds for this. The very old name Chinnereth cannot be corrupted[2] from the recent name Gennesar, nor can Gennesar have arisen out of Chinnereth. It is probable, however, that Chinnereth was on the Sea of Galilee, and not impossible that Chorazin is **a** popular distortion of the old name Chinnereth (transposition of letters, and e for *th*). Chinnereth (misvocalized?) may be connected with Ass. *karānu*, (1) 'vine,' (2) 'wine' ;[3] Gennesar is most probably from גַּן, 'garden' or 'plantation,' and נסר 'Galilee'[4] (or **a** district of Galilee), **a** collateral form of which name (נצר or נצרת) is implied in the use of Nazoræan (ναζωραῖος) for Galilean in Mt. **2** 23, and in the phrase the [Ne]ṣarite Bethlehem,' (בית לחם [נ]צרייה) in contradistinction to 'Bethlehem of Judah' ***(see*** NAZARETH, and cp JOSEPH iii., § 8 *f.*).

The classical passage on the *land* of Gennesaret is Jos. *BJ* iii. 10 8.[5] The length of the district is estimated at 30 stadia, its breadth at ***20***. 'It is marvellous in beauty. The hardy walnut-tree grows there, but none the less the palm, which flourishes in hot climes, and close to it fig and olive trees. An ambition of nature, one might call it. Of the most princely fruits—grapes and figs—it gives an unbroken supply for ten months together, as well as other kinds. In addition to this excellent temperature, it is watered by a most fertilizing spring called καφαρναουμ (Capernaum).' The Talmud is equally enthusiastic (see Neub. *Géogr.* **45).**

It is no doubt the plain of el-Ghuwēr (the little Ghōr), which stretches, 'in the form of an irregular parallelogram, verging almost to a crescent,'[6] from the cliffs at 'Ain et-Tin ('fountain of the fig tree') to the hill behind Mejdel, on the **S.,** a space measuring **3** m. by 1¼ m. It is shut in by rugged hills, except on the N. and NW., where there is a steep descent from the hill-country of Naphtali, and from the plains of Lower Galilee, respectively. Its soil is a rich, basaltic loam, but cultivated only in patches. The rest is covered with thickets of nebḳ trees, oleanders, dwarf palms, **and** gigantic thistles and brambles. The melons and cucumbers grown on the plain are the best and earliest in Palestine. This is of course due to the great depression of the plain.

The principal spring is the 'Ain el-Mudauwera ('round

1 Similarly M. Schultze (*Gramm.* ***der aram. Mutterspr. Jesu***, **45,** 'gardens of **a** princess ').

2 Cp Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, ET, **2** 363 ; Porter in Kitto's ***Cyclopædia.***

3 Cp Jos. *BJ* iii. 108, quoted in next paragraph.

4 Buhl (*Geogr.* 113), after We. *IJG*(1), 220, n. 3 (who, however, following Jerome, makes גֵּיא 'valley' the first part of the name).

5 Cp GASm. *HG* **446.**

6 Rob. ***BX*** **3** 277.

fountain '), which is 25 minutes NW. of el-Mejdel. The basin, enclosed by a round wall, and alive with small fish, is concealed by thickets ; but the water wells out in a full stream. The spring which excites the enthusiasm of Josephus is no doubt the 'Ain eṭ-Ṭābiġa.

The Greek name mentioned in the texts of the Pilgrims was Heptapēgon ; there are in fact seven springs, mostly hot, which to-day supply motive power to a mill. An aqueduct hewn in the rock brought the water southward to the plain. This is one reason why Tell Ḥūm can hardly be the ancient Capernaum. Josephus (see above) is positive as to the name, and there was certainly no provision for guiding the water towards Tell Ḥūm.[1] 'Ain et-Tin, near which is Khān Minyeh (the most probable site for CAPERNAUM), is distinguished for the sweetness of its water, which bursts forth impetuously and hurries to the lake. Close at hand are other springs; hence, in Burckhardt's time, the pastures of Minyeh were proverbial for their richness. The largest volume of water, however is that supplied by the Wādy er-Rabadīyeh, which is scattered 'over the plain in all directions by small canals and watercourses (Rob. *BR* 3 285). On the sites of biblical localities, and on the gospel references, see GALILEE, SEA OF. T. K. C.

GENNEUS RV Gennæus (ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΥ [V] -ΝΕΟΥ [A]; in Syr. בר גני), apparently the father of APOLLONIUS, 5 (2 Macc. 12 2), who is thus distinguished from the other two men of that name mentioned in 2 Macc. 3 5 4 21.

GENTILES. The Hebrew term *Gōyīm* (גּוֹיִם)—*i.e.*, 'nations'—is specially used for the aggregate of non-Israelite nations (Neh. 5 8), as opposed to and contrasted with Israel, socially, racially, politically (Ps. 2 1), and religiously (Ps. 135 15). As connoting this contrast,

1. Terms.

gōyīm is translated in AV often, and in RV less frequently (see Preface), 'Gentiles' or 'heathen' (in 𝔊 commonly ἔθνη, in Vg. *gentes*), whilst עַם, 'am (used of Israel—*e.g.*, Ex. 15 13 Is. 42 6 Di.), is rendered 'people' λαός, *populus*. In Rom. 2 9 *f.*, AV inconsistently renders ἕλλην 'Gentile,' thus effacing the later antithesis between Jew and Greek (see HELLENISM, § 2).

In the Apocrypha and NT the same distinction is preserved side by side with the new one just referred to. In Lk. 2 32 ἔθνη and λαός σου ισραηλ are contrasted.

From another point of view the contrast between Israelites and non-Israelites is expressed by the term רְשָׁעִים, *rěšā'īm*, 'wicked' = גּוֹיִם, *gōyīm* 'nations' (*e.g.*, Ps. 9 5 [6]). Other general terms used synonymously with *gōyīm* are : עַמִּים *'ammīm*, Lev. 20 24 26 Ps. 33 10, and often ; אֻמִּים *'ummīm*, Ps. 117 1 ; לְאֻמִּים, *le'ummīm*, Ps. 2 1. All these terms = *peoples*. Also אדם, *'āthām*, 'man,' Jer. 32 20 Zech. 9 1, and בְּנֵי־אדם, *b'ne'ādhām*, 'sons of men,' Ps. 53 2 [3] (Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 380); אֱנוֹשׁ, *'ěnōš*, 'man,' Ps. 56 1 [2] (We., in Smend, 380). Similarly, in NT, κόσμος is used of the world, excluding and opposed to the Church.

The individual foreigner is נָכְרִי, *nokhrī*, EV 'stranger,' 'foreigner'; בְּנֵי־נֵכָר, *b'ne nēkhār*, RV 'strangers'; זָר, *zār*, EV 'stranger'; or, if he becomes a resident alien, גֵּר, *gēr*, EV 'stranger,' 'sojourner'; תּוֹשָׁב, *tōšābh*, EV 'stranger,' 'sojourner.' In the later books of OT (2 Ch. 30 25 ; Bertholet, *Stellung d. Isr.* 178) and in later Heb., גֵּר, *gēr*, 'Proselyte.' Cp STRANGER, PROSELYTE.

During its nomad life, Israel was scarcely a well-defined whole, clearly marked off from all non-Israelite

2. Israel before the Conquest of Canaan.

peoples; its constituent elements were still somewhat variable. Some of the tribes or clans which afterwards constituted Israel may have been, at times, connected with non-Israelites as closely as with Israel, if not more closely. Israel, at this stage, figures as a loosely connected group of tribes or clans, similar in character to the other groups which made up the wandering population of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Genesis (J, followed later by P) suggests that the first stage of the religious differentiation of Israel is the consciousness on the part of these Arab and Syrian nomads of a religious and ethical status distinct from that of the more civilised Chaldæans. In response to a divine call Abraham and Lot migrate westward.

In our present text only P narrates the migration of Terah and therefore of Nahor the ancestor of Laban, hut that of Nahor seems implied in J, Gen. 24; cp E, 31 53 'the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor.' This group,-Abraham, Lot, Nahor, stands for Israel, the Ishmaelite, Keturaite and other Arabs (Gen. 22 20-24), Ammon, Moab and Edom, dnd Aram. So, in Gen. 9 26 Yahwb is the God of Shem. Also Lot—*i.e.*, Moab and Ammon—is the subject of Yahwb's special care ; Ishmael and Edom are blessed of Yahwi:, and Laban speaks of Jacob as 'Blessed of Yahwi:,' Gen. 24 31.

As these ideas of tribal kinship are not likely to have arisen after the settlement in Palestine, we may probably regard them as handed down by tradition from the nomad period. Thus apparently the Israelite tribes in their nomad state regarded themselves as part of a complex of tribes of a similar religious status, in a measure superior to or, at any rate, distinct from that of other peoples. At the same time each tribe and group of tribes would have its own sacra, whose sanctity, however, could not differ in kind from those of other tribes. Thus, on the one hand, the idea of the *gōyīm* or non-Israelite peoples as contrasted in religious status with Israel was for the present impossible—(a) because Israel was not yet a nation clearly marked off from kindred clans, (*b*) because Israel was unconscious of any difference in kind between its own and other religions. On the other hand, the elements of the distinction between Israel and the *gōyīm* were present—(a) in the special relation of Israel and its kindred tribes to YahwB, and (*b*) in the possession by each tribe or group of tribes of its own special sacra.

The settlement in Canaan and the stirring incidents that preceded it, united Israel by a common history, cut

3. Israel in Canaan in the pre-prophetic period.

off the nation from the nomad tribes, and fixed and defined not only its national scope, constitution, and life, but also its special relation to YahwB. The necessary wars of the early period, and especially the strong united monarchy of Saul, David, and Solomon contributed to strengthen the new-born self-consciousness of Israel. The settlement in Canaan, however, as has been shown elsewhere, also brought into play an exactly opposite tendency (see ISRAEL, § 8 *f.*, GOVERNMENT, § 11 *ff.*).

In the early periods of the settlement in Canaan, Israel had no sense of any marked contrast, religious or otherwise, between itself and the Canaanites, so that down to the appearance of Elijah it shows little trace of any religious particularism. It is true, it made special claims for its national God, but only in the same sense as the neighbouring peoples. It does not seem to have risen to the consciousness that Yahwb was absolutely unique, and had universal and exclusive claims to obedience. Other gods also are thought of as real, with .legitimate claims over their own peoples. An exile from the land of Yahwi: must serve other gods (1 S. 26 19). Probably Am. 7 17 Hos. 9 3 *ff.* represent traditional ideas in speaking of foreign lands as unclean—*i.e.*, not admitting of the worship of Yahwb. Chemosh is able to bestow an inheritance on the Ammonites (Judg. 11 24 ; Smend, 111 *f.*).

The attitude of Israel towards foreigners is largely conditioned by the chronic hostility common to half-civilised nations in primitive times. War is sacred, and YahwB the national champion ; hence the enemies of Israel are also the enemies of YahwB, and their destruction (see BAN, § 2 *f.*) is a religious act well-pleasing to him. On the other hand, hospitality to strangers is a sacred duty, and the resident alien (גֵּר) is carefully protected and provided for. Moreover, Israel had friends and allies as well as enemies. The patriarchal narratives of JE were doubtless current during this period. The close kinship claimed with Moab, Edom, Ammon, Aram, and the Arabs suggests friendship and even a certain community of religious feeling between Israel and many of its neighbours (see above) ; compare the alliances with Tyre and Hamath. Moreover, according to J, the human race is of one divinely-created stock descended through Noah from Adam. Neither the character of Israel itself nor its relations to its neighbours suggest that the term foreigner connoted any religious ideas peculiar to Israel. On the other hand, the population of the Hebrew state was very heterogeneous. In addition to the surviving Canaanites, according to Ex. 12 38 Nu. 11 4 (JE), Israel included foreign elements before the settlement ; and the many refer-

[1] Cp H. von Soden, *Reisebriefe*, 5 160 ('98).

ences to resident aliens (גֵּרִים) suggest that there were in Israel considerable numbers of other foreigners.[1] As has been well pointed out, the religious status of foreigners in Israel did not differ essentially from their status elsewhere. The relations of Israel to resident aliens are political and social rather than spiritual.[2] This does not of course apply to the permanent non-Israelite population, Canaanites, etc. As we have seen, the interaction of religious influences between the latter and Israel is a most important feature in the development of the Hebrew attitude towards non-Israelites and their religion. During this period the tendency was towards assimilation and syncretism.

In tracing the development of the doctrine of the *gōyīm*, it is convenient to treat the prophets and Judaism as two consecutive stages ; but no hard and fast chronological line can be drawn between them : they overlap for a considerable period. It is not merely that there were germs of Judaism in the prophets, and that the writings, and, in some measure, the ideas and spirit of the prophets survived even to the Christian era; the great movement which began with Amos and Hosea continued at least till 2 Isaiah ; whilst Judaism begins formally in Deuteronomy, and Ezekiel belongs far more to the Judaistic than to the prophetic stage of Jewish theology.

4. The Prophets.

i. *Particularism.* —Jewish particularism had its root in the reaction against the syncretistic tendencies of the previous period. Elijah, Elisha. and their successors felt that Baal-worship, or any confusion of Yahwè with Baal or Moloch, or any assimilation of his worship to theirs, corrupted the national life and dissolved that close union of Yahwè with Israel which was essential to the very existence of the nation. The struggle was continued, in varying forms, till the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. In a measure the prophets started from the conception of national gods to whom the nation should be loyal (Jer. 2 11)—*e.g.*, Israel to Yahwè ; but their application of the principle was novel. National gods expected a profusion of sacrifices from their peoples ; but if they were duly honoured they did not grudge any tribute offered by their worshippers to other gods. The prophets and JE, however, claimed for Yahwè Israel's exclusive homage (Ex. 20 3).

This protest against Yahwè being confounded or associated with 'other gods' involved an assertion of his unique character and authority. When the prophetic revelation declared the absolute morality of Yahwè, it implied alike his uniqueness (Kayser-Marti, *OT Theol.* 142) and his supremacy. 'Other gods,' who neither professed morality themselves nor exacted it from their worshippers, were obviously inferior and abominable (תּוֹעֵבוֹת ; Dt. 7 25 *f.* 27 15 Is. 44 19). Yahwè's supremacy over the nations is implied in the prophetic oracles concerning foreign nations, in his use of Assyria and Chaldæa as instruments to chastise Israel, and this uniqueness and supremacy are most fully stated in 2 Isaiah ; cp also the use of the general term Elōhīm for the God of Israel in E. While stress is chiefly laid on the incomparable superiority of Yahwè the necessary deductions as to 'other gods' are drawn with increasing clearness. A certain reality is still ascribed to them, and their worship by other nations seems regarded as legitimate ; Dt. 4 19 has been interpreted to mean that Yahwè assigned the host of heaven as objects of worship to all the nations under the whole heaven (cp Jer. 2 11), and, according to Smend (182, 206), Jer. 2 8 23 13 Is. 30 22 31 7 recognise a certain reality in heathen gods. Still, they are אֱלִילִים, 'no-gods' (Is. 2 8 etc. Hab. 2 18 Ezek. 30 13), לֹא אֱלֹהִים, 'not gods' (Jer. 2 11) ; in Dt. 7 26 their images are banned (חֵרֶם) ; so in 1 K. 18 Yahwè is shown to be 'the God' (הָאֱלֹהִים) by the discomfiture of Baal (cp 2 K. 5 15 19 15-18 Is. 41 23 *f.*). In Is. 44 9-20 and the dependent passage, Jer. 10 1-9 (post-exilic addition), the foreign gods are identified with their idols and overwhelmed with contempt as stocks and stones. In Ezek. 30 13 the 'no-gods' are to perish; cp the Aramaic gloss, Jer. 10 11.

This exaltation of Yahwè, in all its varying aspects, established a religious contrast between Israel and other nations. (*a*) Baal-worship and the corruptions of the high places had arisen from intercourse with foreigners, hence the religious polemic tended to social separatism. (*b*) The inferiority of foreign gods implied the religious inferiority of foreigners. (*c*) The foreign invaders did not recognise that they were instruments of Yahwè ; they went beyond their commission in oppressing Israel, and did not acknowledge Yahwè's supremacy. Hence they excited the righteous indignation of their victims ; they set themselves in opposition to Yahwè, and *gōyīm* came to represent a world at enmity with him, and therefore doomed to destruction (Jer. 10 25 ; Schultz, *OT Theol.* 2 373 8, ET). (*d*) The exaltation of Yahwè, the God of Israel (Dt. *passim*), implied the exaltation of Israel. Israel is the wife of Yahwè (Hos. 2 3 Jer. 2 2 Ezek. 16 Is. 54 5 *f.*), united with him by a special covenant (Hos. 2 18 [20] Jer. 11 10, etc.). Judah (and especially Jerusalem) is exalted as the special dwelling of Yahwè : Am. 1 2 Mic. 4 1-3 = Is. 2 2-4 (the authorship and date of these passages is matter of controversy).

The growing tendency to particularism is clear in the literature. The prophets consistently denounce foreign alliances.

E, in the relations of Abraham 'the Prophet' to Abimelech, Gen. 20 21 22-31, foreshadows the spiritual pre-eminence of Israel (Bertholet, 84). According to Smend (197) the conception of the anti-religious character of the Gentiles is first found in Hos. 8 10 9 1. Dt. 7 1-6 displays fierce hostility to the Canaanites of Western Palestine, probably as types of foreign races. All intermarriage with them is forbidden. In Dt. 23 3 [4] the Ammonites and Moabites are excluded from the congregation of Israel to the tenth generation. So in Hab. 1 4 13 Israel is righteous (צַדִּיק) and the Chaldæans wicked (רָשָׁע). Lam. 1 10 says of the *gōyīm* who sacked Jerusalem 'whom thou didst forbid to enter thy congregation.

ii. *Universalism.* — Nevertheless, the prophetic exaltation of Yahwè tended not only to particularism but also to universalism. It was, indeed, natural that the supremacy of Yahwè over the nations should be thought of as manifesting itself in their chastisement ; thus many of the oracles of the nations seem to contemplate their utter ruin, especially Jer. 25 15-33 46 28. Naturally, too, in Is. 60, etc., Israel shares Yahwè's political supremacy. Still, as time went on, it was obvious that although many calamities befell the *gōyīm*, and great empires like Assyria disappeared, yet the *gōyīm* as a whole remained. The fact that their extinction was not, at any rate, the immediate purpose of Yahwè is recognised and explained in two ways : (*a*) Some passages speak of the restoration or renewed prosperity of at least a remnant of certain nations—*e.g.*, Jer. 46 26[1] (Egypt) 48 47[1] (Moab) 49 6[1] (Ammon) 49 39[1] (Elam) Ezek. 29 13 *ff.*[1] (Egypt). (*b*) Other passages contemplate a double judgment of the *gōyīm*, one in the immediate future from which they may recover, and another later, which will involve their complete and final overthrow. In Ezek. 38 *f.*, after the overthrow of Chaldæa, which was to be the prelude to the restoration of the Jews, Gog and Magog are induced to attack Judah that they may be totally destroyed (cp Is. 24 22 66 18 *f.* Zeph. 3 8 *ff.* ; Smend, 381 *f.*). Again, however much Israel might be interested in its own political supremacy, politics were closely connected with religion. Thus Yahwè's supremacy implied religious claims upon the *gōyīm*, his supremacy was not complete unless they acknowledged and obeyed him; but he was the God of Israel, and such obedience implied the religious supremacy of Israel.

So in Is. 2 2-4[2] = Mic. 4 1-3 all nations are to come to Zion to learn the true religion ; in Is. 19 18-25[2] Egypt and Assyria are to be united with Israel as Yahwè's people; in Is. 23 17 *f.*[2] the merchandise of Tyre is to be consecrated to Yahwè (interpretation doubtful); in Jer. 12 14 *ff.* the neighbours of Israel are to be restored if they will learn the ways of Yahwè (cp 3 17 *f.*[2] 16 19 *ff.*). These ideas of the comprehension of *gōyīm* amongst the worshippers of Yahwè, and of the mission of Israel to reveal him, reach their climax in the passages in which 2 Isaiah sets forth the servant of Yahwè—*i.e.*, Israel—as 'a light to the Gen-

[1] The *gērīm*, however, are sometimes Israelites, living in a strange clan or tribe. Cp JEREMIAH ii.

[2] Bertholet, 76, slightly paraphrased.

[1] According to Kau., Co., Jer. 46 26 49 6.39 are by Jeremiah, but 48 47 is a gloss (not in 𝔊). All these passages are somewhat doubtful. Cp Jeremiah ii.

[2] Date and authorship doubtful.

tiles' and 'my salvation unto the ends of the earth' (49 6; cp 51 4). So in 42 5 Yahwb's care is for all mankind, in 45 22 Yahwè appeals to all the ends of the earth to turn to him, in 44 5 45 14 *ff.* 55 4 *f.* the restoration of Israel leads the *gōyīm* to recognise Yahwè as the one God; cp 1 K. 8 41-43.

Similarly, Dt. shows a kindly feeling towards some of the kindred nations ; in 2 1-13 it was Yahwb who gave Esau and Moah their inheritance, and the children of Esau are the brethren of Israel ; in 23 7 [8] Edomites and Egyptians are commended to the kindly consideration of Israel. Yahwè is not wholly taken up with Israel, he cares in like manner for Philistines and Syrians (Am. 9 7). Nebuchadrezzar is his servant (Jer. 25 9) and Cyrus his anointed (Is. 45 1).

Moreover Dt. extends to the resident alien a share in the religious duties and privileges of the Israelite (16 10-17 ; participation in feasts). The provision of sabbath rest for the *gēr* in Ex. 20 10 23 12 is often regarded as due to R_D (Bertholet, 102).

Whenever OT consciously deals with the doctrine of man it recognises a religious relation of man as man with Yahwk; hence the *gōyīm* are the objects of the justice of Yahwh and may perish under his chastisements, but they may also honour and obey him and receive his favours.

We have seen that the prophetic revelation, in exalting YahwB above other gods, initiated two apparently contrary tendencies towards (i.) Jewish particularism, (ii.) universalism in religion; with a tendency to identify the *gērīm* more closely with Israel. We have now to trace the further development of these tendencies.

5. Judaism.

It should he noted, however, first of all, that the prophetic exaltation of Yahwè by no means developed, as we might have expected it to do, into an abstract monotheism. It is not upon the imaginary character of other gods that Judaism dwells, but upon their subordination to the only God worthy of the name (Ps. 18 31 [32]). The constant reference to the sacred objects of heathenism as 'abominations,' 'filth, etc., suggests of itself that a kind of reality, a kind of sanctity (קֹדֶשׁ) attaches to them (Smend, 206, n. 1); they continue to belong to the class of superhuman beings, either as angels or as demons. This, however, does but intensify the earnestness of Jewish opposition to heathenism. Hence the old question as to the position of the *gērīm* came to be viewed in a new light. If the Jews were to be absolutely separate from the *gōyīm*, they had to decide whether to exclude the *gērīm* altogether or to include them in Israel. They adopted the latter course. The *gērīm*, who had shared the captivity, shared also the antagonism of the Jews to the Chaldæans ; the differences between Jews and *gērīm* were forgotten in the infinitely greater differences between both and their oppressors (Bertholet, 110). Thus, for Ezek. 47 22 and P (Ex. 12 49, etc.), the religious status of the *gērīm* is practically identical with that of the Jews. Two important non-Israelite bodies were at last formally incorporated into the Jewish community by being genealogically connected with Israelite tribes, the Kenites with Judah, 1 Ch. 2 55 4 13, the temple-servants with the Levites, 1 Ch. 6 31-48 [16-23] 9 14-34. See KENITE, NETHINIM.

i. *Jewish particularism.*—The shame and misery of the exile and of much of the post-exilic period fostered and deepened Jewish hatred of foreigners. Their consciousness of spiritual pre-eminence prompted them to claim political distinction. Yahwk gives Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba as a ransom for Israel (Is. 43 3). They were constantly exasperated by the contrast between their claims and their achievements. The old prophetic condemnation of Israel as corrupt, and the consequent sentence of ruin, lay in the background. The psalter —which, at any rate in its present form, mainly expresses the sentiments of post-exilic Judaism —dwells with much iteration on the contrast between Israel, sinful indeed, but yet the righteous people of YahwB, and the *gōyīm*, who are wicked (רשׁעים) and Gods enemies (Ps. 8 2 [3] 68 2 74 4-23 83 3 [4] 89 51 [52]). Israel still looked for deliverance through the ruin of the *gōyīm* (Hag. 2 21 *f.* Zech. 1 18-21 [2 1-4] 14 Dan. 12 1 Ps. 2 ; cp ARMAGEDDON, Rev. 16 12-16 19 11-21). The intensity of Jewish feeling towards foreigners is specially shown by Pss. 7 35 69 109 and the Book of Esther. Moreover, the legislation from Dt., through Ezek., the Law of Holiness, and the various Priestly Laws, to the Mishna and the Talmud, all tended to make the Jews a race apart. Not only were foreigners excluded from the temple and intermarriage with them strictly forbidden, but the manifold regulations as to ceremonial cleanness produced mutual dislike and contempt between Jew and Gentile. They prevented any mitigation of race antipathy by social intercourse ; and made every distinction between Jew and Gentile a mark of religious superiority, a token that Israel is *ḳādōš* (EV 'holy' ; see CLEAN, § 1), as becomes the people of YahwB.

Even the two rites of the eucharist and baptism have been most fruitful sources of bitterness and schism in Christendom. The countless rites of Judaism worked similar results still more effectually. Theological contrasts intensified the mutual alienation. Prophets might see mankind at the feet of the God of Israel ; but there were no signs of any realisation of such visions. Meanwhile these same prophets had put an end to the old indifference to and tolerance of the worship of other gods by foreigners. The fierce and scornful denunciation of these gods obviously involved the condemnation of their worshippers (Is. 41 24 44 9 47 9 52 1 11 ; Smend, 371). As far as foreigners understood the Jewish faith, this assumption of superiority would be intensely irritating, scorn would beget scorn, and mutual alienation and hostility would rapidly increase.

Thus the Exile would naturally incline loyal and zealous Jews to particularism ; and exiles who returned with Ezra and Nehemiah or at an earlier period would be specially loyal and zealous. Palestine, as they found it on their return, was wholly at variance with all their religious ideals. Indeed the very existence of revealed religion was in jeopardy. The population left behind in Palestine after Samaria and Jerusalem had fallen was probably as heterogeneous in race as that of the old Hebrew states. Samaria, moreover, had been partially repeopled by foreigners who, in a fashion, worshipped Yahwh and became amalgamated with the remnant of the Israelites, thus introducing a new link between Israel and the *gōyīm.* During the Exile relations were established between these Samaritans, the remnant of the Jews, and the neighbouring tribes. Thus the Jews in post-exilic Palestine tended to become a mixed community, with an eclectic faith, in which Yahwh, though the highest in rank, would have. been indistinguishable in character from the foreign gods. The Jews, indeed, would have been a mere section of a loose aggregate of peoples in Palestine (Ezra 4 1 *f.*). In spite of Ezra 4 3, 'We have nothing in common, that ye should join us in building a temple for our God,"[1] in which Zerubbabel repudiates all connection with the Samaritans, it is clear that both among the nobles and among the people Ezra found many Jews who lived in the closest intercourse with their Samaritan and Gentile neighbours. The connection had been cemented by frequent intermarriage. Ezra and Nehemiah specially attacked this latter practice, and after a long and desperate struggle succeeded in dissolving many, if not all, of these alliances, and in rendering such marriages illegal in the future (Ezra 9 *f.* Neh. 10 30 13, see EZRA i. § 5 *f.*). Thus they prevented the Jews from being merged in the neighbouring tribes, and made them a people by themselves, cut off from the *gōyīm* as by a physical barrier. By the establishment of a Samaritan religious community, with a temple of its own, Nehemiah's enemies confessed themselves defeated. They no longer hoped to force themselves into the temple at Jerusalem and the Jewish fellowship. Henceforward the orthodox doctrine respecting the *gōyīm* was that of P ; they were unclean persons, whose presence would pollute the sacred land, people, and temple, and who were therefore to be kept aloof from these as much as possible. Ezra 6 21 speaks of those who 'separated themselves from the uncleanness of the *gōyīm* of the country.' P s denunciations of the abominations (תּוֹעֵבֹת) of the Canaanites and of all association with them are a standard to determine the behaviour of the Jews towards other foreigners (Lev. 18 24-30 20 23 Nu. 33 50-56 ; cp Is. 35 8 52 1 Ps. 10 16 78 55 79 1).

ii. *Universalism in Religion.* — The tendency to

[1] In view of Kosters' theory of the post-exilic period, it has been doubted whether these words are correctly ascribed to Zeruhhahel (Bertholet, 125); but at any rate it seems certain that they were the watchword of a Judaistic party before the advent of Ezra.

particularism, however, did not extinguish the universalist aspect of the prophetic teaching; partly no doubt because the writings of the prophets were read and their authority acknowledged. The actual political opponents of Ezra and Nehemiah seem to have been worldly and half-heathen; yet earnest, spiritual men, who may have given a general support to the reforms, protested against pushing particularism to extremes; Ruth (on the date see RUTH, BOOK OF) favours mixed marriages, and Jonah is a strong protest against hatred towards the *gōyīm*.

Other universalist passsages were probably written without any thought of their relation to current particularism; they were ideal rather than practical. The catholic spirit of the prophets, which (as we have seen, § 4 ii.) especially manifests itself in 2 Isaiah, reappears in **Is.** 19 19-25 (on the date, see **ISAIAH** ii., § 9 [10]), Zech. 14 16 etc. This tendency shows itself even in the strictly Judaistic literature. P (Gen. **19 1-7**) recogiiises the divine origin and sanctity of man as man; Zech. 2 11 [15] **97** Mal. 1 11 Tob. **1311** speak of many nations submitting themselves to God. Moreover the form of the Wisdom literature **is** cosmopolitan: the contrast is not between Jew and Gentile, but between wise and foolish.

Finally, particularism and universalism blended in proselytising. Mankind might all enjoy the divine favour, and yet this favour might still be strictly limited to Jews, by the simple condition that mankind must become Jews, must receive circumcision, the physical token of Judaism, and adopt its social and religious customs. Even in this attempted combination the old antagonism broke out afresh. The school of Hillēl (cp Mt. 2315) were zealous in proselytising and sought to make admission to Judaism easy; the school of Shammái were strongly opposed to proselytes; and relics of the conflict are still to be read in the Talmud (Bertholet 319 *ff.*). On the other hand, Jewish particularism was constantly endangered by the influence of HELLENISM (*q.v.*) and by political relations with foreign powers.

The Jews prayed and offered sacrifices for their suzerains (Jer. 29 7 Ezra 6 9 *f.* 7 **15-23** 1 Macc. 7 **33** Bar. **1** 11 Jos. *BJ* ii. 17 2) and for friendly nations (1 Macc. 12 11: Spartans); Pss. **45** and **72** have been supposed to be written in honour of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The Maccabees and the Herods had very close and often very friendly relations with foreign powers, Greek, Roman, Arab, Syrian, and Parthian. These relations often led foreigners to adopt Judaism and circumcision; but they also exercised **a** strong influence upon the Jews. The **DISPERSION** (*q.v.*) of the Jews had a similar twofold effect.

Thus from B.C. 200 we constantly meet with a strong Hellenising party in Palestine, and a similar tendency asserted itself elsewhere. It was checked in Palestine by the success of the Maccabæan revolt and the zeal of the Pharisees. Christianity, by drawing to itself the universalist elements, secured the victory over particularism in Judaism. Judaistic Christians, indeed, attempted to secure that Gentiles should not be admitted to the Church, unless they became Jews; but Paul finally delivered Christianity from Jewish exclusiveness by enforcing the principle that in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Greek.' Here we touch the fringe of **a** new and great subject—HELLENISM (*q.v.*). Cp GALATIANS, § 12 *f.*

6. Literature. Oehler, *OT Theol.* **(ET)**, 1 168-242 2 398-405; Schultz, *OT Theol.* (ET) 2 373-382; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 111-119, 130-139 147-150, 348-423; Kayser, *AT Theol.*[(2)] (ed. Marti) and [(3)] (called *Gesch. d. israel. Rel.*), §§ 23, 35, 45; Di. *AT Theol.* 15-52, 354-402; Cheyne, *OPs.* 291-297, 305-307; *cp* 118 *f.* **131**, 145 *f.* 169 *f.*; Benzinger, *HA*, and Nowack, *HA*, *s.v.* 'Heiden'; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* ('96).

W. H. B.

GENUBATH (גְּנֻבַת ΓΑΝΗΒΑΘ [BAL]), **son** of Hadad the Edomite (1 K. 11 20). The text is in much disorder (see HADAD i., 3; MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). We shall best restore *v.* 19 *f.* as follows, assuming that Hadad had fled to Mizrim (the N. Arabian Muṣri), the king of which land, or of the larger realm to which it belonged, was called Pir'u—'And he gave him as a wife the sister of his (own) wife, and she bore him his son Genubath and reared him (וַתְּגַדְּלֵהוּ, Klo.) in the midst of Pir'u's house. And Genubath was in the house of Pir'u in the midst of Pir'u's sons.' Probably Genubath, like his father, became a fierce enemy of Israel. His name (Gunubath?) may mean 'foreigner'; cp Ar. *januba*, 'peregrinus fuit' (cp, however, NAMES, §§ 63, 78). Speculations based on Egyptian (*PSBA* 10 372 *ff.*) are misplaced. *See JQR* 11 551 *ff.* ('99). T. K. C.

GEOGRAPHY (BIBLICAL)

CONTENTS

MAPS[1]

The object of this article is not to discuss the identification of places. That can in general be done better under the several place-names,[2] and is here **a** means, not an end. The object is to investigate the nature of the geographical conceptions of the Hebrews and the extent of their geographical information. The last three centuries (200 B.C.-100 A.D.) of the period covered by the scheme of this *Encyclopædia* are treated more briefly, because, as the Hebrews became more and more a part of the Hellenistic or the Roman world, they came to share more and more fully the general geographical ideas and information of a world that lies beyond the immediate scope of the work; see Strabo's map (below, col. 1691).

Among the ancient Hebrews there is little evidence of interest in geography as a scientific study. Their view of the earth as a whole seems to have been for the most part unreflecting and dependent on their common experience of natural phenomena.

1. Early notions.

Chief among these were the apparent rising and setting of the heavenly bodies (especially the sun), and the horizon-line enclosing the visible earth.

The sun 'goes out' (יָצָא, Judg. **531** Gen. 19 23 [J] Is. 13 10; מוֹצָא is sun-rise, Ps. 19 7 [6]) in the morning, and at night 'goes in' (בּוֹא, Gen. **15** 12 **17** [J] 28 11 **[E]**, and often; מָבוֹא is sun-set, Ps. 104 **19**=*West*, Dt. **11 30** Jos. **14**). Reflection upon this appears in the very late passage Eccles. 1 5.

The earth is a stationary mass; its trembling is a sign of supernatural power (Judg. **5** 4 Is. 2 19 21).

That its surface is relatively flat and circumscribed, seems to follow from the expression (poetical and comparatively late; but

1 The outline maps (after col. 1696) are tentative and suggestive merely. Nothing is indicated as known at any period for which there does not appear to be documentary evidence; on the other hand, the argument from silence is not to be pressed with reference to details, and the actual line dividing the known from the unknown must have been vague and fluctuating. The maps are intended only **as** hints to aid the reader in forming some general idea of the expansion of Israel's horizon.

2 On the further question of the correctness of the traditional reading of some place-names, see **NAMES,** § 88.

this may only arise from the fragmentary character of our sources) אפסי ארץ, 'ends of the earth' (Dt. 33 17 1 S. 2 10 Mic. 5 4 [3] Jer. 16 19 Ps. 48; cp WIND), as well as from the story of the flood (Gen. 7 *f.*).

In the earliest times the question of support for this earth, felt to be solid and firm, was not raised.

There was water beneath it (Ex. 20 4 [E], Gen. 49 25 [older poem in J, whence Dt. 33 13; see Dr. *ad loc.*]; cp Gen. 7 11 [P]); but not until Ps. 24 2 (probably post-exilic, see Ols., Ba. Che. *OPs.* 236) does the conception of Yahwè's founding the earth upon the seas appear. This may be nothing more than poetic imagery, and the same remark will apply to the thought of its resting on pillars (poet. and late; 1 S. 2 8 Ps. 104 5 Job 38 4 Is. 48 13, etc.). A still bolder conception is that of Job 26 7: 'Who hangeth [the] earth upon nothingness' (בלימה; Che. הבלים).

2. Cardinal Points. The rising and setting of the heavenly bodies gave the Hebrews, like other peoples, the standard of direction. They took their stand facing the sunrise.

What we call the East they called the ***Front*** (קֶדֶם, Gen. 28 12 8 [J], and often) or *place of dawning* (מזרח; ἀνατολή). So our West was for them the *Behind* (אָחוֹר, Is. 9 12 [11], cp Zech. 14 8 Joel 2 20), but usually (from their situation in Palestine) the direction of the *sea* (יָם, Gen. 12 8 13 14 28 14 [J], and often). The North they called the *Left* (שְׂמֹאל, Gen. 14 15 Job 23 9 Josh. 19 26) but usually the *Hidden*, or ***Dark*** (צָפוֹן)—probably (if this be the true interpretation)[1] because in N. latitudes the N. is farthest from the course of the sun. The South was the *Right* (יָמִין, 1 S. 23 24 [J], etc.; תֵּימָן, Zech. 6 6 9 14 Job 39 26 Ex. 26 18 [P]; chiefly in P, Ezek., and late poet.), but also (most probably) the *Shining* (דָּרוֹם; also poet. and late; Dt. 33 23 Job 37 17 Eccles. 1 6 11 3, and often Ezek. [*v.* BDB 204 a]), and also the *Dry, Barren* (נֶגֶב, Gen. 12 9 [J], and often, see Di. on Gen. 12 9; הַנֶּגֶב is, however, usually a specific name—the *South Country*, the southern part of Judah and the adjoining region to the south). Cp NEGEB, EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS OF).

How far did the knowledge of the Hebrews extend in these several directions? The extreme limits, as far as

3. Extent of known world. our canonical books testify—and their information was doubtless often fragmentary and vague—were these: On the E. to Media, Elam, Persia, with an allusion to India (הֹדּוּ; see INDIA) in Esth. 1 1 8 9† (OPHIR and SINIM are doubtful); on the N. to a range of (peoples and) countries extending from Northern Armenia (Magog, Ashkenaz, Ararat, Togarmah) across Asia Minor (Gomer, Tubal, Meshek); on the W., past Cyprus (Kittim), Ionia (Javan), Crete (Kaphtor), Carthage (or Sicily [Elisha]), to Tartessus (Tarshish) in Spain; on the S. to Ethiopia (Cush), and Southern Arabia (Sheba, Hadramaut).

It is possible that Hebrew knowledge extended still farther; the Greek historians learned of regions farther N. (Thracians, Kimmerians, Herod. 4 11 *f.*, Strabo, vii. 2 2, Frag. 47); the Phœnicians, if the Greeks can be believed, sailed farther W. and NW., and, commissioned by the Egyptians, circumnavigated Africa (on the same authority, Herod. 4 42; it was under Necho, 610-594 B.C.; cp E. Meyer, *GA* I. § 411; Wiedemann, *ÄG* 627; Junker, *Umschiffung Afrikas durch die Phönizier*, 1863); the Assyrians pushed farther to the NE. Something of this knowledge may have come to the Hebrews in Palestine, and doubtless did to the Jews of the Dispersion, before our last canonical OT book was written. Here, however, we can only conjecture. We are without definite testimony.

Within these limits certain great physical features

4. Seas. are noted, such as seas and rivers, and (less often) mountain ranges and deserts.

i. Of seas the Mediterranean naturally takes the first place; it is *the* sea.

הַיָּם, '*the* sea' (Nu. 13 29 [E], and very often in all periods [see יָם = *West*, above]); so also plur. יַמִּים, Judg. 5 17 and (prob.) Dan. 11 45 (Meinh., Bev.); more fully 'the great sea of the sunset,' Josh. 1 4 23 4 ([both D]; so in Assyrian *tiamtu rabitu sa sulmu samsi*, Schr. *Namen der Meere*, 171 *ff.*), and simply 'the great sea' (Nu. 34 6 *f.* Josh. 15 12 47 [all P or R]; cp Josh. 9 1 Ezek. 47 10 15 19 *f.* 45 28); 'great and wide-stretching sea' (Ps. 104 25) is rather a description than a name; also 'the hinder (or western) sea,' Dt. 11 24 34 2 (perhaps with pedantic explicitness) Zech. 14 8 Joel 2 20 (in these by contrast with the 'front [or eastern] sea').

Particular parts of the Mediterranean were known as 'the sea of the Philistines' (Ex. 23 31 [E]) and 'the sea of Joppa' (2 Ch. 2 16 [15] Ezra 3 7).

ii. The RED SEA [*q.v.*] is *yam Sūph* (יַם־סוּף), referring usually to the western arm between Sinai and Egypt (Ex. 10 19 [J] 13 18 [E] and often).

'Sea of Sūph' also may be simply '*the* sea,' when the reference is clear from the context (Ex. 14 16 26 [E], and often); also 'sea of Egypt' Is. 11 15). In 1 K. 9 26 יַם־סוּף denotes the gulf of 'Akaba; cp the parallel expression 'Eloth on the shore of the sea in the land of Edom' (2 Ch. 8 17).

iii. Of local importance and often mentioned is the 'Salt Sea'—*i.e.*, the Dead Sea.

יָם הַמֶּלַח (Gen. 14 3 Josh. 3 16 [JE], etc.), called also 'sea of the 'Arābāh' (ים הערבה), Josh. 3 16 Dt. 3 17 2 K. 14 25, etc.; 'the front (=eastern) sea,' הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי, Ezek. 47 18 Zech. 14 8 Joel 2 20 (see ***hinder sea***, above, 5 2, begin.); and simply יָם (Is. 16 8 Jer. 48 32).

iv. More rarely we hear of the 'Sea of Chinnereth' or 'of Chinnĕrōth' (= Lake Gennesaret, Sea of Galilee), יָם כִּנֶּרֶת, Nu. 34 11 Josh. 13 27 [both P], and יָם כִּנְּרוֹת, Josh. 12 3 [D]; simply יָם, Dt. 33 23 (see CHINNERETH, GENNESAR).

These seas are thus known under slightly varying names in all OT times.

The OT knows nothing of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and nothing of the smaller but nearer lakes of Van and Urumiyeh. Its acquaintance with Magog and the early history of Gomer, as well as with NE. Assyria and E. Armenia, is therefore imperfect, or else its interest in these great sheets of water is not sufficient to secure mention of them. It is possible that the Persian Gulf is to be recognised in the phrase 'desert of the Sea' (מִדְבַּר־יָם), Is. 21 1 (so Di.; but the text is doubtful; see Che. *SBOT*).

The phrase 'from sea to sea' occurs three or four times (מִיָּם עַד־יָם, Am. 8 12 Zech. 9 10 Ps. 72 8; cp יָם מִיָּם, Mic. 7 12) marking the limits of the region from which the Jewish exiles will return (in Mic. 7 12 read 'from sea to sea'), and of the dominion of the great future king of Israel (Zech. 9 10 Ps. 72 8). In Am. 8 12, however, if the passage be genuine, the two seas intended will be the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. It is true this seems an improbable designation of the boundaries of the northern kingdom. Hence (and for other reasons; see AMOS, § 14) Am. 8 11 *f.* may be a later insertion.

The general term sea (or seas), as a comprehensive name for the watery portion of the earth's surface, is a late idea. The contrasted idea is that of *dry land*, which, in the cosmogony of P, is thought of as having emerged to view by the process of collecting within certain limits the waters that originally covered the entire earth (see Gen. 1 9 *f.* 21 *ff.* Job 38 8 16 Ps. 69 35 89 9 104 6 *ff.* Prov. 8 29 Eccles. 1 7, etc.).

5. Rivers. Rivers played an important part in the history of OT times.

Of foreign rivers the most important are the Euphrates and the Nile.

i. The Euphrates is often simply '*the* river.'

פְּרָת, Euphrates (Gen. 2 14 [J]), נְהַר־פְּרָת (Gen. 15 18 [J] Dt. 1 7 11 34 Josh. 1 4 [D], etc.), '*the* River,' הַנָּהָר (Gen. 31 21 Ex. 23 31 Nu. 22 5 Josh. 24 2 *f.* 14 *f.* [all E] 2 S. 10 16 Is. 7 20 1 K. 4 24 [5 4] 14 15 Jer. 2 18, etc.); less often, redundantly, 'the river, the river Euphrates' (Dt. 11 24), and 'the great river, the river Euphrates' (Gen. 15 18 Dt. 1 7 Josh. 1 4); it is called יָם because of its Vastness and might (Jer. 51 36 [Graf, not Gie.], and according to Del. also Is. 21 1).

The people believed that across the Euphrates lay their early home (Josh. 24 2 *f.* 14 *f.* [E]). On the question of the earliest historical seats of the Israelites, see ISRAEL, § 1 *ff.*; EXODUS i., § 1 *ff.*; HEBREW, § 1. ARAM-NAHARAIM (Gen. 24 10, etc. [J]) contains certainly a reference to the Euphrates; it became the ideal boundary of their land on the NE. (Gen. 15 18 [JE] Dt. 1 7 11 24 Josh. 1 4 [all D]), a boundary which,

[1] Barth conjectures a relationship with Ar. *ṣabā*=east wind, the meaning having become changed. This seems very doubtful, but cp EARTH [FOUR QUARTERS], § 1.

according to Israel's tradition, Solomon for a time realised (1 K. 4 21 [5 1] 4 24 *bis* [5 4]); not only did the crossing of it make an epoch in the individual life (Jacob, Gen. 31 21 [E]), but the Euphrates formed also a real boundary between the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms and the territory to the W. Just as, on the one hand, we find Assyrian kings noting with care the fact of a passage of the Euphrates (see, *e.g.*, *COT* on 1 K. 20 1) as a departure from their own soil, so on the other, the challenging Egyptian army under Necho went thither against Assyria (2 K. 23 29), and of Nebuchadrezzar's conquest it is said that 'the king of Babylon had taken, from the 'river of Egypt' [see EGYPT, RIVER OF] unto the River Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt' (2 K. 24 7); and so we have the promise of the return of scattered Hebrews 'from Egypt even to the River' (Mic. 7 12). The Euphrates became in poetical usage one of the boundaries of the known world, in the phrase 'from the River unto the ends of the earth' (Ps. 72 8 = Zech. 9 10).

ii. THE NILE is known as יְאֹר ,יאוֹר, a word of Egyptian origin meaning *stream* (see EGYPT, § 6), but usually employed in the OT with the art. as a proper name.

So in Gen. 41 1 *f.* 3 18 Ex. 1 22 Am. 8 8, and often; in Am. 8 8 9 5 it occurs also as יאר מצרים (Nile), *stream of Egypt*, and in Is. 19 5 Nah. 3 8 *bis* even as ים; cp Is. 27 1 and ימים, Ezek. 32 2.

Although the Nile was historically less important (to the Hebrews) than the Euphrates, the references to it show a more intimate and particular acquaintance.

It was bordered by reeds or sedge (אָחוּ, Gen. 41 2 18 [see FLAG, 2]; סוּף, Ex. 2 3 5 [see FLAG, 1]; cp קָנֶה [see REED, 1] and סוּף, Is. 19 6) and by meadows (עָרוֹת, Is. 19 7 [see REED, 2]); it was divided into arms, branches, or canals, יְאֹרֵי מִצְרַיִם (Is. 7 18), יְאֹרֵי מָצוֹר (Is. 19 6), 'Nile-streams of Egypt' (cp SHIHOR OF EGYPT), it was used for bathing (Ex. 2 5); its water, for drinking (Ex. 7 18 21 24); it had fish (Ex. 7 21 Is. 19 8, cp Ezek. 29 4), and frogs (Ex. 8 3 [7 28] 8 9 11 [5 7])—all in JE passages of Hex.; it had its periods of rising and falling (Am. 8 8 9 5); it occasioned abundant crops—hence the phrase 'the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile' (Is. 23 3, but on the text see *SBOT* 'Isaiah'); the drying up of the Nile was therefore the worst calamity for Egypt, Is. 19 5 *ff.* (נָהָר, 'river,' is applied to the Nile only in Is. 19 5). On the 'rivers of Cush' (Is. 18 1 Zeph. 3 10) see CUSH, § 1.

iii. The Tigris (HIDDEKEL), being mentioned in only two books, can be treated more briefly.

Gen. 2 14 [J] mentions the Tigris as one of the Eden rivers. The description (which is probably later than the mention of the name) is as follows: 'This is the one that flows in front of Assyria.' Dan. 10 4 is the only other passage which refers by name to the Tigris; it is noteworthy that the Tigris is here styled 'the great river' (elsewhere the Euphrates); in Dan. 12 5 *bis*, 6 *f.* it is called יְאֹר—another indubitable sign of late date.

This scanty reference to so important a stream cannot fail to surprise us. Even more strange is it, however, that the nearer river Orontes is entirely ignored. Nor do we hear the names of Araxes and Kyros; the Oxus and the Indus are as little known as the Ganges, the Danube, or the Tiber. The most easterly stream mentioned is the Elamite river ULAI (*q.v.*), and that not until the second century B.C. (Dan. 8 2).

iv. Within a narrower area the water-courses or 'wādys' (נַחַל = Ital. *fiumara*) attracted attention, being especially characteristic of Canaan and the adjacent territory, and conditioning its development. As the Euphrates was the ideal limit of Israelitish domain on the NE., so a ravine (and its stream) served the same purpose on the SW. This is the *Wādy el-'Arīsh*, the natural frontier of Palestine towards Egypt (see EGYPT, ii.), described by Esarhaddon (Del. *Par.* 311) as 'the wādy of Egypt where there was no river.'

The term *naḫal mat Muṣur* ('wādy of Egypt') exactly represents נחל מצרים, and we have a right to be surprised to find the phrase נהר מצרים in Gen. 15 18 (JE?). The subject is treated elsewhere (EGYPT, RIVER OF); but the present writer may express his opinion that נהר is an error of the text (observe נָהָר almost immediately afterwards) for נַחַל. True, 𝔊 has ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ for the usual χειμάρρου, or, as in Josh. 15 4, + φάραγγος; but it has ποταμοῦ also in 1 K. 8 65.

Few but the most familiar mountains or mountain ranges are brought before us. Outside of Palestine the most famous mountain is that connected by tradition with Moses (see SINAI), NE. from which lay Mount SEIR (strictly, the mountain region of Seir). See also HOR, PISGAH, ARARAT, § 3. That Mt. Taurus should be ignored is surprising, for this was the barrier between Syria and Asia Minor. Nor is anything said of Mt. Zagros, NW. of Media; or of the Elamitic and Susian mountains. The Caucasus would be beyond the Israelitish horizon.

6. Mountains.

Of deserts (מִדְבָּר) as an important feature of the earth's surface the Hebrews were well aware (see DESERT).

7. Deserts.

i. There were among them (see EXODUS i., § 2 *f.*) early recollections of the sparsely populated region—offering pasturage yet often desolate and wild, and not the natural home of a settled people—stretching from their own southern border farther southward to Elath and to Sinai, forming the western boundary of Edom, and extending SW. to the confines of Egypt. This is the 'wilderness' or desert referred to in Gen. 14 6, with which compare Gen. 21 21 (E, 'Ishmael dwelt in the wilderness of Paran'), Nu. 12 16 (E, a station in the wanderings), 10 12 (P, distinguished from, and bordering on, the 'wilderness of Sinai'), 13 3 (whence explorers were sent out), 26 (both P; the addition of Kadesh in *v.* 26 seems to be from R). It was, according to the representation of P and D, in the desert of Paran that Israel spent most of the forty years of its wandering (see WANDERINGS). It is called 'the desert of Edom (מִדְבַּר אֱדוֹם) in 2 K. 3 8. Abutting on the desert of Paran (פָּארָן) on the N. seems to have been 'the desert of Beer-sheba' (Gen. 21 14 [E]). In P the more comprehensive name of the desert N. of Paran was the 'desert of Sin' (מִדְבַּר־צִן; see ZIN); it was the southern limit of the land explored by the spies (Nu. 13 21, cp 34 3), and in it lay Kadesh (20 1 27 14 *bis*, 33 36 Dt. 32 51; see on the other hand Nu. 13 26, above). S. of the desert of Paran lay the desert of Sinai (see above), mentioned by name in Ex. 19 1 *f.* Lev. 7 38 Nu. 1 1 19 and eight times more in P, commanded by the Sinai group of mountains; NW. of that, toward Egypt, lay the desert of Sin (not sin), מִדְבַּר־סִין, Ex. 16 1 (between Elim and Sinai) 17 1 Nu. 33 11 *f.* (all P). The portion of the desert immediately bordering on Egypt is in the older tradition connected with Shur (Ex. 15 22 [JE]), and in the later with that of Etham (Nu. 33 8; cp Ex. 13 20, both P). Nearly the same seems to be meant by 'the wilderness of the Red Sea' (Ex. 13 18 [E]) and 'the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea' (Dt. 1 40 2 1). The simple term 'the wilderness' is applied, now to the whole 'desert of the wandering' (Ex. 23 31 [E], etc.), now to a particular part (*e.g.*, Ex. 16 2 *f.* and often), subject to the ordinary principles of clearness.

ii. Of the great Arabian Desert we hear comparatively little, and that little relates to its western edge. 'The desert which is before Moab, on the sunrise side,' it is called in Nu. 21 11 [JE].

In Judg. 11 22 the wilderness (המדבר) is the (eastern) limit of Israelitish territory E. of the Jordan; 'like a steppe-dweller (כַּעֲרָבִי) in the desert,' Jer 3 2, is a simile of lying in wait; Jer. 26 24 speaks of 'all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the border tribes that dwell in the desert' (Gie., Co. emend text by excision; cp 𝔊; but the reference to the desert remains). From the desert comes the east wind (Hos. 13 15 Jer. 4 11, cp Job 1 19). The 'Sabæans' of Ezek. 23 42 must, however, be given up, and perhaps the whole reference in that verse to 'the wilderness' or 'desert' (which without the Sabæans loses its value for our present purpose). Some familiarity with this desert is indicated also by the allusion to the ostriches in Lam. 4 3 Job 39 13 *ff.*

The 'wilderness of Damascus,' 1 K. 19 15 is the upper part of the same desert (if text and transl. are right; see KINGS, BOOK OF, § 8; HAZAEL)—*i.e.*, the Syrian Desert. This is

denoted also by the descriptive phrase '(Tadmor) in the wilderness' (2 Ch. 8 4), after which 1 K. 9 18 Kr. has been shaped, the original TAMAR (*q.v.*) of 1 K. 9 18 does not allow such an inference. The verses just cited (it maybe observed in passing) show that cities might flourish in the midst of 'desert'—see also the other late passages, Josh. 15 61 *f.* 20 8 (all P) 1 Ch. 6 78 [63], not to mention Is. 42 11. (On smaller deserts in the W. Jordan territory cp PALESTINE.)

Even this imperfect survey shows that the Hebrews had no great interest in geography as such. The various characteristics of the earths surface were not noticed or thought of by them except as they came into some direct relation with their own life. The poetic imagination no doubt often laid hold of natural phenomena, and has left us some vivid pictures. From the nature of the case, however, these are general, not specific. The spirit of exact scientific observation does not appear. Such reports as may have reached Israel of the nature of the countries in which the more distant nations dwelt seem to have made little impression. Outside of their own experience they were more concerned with persons and peoples than with soil and mountain-peak and stream, with desert and sea.

8. Foreign countries.

Among the first countries with which we should expect to find the Hebrews making (or renewing) acquaintance would be Egypt and Ethiopia. The latter country (the African Cush) seems to have come within their ken in the eighth century (Am. 9 7, and especially Is. 18 1 *b* Zeph. 3 10[1] Is. 20 3-5 [but cp ISAIAH, BOOK OF, § 9, beg.] 2 K. 19 9), when the 25th — Ethiopian — dynasty was making itself felt in Palestine.[2] An increased familiarity with Egypt is also attested by the writings of the prophets.

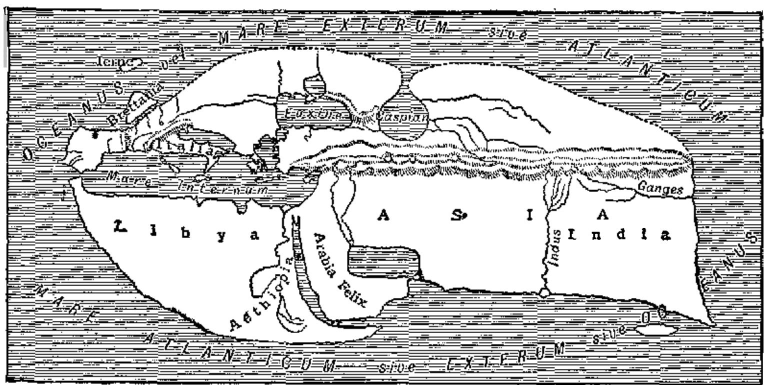
9. Egypt.

Isaiah (30 4) refers to ZOAN and HANES, Hosea (9 6; cp Jer. 2 16 etc.) to Moph or Noph—*i.e.*, Memphis—and Nahum (3 8), with great particularity, to the Egyptian Thebes (NO-AMON, [*q.v.*], Ass. *Ni-i*, cp Egypt *nt* 'city,' Steindorff *BAS* 1 596 *ff.*; for later references to No = No-Amon, see Jer. 46 25, Ezek. 30 14-16). Such remoter neighbours of Egypt as Put (פּוּט; see on Gen. 10 6 below, § 22) also, and Lubim (לוּבִים Libyans —if it he not the same as Lehabim [לְהָבִים] Gen. 10 13 [see below, § 15 [4]) occur for the first time in Nah. (3 9).

It was, singularly enough, the Babylonian conquest of Judah that made many Judæans better acquainted with Egypt. The fear caused by the murder of GEDALIAH led a large remnant of the people to flee into Egypt (Jer. 41 17 *f.* 43 1-7), and then began the familiarity with Egyptian cities exhibited by Ezekiel. Of course, this was but a small part of the geographical debt which the Hebrews owed to the Babylonians and (we may now add) the Assyrians. Contact with these nations did more than anything else to change their geographical knowledge of the country E. of the Euphrates from fragmentary tradition to definite acquaintance,

10. Babylonia and Assyria.

Direct contact with Babylonia began after the fall of the N. kingdom with the famous embassy of MERODACH-BALADAN to Hezekiah. Contact with Assyria naturally began earlier. In the historical books the name appears first in 2 K. 15 19 29, which tells that Tiglath-pileser (III.), = Pul, devastated (B.C. 734) the same northern districts that Benhadad had ravaged 175 years earlier (Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh [of Naphtali]) and Gilead as well (cp his own record, *COT ad loc.*); but Israel had already learned to know Assyria in the previous century under AHAB and JEHU (*qq.v.*). Amos does not name it (but see AMOS, col. 149, foot); yet he certainly refers to it (6 14), and the expectation of the coming of the Assyrians underlies his book. Hosea names it often (5 13 7 11 8 9 9 3 10 6 11 5 11 12 1 [2] 14 3 [4]). It is even possible that Shalmaneser IV. (2 K. 17 3) is referred to in Hos. 10 14 as Shalman (see BETH-ARBEL). We find Assyria in Micah (5 5 [4] *f.*, cp 7 12), and abundantly in Isaiah (7 18 20 1 etc.). Nahum's prophecy is devoted to an announcement of its overthrow (cp Zeph. 2 13); 2 K. 17 1-6 gives the account of Samaria's fall before it, and the deportation of the inhabitants to various places in the Assyrian empire.



Strabo's Map of the World. After C. Müller.

11*a*. No maps.

It need hardly be said that the Hebrews, so far as we know, made no attempt to construct a map of the world. If they had done so, it would doubtless have appeared to us grotesque enough. Even the comparatively sober geographical data of Eratosthenes (3rd cent. B.C.) and Strabo (near the beginning of the Christian era; see the accompanying reproduction), who combined all the information they could procure, with painful laboriousness, yield maps quite recognisable, it is true, but much distorted. Hebrew cartographers of the seventh or the fifth century B.C. would have produced much more astonishing maps, we may be sure, Attempts have been made to construct maps of the world as known to the Hebrews, or at least of the central portion of it, on the basis of the description of Eden and its rivers in Gen. 2.[1] These attempts are interesting in a high degree; but the data are not sufficient in amount or in certainty to make them secure. The utmost we can say is that one or two of them are quite possible. At best they can claim to give only the view of one writer, at a single period.

The four maps given here (after col. 1696) have a much more modest aim. They are meant simply to indicate the actual regions on the earth's surface as now known, which were embraced by Hebrew knowledge at different periods. For purposes of comparison, at least, these may perhaps be quite as useful as an attempt to construct such as the Hebrews themselves would have drawn.

11*b*. Geographical Lists.

Little interest as the Hebrews had in geography in the abstract, they could not remain impervious to the influences which were enlarging their knowledge of the world, nor wholly escape the impulse to systematize that knowledge. The most convincing evidence of this appears in the lists which tabulate it in some detail. These lists were arranged on a genealogical scheme, representing assumed racial connection, or contiguity or

1 These words at least in this disputed verse may be original.
2 In Nu. 12 1 2 S. 18 21 *f.*, etc., it is only a question of isolated individuals (see CUSH, 2 *b*; CUSHI, 3).

1 See especially Haupt *SBOT*, 'Isa.,' note on 18 1; *PAOS*, Mar. '94, p. ciii.; *Über Land u. Meer*, 1894-5, no. 15 (with map). Cp also WMM *Asien u. Europa*, 252 *f.*

historical association (see Di. *Gen.* 168); see GENEALOGIES i., § 1 *f.* They were compiled by the same hands that undertook the story of the national life.

The motives underlying the lists can be only conjectured. An interest in geography pure and simple was hardly one of these motives, although the geographical order is here and there discernible in the arrangement of names. The names are usually those of peoples, and it would be more exact to call the lists ethnographical. They appear to represent the circle of peoples (arranged with some regard to locality) which at the time fixed the attention of the authors. Their purpose is not the same as that of the Assyrian catalogues of tributaries, or the more formal Egyptian lists of foreign cities and tribes. In those we have chiefly the parade of conquest: The Hebrew lists show a much more impersonal, or at least more dispassionate, interest. They include peoples with whom the Hebrews had no practical concern, and their own conquerors are named with perfect calmness. All indications point to an intellectual purpose. The impulse to write history was already at work, and with it the desire of providing a setting for the history, which should present what was known of other peoples, and indicate their organic relations.

The first consecutive list of this kind appears not earlier than the end of the ninth century. Israel was firmly established in its own land,—had a fixed point of observation. David had made it compact and powerful. The commerce and foreign relations of Solomon had led the thoughts of the people outside their own land. The Phœnicians were followed, in thought, as they traversed the Mediterranean, and their reports were heard in Jerusalem as well as in Samaria. The national self-consciousness was beginning to assert itself—even although the political life was divided—so as to develop the historical instinct, and lead to the recognition of other peoples as historical units, like themselves. Finally, a great new power was looming up on the eastern horizon. All these circumstances contributed to the formation and systematic arrangement of historico-geographical ideas.

The document which embodies such an arrangement is the genealogical table of the descendants of Noah's three sons in Gen. 10. This is really a list of the peoples which, at the time of the writers, seemed of consequence. The chapter is not homogeneous. It is formed by the union of two distinct lists of different dates. The older (J) was probably compiled about 800 B.C.; the younger (P) perhaps 350 years later.

There is great unanimity among critics in assigning to P *vv.* 1-7 20 22 *f.*, 31 *f.*, and practical unanimity also as to J (vv. 8-19 21 25-30); the (slight) divergences relate to the different layers of J, and to the work of the Redactor, to whom v. 24 is assigned by almost all. Neither list is preserved in its original form.

The lists of J and P afford the framework for a geographical scheme. When we attempt to combine these with the other data, however, for the purpose of tracing the growth of geographical knowledge among the Hebrews, we are met by difficulties which can be surmounted only in part; our results must often be provisional.

12*a*. Development of Hebrew Geography. Early Period.

The nature of our sources is such that it is impossible to be always sure at which point in the history a given geographical fact first appeared. The documents have passed through so many hands, that conceptions of different dates may easily be present. Conversely, geographical ideas may have existed long without finding expression in the surviving literature.

Especial difficulty attaches to a clear representation of the geographical horizon in the early period.

Very early documents are few and the later accounts of early matters have to be received with discrimination. Each particular statement must be carefully weighed, and the probabilities considered. Direct Egyptian and Canaanitish influence on early geographical knowledge in Israel is an unknown quantity. We cannot jump to the conclusion that the Amarna tablets, important as they are, represent knowledge which was, or speedily became, the common property of the Hebrew invaders a century or two later. By degrees, no doubt, much geography known to the Canaanites would be appropriated by the new-comers, but how much, and how long it took, we are wholly without means of deciding. Uncertainty meets us, also, as to the amount of genuine geographical material in the traditions of early nomadic wanderings. We are quite in the dark as to Hebrew contact with the Hittites and the Aramæans between the conquest and David's time.

In these circumstances it has seemed wisest, both in the following descriptions and in the accompanying maps, to deal somewhat rigidly with the materials, and to require a maximum of evidence for the facts presented. A careful student will be able to expand the area of certainty, as evidence may seem to justify.

It would appear that to the generations following the Hebrew settlements in Canaan the outside world was of little consequence. The unanimity of traditions pointing to Egypt compels us to regard acquaintance with that country as among their earliest possessions. There is no reason to think that they had any but the vaguest ideas of Africa to the W. and S. of Egypt. The same is true of the lower shores of the Red Sea and the interior of Arabia. The roving Amalekites on their southern border, the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, to the SE. and E., were of course in full view. Midian, on the eastern side of the eastern branch of the Red Sea, was closely associated with their early wanderings, and was looked upon as Israel's half-brother (Gen. 25 2 *f.*), and the story of Gideon preserves an account of a desperate conflict with a branch of the same people—predatory Bedouin, like the Amalekites, during the time of the Judges (see MIDIAN). There were traditions of an early Aramæan home, and even, as there seems no good reason to doubt, of a still earlier one in Babylonia;[1] local traces of Babylonian influence in Canaan may have revived and confirmed these traditions; but they can hardly have been outlined with geographical clearness. As to the northern boundary of Hebrew knowledge in this period our sources are very scanty. The one great literary monument of these troubled years, the Song of Deborah, composed in the N., and dealing with events in the N., does not carry us beyond the immediate vicinity of the plain of Megiddo. Hazor is mentioned in Judg. 4—a good source of the second order—as also in Josh. 11 (JE), and Judg. 1 31 33 (cp Josh. 11 8) carry us northward on the coast as far as Sidon. Hints at wider knowledge of northern geography are afforded only by late documents. Reminiscences of Egyptian campaigns may no doubt have preserved on the soil the names of northerly regions; but from the Hebrew documents themselves we cannot derive, for this period, any acquaintance with territory northward of a line joining Sidon, Lebanon, and Hermon.

On the W. the sea was the limit. There is no evidence that in this period the Hebrew mind ventured across it. If the first intercourse with Phœnicia brought knowledge of Phœnician traffic, no trace of this knowledge has been left in the records of the early time.

A much more extended area and a more detailed acquaintance with Babylonia and with Aramæan localities must be recognized for this period if we could suppose that Gen. 14 represents knowledge in the possession of the Hebrews at this time, whether due to their own ancient tradition, or to local history appropriated by them after the conquest. The question of the existence in this noteworthy chapter of good historical material cannot be discussed here (see GENESIS, § 8 *a*). It is quite possible to answer the question in the affirmative, and at the same time to maintain, as the evidence requires us to do, that the chapter cannot be used as a source of information for the geographical knowledge of the time of the Judges. Cp Lehmann, *Altor. Chron.* p. 84 ('98).

The advent of the Philistines, the alliances and conquests of David, and the alliances and luxury of Solomon widened the Hebrew horizon, and filled in spaces which were nearly or quite vacant.

12*b*. Geographical knowledge in 10th cent. B.C.

David's wars (see DAVID, § 8) with Hadadezer and his allies must have afforded some definite acquaintance with the Aramæan country as far as the Euphrates. Maacah, Geshur, Zobah, Hamath, and Damascus now grew familiar. Mesopotamia became a neighbour. David's friendship with Hiram of Tyre must have led to knowledge of lands beyond the sea, and the Philistines brought with them to the shores of Canaan the news of Caphtor as their early island home: Caphtor is with

[1] Ur Kasdim in J (Gen. 11 28 15 7) cannot be discussed here (see UR [i.]). The present writer believes that fewer difficulties are occasioned by regarding it as original with J, and as representing old tradition, than by denying either of these things.

probability identified by most scholars with Crete (see PHILISTINES; but cp CAPHTOR, CHERETHITES).[1]

As the Philistines were new-comers, some report of their origin would naturally spread at once; hence, although the name of Caphtor does not appear till the eighth century, it is probable that it was known under David and Solomon.

Solomon's reign enlarged the Hebrew world still more. That there were variant traditions of the extent of his kingdom appears from 1 K. 54 compared with 55 (EV 424 25) and with 11 24; we cannot even tell whether the Euphrates was sufficiently known in Solomon's time to justify the mention of Tiphsah (Thapsacus) in the late passage 1 K. 54 [424]. The mention of 'Tadmor' (*i.e.*, Palmyra) in 2 Ch. 84 is at any rate valueless for the time of Solomon (see TAMAR). On the other hand, the probable emendation of 1 K. 10 28 *f.* which finds there a mention of the northern lands *Muṣri* and *Ḳuë* as the source of the Hebrew supply of horses (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [a], CHARIOT, § 5, col. 726, n. 1), brings us to the very foot of the Taurus mountains. S. of which the Syrian *Muṣri* lay, and even through the mountain-passes of the Amanus into Cilicia, to which *Ḳuë* belonged (see CILICIA, § 2).

A still more notable extension of geographical knowledge took place toward the S. If the story of the visit from the queen of Sheba stood by itself it might not be enough to assure us of the actual acquaintance of Solomon's time with Southern Arabia. But the impulse given to exploration and commerce by Solomon's luxury led to the fitting out of ships on the gulf of 'Aḳaba, which sailed away southward on long cruises, bringing them into close contact with the Arabian shores. Besides the various tropical products (not all quite certain; see APES, GOLD, IVORY, OPHIR, PEACOCKS), with which they contributed to the splendour and the entertainment of the court, they brought reports of distant lands, and whether or not OPHIR (*q.v.*) was in Arabia, it is certain that at least Arabian territory bordering on the Red Sea must have been observed and described. The same is true of the African shore of the Red Sea; how much further S. and E. the new knowledge stretched we cannot tell, and the voyagers themselves may have been as ignorant of the real geographical relations of Ophir as Columbus and his sailors were in regard to the West Indies; but it is quite certain that a large extent of the earth's surface, before unknown, must from that time onward have been taken into the more or less definite conceptions of the educated Hebrews.

It is probable that those conceptions now embraced at least one remote point in the W. Phœnician voyages, colonies, and settlements were already opening markets in many quarters to the trade of the cities from which they set out. It is likely that the Phoenicians had planted themselves before the tenth century on the coast of Spain, at Tartessus.[2] Since Phoenician seamen went with Solomon's ships, and these ships are called 'ships of Tarshish'—*i.e.*, large sea-going vessels, such as were fit to go to Tarshish (1 K. 10 22, cp Is. 216)—there is a presumption in favour of some Hebrew knowledge of Tarshish in Solomon's time (although 1 K. 10 was written much later), and TARSHISH ([i.] *q.v.*) is admittedly Tartessus.

Solomon's fleets were not successfully imitated by his successors; but a new agent now appears. After these fleets the strongest influence in enlarging the Hebrew view of the world was the westward extension of Assyrian power.

Icent.nB.Ch

That power took a fresh start under Ašur-naṣir-pal (885-860 B.C., see ASSYRIA, § 31), who marched to the Mediterranean, and received tribute from the Mediterranean cities. Of direct contact with Israel we do not hear; but the silence of the Hebrew records cannot prevent us from saying that, with the intimacy between Phœnicia and the house of Omri, then on the Israelitish throne, Israel must have learned lessons in Assyrian geography from Ašur-naṣir-pal. We cannot of course tell how far even the names of territories overrun by him on the remote Assyrian borders—Kummuḫ, the Muški, the Naïri-lands, the regions of the Upper and the Lower Zāb, and the rest—became known in Palestine; but Eastern Mesopotamia, the Tigris and its cities, must have begun to take a place in Hebrew thought.

Shalmaneser II. (860-825 B.C.), whom Ahab's men faced, under Benhadad, in 854, and who received tribute from Jehu, must have continued the geographical teaching begun by his father. Rammān-nirari III. (812-783 B.C.) brought it apparently still closer home, for not only Phœnicia and Israel, but also Philistia and Edom recognised his sovereignty by tribute, and since probably the former, and certainly the latter, in its mountain fastnesses, would hardly do so without previous personal contact, we must suppose, either that two streams of Assyrian invasion enclosed Judah on the E. and on the W., or, if Edom was reached by the western route, that the southern border of Judah was skirted. In any case, by the middle of the eighth century, at which time, certainly J's geographical survey was complete, the kingdom of Judah,' in which J wrote, had facilities nearly as ample as those of Israel for knowing the main features of Assyrian geography. Judæan embassies were, it is true, not yet passing to and fro, carrying tribute, and bringing back new impressions and the stories of strange lands, but the knowledge gained in this way by their neighbours would in the course of time naturally become theirs.

Shalmaneser II. and his successors had come into close relations with Babylonia, and ancestral tradition would lead the Hebrews to an especial interest and even inquisitiveness regarding it, which would result in some familiarity with local names, while by no means yielding precise and full knowledge, or dispelling the mystery overhanging that ancient Semitic home.

The first part of J's list that is preserved to us looks toward the E. It begins abruptly with a summarized statement regarding an individual monarch of Babylonia—NIMROD [*q.v.*], son of Cush. The sites of BABYLON and ERECH are well known: those of ACCAD and CALNEH (1) are not yet identified. Shinar (שִׁנְעָר) most probably represents the Babylonian Šumēr, or its dialectic variation Šungēr.[1] Whether the term 'land of Shinar' in Gen. 10 10 includes all Babylonia, from the sea northward, we cannot however say. Another tradition preserved by J makes a plain (בִּקְעָה) 'in the land of Shinar' the scene of the building of Babel, and of the sudden dispersion of the race (Gen. 11 1-9; see BABEL). The only contribution made by this passage to the vexed question as to the geographical limits of Šumēr consists in the requirement that it shall contain both Babylon and Erech. Familiarity with the name is indicated especially by the expression 'a goodly mantle of Shinar' (Josh. 7 21 [JE]; see RV^mg.); 'land of Shinar' occurs also in Zech. 5 11 Dan. 1 2, and Shinar, Is. 11 11.

Babylonia.

If J located his Eden (Gen. 2) in Babylonia, his geographical information concerning the region must be regarded as still vague. The Euphrates and the Tigris approach each other there, and were doubtless connected by canals; but as to the rest the description is unrecognisable. This, however, would not of itself disprove the theory that he had that locality in mind. Without entering into the vexed question of CUSH (*q.v.*), mentioned in Gen. 2 13 10 8, we may note here that Ašur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser II. both encountered the Kaššites, and it is by no means impossible that in the mind of J there was already confusion between the Kaššites and the Arabian and African Kuš. The embassy of Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah (2 K. 20), at the end of the eighth century, although it seems to presuppose some mutual acquaintance, was plainly a novelty, and is quite consistent with much mutual ignorance, as well.

The assignment of the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom to Babylonia, and the stress laid on the subsequent founding of Assyrian cities, points to an ultimate Assyrian source for at least *vv.* 10-12. Aššūr, EV 'Asshur' (אַשּׁוּר), is undoubtedly here, as in 2 14 and elsewhere, the country of Assyria (see especially 'land of Assyria,' parallel with 'land of Nimrod' Mic. 5 6 [5]), not the old capital Ašur on the W. bank of the Tigris (at Ḳal'at-Sherkāt about 45 m. below Nimrūd; see ASSYRIA, § 5).

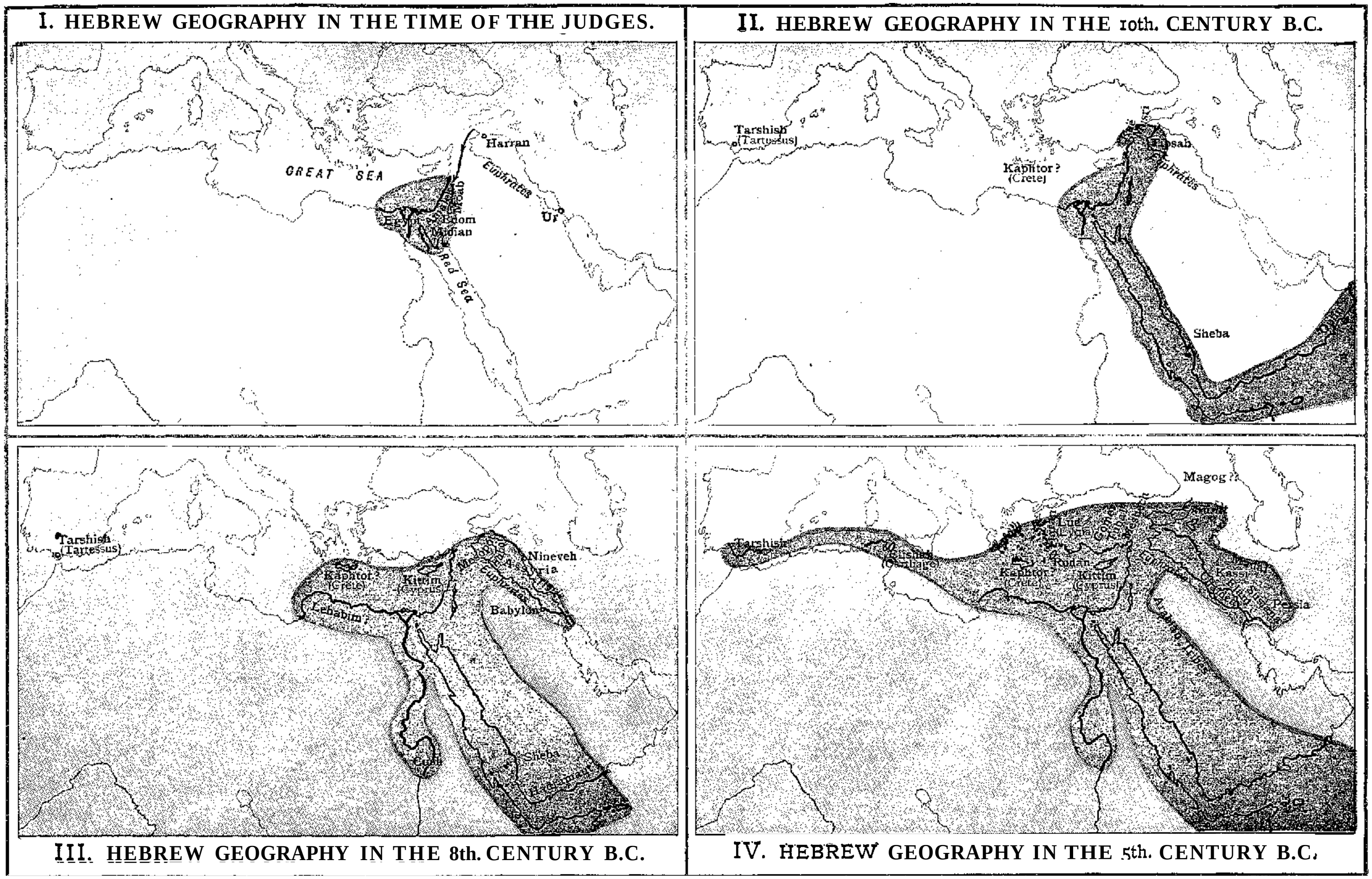
13*b*. J's Assyria.

1 The question of the identification of Caphtor is connected with that of the origin of the Philistines, who are derived thence in Am. 9 7 Jer. 47 4 and probably Dt. 2 23. For recent evidence that the Philistines came from Crete, see A. J. Evans, *Cretan Pictographs* ('95), 99 *ff.*

2 Strabo, i. 3 2 [48] says that the Phœnicians had sailed beyond the Pillars of Hercules soon after the Trojan war. Cp iii. 2 12 *ff.* where he speaks of Tartessus, and cites Homer's mention of it.

1 Paul Haupt, 'Ueber ein Dialekt der Sumerischen Sprache,' *GGN*, 1880, no. 17; *Akkadische Sprache*, 1883; 'Akkadische u. Sumerische Keilschrift-texte' = *Ass. Bibliothek*, Bd. 1('81 *f.*); Del. *Par.* 198; Schr. *COT* on Gen. 11 1; Tiele, *BAG*, 74 *ff.*

HEBREW GEOGRAPHY AT FOUR DIFFERENT PERIODS.



Walker & Boutall sc

GEOGRAPHY

The Assyrian kingdom, like the Babylonian, is represented by four cities (see NINEVEH, CALAH, REHOBOTH-IR, RESEN), for the words, 'that is the great city,' in Gen. 10 12*b*, which imply the view that these several cities made up the one great Nineveh (cp Jon. 1 2 3 2 4 11, where the city is of enormous size), are probably a gloss. It is J also who mentions the Tigris (see above, § 5, iii.).

Western Mesopotamia becomes familiar. Not only do we find the city of Naḥor and ARAM-NAHARAIM (*q.v.*),[1] besides other references to this region as of early interest in Hebrew migrations (Gen. 24 10; cp 22 20 *ff.* 28 10, etc., J), but the exiles of Samaria are planted by the Habor (Chaboras), the river of Gozan (2 K. 17 6), and Gozan, Harran, Reṣeph, (Bit-)Adini and Telassar all figure in the conquests of Assyria (2 K. 19 12), and all show knowledge of the same region, by the close of the eighth century.

The northern border of Assyria is still obscure. At the NE corner of the Mediterranean. whilst on land we do not get across the Amanus, in the sea the island of Cyprus (Kittim) comes into view. It is not in J's list; but it meets us in Nu. 24 24 (JE), as well as in Is. 23.

14. J's knowledge of the West.

It is doubtful whether Nu. 24 24 belongs to an early stratum of JE and, without claiming Kittim where it first occurs in the much' disputed 'oracle of Tyre' (Is. 23 1*b*), we may admit Kittim in *v.* 12 as belonging to the poem, and may not unreasonably ascribe it to the hand of Isaiah. It is true that this would of itself take us back no further than 725 B.C.; but the reference to Kittim is made in such a way as to imply previous acquaintance.

From Assyria in the NE. J's list passes to Egypt in the SW. In the same group are eight other peoples, marking as many territorial distinctions (Gen. 10 13 *ff.* = 1 Ch. 1 11 *f.*).

15. J's Egypt, etc.

1. First are the LUDIM, who are quite distinct from the LUD (*q.v.*) of Gen. 10 22 (P) = 1 Ch. 1 17, and must be sought in Africa. More we cannot say, and our present ignorance extends to several other names in the same group. The very next one is an example.

2. Of Anamim (only here, and in 1 Ch. 1 11) we know nothing geographically, and the name is not even certain textually.[2]

3. KASLUHIM, EV CASLUHIM,[3] is just as obscure. See PHILISTINES.

4. LEHABIM perhaps = Lūbīm, לוּבִים, Libyans.

𝔊AEL, however, has λαβιειμ, or λαβειν 1 Ch. [A], whilst לובים is λίβυες (see Nah. 3 9 [BℵAQ] 2 Ch. 12 3 [BAL], 16 8 [BAL]; and לֻבִים, Dan. 11 43† Baer); read also Lūb, לוב for Heb. כוב (AV CHUB, RV CUB), Ezek. 30 5; 𝔊BAQ λιβυες (Co. WMM *As. u. Eur.* 115).

The passages do not help to fix the boundaries of Libya.

5. Naphtūḥīm is in doubt.

Possibilities are[4]; (1) Napata (in Cush), a view of Tuch and de Goeje; see also Di.; (2) *Na-ptah*, '(people) of Ptaḥ'—*i.e.*, inhabitants of Memphis (where the god Ptaḥ had his chief seat), and Middle Egypt generally (Kn. *ad loc.*, Ebers); and (3) the origination of נפתחים out of פתמחים—*i.e.*, *p't'mḥī*, 'northern land' (cp [6], so Erman, *ZATW* 10 118 *f.*).

6. Pathrūsīm (פַּתְרֻסִים) is the gentilic from Pathrōs (פַּתְרוֹס,—*i.e.*, in Egyptian, 'land of the S.'; in cuneiform, *Paturisi*), which is referred to in Jer. 44 1 as a region distinct from Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Noph, in Jer. 44 15 (Graf, Gie.) and in Is. 11 11 (Βαβυλωνίας [BℵAQ]) as distinct from Mizraim or Egypt, and in Ezek. 30 14 among the Egyptian towns and districts (Noph, Zoan, No, Sin, etc.) on which judgment shall fall. In Ezek. 29 14 it is called the land of the 'origin' (RV$^{mg.}$) of the Egyptians (a good historical tradition).

7. On Caphtorim and (8) the Philistines see § 12*b*.

From Egypt J's list passes northward along the coast, and mentions Canaan and his 'sons.' Verse 15 names two of these—viz., SIDON and Heth. The Hittites, or sons of Heth, are treated elsewhere (see HITTITES). Suffice it to notice that for J they are simply an aboriginal Canaanitish people, by the side of the Phœnicians.

16. J's Canaan, etc.

The following verses present several difficulties. They contain gentilic nouns, which is peculiar,—not in itself, for already in *v.* 13 *f.* the genealogical scheme has become a transparent fiction, but because of the disagreement in form with Sidon and Heth.

In part the verses suggest the familiar list of Canaanitish peoples which Israel is to dispossess, as contained in the account of the Exodus and march to Canaan furnished by J and D (*e.g.*, Ex. 3 8 Dt. 7 1); but in part they are different. The PERIZZITES (*q.v.*) are wholly lacking. The Canaanites do not appear; Canaan is here, not one among the particular peoples, but the comprehensive term uniting all the rest. Heth is an unusual form, and is set apart from the rest of the list. There are here also five names (*v.* 17 *f.*) which do not occur in the lists elsewhere, and differ from the four preceding (except the Jebusites of Jerusalem), in being plainly geographical.

1. 'The Arkite' is a gentilic derived from the city name Arka (Ass. *Arka*, *COT*; mod. *Tell 'Arḳa*, Burckhardt, *Travels*, 162; Rob. *BR* 3 App. 183), northward from Tripolis at the NW. foot of Lebanon. See ARKITE.

2. 'The Sinite' is of doubtful derivation. Del. *Par.* 282 proposes to read הַסִּינִי and to connect with the city *Siannu* (= *Siānu*) 'on the shore of the sea' mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. with *Arḳa* (and *Simirra*) 3 R. 9 46. Strabo (xvi. 2 18) mentions a town *Sinna*, Jerome (*Quæstt. ad loc.*) a *civitas Sini* in this region, and Breydenhach (*Reise*, 1483) a village *Syn* about 2½ m. from *Nahr 'Arḳa*. See SINITE.

3. On 'the Arvadite' see ARVAD.

4. 'The Zemarite' is from the city *Ṣimir(ra)* mentioned repeatedly by Tiglath-pileser III. and his successors, 745 *ff.* B.C. (Schr. *COT* on Gen. 10 18, Del. *Par.* 281 *f.*), and long before in the Amarna letters, as *Ṣumur* (Bezold, *op. cit.* 155; otherwise Winckler, *op. cit.* 40*); it was known to the Greeks as σιμυρα (see reff. in Di.). It is perhaps the modern *Sumra* between Ruād and Tripolis (Bad. *Pal.*(3) 407; see other reff.' in Buhl-Ges. *Lex.*, *s.v.*). Cornill restores צְמָרִים in Ezek. 27 11 (see GAMMADIM)..

5. Finally, 'the Hamathite' from the well-known city of HAMATH (*q.v.*) on the Orontes.

All these are places in the extreme N., and can be, in most cases, with certainty identified.

This increases our surprise at finding them combined (*v.* 16 *f.*) with the 'Jebusite and the GIRGASHITE (*q.v.*) and the HIVITE' (*q.v.*), which are either in the S. or are geographically vague.

'The Amorite' is a name which requires separate treatment. We may understand it to be used here in the same sense which it bears elsewhere in the stereotyped lists of Canaanitish peoples, and assume that *v.* 16, as well as 'the Hivite' in *v.* 17, is not a part of J's original table (see AMORITES).

The account of the sons of Canaan in J comes to an end with two more general remarks: *v.* 18 'and afterward (*i.e.*, after Canaan had begotten these sons = in the course of time, by degrees) were the families of the Canaanite spread abroad'; *v.* 19 in its turn, gives the boundary of the Canaanites.

It is evident from a comparison of *vv.* 18 and 19 that in both cases the Canaanites are the inhabitants of Canaan (Phœnician colonies, *e.g.*, are not included). נָפֹצוּ, *v.* 18, must therefore mean, 'spread out so as to occupy the land of Canaan.' Verses 15-18, however, contain names (*i.e.* in *v.* 16 *f.*) which certainly cover substantially the Canaanitish territory; *v.* 18*b* is not intelligible if the whole space over which they spread is already occupied by them. The characteristic names of the present list are, however, all in the N., and it seems highly probable that the others (Jebusite, Amorite, Girgashite, Hivite) are not original, hut inserted by a scribe who missed the familiar forms.

If the above criticism be sound, what J tells us is that the original seat of the Canaanites was in the N. (= Phœnicia and Hamath), and that they spread from that region over Canaan.

This obliges us to take a further step.

Verse 19 cannot give the boundary of these original northern Canaanites. It does not even include them, for it goes no farther N. than Sidon, and all the other names under consideration (Heth, Arka, Sin, Arvad, Simir, and Hamath) are to the northward of Sidon. Moreover *it* passes down at least as far as Gaza (reading גְּרָרָה, 'towards Gerar'); but Gaza is near the southern border of the Philistine territory, which must therefore be included in the Canaanitish border; but evidently the Philistines are, for J not Canaanites (*v.* 14).

It appears, then, that not only the five names in *vv.* 16 17*a*, but also the border-tracing *v.* 19, are later additions. If this is the case, however, the נפצו ('spread abroad') of v. 18 is no longer

1 For a differentview see HAURAN.

2 In Gen. αινεμετιειμ [A], ενεμετιειν [E], αινειαμιειμ [L]; in Ch. αναμιειμ [A], αινομ- [L]; B om.

3 In Gen. χασμωνιειμ [A], -σλω- [L], χαλοειμ [E]; in Ch. χασλωνιειμ [A], -λωειμ [L]; B om.

4 νεφθαλιειμ [A], -λειμ [EL]; in Ch. -λιμ [A], -θωσειμ [L]; B om.

to be explained by *v.* 19, and may well refer to the planting of Phoenician colonies, which is more in accord with the meaning of חרש (*e.g.*, Gen. 11 8 *f.* Zeph. 3 10 Is. 24 1 Ezek. 11 17 and often).

The next geographical reference in J is in *v.* 26.

Verses 21-25 simply connect the Eberites with Shem, the eldest son of Noah, and fix the time of the division of the peoples.

Verses 26-30 name the sons of Joktan (see JOKTAN), and give their locality. The names, as far as identified, prove to be Arabian (see special articles).

17. J's sons of Joktan.

The interior of the Arabian peninsula, whose coast had been skirted by Solomon's fleets, was gradually disclosing itself. Hadramaut (HAZARMAVETH, Gen. 10 26 = 1 Ch. 1 20) appears for the first and only time in the OT, side by side with Sheba (see § 3). The more settled Arabian communities are coming into view. Amalek and Midian, the wilder Bedawin of the desert, have disappeared.[1]

Verse 30 gives the limits of the territory of these descendants of Joktan :—'from מֵשָׁא towards סְפָר the mountain of the East.'

The change of Mesha to Massa (מַשָּׂא), a branch of the Ishmaelites, is plausible. Massa would then mark the northern limit of the tribes of Yoḳṭān. See MESHA i.

Sephar, the opposite limit (סְפָר), must be sought in the S. if משא is in the N. It is usually identified (but with doubtful warrant) with the ancient Himyarite capital Tafar, perhaps (Ges. and Buhl) the seaport of Hadramaut (near Mirbat) now called *Isfār* or *Isfār* (see SEPHAR).

'The mountain of the East' is too general an expression to give precision to undefined geographical terms (cp GOLD, § 1 *c*).

The list of J ends here. It was doubtless once fuller than it is now ; R has contented himself with a selection.

The only sons of Shem to whom J devotes space, besides Eber and Peleg, are Joktan and his Arabian descendants. We miss, *e.g.*, all reference to Aram, which J would not ignore.

J has contributed only part of the materials to Gen. 10. We have now to consider the contribution of P.

The longer the relations with Phoenicia and with Assyria continued, and the closer they became, the greater their effect on the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews.

18. Geographical knowledge in the 5th cent. B.C.

The fall of the Northern Kingdom and the settlement of foreigners in that territory meant less to them geographically than it would have done if there had been northern writers to make use of new knowledge that the colonists brought. The exile of Judah took place under very different conditions, and, after the Babylonian power had passed to the Persians, the religious and literary activity at Jerusalem not only manifests a vivid acquaintance with distant countries before known only by reports at second hand, but also shows that there were men who had learned from their own observation, as well as from the heterogeneous character of the armies which had conquered them—men who knew something of the remoter campaigns of their foreign sovereigns, and who had a growing familiarity with the traffic of the world.

Accordingly the circumference of P's map is greater than that of J. He follows a different order; hut, to aid in comparison, it will be simpler to rearrange his material, and begin, as in the case of J, with the East.

We have particularly a wealth of eastern, north-eastern, and northern details. Babylonia is of course familiar (see below); Elam (Gen. 10 22) and Susiana are now well known,—Nehemiah was at home in Susa (SHUSHAN, Neh. 1 1),—Media (MADAI) appears often (Is. 13 17 Gen. 10 2 etc.), and had indeed probably been known for centuries (2 K. 17 6); it is the Assyrian Madai (Rammān-nirari [812-783 B.C.]—Esarhaddon [681-668]), E. of Assyria, NE. of Babylonia; its capital, ECBATANA (ACHMETHA) is mentioned in

19. P's Eastern and Northern Geography.

[1] We find Midian still in the later writers of Is. 60 6 and Hab. 3 7, where they are simply poetic representatives of distant peoples. In 1 K. 11 18 the text is doubtful (Then., cp Benzinger). As for Amalek, if credence can be placed in 1 Ch. 4 42 *f.* the last remnant of it was destroyed in the time of Hezekiah. In Ps. 83 7 [8] the mention of it is in a poetic figure, either to designate present foes by the title of an ancient foe, or to describe the character of the present ones (cp Baethgen).

Ezra 6 2. Persia appears first in Ezek. 27 10 38 5 (see however, PARAS), and then abundantly in Ezra.

Persia is not explicitly connected with Cyrus before the time of the Chronicler (when it is superabundantly joined with his name ; 2 Ch. 36 22 *f.* Ezra 1 1 *f.* 8 3 7 4 3 5). The contemporary mention of him in Is. 44 28 45 1 does not, it is true, reveal any knowledge of Anzan, or Susiana, as his early dominion ; but neither does it displace such knowledge by the inexact substitution of Persia, which afterwards grew so familiar.

P's list as preserved does not mention Babylon. It was needless. Familiarity with Babylonia is of course a marked feature of the exilic and post-exilic literature.

Besides the frequent mention of the Chaldæans from the time of their appearance before Jerusalem under Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 22 25 21 4 9 etc.) we have frequent mention of the land of the Chaldæans.

Specific mention, in Jer. 24 5 25 12 (om. 𝔊, Hi., Gie., etc.), also 50 1 8 25 45 51 4 54 Ezek. 1 3 12 13 ; reference, in Jer. 50 10 51 24 35 Ezek. 11 24 16 29 23 15 *f.* Dan. 9 1 (in Is. 23 13 the text is corrupt).

For the Hebrews the land of Chaldæa is the land of which Babylon was the chief city. Of an earlier Chaldæan home in S. Babylonia they show no knowledge.[1] It was only after Babylon became the Chaldæan capital that the Chaldæans attained importance for Israel (Judah; cp Merodach-baladan, 2 K. 20).

Chaldaea is identified with Babylon in Ezek. 12 13 23 16, cp Jer. 50 1 ; see also Jer. 21 4 etc. In Ezek. 23 15 we have explicitly 'sons of Babylon, whose home-(lit. kindred-)land is Chaldaea.' The mention of both Chaldæa(ns) and Babylon is by far most frequent in Jeremiah (Chaldaea 46 times ; Babylon, 163 ; the land of Chaldæa, especially Jer. 50 *f.*) ; the expression 'land of Babel' (Babylon) is peculiar to Jer. 50 28 51 29 ; 'the kingdom of the Kasdim' in Dan. 9 1 is the kingdom of Darius.

There is a reference to Southern Babylonia in the (land) MERATHAIM (rather Merathim) of Jer. 50 21, if this is equivalent to the Ass. *(mat)marrati*, 'sea-land'—*i.e.*, land on the shore of the Persian Gulf (so Del., Schr.). In what part of Babylonia PEKOD (Jer. 50 21 Ezek. 23 23) is to be sought is unknown ; the cuneiform Puḳudu does not help us. The general situation of SHOA and KOA seems to have been determined (E. of lower Tigris).

1. The absorption of Assyria into the Babylonian Empire has not prevented P and his contemporaries from maintaining an acquaintance with more northern countries. Eastern Armenia (ARARAT. 1) had been introduced to the Hebrews through the account of Sennacherib's murder (2 K. 19 37), was known—perhaps in a wider sense—to the author of Jer. 51 27 before the Persian conquest of Babylon, and was incorporated into P's version of the flood (Gen. 8 4). It has been observed [§ 4], and it is not a little surprising, that neither here nor anywhere do we find biblical mention of the Armenian lakes, Van and Urumiyeh. If Arpachshad (Gen. 10 22 24 ; see ARPHAXAD) contains the name of Arrapachitis, then P's knowledge actually penetrated into the region between these lakes, and yet he does not name them. MINNI and ASHKENAZ [*qq.v.*] are also in Armenia, and RIPHATH and TOGARMAH at least in Western Armenia, whilst P knows GOMER [1] (the Gimirrai of the Assyrian inscriptions appear in Cappadocia from the time of Esarhaddon) ; see Gen. 10 2 *f.* It is plain therefore that, when P's list was made out, the Taurus and the Amanus, although still unmentioned (see above, § 6), have ceased to be an absolute barrier.

20. P's Northern Geography.

The fifth son of Japhet is Tubal, the Assyrian Tahali, and the sixth Meshech, the Assyrian Muški (Gen. 10 2 = 1 Ch. 1 5), almost always named together ; only in Is. 66 19 does Tubal appear without Meshech (as a distant nation ; but 𝔊 reads Μοσοχ for Heb. מֹשְׁכֵי, see Du., Che. *SBOT*, Marti), and in Ps. 120 5 Meshech without Tubal (‖ or opp. Kedar). Since Bochart they have been identified with the Moschi (μοσχοι) and Tibareni. Schrader (*KFG*, *l.c.*) shows that as late as Esarhaddon the Tabali bordered on Cilicia, and that the Muški were just NE. from them. They push up from the south like a wedge, between Cappadocia and Armenia. Since they appear in the second row

[1] Except such as is indicated by the name Ur Kasdim, which J has used, and which P repeats (Gen. 11 31 15 7, cp Neh. 9 7). It is not certain, however, that P had a definite idea of the site of Ur. Still less does it appear that he associated the Chaldæans specifically with S. Babylonia.

of P's northern peoples, it is now clear that P knew them before they were driven farther N. See TUBAL.

Tiras (Gen. 10 2 = 1 Ch. 15) is the seventh son of Japhet' not identified with certainty; on a possible connection with) the ancient Tyrseni see TIRAS.

On the difficdlt name ' Magog' (Cen. 10 2) see GOG. We can only infer that P set ' Magog' in the N. The traditional identification of him with the Scythians (Jos. Jer.), though without definite evidence, is plausible. The Scythians came down, as fierce northern raiders, late in the seventh century (Zeph. Jer.), and little would be known with precision about a region *so* distant as that from which they came.

2. Before passing entirely away from the N. and E. we must notice P s account of the Aramæans.

Gen. 10 23 gives four sons of Aram who in 1 Ch. 1 17*b* appear as sons of Shem. Gether is unidentified.

For Uz, the connection with Nahor (Gen. 22 21) would lead us to look beyond the Euphrates, and the relation to Aram (Gen. 10 23) would make no difficulty.

The exegetical details of Job will be treated elsewhere. There is no objection to locating **Uz** somewhere on the N. side of the Arabian desert, where indeed Ptolemy (v. 19 2) speaks of a people called the Αἰσῖται who lived W. of the Euphrates. We also find **Uz** connected with Edom (Gen. 36 28 P, and Lam. 4 21 [om. 𝔊]). So, too, 𝔊's addition to the hook of Job refers *to* him as 'dwelling in the Ausitid land on the borders of Idumæa and Arabia.'[1]

On Jer. 25 20 see Uz. Del. (*Pur.* 259) claims to have found the name **Uz**, under the form 'mat Uṣṣā,' on an inscription of Shalmaneser II. (Obelisk, *l.* 154); if correct, Uz must have been near the Orontes, but Winck. (*KB* 1146) reads Kun(?)-uzza as a man's name. Del. (*ZKF* 287 *f.*) thinks of the extreme N. of the Syrian desert, in the region of Palmyra;[2] but Lam. 4 21 opposes this. All these data cannot be made to refer to one single region; but Robertson Smith's suggestion that Uz denotes all the scattered tribes—or rather the various tribes who worshipped the same god, 'Auḍ (עוץ),[3] a god well known to heathen Arabia—is not favoured by the connection of עוץ with Aram, or with a home E. of the Euphrates, although this **is** not conclusive.

MASH [*q.v.*], which occurs only here, is connected by Di. (after Ges. *Thes.*) with Mons Mas(ius), now *Ṭūr 'Abdīn*, northward from Nisibis—the mountain range separating Armenia from Mesopotamia (Strabo xi. 14 2; Ptol. v. 18 2), which may well have been peopled by Aramreans. Accepting this conjecture, we might proceed to identify **Hiil**, the remaining son of Shem, with the district *Ḫūlī'a* (from Ass. *ḫūlu*, 'sand'?), mentioned by Ašur-nāṣir-pal in connection with *Mons Masius* (Del. *Pur.* 259). This, however, is uncertain.

In the time of P light has been pouring over the W. also. It is possible, notwithstanding the present order of the names, that Lud, fourth son of Shem (Gen. 10 22), is to be identified with Lydia, which Cyrus's conquest had made familiar. Identification with the African Lud (Ludim, *v.* 13) is out of the question; and to connect Lud with the Egyptian *Rṭnu* (*Ruten*) of Northern Syria (WMM *As. u Eur.* 143 *ff.*) is opposed by phonetic laws (Erman in *COT*, *ad loc.*). The connection of Lud with Shern is no insuperable obstacle to its identification with Lydia. See LUD.

21. P's Western Geography.

The next name (in geographical order) is quite certain. The fourth son of Japhet is Javan = the Ionian. In Dan. 8 21 11 2 10 20, and probably in Zech. 9 13 (if the text is correct), the reference is to !he Macedonian power. In Ezek. 27 13 Is. 66 19 the original reference to Ionians is more prominent. See JAVAN.

Four descendants are assigned to Javan (Gen. 10 4). Of these, Tarshish and Kittim, as we have seen, early became familiar to the Hebrews; ELISHAH [*q.v.*], which occurs elsewhere only in the phrase 'אִיֵּי א, ' const-lands of Elishah' (Ezek. 27 7), may perhaps be Carthage; on the fourth descendant see DODANIM. The intervening spaces offer room for the unnamed islands and coast-lands (אִיֵּי הַגּוֹיִם, Gen. 10 5) so abundantly referred to in the later literature.

[1] ἐν μὲν γῇ κατοικῶν τῇ Αὐσ[ε]ιτιδι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀραβίας. Cp also Job 32 2, where 𝔊 adds after ' Elihu . . of the kindred of Ram' . . . τῆς αυσειτιδος χώρας.

[2] So Jos. (*Ant.* i. 64) says that Uz (οὔσης) was the founder of Trachonitis and Damascus (cp Jer. *Quæst.* Gen. 10 23); but whence had he the tradition?

[3] See WRS *Kinship*, 261; *RS*(2) 43; We. *Heid.*(2) 146; and on the other side Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 183. Notice too that 𝔊's adjectival form αὐσ[ε]ῖτις points also to a pronunciation 'Aus = 'Auḍ, there being no distinction in Heb. between the two Arabic consonants ṣ and *ḍ*.

The term אִי (אִיִּים) is only here in P; **but** it is characteristic of the late literature, and has a consistent, although general, geographical use. The singular הָאִי appears in Is. 20 6 used of the Palestinian coast (including Judah) and so in 23 2 6 of the Phœnician coast, and in Jer. 47 4 of the coastland of CAPHTOR (*q.v.*, § 1); in Jer. 25 22 we read of 'the kings of the coastland which is beyond the sea' (with kings of Tyre and Sidon). In the wider application, however, it is elsewhere pl., and is sometimes more, sometimes less, defined. It always, as far as can be determined refers to coasts of the Mediterranean. It is otherwise quite indefinite (of coast-lands, whether of islands or continents, often with idea of distance) Jer. 31 10 Ezek. 26 15 18 *bis* 27 3 15 35 39 6 Is. 41 1 5 42 4 10 12 49 1 51 5 59 18 60 9 66 19 Ps. 72 10 97 1 Dan. 11 18; fully אִיֵּי הַיָּם Is. 11 11 24 15 Esth. 10 1; אִיֵּי הַגּוֹיִם occurs Zeph. 2 11 as in Gen. 10 5; less often the pl. is used of particular coasts: of Kittim Jer. 2 10 Ezek. 27 6, and of Elishah Ezek. 27 7 · once it means 'islands,' Is. 40 15, and once (if the text is right; see *SBOT*, 'Isa.' Heb. 201) 'habitable ground,' Is. 42 15. The earliest indefinite use of the pl. is Jer. 31 10 Zeph. 2 11; all the others are in Is. (second and third) Ezek. Esth. Dan. and late Psalms, unless Is. 11 11 be an exception, which, however, in view of the usage, is most unlikely. See further, ISLE.

22. P's Sons of Ham.

In *v.* 6 P goes on to the sons of Ham. These are Kūsh, Miṣraim, Phut, and Canaan. The first two are unquestionably African. Kush here is probably the same as in Is. 18 1 etc. (αἰθιοπία)—*i.e.*, the country S. of Egypt (see ETHIOPIA). Miṣraim (see MIZRAIM) has no doubt substantially the same meaning as in J (§ 15); Phut occurs as early as Nahum (3 9).

Also in Jer. (46 9 with Kūš and Lūdim; read perhaps. Lubim) Ezek. (30 5 with Kūš and Lud, probably also Lūb; see Co.; in both these last as part of the Egyptian army; 27 10 with Pāras [see, however, PARAS] and Lūd, as in the Tyrian army; 38 5 with Pāras [see, however, PARAS] and Kūš as belonging to the hordes of Gog), and in Is. 66 19 (Tarshish, Pul [rd. *Pūt*, φουδ, BQmg.], Lūd, Tubal, Javan). In Jer. 46 9 and Ezek. 27 10 36 5 𝔊 reads λίβυες; see Jos.; in Nah. 3 9 τῆς φυγῆς καὶ Λίβυες represents פּוּט וְלוּבִים.

On the whole 𝔊 points to identification with the Libyans, or a part of them adjoining Egypt on the W.

For another view see PUT. WMM *As. u. Eur.* 114 *ff.* argues strongly on phonetic grounds for *Punt* (on the African shore of the Red Sea); but he minimizes and explains away the evidence of 𝔊. He also adduces the order of names in an inscription of Darius (v. Spiegel, *APK* 54 *l.* 30); *Putiya*, *Kušiya*, *Maçiya* —*i.e.*, *Punt*, on the Red Sea coast (beginning from the E.), *Kuš*, inland etc.; but as *Yauna = Javan* precedes, the order from E. to W. is by no means certain. The whole matter is doubtless involved and difficult.

P's list of the sons of Miṣraim has not been preserved; knowledge of Egypt, however, although perhaps not covering greater distances than in the eighth century, was certainly more intimate, from *Taḥpanhes* on the frontier (Jer. 43 7 *ff.* etc., Ezek. 30 18) to *Thebes*, far up the Nile (*No*; Nah. 3 8 Ezek. 30 14 *ff.*; see these *vv.* also for other Egyptian cities). Ezekiel (29 10) takes us as far S. as Aṣwān ('from Migdol to Syene' [read *Sewān* = Aṣwān]), to say nothing of Cush (see § 23).

If we reserve Kūsh, the only non-African son of Ham, according to P's list (as far as preserved to us), is Canaan. This represents the pre-Israelitish population of the land which bears the same name (see CANAAN).

23. P's Sons of Cush.

Passing over SEBA and HAVILAH (*q.v.*), we pause at the difficult tribal name Sabtāh (Gen. 10 7, where 21 codd. have שׁבתא || 1 Ch. 1 9).

Tuch and Knobel propose σαββαθα or Sahota (see reff. in Di.), an ancient Arabian commercial city Sab. שבות (but ש = ס?), whilst Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 252 *f.*) think of σαφθα (Ptol. vi. 7 30), near the (W.) shore of the Persian Gulf.

Sabteca (Gen. 10 7) is unknown. See SABTECA.

We have left Ra'ma(h) (Gen. 10 7 רַעְמָא 1 Ch. 1 9), with his two sons. Of these sons, Shebn has been considered already (§§ 3, 17). For the other see DEDAN.

The descendants of Ra'ma(h) being Arabian, it is not surprising that the same is true of Ra'mah.

The name occurs elsewhere only in Ezek. 27 22 among the traders of Tyre (with Sheba). The *g* in 𝔊's forms (see RAAMAH) agrees with Sab. רעמה. It is plausible to connect with the ῥαμμανῖται (Strabo, xvi. 4 24), between the μιναῖοι and the χατραμωτῖται, for Sab. רעמה is near *Me'īn* (מען; SW. Arabia). See further RAAMAH.

In this connection it is interesting to notice the

increase in other exilic and post-exilic writers of names of tribes living in the N. Arabian and Syrian desert. ISHMAEL (*q.v.*) is known to J, who specifies the limits of the Ishmaelite rovings (Gen. 25 18) ; but he is better known to P. It is partly that the desert tribes encroached on former Israelitish territory, and so became known, partly that the tribes dwelling nearer Babylonia became acquaintances of the Hebrews by way of Babylon, and partly that the movements of peoples and individuals were becoming, from various causes, more frequent and extended, and general information more widely diffused. The population of the desert between Palestine and Babylonia became more definitely known to the Hebrews as the Jewish community was preparing to take on its later form. Of precise geographical yield there is here, however, very little. The list of Ishmael's twelve sons (Gen. 25 13 *ff.* [P] = 1 Ch. 1 29 *ff.*) well illustrates the facts (see especially Di. and reff.).

Such names as Kedar (Jer. 2 10 Ezek. 27 21 Is. 21 16 *f.* etc.) and Nebaioth (Is. 60 7 etc.; see on these, ISHMAEL, §§ 2, 4) now begin to appear, and the prophets have already begun to use the name *Arabian* with a definite significance (Jer. 25 24 Ezek. 27 21, see ARABIA, § 1).

At the end of Gen. 10 7 the list of P is interrupted by that of J. In *v.* 20 P reappears in a closing formula (as it does also in *v.* 31 *f.*). *V.* 22 *f.* deal with the sons of Shem (see above). With *v.* 23 P's list ends abruptly.

It remains only to consider a few later notices. The trading habits of the Jews, developed in and after the exile, not only resulted in the planting of Jewish colonies at various foreign centres, such as Alexandria, which naturally became sources of geographical knowledge, but also doubtless led them in the track of the conquering Macedonians (cp DISPERSION, § 11 *f.*). We are therefore not surprised to find, in a late book, a mention of INDIA (Esth. 1 1 8 9), which marks one of the youngest geographical notes of the OT and the farthest eastern point reached by biblical geography. If the land of Sinim in Is. 49 12 were China, the limit would be much farther eastward ; but this interpretation can no longer be maintained (see SINIM). It will be observed that even Strabo knows nothing to the E. of India.

24. The distant East in the Greek Period.

It is noteworthy that down to the time of this late reference, even after the long Hebrew contact with Babylonia and the adjacent countries to the E., there is no sign of acquaintance with the remoter Orient ; nor is there even yet any clear token of familiarity with overland trade-routes to countries as distant as India. This is quite in keeping with the silence of our Assyrian and Babylonian sources on the same subjects, and points to the conclusion that such trade-routes were opened much later, or were much more insignificant, and perhaps shorter, than some have been inclined to suppose.

25. Apocrypha.

The geography of the Apocryphal books shows the transition from the older Hebrew geography to that of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. We find much of the older geography continued and enlarged. Babylon is the familiar scene in Baruch, the Song of the Three Children, Susannah, Bel and the Dragon, as Media (Ecbatana, Rages) is in Tobit. The river HYDASPES [*q.v.*] appears as a novelty in Judith 1 6 and the city of Persepolis in 2 Macc. 9 2. Idumæa, 1 Macc. 4 29 6 1 6 31 etc., is named often, Egypt occasionally (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 11 1 13). In the distance are the SCYTHIANS (2 Macc. 4 47), as an example of a barbarous people. Arabia in a wide sense is frequent (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 11 16). The names of Syria (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 11 2 60), COELESYRIA (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 10 69, 2 Macc. 3 5), and Ptolemais (1 Macc. 5 15 22 etc.) now appear; also the harbour of Tripolis (*διὰ τοῦ κατὰ Τρίπολιν λιμένος* ; 2 Macc. 14 1), Antioch (1 Macc. 4 35, etc.), and Daphne near it (2 Macc. 4 33).

As we move farther W. there is still more novelty. In the sea we have of course Cyprus (2 Macc. 10 13 12 2) and the Cyprians (4 29), and Crete (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 10 67); on land we have Cilicia (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 11 14 Judith 1 7 12) and Tarsus (2 Macc. 4 30); Asia as a kingdom (1 Macc. 8 6 11 13 etc.) ; the Galatians (8 2 ; RV 'Gauls'). Crossing the Ægean we have 'Alexander the Macedonian' (1 Macc. 1 1), and besides [ἡ] γῆ χεττιείμ (cp τὸν περσέα κιτιέων βασιλέα 8 5), in the same verse (and elsewhere) τὴν ἐλλάδα ; the Spartans (σπαρτιᾶται) appear, especially in 1 Macc. 12 2 5 *f.* 20 *f.* We encounter an 'old man of Athens' in 2 Macc. 6 1 ; but this is doubtful (see GERON). Especially noteworthy is 1 Macc. 15 23, which contains a list of countries, including Sampsames, Samos, Rhodes, Gortyna, Cnidus, Cyrene, to which letters were sent from Rome (*v.* 15). The new power of Rome (1 Macc. 1 10 etc.) is often mentioned, and, farthest W. of all, the land of Spain (1 Macc. 8 3).

The meagreness of reference in these books to territory E. of Media and Persia indicates in part a lack of geographical interest and in part the ignorance of the authors. The Book of Tobit, whose scene is laid in Media, shows little trace of real acquaintance even with that country. The mention of India in the additional chapters of Esther (13 1 16 1) is a mere repetition of that in the Hebrew Esther, and that of 1 Macc. 8 8 is an obvious textual error. F. B.

26. NT.

A survey of NT geography would take us into regions that have hitherto hardly come within view ; but such a survey is not necessary for the purposes of this article (see above, introduction). A large part of it would almost resolve itself into a study of the missionary journeys of Paul (see PAUL, GALATIA). It is enough to refer to the wide range of his journeys in Asia Minor, Greece, and the Greek islands and lastly his journey from Jerusalem to Rome, journeys that are familiar from deservedly popular works, the latest of which is Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller* (a valuable contribution).

We might almost say that to study the NT geography is to study the geography of the Roman province of Asia. In fact not only the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul but also the Apocalypse of John (chaps. 1-3) send us mentally on a tour of investigation in Asia. It must not be forgotten, however, that whilst Rome could be introduced into the OT only by the Rabbinic device of taking 'Edom' as a symbol for 'Rome' (cp EDOM, § 10), 'Rome' itself stands written plainly again and again in the second part of the NT. Once the great missionary looks even beyond Rome—not merely to Tarshish, but to Spain (Rom. 15 24 28). Thus the realised and unrealised travelling purposes of Paul embrace a large section of the Roman empire. Against his will he even visited the island of Malta, where Punic was spoken. The soil of Africa he never touched, though in a remarkable catalogue of countries of the Jewish Dispersion (Acts 2 9 *f.*) the 'parts of Libya about Cyrene' are mentioned, and one would almost have expected to read in the sequel that Africa as well as Asia had been visited by Christian missionaries.

The passage, which, as Blass remarks, is in the style of [illegible] runs thu[s] [illegible] '[illegible] Parthi[an]s and Medes a[nd] Elamites, and t[ra]vellers in [Mes]opotami[a], in Judæa (?) a[n]d [C]appadocia, in [illegible] and Asia in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, we do hear them speaking in our tongues the mighty works of God.' 'Judæa,' however, is plainly a scribe's error. Jerome would read 'Syria'; Tertullian 'Armenia'; elsewhere (see INDIA) 'Ionia' is proposed. There is special interest in the mention of the Jews from Parthia (see PARTHIANS).

F. B. (§§ 1-25).

GEON (ΓΗΩΝ [BℵA]), Ecclus. 24 27 AV, RV GIHON, 3 (*q.v.*).

GEPHYRUN (ΓΕΦΥΡΟΥΝ [A] om. V, Syr.), apparently the name of a city, called also Caspin (see CASPHOR), which was taken by Judas (2 Macc. 12 13 RV); but the relation between the two names is obscure. The former name might plausibly be identified with the *Gephyrus* of Polybius (see EPHRON i, 2), if the

distance between the proposed sites of Caspin and Ephron were not too great to permit this.

Very possibly 𝔊 is corrupt (so RVmg.). Some read **πόλιν γεφύραις** (so cod. 55; cp Vg. *firmam pontibus*), or **γεφύραιν** (Grot. Zö.), where **γεφ.** might have the sense of 'darns' or 'mounds.' AV translates, 'to make a bridge' **(γεφυροῦν).**

GERA (גֵּרָא, **a** compound of גֵּר? § 68; cp Phœn. גרא; ΓΗΡΑ [BAL]), a prominent Benjamite division to which belonged EHUD (Judg. 3 15), and SHIMEI, 1 (2 S. 16 5 19 16 [17], 1 K. 28). This and the name BECHER [*q.v.*] are the only Benjamite divisions mentioned in the historical books.

Gera is mentioned in late genealogical lists in Gen. 46 21 (𝔊ADL adds that he was the father of ARD) and 1 Ch. 8 3 5 (**γερα [B*v.* 5]**) etc. (on the complications see H. W. Hogg, *JQR* 11 102-114 ['98], and cp **BENJAMIN, §** 9 ii. *β*). It is omitted in Nu. 26 38-40. Marq. (*Fund.* 22) discovers the gentilic הַגֵּרָאִי in 2 S. **23** 36 6 **(MT** 'Bani the Gadite,' הַגָּדִי**); but** see HAGRI.

GERAH (גֵּרָה, prop. 'grain,' Ass. *girū*, see Muss-Arnolt; ὀβολος [BAFL], *obolus* [Vg.], *mā'ā*, *zūzā* [Pesh.]), Ex. **30** 13 Lev. 27 25 Nu. 3 47 18 **16** Ez. **45** 12†. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

GERAR (גְּרָר, ΓΕΡΑΡΑ [ADEL]), a place (and a district ?) in the extreme SW. of Palestine or, perhaps more strictly (unless a second place of the same name be meant), in N. Arabia — mentioned by J in Gen. 10 19 26 1 6 17 20 *26*, by E (?) in Gen. 20 1 *f.* (in *v.* 2 γα|γαραρων [E]), and by the Chronicler in 2 Ch. **14** 13 ([12] *f.* γεδωρ [BA]).

Since the time of Rowlands, it has been generally identified with the ruins called *Umm el-Jerār*, about 5 m. S. of Gaza, in a deep and broad torrent-bed called *Jurf el-Jerār* (the upper part of the *Wādy Ghazza*). This identification suits 2 Ch. *l.c.*, where, after defeating Zerah near Mareshah (*Mer'ash*, near *Beit Jibrīn*), Asa pursues his foes as far as Gerar; also Gen. 10 19, where 'towards Gerar' is given as an alternative geographical point to 'unto Gaza' (even if the latter should be a gloss, it is probably correct), and **26** 1, where Abimelech, who resides in Gerar, is called 'king of the Philistines' (Philistia cannot have reached much farther S. than the 'strong' city of Gaza). It is inconsistent, however, with Gen. 26 21 *f.*, where SITNAH and REHOBOTH (*q.v.*) are localised in the valley of Gerar, and with Gen. 20 1 where 'and he sojourned in Gerar' is an alternative geographical statement to 'and dwelt between KADESH (i.) and SHUR' (*qq.v.*). The passages just mentioned absolutely require a more southerly situation for Gerar than that proposed by Rowlands and adopted by Robinson, Socin (*Baed.*(3) 143), and Mühlau (Riehm's *HWB*(2)). For these passages at any rate the site fixed upon by Trumbull (*Kadesh Barnea*, 63 *f.* 255) and Guthe (*ZDPV* 8 215) seems indispensable. **SW.** of *'Ain Ḳadīs* is the *Wādy Jerūr*, a lateral valley of the *W. esh-Sherāïf*, which issues into the *W. el-'Arīsh*; the name, as Robinson who describes it remarks, nearly corresponds to the Gerar of the OT.

In short, it is probable that there were two Gerars, and that J, who was equally unaware of this and of the true situation of Rehoboth and the other wells, confounded them, and consequently made Abimelech a 'king of the Philistines,' which the lord of Rehoboth and Sitnah cannot have been.

This view of the locality intended in the original form of the tradition, of which we have J's recast in Gen. **26**, is confirmed by the version of the same folk-story given by J in his life of Abraham (Gen. 12 10-20), where the scene of the story is laid in Mizraim. That J understood the Mizraim of this tradition to be the land of Egypt, is obvious. There is indeed no special Egyptian colouring, but the mention of Pharaoh is enough to prove this reference. Elsewhere, however, it has been shown (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*) that some of the early traditions may have been misunderstood by J through his ignorance of the early application of the term Mizraim (or Miṣṣor) to **a** region bordering on Edom, and adjoining the 'Wady of Mizraim,' in N. Arabia (see EGYPT, BROOK OF). This region probably included the territory between Kadesh and Shur, and also the wells Rehoboth and Sitnah. Winckler (*AF* 132) suggests that וַיָּגָר בִּגְרָר, 'And he sojourned in Gerar,' in Gen. **20** 1 may be an editorial addition, designed to harmonise the following narrative **(E)** with that in Gen. 26 (J). This is very probably correct; otherwise we must insert 'also,' and attach the words in question to *v.* 2 (so Strack), a most undesirable expedient. The modern name *Jerār* means 'pots'; but this is no guide to the sense of the Hebrew Gerar (cp the modern name of BEER-SHEBA).

Of the two Gerars only the first is known to tradition. It is, however, not the K-ru-ru of the famous list of Thotmes III., which was hardly near Gaza (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 159). Josephus apparently knows of Gerara as a Palestinian city (*Ant.* i. 12 1). Eusebius mentions it as *25* R. m. S. of Eleutheropolis, and as capital of Geraritica (*OS* 240 28; cp **299** 74 77 **80**). It seems to be mentioned in the Talmud (Neub. *Géog.* 65). Sozomen (*Hist.* 632) says that there was there a large monastery. Cp GERRHENIANS.

T. K. C.

GERASENES, THE COUNTRY OF THE. In the original tradition of the casting out of the legion of demons it was, most probably, stated that Jesus was met by a demoniac, or by two demoniacs, in the 'country of the Gerasenes.' The story occurs in three forms, and according to both AV and RV, the three evangelists differ as to the scene. In Mt. 8 28 AV gives 'Gergesenes,' RV 'Gadarenes'; in Mk. 5 1 and Lk. *8 26* AV gives 'Gadarenes,' RV 'Gerasenes.' It is not very easy to say in each case which is the best reading.

In Mt., Ti., Treg WH., and Weiss adopt **γαδαρηνῶν**; in Mk., Ti. and **WH** agree in preferring **γερασηνῶν**; in Lk., **WH** adopts **γερασηνῶν**, but Ti. **γεργεσηνῶν** (so **ℵ**).

'Gergesenes' may, however, be confidently rejected. It has arisen out of 'Gerasenes,' and supplies an example of the tendency of the scribes to repeat the initial g in *gad* or *gar* at the beginning of the next syllable (see GIRGASHITE). It was equally the habit of the scribes to substitute a well-known for an uncommon name. 'Gerasenes' therefore is to be preferred to 'Gadarenes,' if we can only find a Gerasa which was on the E. coast of the Sea of Galilee; to identify this Gerasa with *Jeraš* (see GILEAD, § 6) is out of the question. To start with, we have some reason to expect that there was such a place, because Origen (*In Ev. Joann.* *624*) states that there was an 'ancient city' called Gergesa near the Lake of Tiberias, and hard by it a precipice, with which the descent of the swine into the lake was traditionally connected. So also Eusebius (OS **248** 14).

Under 'Gergesa, where the Lord healed the demoniacs,' he says, **καὶ νῦν δείκνυται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους κώμη naph τὴν λίμνην Τιβεριάδος εἰς ἣν καὶ οἱ χοῖροι κατεκρημνίσθησαν· κεῖται καὶ ἀνωτέρω.** Further, in an earlier place (242 68), where **γεργασει** is treated of, it is defined as **ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου παρακειμένη πόλις τῷ Γαλααδ ἣν ἔλαβε φυλὴ Μανασσῆ.** He adds that 'it is said to be Gerasa, a notable town of Arabia. And some say that it is Gadara. And the Gospel makes mention of the Gerasenes', and under *Gesurim*, 244 24, we read that 'Gergasi is in Basanitis, from which the children of Israel were unable to expel the Geshurites' (cp **127** 18 under Gesom').

The probability is that Origen and Eusebius had really heard of a place on the Sea of Galilee called Gersa, and now that it has been shown that 'on the left bank of the Wady Semak, and at the point where the hills end and the plain stretches out towards the lake,' are ruins called Kersa, and that about a mile south of this the hills approach within forty feet of the lake, terminating in 'a steep, even slope,' we can hardly doubt that here is the lost Gerasa. 'The site,' says Sir C. W. Wilson,[1] 'is enclosed by a wall three feet thick. On the shore of the lake are a few ruined buildings, to which the same name is given by the Bedouin.' Thomson (*LB* 375), who first of all indicated these ruins, states (in harmony with Wilson) that though it was but a small place the walls can be traced all round, and there seem to have been considerable suburbs.

Thomson further states that there are ancient tombs in the high grounds about the ruins of Kersa (cp

[1] ***Recovery of Jerusalem*, 368** ('71). Cp Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, 179.

Macgregor, *Rob Roy* ***on the Jordan***, 423). About Gadara on the Hieromax, caves are also abundant, and the territory of the city seems to have extended to the lake. GADARA (*q.v.*), however, is at least six miles from the lake, and though this is maintained by Keim, was certainly not intended in the original tradition. The possibility that Kersa is Gerasa is not taken into account by G. A. Smith (*HG* 458 *f.*), who identifies it with Gergesa, and considers 'Gergesenes' to be 'the reading supported by the documents.'

For a statement of the documentary evidence see WH *App.* 11; from which we can hardly avoid the inference that **Γαδαρηνῶν** is probably correct in Mt., **Γερασηνῶν** in Mk. and Lk. The decision, however, is not historically of great moment; **γερασηνῶν** is virtually supported by the MSS which present *γεργεσηνῶν*, for the reason given above, and should be preferred. With the statements of Eusebins in *OS*, cp the parallel passages in Jerome (viz. **130**18 **125** 27). The most important variation is at the close of the latter passage which reads 'quidam autem ipsam esse Gadaram æstimant, 'sed et evangelium meminit Gergesenorum.' The authority of Eus. and Jer. for calling it Manassite appears to be merely the general statement in Josh. **13**29-31.

GERGESITES (οι γεργεϲαιοι [BℵA]), Judith516 **AV,** RV GIRGASHITES (*q.v.*).

GERIZIM, MOUNT (הַר גְּרִזִּים [Sam. writes the two words as one, הרגריזים]; 'mountain of the GIRZITES' [*q.v.*]; less probably from גזר=גרז, 'to cut in two': the vocalization of a certainly primitive name has but slight authority; γαρ(ε)ιζειν [BAFL], but γαζιρειν [A in Dt. 11 29 Judg. 97] and γαριζ[ε]ιν [VA] in 2 Macc. 523, EV GARIZIM), the mountain (now called *Jebel eṭ-Ṭōr*) on the southern side of the valley or fissure in which Shechem lies, facing Ebal which is on the north.

1. Situation.

The height of Gerizim (properly Gerizzim) is 2849 ft.; that of Ebal 228 ft. more. The former is composed almost entirely of nummulitic limestone; in its rocky slopes are large caverns which were probably once quarries. The ascent at the present day cannot be called difficult, and the splendid view from the summit amply rewards the climb. One feels that if the union of N. and S. Israel could only have been accomplished, the sacred mountains Gerizim and Ebal, with the beautiful city nestling between them, might have been thought by Israel's leaders to have superior claims to Mt. Zion and Jerusalem.

A remarkable description is given of the situation of Gerizim in a passage hitherto much misunderstood. Moses has set before the Israelites a blessing and a curse, and directs them, when they have been brought into the land of promise, to 'put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal, on the other side Jordan, beyond Jericho, towards the entrance into Shechem, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the House of the Tower beside the sacred trees [tree?] of Moreh' (Dt. 11 29 *f.*).[1]

2. Dt. 11 29 *f.*

The terrible state of corruption into which this passage early fell, led Eusebius (*OS*(2), **243** 89) to state that according to the Scripture Gerizim and Ehal were 'near Golgol which is Galgala' (**Γολγωλ, ἡ καὶ Γαλγαλα. ταύτης εἶναι πλησίον ἡ γραφὴ διδάσκει τὸ Γαριζειν καὶ τοῦ Γαιβαλ ὄρους**), and an acute proposal has been made to identify the 'Gilgal' of the received text with the ruins called Julējil, **SW.** of the valley of Shechem (see GILGAL, § 5). 'This, however, does not suit the phrase 'over against (מול) Gilgal,' and on grounds of principle it is undesirable to attempt identifications until the passage containing **a** place-name has been thoroughly scrutinised from the point of view of textual criticism. Julējīl may represent an ancient Gilgal or cromlech; but this does not show that it is referred to in Dt. **11** **30**. On the other hand, the text, as emended, gives a thoroughly accurate picture.

The 'entrance into Shechem' is completely commanded by these two grand mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, as indeed the description in another striking passage (Josh. 8 **33**) also presupposes. 'Near the eastern end, the vale is not more than 60 rods wide' (Thomson), and from the highest gardens in the W. corner of Nāblus we turn at once to the path which skirts the rocky slopes of Gerizim. At no great distance is a platform of rock, with a projecting triangular crag, about 10 ft. in diameter, from which, as from a pulpit, Jotham could easily have shouted his parable in the ears of the people below[1] (Judg. 97), 'running away' afterwards (cp EV's naïve rendering of וינס *v.* 21) before Abimelech could take him. Nor is this, probably, the only portion of the story of Abimelech which refers to Gerizim. When that tyrant heard that all the people of the tower of Shechem were gathered together, we are told, he took his men to a mountain close by to get wood to set their refuge on fire. With axes he and his men cut down branches of trees and carried out his stern plan (Judg. 947-49). The mountain referred to can only be Ebal or Gerizim, and the corruption of Gerizim into ZALMON [*q.v.*, i.] or Hermon (𝔊BAL) is easy.

Dean Stanley's attempt to provide Gerizim with other historical associations (the meeting of Abram and Melchizedek and the sacrifice of Isaac) can hardly be called a success. The Samaritan traditions are of no historical value and have no sound biblical basis. One of them even represents Jacob as having had his great vision (Gen. **28** 11 *f.*) on the summit of Gerizim (on the ruins called Lōze[2] [the Luza of *OS*(2) 274 5 **135** 13] see Rob. *BR*). See SAMARITANS.

There are still two biblical passages in one of which possibly or probably and in the other beyond any doubt Mt. Gerizim is referred to—viz., Is. 661 Jn. 420 *f.* Certainly if Is. 66 1-4 is post-exilic (and it is difficult to maintain anv Longer an exilic date), we can hardly find any other concrete object for the passage than that first assigned by Duhm—viz., the intention of the Samaritans to build a temple to Yahwè on Mt. Gerizim[3] (see ISAIAH ii. § 21). Still, owing to the brevity of the passage we can scarcely claim more than' high probability for this conjecture.

2. Other references.

The second passage is also somewhat enigmatical. A modern writer quoted by Wetstein[4] remarks on *v.* 22, 'Christ and the woman were both agreed in the object of worship. The question she puts is only which is the true place for it. But how is that determined by the answer?' The truth is that Jesus goes beyond the question of the Samaritan woman. He asserts (or is made to assert) that neither the Jerusalem nor the Gerizim temple is a fit place for spiritual worshippers, but also denies that the Samaritans as a body worship the Father (who requires spiritual worship) at all; and he looks forward to the time when the Samaritans shall give up the cultus on Mt. Gerizim without accepting (as the author of Is. 661-4 had doubtless wished) the cnltus on Mt. Zion.[5] Thus Mt. Gerizim, which loomed. above Jesus and the woman as they conversed by Jacob's well ('in *this* mountain,' *v.* 20), gave occasion to Jesus, according to the Fourth Gospel, to enunciate the great principle of spiritual religion. We must not, however, allow ourselves to exaggerate the blame extended by Jesus to Mt. Gerizim. Partisans of the temple at

1 Cp Gen. **126.** We read מֵהַלְאָה for הלא־המה; [לְ]ירחו for אחרי; שכמה for השמש; בית המגדל for בערבה מול הגלגל. See *Crit. Bib.* All that can be done to make MT intelligible has been done, especially by Dillmann; but few will call the result very satisfactory. C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1 328 *ff.*) has realized the doubtfulness of the text; but his suggestions that a highway through the land of the Canaanites is spoken of, that Shechem is deliberately omitted, and that 'the Gilgal' was a circumvallation of Gerizim are hardly felicitous.

1 Moore (*Judges* 246) ascribes this very plausible theory to Furrer (*Wanderungen*, 244 *f.*); cp also Baed.(3) 256. But as Thomson, *LB* ['60] (473) remarks, several lofty precipices literally overhang Nāblus. Similarly Porter (Kitto's *Bib. Cyclop.* 'Gerizim').

2 May we compare the name of the village Ṭallūzā, a little to the N. of Ehal, sometimes identified with TIRZAH (*q.v.* 1)?

3 König, it is true, sees no iiecessityfor any 'concretd motive' such as Gressmann suggests (the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem). The writer of *vv.* 1-4 wishes to emphasise his conviction that only a 'house **of** prayer' (cp 56 7) was 'an appropriate place of worship for Yahwè' ***(The Exiles' Book of Consolation***, 201 *f.* ['99]). Is. **66** 1-4 according to him is an exilic passage, but **665** *ff.* 'were added after the building of the temple.'

4 Beaulacre, ap. Wetstein (Bowyer, ***Critical Conjecturer***, 143 [1782]).

5 Cp B. Weiss, ***Evang. des Johannes***, 193 *('86)*.

Jerusalem were, in his eyes, not less 'sectarian' than partisans of the temple on Gerizim. See SAMARITANS.

The summit of this mountain testifies to a succession of faiths. The most prominent monument is not the most important; it consists of ruins of the castle built by Justinian in 533 A.D. to protect the Christian church erected in 475 A.D. (the foundations of which still remain). In the centre of the plateau, however, is something much more venerable—a smooth surface of rock which is the traditional site of the altar of the temple of the Samaritans, and therefore their 'Holy of Holies. The cup hollow in it resembles those in many Syrian dolmens. and may well have been used in primæval times for libations. Conder (*Syrian Stonelore*, 169 *f.*) suspects that, though this rock may once have been enclosed, there was no proper temple. Josephus, however, had no interest in exaggerating, and his words are plain—'a temple like that at Jerusalem (*Ant.* xi. 8 2). The drafted blocks of the walls of Justinian's castle may possibly belong to a still older structure (Baed.[3] 256). In the foundations of the western wall there are some ten or twelve large stones beneath which tradition places the 'twelve stones,' brought up from the bed of the Jordan by the Israelites (Josh. 420). The place where the lambs of the Samaritan passover are killed is a short way down the W. slope of the mountain, a little above the spot where the Samaritans pitch their tents seven days before the feast. For an account of the passover ceremony see SAMARITANS.

4. Ruins.

Gerizim) rejoices in a copious spring of delicious water (the *Rās el-'Ain*), which may quench the thirst of the scanty band, of Samaritans at passover time, but wns naturally insufficient for the multitude gathered on the mountain and slaughtered by Cerealis in the time of Vespasian (see Jos. *BJ* iii. 7 32).

T. K. C.

GERQN, an Athenian, introduced by RV^mg. into an account of measures taken by Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jewish religion (2 Macc. 6 1). The text has γέροντα 'Αθηναῖον [VA], which, EV renders 'an old man of Athens.' The ‖ passage, 1 Macc. 1 44, speaks of messengers sent by the king. The leader of these messengers would naturally be either a civil or a military official under Antiochus.

Probably ἀθηναῖον is a clerical error for ἀντιοχέα; Vet. Lat. and Vg. have 'Antiochenum,' which may of course be the conjecture of a translator, but is none the worse because it is ancient. It is a further question whether γέροντα is not itself corrupt; RV^mg., perhaps unintentionally, suggests this view. But Ewald's rendering, 'a senator of Antioch' (*Hist.* 5 298, n. 5), is very plausible. The name of the official was not necessary; the Ar. vers., however, gives it as Filḳūs (see Grimm, *ad loc.*). For a subtle but hardly necessary critical conjecture see Kosters, *Th.T* 12 496 ('78). T. K. C.

GERRHENIANS, RV GERRENIANS, THE (εως των γεννηρων [A], ε. τ. γερρηνων [V]), evidently a term for the southern limit of the Syrian dominion under Antiochus Eupator (2 Macc. 13 24). The town of Gerra (τὰ γέρρα, Strabo, xvi. 2 33; γέρρον ὅριον, Ptol. iv. 5 11) lay between Pelusium and Rhinocolura, but can hardly be intended here, since the coast as far N. as Rhinocolura was at this time Egyptian (cp Polyb. v. 80 3). The Syriac reads G-Z-R. More probably, however, we should read γεραρηνων, which agrees with the reading γεραρηρων of one MS (cod. 55). 'From Ptolemais unto the Gerarenes' (see GERAR) would represent the whole of Palestine in its widest extension from N. to S.

Compare the expression in 1 Macc. 11 59 where Simon is made captain of the country 'from the LADDER OF TYRUS (about 100 stadia N. of Ptolemais) unto the borders of Egypt.'

GERSHOM (גֵּרְשֹׁם,[1] cp גרשו in Sin. Inscriptions, and see GERSHOM, GESHAM; γηρσαμ [BHAFL in Ex. and Ch.]; in Judg. γηρσομ [B], γερσωμ [A], γηρσων [L]).

1. The first-born of Moses and Zipporah (Ex. 2 22 18 3), from whom JONATHAN (2), the priest of the sanctuary at Dan (Judg. 18 30), claimed descent.[2] We also find a Levitical name Shebuel b. Gershom in 1 Ch. 23 15 *f.* 26 24. The popular etymology, גֵּר שָׁם, 'a sojourner there' (Ex. *ll.cc.*), is followed by 𝔊 (γηρσαμ) and Jos. *Ant.* ii. 13 1 (γηρσος). See MOSES, and on Ex. 4 25, cp CIRCUMCISION, § 2.

2. The head of the b'ne PHINEHAS (3), a family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA I § 2, 2 § 15 [1] d), Ezra 8 2 (γηρσωμ [BA], -σαμ [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 29 GERSON (ταροσοτομος [B], γηρσων [A], -σαμ [L]).

GERSHON (גֵּרְשׁוֹן, for which in Ch. regularly גרשם and גרשום with the exception of 1 Ch. 6 1 [5 27], γεδεων [A], 2 3 6 γηρσων [A]; γελσων [BAFL]), b. Levi, is mentioned only in P and Ch. He is the first-born of Levi in Gen. 46 11 (γηρσων [AD]), Ex. 6 16 (γηρσων [AF]) 1 Ch. 6 1, and makes up with Kĕhāth and Merari the three chief subdivisions of the Levites. Although the first-born, he is overshadowed by the Kehathites (to whom Aaron belonged). His sons Libni and Shimei (Ex. 6 17 Nu. 3 18 21 1 Ch. 6 17 [2] 23 7) were known, according to the Chronicler's conception, already in David's time (1 Ch. 23 7-11).

The sons of Gershon or the **Gershonites** (הַגֵּרְשֻׁנִּי; ὁ γεδσων[ε]ι [BAFL], ὁ γηρσων[ε]ι [BA]) are numbered at 7500 in the wilderness (Nu. 3 22)—which has an artificial look when we recollect that the whole number of the Levites is enumerated at about three times that number, viz. 23,000 (Nu. 26 62). P describes moreover their special work at the tabernacle and also the position taken up by them on their journeyings (*ib.* 3 25 4 24 7 7). Far more important, however, is the notice of the cities apportioned to them (Josh. 21 27 33 γηρσων [AL]; 1 Ch. 6 62 [47] 71-76 [56-61] γηρσων [A]); these all lay to the N., in Manasseh beyond Jordan, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, and if we take this in connection with the notice of Jonathan b. Gershom b. Moses in Judg. 18 30 it would appear that the priests of Dan formed a group which traced its origin back to Moses, and derived its name from his first-born.[1] In the post-exilic and priestly genealogies the place of Gershon b. Moses is taken by Gershon b. Levi; compare the similar case of ELIEZER b. Moses and ELEAZAR b. Aaron. See GENEALOGIES i., § 7.

GERSON (γηρσων [A]), 1 Esd. 8 29 = Ezra 8 2, GERSHOM, 2.

GERUTH CKIMHAM (גֵּרוּת כִּמְהָם), Jer. 41 17 Kr. See CHIMHAM.

GERZITES (הַגִּרְזִי), 1 S. 27 8 Kt., AV^mg.; AV GEZRITES.

GESEM (γεσεμ [BℵA]), Judith 1 9, RV GOSHEN.

GESHAM, or rather, as in RV, **Geshan** (גֵּישָׁן, cp perhaps גֹּשֶׁן), b. JAHDAI, a Calebite (1 Ch. 2 47; σωγαρ [B], γηρσωμ [A], γεισων [L]).

𝔊A's γηρσωμ may be due to a misreading, or possibly enough points to an original גרשם (so Ki. *SBOT*, see GERSHOM). It is noteworthy that in both cases the Calebite name finds evident analogies in names of N. Arabian origin.

GESHEM (גֶּשֶׁם, γησαμ [BHA], γις. [L], *GOSEM*), called 'the Arabian,' an ally of Sanballat and Tobiah, and an opponent of Nehemiah (Neh. 2 19 6 1 *f.* 6). In Neh. 6 6 the name takes the form GASHMU (גַּשְׁמוּ, γοσεμ [ℵ^c.a mg.], om. Bℵ*A; *GOSEM*); the correct form is probably Gushamu, a well-known Arabian name (cp Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, s.v. גשמו).

For the ending *-u* which occurs frequently in Nabatean inscriptions compare מליכו [&c.], Neh. 12 14 (RV Malluchi, RV^mg. Melicu), JETHRO, and perhaps BOCHERU, and see Nöld. in Eut. *Nab. Inscr.* 73; *ZDMG* 41 715. See ARABIA, § 3. S. A. C.

GESHUR (גְּשׁוּר). 1. A territory. in NE. Palestine, adjoining the Israelite possessions, and reckoned as Aramæan (2 S. 15 8). According to 1 Ch. 2 23 (om. Pesh.), Geshur and other Aramæan peoples took the Havvoth-jair from the Israelites. It may often be dangerous to treat statements of this kind in 1 Ch. 1-9

[1] For the orthography of גרשם (=גרשן) see Frensdorff, *Massoret. Wörterb.* 277; the two names are essentially identical; cp Onam and Onan, Hemam and Heman.

[2] Bennett (*Exp.* 8 *b* ['98] 78) points out a possible reference to Gershom in Judg. 17 7 והוא גר־שם, as though, 'and he (was) Gershom.

[1] A portion of the Merarite branch of Levites actually bears the name of Mushi—*i.e.*, the Mosaite. Observe that this Levitical name, in common with so many more, is remarkable for its S. Palestinian associations; see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (v.).

as historical; but the statement here made is not in itself improbable; it implies that Geshur was at any rate N. of the Havvoth-jair. Still less reason is there to doubt the correctness of the geography of Dt. 3 14 Josh. 12 5 (late as these statements are), except indeed as to the localisation (in Dt. *l.c.*) of the Havvoth-jair in Bashan rather than in N. Gilead (see HAVVOTH-JAIR).

In these passages the Geshurites and the Maacathites are mentioned together as bordering on the territory of Og king of Bashan, and therefore on that of Israel. Hence Guthe (*ZDPV* 12 233), Wetzstein, and G. A. Smith incline to place Geshur and Maacah in the modern province of Jōlān (Gaulanitis); Geshur would of course be S. of Maacah.

Conder (Smith's *DB*(2)) and von Riess (*Bibel-Atlas*(3), '95) indeed, still prefer to identify it with the plain of Jēdūr, which is SE. of Hermon and NE. of en-Nukra. This view is not only linguistically hazardous, but also involves identifying en-Nukra with Bashan, and placing the Havvoth-jair outside the N. boundary of Gilead. Furrer (*ZDPV* 13 198) places Geshur still farther E. He identifies it with the Lejā, that great lava plateau which lies E. of en-Nukra and NE. of the Jebel Haurān, and corresponds approximately with Trachonitis; but his reasons are very insufficient.

It is a disputable point whether Ishbaal was really king 'over Gilead and over the Geshurites' (2 S. 2 9 Pesh., Vg.). For two reasons:—First, because in Absalom's time (2 S. 15 8) 'Geshur in Aram' (?) was an independent state, and secondly, because though in Josh. 13 11 (cp *v.* 13) Joshua is said to have assigned Geshur and Maacah to the two-and-a-half tribes beyond Jordan, we cannot safely accept this as correct in the face of the contrary statements in Dt. 3 14 Josh. 12 5. The truth probably is that 'in Aram' in 2 S. 15 8 and 'Geshurites' in 2 S. 2 9 are incorrect readings. See GESHUR, 2; ASHURITES.

In Josh. 12 5 𝔊B has γεργεσει, in Dt. 3 14 𝔊BAFL [but B* γαργασει, see Swete] γαργασει (cp Eus. in OS 244 24, who takes γεσουρειμ to be the city of γεργασει in Bashan where the Israelites 'did not destroy the Geshurites'); 𝔊AF in Josh. 12 5 γεσουρι, 𝔊L γεσουρε. Other forms are: in 2 S. 13 37 14 23 15 8 γεδσουρ [BA], γεσσειρ [L]; in 1 Ch. 2 23 γεδσουρ [B], γεσσουρ [A], γεσουρ [L]; in Josh. 13 13 γεσειρει [B], γεσουρ[ε]ι [AL]. In Josh. 12 5 Pesh. exceptionally has 'Endor.'

2. (הַגְּשׁוּרִי, 'the Geshurite.') A district at the extreme limit of Palestine, S. of Philistia, Josh. 13 2 (AV Geshuri), 1 S. 27 8 (EV 'the Geshurites'; so RV in Josh.). The former passage (late) introduces a description of the land in the SW. towards Egypt, which in Joshua's old age still remained unconquered. A reference to the northern Geshur is therefore impossible. In the latter passage the Hebrew text gives, as the names of peoples or districts attacked by David from Ziklag, 'the Geshurite, the Girzite or Gerizzite (see GIRZITES), and the Amalekite.' 𝔊, however, gives only two names; one of the first two names in MT is doubtless a doublet. Wellhausen, Driver, and Budde give the preference to the second name in the form sanctioned by the Kre, viz. הַגִּזְרִי, 'the Gizrite,'—*i.e.*, the Canaanites of 'GEZER (so RVmg., see Judg. 1 29; 1 K. 9 16). But Gezer lay too far N. It is better to read 'either 'the Girzite' or 'the Geshurite,'[1] and the latter is on the whole the more probable, for the Girzites probably belonged to northern or central Canaan. It was probably a chieftain of these southern Geshurites whose daughter Maacah became one of David's wives and mother of Absalom. He is called Talmai, which is also the traditional name of a Hebronite giant (Judg. 1 10; see HEBRON, § 1); David's close connection with S. Palestine is well known, and the list of the children born to him in Hebron in 2 S. 3 2-5 mentions the son of Abigail the Carmelite just before Absalom. Maacah is given as the name of a concubine of Caleb (1 Ch. 2 48). This theory accounts more fully than he rival view for Absalom's flight recorded in 2 S. 13 37 (cp 14 23 15 8). In the southern Geshur, close to and yet outside of Judah, the pretender would have every opportunity of preparing for his revolt. Ahithophel (Ahiphelet?) and Amasa, his chief supporters, belonged to S. Judah, and it was the tribe of Judah which was principally concerned in the rebellion (cp 2 S. 19 11 [12] *ff.*).[1] The only objection to this is that in 2 S. 15 8 Absalom says to David, 'Thy servant vowed a vow while I dwelt at Geshur *in Aram*.' This specification, however, would rather be expected in 2 S. 13 37. It is clear that בארם 'in Aram' is a gloss (for בארם?), suggested by the vicinity of the northern Geshur to that of Maacah.

The suggestion of Glaser (*AHT* 242) that in Josh. 13 2 1 S. 27 8 we should read for הגשורי, האשורי (see ASSHURIM), should also be mentioned, consistency would then oblige us to change Absalom's 'Geshur' into 'Ashur.'

𝔊B in 1 S. *l.c.* gives only γεσειρι = גשורי; 𝔊AL gives both names (γεσερει [A] or τὸν γεσσουραῖον [L] and τὸν γεζραῖον). Afterwards, instead of 'Shnr,' 𝔊L gives 'Geshur' (γεσσουρ). In Josh. 13 2 𝔊B γεσειρει, 𝔊AL γεσουρ[ε]ι, Pesh. 'Endor.' In 2 S. 13 37 𝔊 adds εἰς τὴν μαχαδ [B] ('to the land of Maacah'), ε. γῆν μ. [A], ε. γ. χαλααμα [L]. **T. K. C.-S. A. C.**

GETHER (גֶּתֶר, perhaps גְּשׁוּר = גֶּתֶר [*i.e.* GESHUR, 1]: Marq. *ZATW* 8 155; γαθερ [AEL]), one of the 'sons' of ARAM (Gen. 10 23, 1 Ch. 1 17 γεθερ [L]).

GETHSEMANE (ΓΕΘΣΗΜΑΝΕΙ [Ti. WH]—*i.e.*, 'oil press,' see OIL; the word is Aramaic. but the form somewhat uncertain [=גַּת שְׁמָנִי(ם), Dalm. *Gramm.* 152. The forms γεσσημανει, γησαμ. = גֵּיא שְׁמָנִי(ם)]; *GETHSEMANI*, *GESEMANI*) is given in Mt. 26 36 Mk. 14 32 as the name of the place to which Jesus retired with the disciples after the Last Supper. In both passages it is called χωρίον (see FIELD, 9); EV renders 'place' (but see RVmg.); the word answers to the Latin *prædium* (so Vg. in Mk., but *villa* in Mt.).

1. In NT.

What is meant is a piece of ground enclosed by a wall or fence of some sort; this is confirmed by Jn. 18 1, which speaks of a 'garden' (κῆπος; see GARDEN, § 7) and uses the expressions 'he went in' (εἰσῆλθεν, *v.* 1) and 'he went out: (ἐξῆλθεν, *v.* 4). Lk., like Jn., does not name Gethseniane and uses the vague expression 'place' (τόπος; 22 40). Possibly it belonged to owners who willingly afforded access to Jesus; at all events, he was in the habit of resorting to it (Lk. 21 37 22 39), and the habit was known to Judas Iscariot. Doubtless the enclosure contained a press, perhaps also a house in which the other disciples, apart from Peter, James, and John, may have sheltered. It has been conjectured that the owner may have been Mary the mother of John Mark, that she may have had some kind of country-house there, and that the young man mentioned in Mk. 14 51 *f.* may have been Mark himself suddenly aroused from his slumbers. In any case, we know that Gethseniane was situated (Jn. 18 1) to the E. of KIDRON [*q.v.*, § 3] and was regarded as belonging to the Mt. of Olives (Lk. 21 37 22 39). Thds we have to think of Jesus as quitting the town by one of the gates of the eastern wall, descending into the Kidron valley, crossing the bed of the brook, and reascending on the other side. It is at Gethsemane that the touching scenes recorded by the evangelists are placed—the agony and prayers of Jesus, the sleep of the apostles, the arrival of Judas and his train, the arrest; the NT does not enable us to fix the site more exactly.

2. Tradition.

Tradition became more precise. From the fourth century onwards, perhaps from the time of the visit of the Empress Helena, the garden of Gethsemane has been shown at the foot of the Mt. of Olives on the left bank of the Kidron, some fifty yards from the present bridge.

Eusebius tells us that in his day the faithful were diligent in prayer at the place, and Jerome says it had a church (*OS*(2) 130 24; 248 20). The Franciscans, to whom the ground now belongs—it measures about 150 ft. by 140—surrounded it with a wall in 1848, adorned it with chapels, and laid it out as a European garden with walks, borders, and beds (the oriental garden is a plantation of trees; see GARDEN).

[1] Kamph., however, retains hoth names (*Z*A*W* 6 94).

[1] See *AJSL* 16 153 159 *f.*

It contains eight old olive trees which pilgrims willingly believe to date from the time of Christ, or at least to come from trees of that date. On the other hand, it has to be remarked not only that olives are not in the habit of attaining so great an age, but also that, according to Josephus (*BJ* vi. 1 1 *f.*), all the trees about Jerusalem were cut down by the army of Titus at the time of the siege. The earliest trace of a tradition relative to the olives of Gethsemane does not go back farther than to the sixteenth century. Some hundred yards to the N. of the garden a cave (ancient cistern), transformed into a Latin sanctuary — the Grotto of the Agony — is shown; the suggestion is that here is the place spoken of by Lk. (22 41) as 'about a stone's cast' from where the three apostles were. The Greeks have a garden called Gethsemane close to but distinct from that of the Latins; the Russians also have built a church in the neighbourhood. See *PEFQ*, 1887, p. 159; *1889*, p. 176.

The authenticity of the site, then, is not demonstrable; but neither is it utterly improbable. In reality, however, the scene must at all events have been larger. It may have been perhaps more to the N., or more to the S., in the valley; or, more probably still, further to the E., higher up on the western slope of the Mt. of Olives, though not on the very top — a site ill adapted for a retreat (Reland, 857). If Lk. (21 37 22 39) had said ἐπὶ instead of εἰς (τὸ ὄρος), the expression would have been more conclusive against the traditional site (Eus. *OS*(2) 248 20 has πρὸς τῷ ὄρει; Jer. *OS*(2) 130 24, *ad radices montis Oliveti*). The Emperor Hadrian caused extensive terracings to be made in the Kidron valley; by these doubtless the previous contours were considerably modified (*PEFQ*, '93, p. 80).

3. Literature. Robinson, *BR*(3) 1 234 *f.*; Tohler, *Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*, 191-229, *Dritte Wanderung nach Palæstina*, 353-55; Gatt, *Beschreibung über Jerusalem*, 211 *f.*; Furrer, *Wanderungen durch das HL*(2), 79-81; Keim, *Leben Jesu von Nazara*, 3 297-301; Guérin, *Jérusalem*, 288 *f.*; Petavel, 'Le Domaine de Gethsémané,' *Chrétien Evangélique*, '88, pp. 219-25; 'The House of Gethsemane,' *Expos.* 1891 *a*, pp. 220-32; Le Camus, *Voyage aux Pays Bibliques*, 1 252-56; Conder, *Bible Places*, 204.

LU. G.

GEUEL (גְּאוּאֵל, 'majesty of God'; cp Gray, *HPN* 210; Sam. גואל; ΓΟΥΔΙΗΛ [B^a?AFL]; ΤΟΥΔΙΗΛ [B*(foot)b]; *GUEL*), b. Machi, a Gadite (Nu. 13 15†).

GEZER (גֶּזֶר, cp two places, one of them near Aleppo, called el-Jazra [Yākūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 2 71 *l.* 1]; most usually ΓΑΖΕΡ [BAL]), an ancient Canaanitish city said to have been conquered by Joshua (Josh. 10 33 [ΓΑΖΗΣ, BA] 12 12), and situated on the S. border of Ephraim (16 5, not in MT [cp *v.* 3]; ΓΑΖΑΡΑ [BA], -ΡΩΝ [L]), towards the W. (1 Ch. 7 28); a Levitical city (Josh. 21 21 [ΓΑΖΑΡΑ, B; -ΖΕΡΑ, L], 1 Ch. 6 67 [52]). It remained Canaanitish (Josh. 16 10 Judg. 1 29) until 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt,' or, as has been conjectured, Pir'u, king of the N. Arabian Muṣri (see GENUBATH, HADAD i. [3], MIZRAIM, § 2 [*b*]), took and burned it, and gave it as a marriage portion to his daughter, Solomon's bride (1 K. 9 16, γεζερ [A]; for B see 4 33; L 5 3); Solomon fortified it (*v.* 17). It is mentioned in 2 S. 5 25 (AV GAZER, γαζηρα [BAL]) = 1 Ch. 14 16 (γαζαρα [B], -ζηρα [AL] = MT גְּזְרָה) as the limit of David's pursuit of the Philistines; obviously it was on the border of the Philistine territory. In 1 Ch. 20 4 'Gezer' is given where the text of Samuel (2 S. 21 18) gives 'GOB.' As Maspero has pointed out, it is the Kazir (W. Max Muller, Ḳa-dī-rụ) of Thotmes III.'s list of names of Palestinian cities (*RP*(2) 5 51); in the Amarna tablets it appears as Gazri, whose ruler Yapaḫi protests his fidelity to the Pharaoh (*KB* 5 328 *ff.*). On its share in the revolt against Rameses II. see EGYPT, § 58; and on the mention of it in the 'Israel inscription' see EGYPT, § 60.

As Gazara (γαζαρα) it is frequently mentioned in the Maccabæan wars (1 Macc. 4 15 etc.); see GAZARA. In the time of John Hyrcanus it was taken by Antiochus VII. Sidetes; but at the conclusion of the war the Hasmonæans were permitted to retain it, apparently through the intervention of the Romans (see Schurer, *GJV* 1 206 *f.*).

By Strabo (xvi. 229) it is mentioned as γαδαρίς 'which also the Jews appropriated'; but he seems to have somewhat confused it with Gadara beyond Jordan. In Josephus (Ant. xii. 7 4) the form γαδαρα also occurs for Gezer, and, in a *Notitia Episcopatuum*, ῥεγεὼν γαδάρων near Azotus is distinguished from γάδειρα between Pella and Capitolias. At a synod in Jerusalem in 536 there were two bishops, each of Gadara. In the OS (244 16; 127 10) it is Gazara (γαζάρα a 'villa' or κώμη) 4 m. northward from Nicopolis. (See *ZDPV* 17 36-41.)

The long-lost site of Gezer was discovered in 1873, by Clermont-Ganneau, close to the village of Abū Shiisheh, a little to the S. of Ramleh, towards Jerusalem.

2. Site. It is the high and isolated point known as *Tell Jezer*, which being just 4 m. W. by N. from 'Amwās (Emmaus-Nicopolis) is no doubt the Gazara referred to in OS. The *Tell* is described (see *PEFM* 2 428-440) as having terraces of rude stone, and a sort of citadel at its eastern end. There are also rock-hewn tombs, and a great reservoir near the modern European farm, and the correctness of Ganneau's identification is placed beyond dispute by his discovery of three bilingual inscriptions — one of which includes the word גזר 'Gezer'[1] — which are placed palæographically between the Hasmonæan and the Herodian periods.

For the present state of the archaeological questions which have been raised, see his *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, 2 257; *Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.* 1 351-391, cp 401. Ganneau has shown that Tell Jezer is the Mont Gisart, near which in 1177 Baldwin IV. gained a victory over Saladin. See also Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.* 1899, pp. 422-427.

GEZRITES, THE (הַגִּזְרִי), Kr., for which Kt. THE GERZITES (AV^mg.) in 1 S. 27 8 (Ο ΓΕΖΡΑΙΟΣ [AL]), where RV more correctly has GIRZITES (*q.v.*; see also GIRGASHITE), mg. GIZRITES. The GESHURITES (see GESHUR, 2) and the Gizrites (?) are mentioned together. 'The Gezrites' might mean the Canaanites of GEZER [*q.v.*], but more probably should be deleted. See GIRZITES.

GIAR (גִּיחַ; ΓΑΙ [BA], ΓΙΕΖ [L]), supposed to be the name of a place on the road in which Joab pursued Abner (2 S. 2 24). See, however, GIBEAH, § 2 (6).

GIANT, GIANTS. 1. רָפָא, רָפָה, *rāphā'*; רְפָאִים, *rᵉphā'īm*, 2 S. 21 16 *ff.* Gen. 14 5 etc., see RAPHAH (2), REPHAIM (i.). According to Duhm, Rephaim means (*a*) giants, (*b*) the shades (*Manes*), inasmuch as the God-defying giants were hurled into Shĕōl and became the chief among the inhabitants of Shĕōl. See, however, DEAD, § 3.

2. נְפִילִים, *nᵉphīlīm*, Gen. 6 4 Nu. 13 33†. See NEPHILIM.

3. גִּבּוֹר, *gibbōr* (γιγας, often in 𝔊). The rendering is based on the Ar. use of *jabbārun* for 'giant' (cp Gen. 6 4); but moderns prefer the sense 'warrior'; cp David's *gibbōrīm* or 'warriors.'

4. עֲנָקִים, ANAKIM [*q.v.*], may also be explained as 'giants.'

GIBBAR (גִּבָּר; ΤΑΒΕΡ [B], ΓΑ. [AL]), a district of Judah mentioned in the great post-exilic list, Ezra 2 20 (see EZRA ii. § 9, § 8 *c*).

It has been proposed to read גבעון, 'Gibeon' (so Berth.-Ryssel as in ‖ Neh. 7 25, γαβαων [BℵAL]), but against this see GIBEON, § 3. Guthe prefers בֵּיתֵר or בֵּית תֵּר following 1 Esd. 5 17 (RV BAITERUS; [υἱοὶ] βαιτηρους [BA]). See BETHER i.

GIBBETHON (גִּבְּתוֹן; ΓΑΒΑΘΩΝ [BAL]), a city which, according to 1 K. 15 27 16 15 (ΓΑΒΑΩΝ [B]), 17, in Baasha's time and after it, belonged to the Philistines, and was apparently their frontier fortress towards Ephraim (see PHILISTINES). Possibly it is the same as Gibeah of Phinehas (see GIBEAH, § 2 [*z*]). In Josh. it is Danite (19 44; βεγεθων [B], γαβατθων [L]) and

[1] The entire inscription, which is very short, is read תחם גזר, which M. Ganneau (Researches, 2 264) rightly renders 'boundary of Gezer,' and supposes to define the sabbatic limit.

Levitical (21 23; γεθεδαν [B*], γεθαιβαν [B$^{a\ vid.}$], γαβεθων [A], γεβθων [L]).

Conder's identification with Kibhiah, to the NE. of Lydda, reappears in *PEF* map, but not in those of Fischer-Guthe or Buhl. Kibbiah does not appear to be an important site. G. A. Smith (*HG* 351) favours it; but it is surely too far N. for a Philistine stronghold. All memory of Gibhethon seems to have been lost from a very early date. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*(2) 128 15; 246 52) after enumerating several places named Gahathon, content themselves with adding: 'there is also another γαβαθων (Gabatha) of the Philistines in the Book of Kings.

GIBEAH. Any isolated eminence such as those which abound in the central plateau of Palestine might be called גִּבְעָה, *gib'āh*, as distinguished from *har*, 'mountain,' 'mountain range,' or 'mountain district.' The distinction cannot, however, be rigorously carried out.

1. Without qualification. We will first consider the two places called Gibeah without any descriptive qualification. It must be borne in mind that Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon are very liable to be confounded; for example, in Judg. 20 10, and perhaps in *v.* 33 (but see Budde, *ad loc.*), 'Geba' should be 'Gibeah'; in *v.* 31 'Gibeah' should probably be 'Giheon'; in *v.* 43 'Gibeah' should perhaps be 'Geba.' So, too, in 1 S. 13 2 15 14 2 16 'Gibeah' has been written in error for 'Geba'; and in 2 S. 21 6 'Gibeah of Saul' for 'Gibeon'; see the commentaries of Moore, Budde, and H. P. Smith. On 1 K. 15 22 see GEBA, 1, and on 1 Ch. 8 29 (=9 35) see below.

1. A city of Judah, included in the same group with places to the SE. of Hebron (Josh. 15 57; γαβαα [BAL]).

In 1 Ch. 2 49 it is called Gihea (גִּבְעָא; γαιβαλ [B], -βαα [A], γαββαα [L]), and a Calebite origin is assigned to it. It may he (see Di.) either the Gabaa (γαβαα) or the Gabatha (γαβαθα) of Eus. and Jer. (*OS*(2) 246 55; 128 18). There is a Ḳb'u, no. 114 in the name-list of Thotmes 111. (*RP*(2) 5 53).

2. (γαβαα [BAL]; 6 βουνός [often in 𝔊^L]; οἱ βουνοί [Hos. 5 8]). A city of Benjamin ('G. of Benjamin,' 1 S. 13 2 [?] γαβεε [B], 15 [om. A], 14 16 γαβεε [B]; cp Judg. 19 14; also 'G. of the children of Benjamin,' 2 S. 23 29 γαβαεθ [B], but 𝔊^L has τοῦ βουνοῦ). It seems to be identical with GIBEAH OF SAUL (גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל), 1 S. 11 4 (γαβααθα [A"], γααθα [A$^{a?}$], βουνόν [L]), 13 2 (γαβεε [B]), 15 34 (βουνόν [L]), 2 S. 21 6 (γαβαων [BA]. βουνῷ [L]), Is. 10 29 (𝔊 αγγαι), but not with the GIBEATH of Josh. 18 28 (γαβαωθ [BL], -ααθ [A]), nor with 'Gibeah of God' (see § 2 [3]). In Hos. 5 8 9 9 (𝔊 τοῦ βουνοῦ), 10 9 (𝔊 τῷ βουνῷ) it is called 'the Gibeah' (הַגִּבְעָה). The reference in Is. 10 29 is important as clearly distinguishing the two places Geba and Gibeah. The title 'Gibeah of Saul' implies that this was Saul's birthplace (cp SAUL); probably the true text of 1 S. 9 1 and of 1 Ch. 8 29 (=9 35) stated distinctly that Saul's father was of Gibeah of Benjamin.' The gentilic **Gibeathite** (הַגִּבְעָתִי; 6 γεβωθείτης [BN], ὁ γαβαωνίτης [L], ὁ γαβαθίτης [A]) occurs once (1 Ch. 12 3).

Gibeah was the scene of one of the most elaborate narratives of the Book of Judges; chap. 20 describes how the assembled tribes captured the guilty city of Gibeah, and destroyed the Benjamite army, except 600 men (see BENJAMIN, § 5; JUDGES ii., § 13).[2] In the history of Saul frequent mention is made of the royal city (references above). Two passages are specially helpful in fixing its situation. From Judg. 19 12-14 it appears that Gibeah was on or near the main N. road, and S. of Ramah; and from 1 S. 10 2-7 10-13 that from Beeroth (see below, § 2 [3]) to Geba and from Geba to Saul's home was an easy journey. Both passages become intelligible if Gibeah is located, as Gross and Valentiner first suggested,[1] and as Robinson established, at Tell (or Tuleil) el-Fūl, a bare conical hill (2754 ft. above sea-level) about 4 m. N. of Jerusalem, towards er-Riam.

According to Josephus 'Gahath Saul' was from 20 to 30 stadia from Jerusalem on the 'way thither from Gophna (*Ant.* v. 2 8 and *BJ* v. 2 1 combined), which suits the proposed site. Moore, however, would have been inclined from the narrative in Judg. 19 to look for a site somewhat nearer to er-Rām.

2. Compound names. There are several place-names compounded with Gibeah or Gibeath; 1-3 are represented as such in RV$^{mg.}$.

1. GIBEHTH HA-ARALOTH (גִּבְעַת הָעֲרָלוֹת; βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστιῶν), 'the hill of the foreskins,' RV$^{mg.}$ of Josh. 5 3 (J). between the Jordan and Jericho, connected with the report of the circumcision (cp GILGAL i., § 1). The name suggests *Aralu*, a Babylonian name for the [kingdom of the dead; a popular etymology arose when Aralu had been forgotten (Che.). For another view see Stade, *ZATW*, '86, p. 132 *ff.* See also HELKATH-HAZZURIM.

2. GIBEAH OF PHINEHAS (גִּבְעַת פִּינְחָס; γαβααρ [B], γαβααθ [AL], φ[ε]ινεες), a city (cp Jos. *Ant.* v. 1 29) in Mt. Ephraim where Aaron's son, Eleazar, was buried [Josh. 24 33). Possibly it is the same as GIBBETHON.

Perhaps the Geba (γηβα) of Eus. and Jer. (*OS*(2) 248 3 130 5), which was 5 R. m. from Gophna (Jifn.) on the road to Neapolis (Nāblus), and, according to *PEF Mem.* 2 290, corresponds to Jibiā, NW. of Jifnā, and only 1 hr. from Tibneh (Timnath-heres). It is of no importance that the tombs of Eleazar and Phinehas are shown at *'Awartā*, situated in the plain of Makhna, SE. of Mt. Gerizim.

3. GIBEAH OF GOD (ג׳ האלהים, 𝔊 τὸν βουνὸν τοῦ θεοῦ 1 S. 10 5; but in *v.* 10 a simple 'Gibeah' [𝔊^{BA} τὸν βουνὸν, 𝔊^L τὸν papa βουνόν] occurs). The locality is defined as being 'where is the pillar of the Philistines' (see SAUL, § 2 n.), and, since this definition was thought necessary, it may be questioned whether Stenning (Hastings, *DB* 2 170 *a*) is right in identifying it with Gibeah of Saul. Prof. G. A. Smith (*HG* 250) considers it to be the modern Riamallah (Ewalds Ramah), about 10 m. N. of Jerusalem. The names agree in meaning, and the situation of Rāmallah is quite consistent with regarding TABOR [*q.v.*, ii.] in 1 S. 10 3 as a corruption of Beeroth (Bireh) and with the identification of Gibeah of Saul with Tell el-Fūl. Still, the mention of the 'pillar of the Philistines' is more favourable to the view that the Gibeah of God is identical with Geba (*i.e.*, *Jeba'*). We may suppose that Saul went straight across the hill-country from Beeroth ('Tabor' in MT) to Geba, and thence by Ramah (1 S. 10 13, see below) to Gibeah of Benjamin.

In 1 S. 10 13 'he came to the high place' should be 'he came to *hā-rāmah'—i.e.*, to Ramah (*er-Rām*). 𝔊^{BA} has εἰς τὸν βουνόν, 𝔊^L εἰς τὸν βουνὸν papa; cp *v.* 10. Either Saul's uncle dwelt there, or something has fallen out of the tent between *v.* 13 and *v.* 14. This is the easiest emendation.

4. THE GIBEAH OF (THE) MOREH (Judg. 7 1). See MOREH i.

5. THE GIBEAH OF (THE) HACHILAH (1 S. 23 19 26 1). See HACHILAH.

6. THE GIBEAH OF AMMAH (2 S. 2 24). The text is in great disorder.

Was there any 'wilderness of Gibeon'? and how was it that the pursuers got no farther than the district of Gibeon by sunset? Supposing some transposition and corruption to have taken place, an intelligible view of the situation can he produced. גבעון, 'Gibeon' may be a corruption of צבעים, 'Zehoim,' and אַמָּה, 'Ammah' of אֲדֻמִּים, 'Adummim.' In 1 S. 13 18 (see H. P. Smith) we read of 'the hill which overhangs the valley of Zeboim.' The same hill may be referred to here under the name Adummim. The 'ascent of ADUMMIM' [*q.v.*] is the ascent which leads up from Jericho to the *Tal 'at ed-Dam*; some overhanging hill may, however, have borne the same name. Read, therefore, גבעת אדמים אשר על־פני גֵּי הַצְּבֹעִים דרך המדבר '(when they were come) to the hill of Adummim which fronts the valley of Zehoim towards the desert.'[2]

[1] In 1 Sam. 9 1 read with Marq. (*Fund.* 15) מגבעת בנימין (ג׳ for אֲפִיחַ), and in 1 Ch. 8 29 correct 'Giheon' into 'Gibeah' (Che.). The Bichrites (see BICHRI) dwelt at Gibeah. On 'the father of Giheon, Jehiel,' see JEIEL, 2.

[2] Wi.'s attempt to show that the ark was brought by some into conuection with Gibeah, need hardly he considered here (*see* BENJAMIN, § 6).

[1] *St. Kr.* '43, p. 1082; *ZDMG* 12 161 *ff.* (Moore, *Judges*, 414).

[2] It will he noticed that the ה in גיח here becomes ה and is attached to the word which probably underlies גבעון. We. and Bu. eliminate גיח altogether, and suppose the ג׳ to be a dittograin; they read ה for ח, and prefix it to דרך.

7. THE GIBEAH OF GAREB (Jer. 31 39). See GAREB ii.

8, 9, 10. Conjecturally, the Gibeah of Baal-perazim (see GIBEON, § 1), Gibeath-jarib or Gibeath-jearim (see KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1); and Gibeath-Elohim (in Is. 10 32; see NOB). T. K. C.

GIBEATH (גִּבְעַת; ΓΑΒΑΑΘ [A], ΓΑΒΑΩΘ [L], Γ.-ΙΑΡΕΙΜ [B]), Josh. 18 28. Usually identified with Gibeah of Saul, but perhaps rather a fragment of Gibeath-jearim [?]; see KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1.

GIBEATH-HA-ARALOTH (גִּבְעַת הָעֲרָלוֹת), Josh. 5 3 RV^mg^. See GIBEAH, § 2 (1); CIRCUMCISION, § 2.

GIBEATHITE (הַגִּבְעָתִי), 1 Ch. 12 3. See GIBEAH, § 1 (2).

GIBEON (גִּבְעוֹן, ΓΑΒΑΩ[Ν], BAL), a city of the Amorites (2 S. 21 2), or more definitely of the Hivites (Josh. 9 3 *f.*). According to a redactor it was even 'greater than Ai' (Josh. 10 2); but we can estimate its importance better from the fact that it was the head of a tetrapolis or confederacy of four cities, to which Chephirah, Beeroth (not perhaps the Beeroth which is disguised under MT's 'Tabor' in 1 S. 10 3, and which is the modern Bireh, but a place to the SW. of Gibeon'), and Kirjath-jearim also belonged (Josh. 9 17). The humorous story of the deception by which they escaped the fate of Jericho and Ai is well known. It is evidently the attempt of a later age to account at the same time for the long independence of Gibeon and for the use of the **Gibeonites** (הַגִּבְעֹנִים; *οἱ γαβαωνῖ[ε]ῖται* [BN*AL; Αγαβωνίτης N* once]) for slave-service in the Solomonic temple. The story of the war of 'the five kings of the Amorites' against Gibeon in Josh. 10 1-5 is but the sequel of the story of the Gibeonitish ruse, and is therefore both untraditional and unhistorical; this does not, however, necessarily involve the rejection of the at any rate traditional battle near Gibeon (Josh. 10 10-14); see BETHHORON, § 3. We next hear of the Gibeonites in the reign of Saul, though the event referred to, as most critics have held, is not mentioned in due chronological order (cp Stenning in Hastings' *DB* 2 170 *b*). Tradition told of a three years' famine in David's time, which was regarded as a punishment for Saul's having 'slain the Gibeonites' and 'thought to destroy them' (2 S. 21 1 *f.*). The motive of Saul is said to have been 'zeal for the b'ne Israel'; the continued occupation of cities and villages by the Gibeonites (cp 2 S. 21 5, end) was inconvenient for the Israelites. It has been pointed out elsewhere (see NOB) that the deed referred to was not improbably the massacre described at length in 1 S. 22 17-19. We cannot, however, suppose that the priests of the sanctuary of Gibeon ('Gibeon,' not 'Nob,' must be read in 1 S. 21 1 [2] 22 9 11 19) at the time of the massacre were Israelites. They must surely have been Gibeonites, and the fact that the Gibeonite priests aided and abetted David was probably the excuse which Saul urged for decimating the Gibeonite population.[2]

1. History.

The 'pool of Gibeon' attained a melancholy notoriety through the event related in 2 S. 2 12-32 (but see HELKATH-HAZZURIM; in *v.* 24 𝔊^L^ *τοῦ βουνοῦ*). It is mentioned again in the account of the violent conduct of Ishmael b. Nethaniah after he had assassinated the Jewish governor Gedaliah (Jer. 41 11 *f.*). Another act of blood-guiltiness was placed by tradition at the 'great stone which is in Gibeon' (2 S. 20 8-10; 𝔊^L^ *τοῦ βουνοῦ*); perhaps it was recorded in order to degrade the stone, which had been treated as sacred like the 'great stone' at Beth-shemesh (1 S. 6 14). The desecrating act was the murder of AMASA [*q.v.*, 1] by Joab. A brighter memory was that of Yahwb's great deed 'in the plain (עֵמֶק) by Gibeon' (Is. 28 21), if the Gibeon referred to is really the well-known city of that name, and if Isaiah's words may be explained by 2 S. 5 25 (𝔊), where David is said to have routed the Philistines 'from Gibeon to the approach of Gezer' (so, too, 1 Ch. 14 16, where 𝔊^N^ has *γαβων*). Gibeon, however, though more possible than Geba (see Stenning in Hastings' *DB* 2 171 *a*), is still too far from the Plain of Rephaim to be the starting-point of David's pursnit of the foe. Perhaps in all three passages we should read 'Gibeah' and suppose the hill-town of BAAL-PERAZIM [*q.v.*] to be meant.

We have already seen that there was an important sanctuary at Gibeon in the time of Saul—most probably a *Canaanitish* sanctuary. Early in the reign of Solomon we meet with this sanctuary again, and this time it is undoubtedly Israelitish. One of the young king's first cares was to go to Gibeon to sacrifice, 'for there was the great high place' (1 K. 3 4); the antiquity of the notice is proved by the anxiety of the Chronicler to justify the action of Solomon by the assumed fact that the tent of meeting and the brazen altar were at Gibeon[1] (2 Ch. 1 3). It is certainly remarkable that the sanctuary of Gibeon should even without the ark (which was still in the 'city of David,' 1 K. 8 1) have been regarded as the right place for a newly made king to resort to for an oracle. But clearly without the spiritual aid of a great sacrificial feast Solomon could not have ventured on the solemn act of erecting a temple by which the ancient sanctuaries were to be overshadowed. Probably the sanctuary of Gibeon was chosen in preference to any other on account of its nearness to Jerusalem. Its central position made it 'the great high place,' and accordingly, Stade thinks, it is referred to as snch in Dt. 33 12 (but see BENJAMIN, § 8).

2. The Sanctuary.

There is little more to add. From Josh. 9 23 27 we infer that the Canaanites of Gibeon were made temple-slaves; cp 1 K. 9 21, and the phrase 'the children of Solomon's servants' (Ezra 2 58 Neh. 7 60 11 3). In 1 Ch. 8 29-32 (= 9 35-38) there may be a confusion of two statements, one referring to Gibeah (where the clan of Becher dwelt), the other to Gibeon. The father (or son?) of Gibeon may have been JEDIAEL (1) who was the brother of Becher. The father (or son?) of Gibeah wbuld naturally be Becher (see 1 S. 9 1, and cp GIBEAH, § 1 [2 n.]). The 'sons' mentioned in 8 30 (= 9 36) are Bichrites (cp KISH, 1). In Josh. 18 25 Gibeon is assigned to the tribe of Benjamin; in Josh. 21 17 to the Levites. The men of Gibeon took part in rebuilding the wall under Nehemiah (Neh. 3 7; 𝔊^BNA^ om., 𝔊^L^ *γαβαωνίτης, γαβαωνει*), and in one form of the post-exilic list of 'the men of the people of Israel' the 'men of Gibeon' are mentioned (Neh. 7 25). Since, however, Gibeon is separated by several names from the three other members of the Gibeonite tetrapolis, and its nearest neighbours are Bethlehem and Netophah, the correctness of the reading 'Gibeon' may be doubted. Ezra 2 20 has instead 'Gibbar,' which is a little nearer to the (probably) true reading בֵּיתֵר, Bether (see GIBBAR).

3. Other notices.

We can hardly hesitate to identify the ancient Gibeon with the modern village *el-Jīb*. The ancient name is no doubt strangely mutilated;[2] but the biblical data and the statements of Josephus and the Onomasticon[3] all point to the correctness of the theory. A mile north of Neby Samwil (see MIZPAH, 1), at the point where the road to the coast divides into two branches, rises a low, isolated hill, composed of horizontal strata of limestone, which in places form regular steps, or small terraces, from bottom to top. At other points, especially on the east, the hillside breaks down in rugged irregular precipices. Round the hill is spread out one of the richest upland plains in central Palestine —meadow-like in its smoothness and verdure, covered

4. Identification.

1 So Buhl *Geog.* 173.

2 Where the 'tent of Yahwb' referred to in 1 S. 17 54 (emended text: *see* NOB) really was, may be left uncertain.

1 See CHRONICLES, § 7, n. 2. The same spirit which animated the Chronicler seems to have prompted the alteration of הַבָּמָה into הַמִּזְבֵּחַ in the Heb. text of 1 K. 3 4 (see Benzinger).

2 Analogy forbids us to suppose that Jib has come directly from Gib'ōn (Kampffmeyer *ZDPV* 15 27).

3 Jos. (*BJ* ii. 19 1) place; Gibeon 50 stadia NW. from Jerusalem; *Ant.* vii. 11 7 less correctly gives 40 stadia; El-Jib is 5-6 m. W. or N. of Jerusalem, according to the road taken.

near the village with vineyards and olive groves; and sending out branches, like the rays of a star-fish, among the rocky acclivities that encircle it. Upon the broad summit one sees old ruins—notably one massive building which was probably a castle, and among the ruins the houses of the miserable hamlet. At the eastern base of the hill, beneath a cliff, is a fine fountain. The source is in a large chamber hewn out of the rock. Not far below it, among venerable olive trees, are the remains of an open reservoir or tank, into which the surplus waters flow—no doubt the 'pool' or 'great waters' of Gibeon (2 S. 2 13 Jer. 41 12).

T. K. C.[1]

GIBLITES (הַגִּבְלִי), Josh. 13 5 1 K. 5 18 (32). See GEBAL (i.).

GIDDALTI (גִּדַּלְתִּי; γοδολλαθ [L]), a **son** of HEMAN [*q.v.*].

1 Ch. 25 4, γοδολλαθει [B], γεδολλαθι [A], *v.* 29 γοδομαθει [B], γεδδελθι [A], *GEDDELTHI* [Vg.].

GIDDEL (גִּדֵּל, '[God] has reared'; § 50; γεδδηλ [AL]).

1. The eponym of a family or group of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9); Ezra 2 47 (κεδεδ [B]) = Neh. 7 49 (γαδηλ [BℵL], γα. [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 30; EV GEDDUR (κεδδουρ [B], γε. [A], γαηλ [L]), or CATHUA (κουα [B], καθουα [A]).

2. (γαδαι[2] [L]) a group of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9); Ezra 2 56 (γεδηα [B]) = Neh. 7 58 (γαδηλ [Bℵ], -δδηλ [A], γαδδαι [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 33, ISDAEL (ισδαηλ [BA]).

GIDEON (גִּדְעוֹן, as if from √גדע 'to fell,' §§ 66, 77; γεδεων [BAL]; GEDEON in Heb. 11 32 AV; the name appears also in the genealogy of Judith [8 1]) son of Joash, of the Manassite clan of Abiezer, dwelling at **OPHRAH** [*q.v.*, 3], renowned through his success against the Midianites, otherwise called JERUBBAAL, Judg. 6-8, and referred to in Judg. 9 as the father of Abimelech, king of Shechem. The narrative is highly complicated, and traces of composite origin abound.[3] The Hebrew text, too, contains many errors which must, if undetected, lead the student astray. Nowhere has criticism been more carefully and acutely applied than here; it is only in textual and historical criticism (especially in the former) that there is much still to be done. A fresh combination of textual, literary, and historical criticism, which owes much to predecessors, leads to the results given below. The degree of their probability varies considerably, owing to the large amount of success attained in the early fusion of the narratives. It is, however, scarcely open to doubt that Gideon (Gaddiel ?) and Jerubbaal (Uribaal ?) are two different heroes (the one belonging to W. Manasseh, the other either to Gad or to E. Manasseh) whose respective legends have been combined and expanded by successive narrators and editors.

1. Gideon-story. The Gideon-story in its earlier form began with the statement that nomad invaders[4] from the Syrian desert were wont to spread themselves at harvest-time over the fertile country near Shechem and over the plain of Jezreel, plundering the crops. Then Yahwè appeared to Gideon[5] at Ophrah of the Abiezrites as he was beating out wheat secretly in the wine-press, and bade him go with his trusty clansmen[1] against the Midianites. At once a divine impulse seized him; he sounded the war-horn; his clansmen joined him, and with them warriors of Manasseh and Ephraim. They marched early to Mount Gilboa, and took up their position on a projecting hill of that range, 'by (above) the spring of HAROD [*q.v.*, 1], while the Midianites were encamped to the north of them, beneath Mount Gilboa, in the vale.' Towards daybreak, Gideon crept down with his armour-bearer Pu(r)ah (an Issacharite?)[2] to the hostile camp, and heard one Midianite relate to another a significant dream which he had had that night. On his return Gideon called his men to the attack. They raised the war-cry, 'For Yahwè and for Gideon,'[3] and threw the Midianites into such confusion that they fled as far as the distant slopes of Abel-beth-maacah.[4] The Israelites, however, hurried after them, and took the two princes of the Midianites,[5] and brought their heads to Gideon. Thus Midian was subdued. And Gideon judged his people forty years. He had seventy sons, besides Abimelech, the son of his Canaanitish concubine.

The later insertions in this narrative are due partly to a desire to place the theophany above doubt, partly to a tendency of late editors to use the old narratives for edification (cp 7 2-8 with 1 S. 14 6*b*), partly to a [illegible] otic wish that as many tribes as possible might be shown to have had a share in Gideon's exploit (in vi. 35 'Asher' is probably a corruption of 'Issachar'), and partly to a desire to provide a link between this narrative and that in ch. 8. With regard to the last-mentioned point, it will be found that in 7 22*b* the description of the direction of the flight of the Midianites, the text of which had become accidentally corrupted, was manipulated in such a way as to bring Gideon across the Jordan, ready to be enriched with the exploits which properly belong to Jerubbaal. The inserted passage, 8 1-3, stands by itself. It seems to be suggested by 12 1-3 and 2 S. 19 41, and is a consequence of the insertion of 7 24, in which the Ephraimites are said to have been summoned to cut off the fugitive Midianites. It should also be mentioned that 'Jerubbaal' in chap. 9 seems to have been substituted by the editor for Gideon (Wi.).

The Jerubbaal-story may have been somewhat as follows:—

2. Jerubbaal-story. [At Jazer in the land of Gad (?) there dwelt a man of the Gadite family of Uribaal, which name he himself bore; later generations changed it to Jerubbaal (?);[6] his father's name was Joash. Now the Midianites oppressed Israel, driving away their cattle, and plundering the fruits of the ground. And Jerubbaal, and ten of his household, went by night, and made a slaughter among the Midianites.[7] To avenge this the Midianites came upon Jerubbaal's brethren in Beth-ṣur,[8] their stronghold, and slew every one of them, whereupon they turned and went northward on their camels, plundering as they went, till] they came to Ḳarḳor,[9] S. of Hamath. Jerubbaal, however, called his clan together, three hundred warriors, burning with zeal for Yahwè, and with the desire for vengeance. They took the 'road of

1 § 4 mainly from Porter's art. 'Gibeon' in Kitto's *Bib. Cyc.*

2 The readings of 𝔊L and in 1 Esd. of 𝔊BA seem to point to a name containing שַׁדַּי.

3 'Nothing can be clearer than the fact that 8 4-21 is not from the same source as 8 1-3 with its premises in the preceding narrative. Close examination shows that chaps. 6 7 are not of one piece throughout: 6 25 *ff.*, *e.g.*, is not the continuation of 6 11-24; the second sign, 6 36-40, is strange after the miracle 6 21; cp also 6 34 with 6 35 7 2-8, and on the other hand 6 35 with 7 23 *f.* 8 1' (Moore). Cp JUDGES, § 8.

4 In Judg. 6 3 33 7 12 Pesh. reads בני רקם for MT's בני קדם. Now רקם (REKEM) is most probably a corrupt fragment of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel). Pesh. appears to have the right reading. 'The sons of Jerahmeel' is a variant of 'the Amalekites'; for parallels see Job 1 3 1 K. 5 10 (JOB, MAHOL).

5 Joash is the father of Jerubbaal, not of Gideon. See 6 29 8 29. The context of the former passage shows that originally Jerubbaal, not Gideon, was referred to.

1 בכחך זה 'in this thy strength' (6 14) needs emendation; read perhaps בַּחֲנִיכֶיךָ (cp Gen. 14 14).

2 For פֻּרָה (7 10) read perhaps פֻּוָּה PUAH [*q.v.*, 1] (Gen. 46 13 etc.). Cp ISSACHAR, § 4.

3 חֶרֶב 'sword,' in 7 20, is an interpolation (Moore, Bu. etc.).

4 Read עַד שְׂפַת אבל מחולה for עַד־אָשֵׁרֹת אָבֵל בֵּית־מַעֲכָה (7 22). The text is disfigured by transposition and corruption. The editor thought of צְרֵרָה (צרדה), which he placed near Abelmeholah. This agrees with the probable position of ZARETHAN [*q.v.*].

5 On the (probably) true name of the princes (or prince?) of Midian, see OREB [i.].

6 Jerubbaal is possibly the same as ARELI [*q.v.*], or rather Ariel (Uriel = Uribaal ?), the name of a 'son' of Gad.

7 C. Niebuhr rightly observes that the early fortunes of Jerubbaal must be told in the passage underlying Judg. 6 25-32, if we could only recover it. Only a few words, perhaps, were legible to the later narrator to whom 6 25-32 is due.

8 Read בְּבֵית־צוּר for בְּתָבוֹר (8 18). See THEBEZ, TIRZAH, 1.

9 Read בָּאוּ קַרְקֹר (8 10).

Damascus,'] to the E. of Jogbehah (*Ajbēhāt*), and Nobah (*Kanawāt*),[2] passing by Salecah[3] (or Salhad) and Penuel, at the SE. corner of the Ḥaurān.[4] Faint and hungry,[5] Jerubbaal asked for bread for his band. The 'elders' or 'princes' (see GOVERNMENT, § 16) of both places, however, feared the wrath of the Midianites and refused the request. Both places (Penuel was probably the citadel of Salecah; cp *v.* 17 'tower') were threatened by Jerubbaal with punishment. And when he came to Karkor he divided his band into three parts (cp Gen. 14 15 1 S. 11 11 Job 1 17; cp 2 S. 18 2), and gave them empty jars with torches inside, and said, Do as I do. Then each company blew a blast on the horn,[6] and the three hundred broke the jars (with a clash), and held fast the torches. And the Midianites were panic-stricken, and Yahwè set each man's sword against his neighbour. Jerubbaal caught the two kings of Midian,[7] and returned. On his way he punished the rulers of Salecah and Penuel,[8] and so announced himself as king of Gilead. Then came the turn of Zebah and Zalmunna, the kings of Midian, who confessed their slaughter of Jerubbaal's brethren,[9] and underwent their doom. On their camels' necks were necklaces of golden crescents, which were the marks of their high dignity. These the conqueror took for himself [for the people had made him their king]. [10] Then Jerubbaal ben Joash went [to Jazer?[11]], and dwelt in his own house. And be made for himself [a royal sanctuary in Jazer with an altar and], an ephod, the ephod which he had made with the golden rings (earrings?) taken from the fallen Midianites.

The insertion in 8 22 *f.* reminds us of 1 S. 8 7 10 19 12 12 *ff.*, Hos. 9 9 10 9 13 10 *f.*, that in *v.* 27 expresses the view of later times that the use of the ephod was an act of infidelity to Yahwè.

The essential features of the above reconstruction are the distinction between the Gadite (or E. Manassite[12]?) and the W. Manassite heroes (due to C. Niebuhr) and the critical emendation of the text in Judg. 84-21. It is possible that the original Gideon-story represented the hero as accompanied only by his three hundred clansmen, though, since the scene of Gideon's encounter with the Midianites is in the Great Plain, it is only natural to suppose that on his way thither Gideon gathered in fresh volunteers; possible, too, that the enrichment of the Jerubbaal-legend by the story of the jars and torches is erroneous, and that this story really belonged to a second version of the Gideon-story. The similarity of the stories not unnaturally led to their combination,

If Jerubbaal dwelt at Jazer the similarity of this name to Abiezer would facilitate the combination of the legends. We might also assume that Jerubbaal belonged to the *Gileadite* clan of Abiezer; in 1 Ch. 7 18 Abiezer is a son of Hammolecheth, the sister of Gilead. It should also be noticed that HAMMOLECHETH, like Zelophehad, is probably a corruption of Salecah (Salḥad), the city which is so prominent in the story of Jerubbaal.[1]

The religious interest of these stories in their combined and expanded form was very early felt (Is. 9 4 [3], 10 26). To the modern student their historical and archæological interest must almost necessarily be greater. See, however, Elmslie's striking lecture, *Expositor*, 1892 *a*, 50-65.

See Stade's and Kittel's Histories of Israel; and Moore's and Budde's commentaries; Wi. *AOF* 1 42-59; C. Niebuhr, *Studien u. Bemerkungen zur Gesch. des alten Orients*, i. ['94], 1-29; and the critical literature cited by Moore and Budde. T. K. C.

GIDEONI (גִּדְעֹנִי; γαδεωνε[ε]ι [BAFL]), the father of ABIDAN [*q.v.*], Nu. 1 11 (γεδ. [B]) 2 22 7 60 (γεδ. [F], γαδαιωνει [B]) 65 (γεδε. [F]) 10 24.

GIDOM (גִּדְעֹם; γεδαν [B], γελααδ [AL], ܓܕܥܡ [Pesh.], *ultra* [? Vg.]), apparently the limit of the pursuit of Benjamin by 'Israel' (Judg. 20 45).

Such a place-name is in the abstract possible, but there is no mention of it elsewhere; hence the guesses 'Gilead,' 'Gibeon.' The text has a strong appearance of corruptness.

GIER EAGLE. 1. RV VULTURE (*rāḥām* רָחָם, and *rāḥāmāh* רָחָמָה [see Dr. *Dt.*, *ad loc.*]; the name is derived from the care it bestows on its young, cp Di. Lev., *ad loc.*), an unclean bird (Lev. 11 18, κύκνος [BAFL], Dt. 14 17†, πορφυρίων [BL, om. AF[2]]) identified as the *Neophron percnopterus*, the white scavenger, or Egyptian or Pharaohs vulture, belonging to the Vulturidæ.

The *Neophron percnopterus* feeds on offal and the vilest forms of refuse, but does good service to man as a scavenger. Its nests, of sticks and rubbish, are built on rocks, trees, or buildings, often in the suburbs of towns, and are not so inaccessible as is the case with many of its congeners. 'Whilst they are with the Aarab [Arabs],' says Doughty, 'they lie wheeling upon the wing all day, stooping and hovering at little height above the menzil [camp]' (*Ar. Des.* 1393). Both in Arabia and in Palestine it is a migratory bird, returning from the S. in the spring, and is usually found in pairs. In Egypt the vulture was the sacred symbol of Nekhabit, the goddess of the South (Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 102).

2. *péres*, פֶּרֶס, Lev. 11 13 Dt. 14 12 RV, AV OSSIFRAGE (*q.v.*). A. E. S.

GIFT, For מנחה, *minhah*, תרומה, *tĕrūmāh*, ἀνάθημα or ἀνάθεμα (Lk. 21 5 AV), and δῶρον, see SACRIFICE; for משאת *mas'ēth*, see TAXATION AND TRIBUTE; for GIFTS, SPIRITUAL (χαρίσματα), see SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

GIHON (גִּיחוֹן, and [1 K.] גִּחֹן; √גִּיחַ 'to burst forth').

1. A spring near Jerusalem (1 K. 1 33 38 45). From 2 Ch. 32 30 33 14 it appears that it was to the E. of the city, and that Hezekiahs aqueduct diverted its waters. All our data point to the Virgin's Fountain (see EN-ROGEL, SHILOAH).

1 K. 1 33 38 45 γ[ε]ιων [BAL], 2 Ch. 32 30 σ[ε]ιων [B], γ[ε]ιων [AL], 33 14 γιον [B], νοτου [Ba.bA], γειων [L].

2. One of the four rivers of PARADISE [*q.v.*], Gen. 2 13 (γηων [ADE], γι. [L]).

3. The Nile, Jer. 2 18 𝔊[BNAQ] (γηων; Heb. שִׁחוֹר [σιωρ, Q[mg]], SHIHOR [i.]), Ecclus. 24 27 RV, AV GEON (γηων [BKA]), and, by crit. emend. Job 40 23 6 (see JORDAN, § 2 (3)), where read 'though Gihon overflow.' This use of Gihon implies the belief of a later age that the 'Cush' of Gen. 2 13 was the African Ethiopia.

GILALAI (גִּלֲלַי), the son of a priest, a musician in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 36 (γελωλαι [א[c.a mg.]L], om. Bא*A).

GILBOA, MOUNT (הַר הַגִּלְבֹּעַ, 1 S. 31 1 8 2 S. 1 6, γελβουε [A], but הַר הַגִּ' ‖ 1 Ch. 10 1, γελβουε [A], 8; op. γελβουε [BAL], so Jos. *Ant.* vi. 14 2, etc.; *MONS*

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1 For השבוני באהלים (8 11), which 'does not admit of any grammatical interpretation' (Moore), read דַּמֶּשֶׂק = דַּרְמֶשֶׂק 'Damascus.' באהלים is an exegetical insertion.

2 'Nobah' ought to follow 'Jogbehah.'

3 Reading סַלְכָה for סֻכּוֹת (8 5 etc.); see SALCAH, SUCCOTH, i.

4 Reading חַוְרָנָה for הַיַּרְדֵּנָה (8 4). עָבַר is either a gloss (Moore) or a corruption of [ו]חור.

5 Reading רְעֵבִים (Bu., after 𝔊) for רֹדְפִים (8 4).

6 See C. Niebuhr. We need not suppose 300 horns! The horn takes the place of the war-cry in the corresponding part of the Gideon-story.

7 See ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA. The chiefs are here called 'kings,' to heighten the glory of *king* Jerubbaal.

8 For אַנְשֵׁי (8 16 *f.*) read probably זִקְנֵי. There is some confusion in *v.* 16 (see Niebuhr).

9 בָּנֶיךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ means 'thy sons, O king.' So Niebuhr: cp Kittel, *Hist.* 2 51, n. 1.

10 It is no objection to this that Judg. 7 5 points to an oligarchy rather than a monarchy. Jerubbaal was every inch a king while he lived, nor could the oligarchy of his seventy sons (9 2) have lasted long.

11 Something has clearly dropped out after וַיֵּלֶךְ in 8 29.

12 E. Manassite, according to Niebuhr.

1 The difficulty found by critics in Is. 10 26 arises probably from an error in the text (see OREB AND ZEEB).

2 [It is possible that 𝔊 represents the word by πορφυρίων in both passages, for in Lev. 11 18 this word and κύκνος may have been misplaced.]

GELBOUE), more rarely GILBOA (הַגִּלְ׳, 1 S. 28 4 2 S. 21 12); once, corruptly, MOUNTAINS IN GILBOA (הָרֵי בַגִּ׳, 2 S. 1 21; cp 1 S. 31 8; τὰ ὄρη Γ. [BA]).

The name Gilboa, which occurs in MT only in the life of Saul, but should most probably be restored in Judg. 7 3 (Gideon), and possibly in 1 K. 20 27 (Benhadad. see below § 3 [*c*]), has no obvious meaning. The early guesses in the Onomasticon (OS 35 27 180 53 189 95) are valueless, and the modern explanation 'a bubbling fountain' (see Ges. *Lex.*[8]) is no better. Transposition, however, so often accounts for otherwise inexplicable words (including names) that we may conjecture the name Gilboa, or rather Haggilboa (with the article), to be a corruption (probably *designed)* of Gibeath Habbaal (גִּבְעַת הַבַּעַל), 'hill of the Baal'; cp KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1. The corruption, if designed, was of course early; 𝔊 knows only 'Gilboa,' and the same name was preserved in the time of Eusebius and Jerome (OS 247 81 129 14) in that of the 'large village' called Gelbus (Gelbu = Gelboe) in the mountains distant 6 R. m. from Scythopolis. At the present day there is a small village called Jelbōn, SW. of that other village, called Faḳū', which has given its name to the mountain range presently to be described, and is very naturally supposed to represent also the old name Gilboa.

1. The name.

What then does the geographical term 'Mount Gilboa' designate? Gilboa (or Haggilboa, 'the Gilboa'), if the name has been rightly accounted for, belonged originally to one of the elevations in the Gilboa ridge, probably to the highest (Sheikh Burḳān), not to the ridge itself. 'The *mountain* of Gilboa,' however, is a collective term for the entire mountain mass now known as *Jebel Faḳū'*, which 'may be best described as a horn-like projection from the hills bounding the plain upon the S., which first curves round towards the W. for more than three miles, and then runs towards the NW. for five miles further, straight out into the level ground like a peninsula. The greatest height is towards the E. [Sheikh Burḳān, 1696 feet above the sea], where the curve merges in the straight line, and where the range looks down upon the valley of the Jordan and the Acropolis of Bethshan, as it starts abruptly from the plain three miles from the foot of the mountains. At the southern commencement of the curve is the village of Jelbōn. . . . Three miles NW. of the highest peak, where the peninsula of hills is already well out into the plain, is a second peak, some 1400 feet in height, crowned by the tolerably prosperous-looking village of el-Mezār. Still farther to the NW. are two much lower peaks, between which lies the miserable village of Nūris. NW. again from these peaks, for two miles or a little less, the range falls down into a broken and irregular tableland, narrowing and becoming lower as it goes down into the plain, and bounded by steep, but nowhere inaccessible, stony slopes. The ridge ends in three fingers, as they may be called—the two southern ones mere narrow spurs, the northern, which is the true termination of the ridge, somewhat above a mile in breadth. Across this blunt end of the whole peninsula runs the valley which separates it from the broad, flat mound, on which Jezreel was built' (Miller, *Less than the Least of all Lands,* 169 *f.* ['88]).

2. Geographical meaning.

The ridge of Gilboa, which is the southern boundary or rampart of the Vale of Jezreel, is of bleak and bare aspect, except on the S. side, where it is used as arable and pasture land. Probably, however, it was once wooded; one might fairly contend that when 2 S. 1 21 was written (see JASHER, BOOK OF, § 2) the ridge was not so conspicuously bare as it is at present. The poet's aim is not to account for an existing phenomenon; he feels too deeply for that. Gilboa has, at least in parts, its clothing of grass and trees; he would have Gilboa compelled to sympathise with the mourning Israelites.

We have next to ask, Where are the scenes of the two great events *certainly* connected with Mount Gilboa to be placed? The answer can best be given by quoting the two passages which describe the respective encampments of Gideon and Saul. (*a*) 'Gideon and all the warlike force (כָּל־הָעָם) that was with him encamped by (or at) the fountain of Harod, while the camp of Midian was to the N. of them, beneath Mount Gilboa, in the Vale' (Judg. 7 1, emended text; see HAROD, WELL OF, 1). This was where Gideon collected his force to meet the hordes from the other side of the Jordan. The expression 'by the fountain of Harod' is loose. Gideon's men were separated from the fountain by a steep and rugged slope; but they had the command of the fountain. It 'is on the plain, but so close beneath the hill, so encompassed by rocks, that a small detachment could secure it' (Miller, *op. cit.* 178). A reference to the fountain made it at once plain whereabouts Gideon's force was posted. To have encamped beside 'Ain Jālūd would have been unnatural for mountaineers like the Israelites.

3. The 'Gilboa' of Judg. 7 1 and 1 S. 28 4, etc.

(*b*) At a later time, we read, 'the Philistines gathered together all their battalions to Aphek, while the Israelites were encamped by the fountain of Harod which is in Jezreel' (1 S. 29 1, emended text; see HAROD, WELL OF, 2); or, as another account says, 'The Philistines mustered, and came to Shunem, and Saul mustered all Israel, and they encamped on Gilboa' (1 S. 28 4). We are not to infer that Aphek and Shunem were close together.[1] Aphek was in the N. of the plain of Sharon; the two statements quoted come from different hands. They are, however, easily reconcilable. The mustering at Aphek was swiftly followed by the arrival of the Philistines at Shunem; the Israelites expected this, and had no occasion to change their position. Soon, however, the Philistines must have found that they could not attack Saul's position from Shunem; the Nahr Jālūd has too deep a channel, and the ascent from the lakelet below (see HAROD) to the broken plateau above is too steep to permit a hostile attack on warriors drawn up above. An attack would be perfectly feasible, however, if the Philistines went up the far easier slopes and wādies to the S., which lead to open ground about the village of Nūris, and directly above the 'Ain Jālūd.[2] Thus there is a clear parallelism between the position of the Midianites and that of the Philistines, and between that of Gideon and that of Saul.

Dean Stanley has given a picturesque account of the battle of Gilboa (*Jewish Church,* 2 25 *f.*; cp *Sinai and Pal.* 345). According to him, the position occupied by Saul was 'on the rise of Mount Gilhoa hard by the "spring of Jezreel," the Israelites as usual keeping to the heights, whilst their enemies clung to the plain.' The objections to this, however, drawn from close observation of the ground, are very strong.[3] The chariots of the Philistines could not have pursued the Israelites up that steep and rugged slope. The fighting between Saul and the Philistines must have occurred on the southern slopes of Gilboa.

(*c*) One more event may perhaps be assigned to this mountain-region—viz., the defeat of Benhadad, king of Syria, by Ahab.

RV, following the received text, states that 'at the return of the year Benhadad mustered the Syrians, and went up to Aphek, to fight against Israel. And the children of Israel were mustered, and were victualled, and went against them' (1 K. 20 26 *f.*). 'And were victualled,' however, must be wrong; we require,

1 Prof. G. A. Smith formerly held that Aphek was somewhere near Jezreel (cp H. P. Smith, *Sam.* 244); now, however, he has come over to the view advocated by WRS (APHEK, 3 (*b*), *supr.* col. 192) that the Aphek in Sharon is that intended (*PEFQ,* 1895, p. 252).

2 GASm. *HG* 403; cp Miller, *Less than the Least of all Lands,* 175, 180 *f.*

3 It is inaccurate, however, to represent Stanley as saying that the battle was 'on the plain' (Miller, 175; GASm. 403). See passages referred to above.

instead, a statement of the mustering-place of the Israelites. וכלכלו should perhaps be בַּגִּלְבֹּעַ, 'in Gilboa'; the error was obviously produced by the following word וילכו ('and went'). This is confirmed by *v.* **306** where we read in RV that 'Ben-hadad fled, and came into h e city, into an inner chamber,' a rendering which is violently extracted from an obviously corrupt text. Klo. reads וַיֵּחָבֵא עַל עֵין חֲרֹד בַּחֲרֹד, '. . . and hid himself by the fountain of Harod in Harod,' or עַל הָעַיִן בַּחֲרֹד, 'by the fountain in Harod.' The difficulty lies in the distance between Aphek in the N. of Sharon (see APHEK, 3 [*b*]), which is surely meant here (*not* el-'Afûleh) and Mount Gilboa; but the textual suggestions are extremely plausible and a mustering of the Philistines at the same Aphek preceded their final attack upon **Saul** by the southern slopes of Gilboa. Cp, however (for the whole subject of this article), SAUL. **T. K. C.**

GILEAD (גִּלְעָד, and, with the article, הַגִּלְעָד; ΓΑΛΑΑΔ [BAL][1]), a trans-Jordanic region frequently referred to.

1. Name. The name, which can he explained from the Arabic *jal'ad*, 'hard, rough,' is at first sight not very appropriate, the hills and dales of Gilead being full of natural beauty, and well adapted for cattle (cp Nu. 32 1) and for the flocks of goats which are still fed there (cp Cant. **41**; and see HAIR, § 1). Upon the whole, Gilead is better provided with water and woodland than any part of W. Palestine. Hence Merrill (Hastings, *DB* 2 174 *b*) seems inclined to doubt the correctness of the explanation. The name 'hard, rough' is, however, at once seen to he appropriate when we study the geological formation of the country.

The base slopes of the mountain chain of Moab and Gilead consist of Sandstone.

2. Geological formation. This 'is covered in part by the more recent white marls, which form the curious peaks of the foothills immediately above the Jordan valley, but reaches above them to an elevation of 1000 ft. above the Mediterranean on the S., and forms the bed of the Bukei' basin, farther E. and 1000 ft. higher. Above this lies the hard, impervious Dolomitic limestone which appears in the rugged gray hills round the Jahbok, and in Jehel 'Ajlûn, rising on an average **1500** ft. above the sandstone, and forming the bed of the numerous springs. It also dips towards the Jordan valley; and the water from the surface of the plateau, sinking down to the surface of this formation, bursts out of the hill slopes on the W. in perennial brooks. It was from the ruggedness of this hard limestone that Gilead obtained its name. Above this again is the white chalk of the desert plateau, the same found in Samaria and Lower Galilee, with bands of flint or chert in contorted layers or strewn in pebbles on the surface. Where this formation is deep the country is bare and arid, supplied by cisterns and deep wells. Thus the plateau becomes desert, while the hill-slopes abound in streams and springs' (Conder, in Smith, *DB*(2) 1 1191 *a*).

3. Hebrew usage. The plateau here spoken of is that extensive highland which extends eastward to the Euphrates, where nothing but desert shrubs will grow. On the edge of this region, and rising at most 500 ft. above it, are the long mountain-ranges which from their geological formation deserve the name of Gilead. Rocky as they may he, the higher slopes are covered with pine-trees (*Pinus carica*, Don., **a** species resembling the Aleppo pine), and, as Conder says, mastic-bushes,[2] whilst lower down are beautiful woods of oak trees and carob trees, forming altogether, with the addition of numerous streams and springs, the most perfect sylvan scenery in Palestine. The 'wood of *Rephaim*' (so read for 'wood of Ephraim' in **2 S. 186**) is still represented by the thick groves of the Jebel 'Ajliin, with which the woods of es-Salṭ in **S.** Gilead alone can compete. Far below the Gilead range lies the Jordan Valley, which is reached by a very steep descent, and a natural division in the range is formed by the river Zerḳā (Jabbok). The Hebrew writers, whether they were conscious of the original meaning of Gilead or not, were well aware that the name had properly no narrow or merely local reference. They apply it, when they speak most deliberately, to the whole mountain range between the Yarmûk on the N. and the Arnon on the S., which was cut into two parts by the great trench of the Zerḳā or Jabbok (cp Dt. 3 12 Josh. 12 2 5 13 25). The two parts together are sometimes called 'all Gilead' (Dt. 3 10[1] 2 K. 10 33), and the general term Gilead is applied to those districts on the E. of the Jordan which were in Israelitish occupation (Nu. 32 29 Josh. 22 9 Judg. 10 8 **20 1 2 S. 24 6 1** K. 4 19 Am. **1 3 13**); hut also to the northern, or to the southern part alone (see for the one, Dt. **23 6** 3 15 *f.* Josh. 17 1 5, and for the other, Nu. 32 1 Josh. 13 25). The elasticity of the term is strikingly shown by the fact that in Dt. **34 1** 1 Macc. 5 20 *ff.* 'Gilead' even includes the region N. of the Jahbok.

We have seen that the term 'Gilead' belongs of right to a large mountainous district, not to a particular mountain.

4. Gen. 31 17-54. It would he a mistake to infer the contrary from the interesting composite narrative in Gen. 31 17-54. It is true that what is said of Jacob and Laban in *v.* **25**[2] and of Jacob in *v.* 54[3] implies that **a** particular mountain, known to the respective writers of these passages, was sometimes called in a special sense הַר הַגִּלְעָד, 'the mountain of (the) Gilead'; but this specialisation merely indicates that the mountain referred to was a conspicuous one in some part of the Gilead range. That the two narrators J and E meant the same part of the Gilead-range can hardly. he maintained. They both differ from the original story (see **GALEED, 1**); they also differ from one another. When Jacob uttered the fine prayer in 32 9 *ff.* (J) he must have been near some great ford of the Jordan. Probably he was at Succoth, not very far from the ford ed-Dāmieh, for the notice in Gen. 33 17 has surely been misplaced by the editor of JE, and in J's narrative stood before 32 4 [3].[4] It is possible that the Jehel Ōsha', the highest point in the Jebel Jil'ād (N. of es-Sal!, and N. of the Zerḳā) is J's Gilead mountain. E, however, who makes Jacob go, after parting with Laban, to MAHANAIM (*q.v.*), presumably localises the meeting of Jacob and Laban near some high point of the Jebel 'Ajliin. One might think of the Jebel Kafkafa (3430 ft.) which is to the NE. of Siif and Jerash, close to the great pilgrim road from Damascus to Mecca; hut Sûf itself (**2720** ft.) has great claims on our consideration. This is one of the sites where dolmens are to be found.[5] It is probable that by the 'pillar' and the 'heap' of Gen. **31 45 *f.*** the narrators meant some of those primitive stone monuments, which are specially abundant on the E. of the Jordan.

According to the theory here presented, there should also be such a monument on Jebel Ōsha'. All that we find is a shrine (perhaps 300 years old) containing a long, open trough, said to have been the tomb of Hosea, beside which the Bedouins kill sheep in honour of the prophet.[6] The trough, however, may have been preceded by a cairn; sepulchral cairns are still common among the Arabs, and Absalom's cairn (*2* S. **18 17**) is familiar to readers of the OT. The narrative in Gen. is directed against the attempts of the Aramæans to possess themselves of Gilead; the standing-stone (maṣṣēbā) on E's mountain and the cairn on J's were represented by E and J respectively as having been erected, the former by Laban, the latter by Jacob, as sacred boundary-stones. The maṣṣēbā, by a slight distortion, was called 'the Miṣpah' to indicate that Yahwè would

[1] [In @ occur the following forms:—Judg. 10 4 γααaδ [B*], 10 8 γαλααδῖτις [AL], 11; ισραηλ [A], 1 K. 4 13 γαλααθ [B], γαλααδίτης [L], **4 19** γαδ [L], 1 Ch. 5 16 γαλααμ [B], Hos. 12 11 (12) γαλγάλοις [Q? semel], Am. 1 13 γαλααδ(ε)ίτης [BAQ*Γ], -ιτιλων [Qa vid.], 1 Macc. 5 9 γαλααδῖτις **(A).]**

[2] Smith's *DB*(2) 1 1191; see also Conder, *Heth and Moab*, **188.** See, however, Post, cited *sup.* col. **465,** with reference to the 'Balm of Gilead.'

[1] Gilead is here distinguished both from Bashan and from the tableland of Moab.

[2] Jacob is here said (by J) to have pitched his tent 'on the mountain [of . . .],' Laban on 'the mountain of (the) Gilead.

[3] Jacob sacrifices 'on the mountain'; *v.* **21** shows that some part of the Gilead range is meant. **E** is the writer.

[4] It was followed probably by a mention of Jacob's crossing of the Jabbok. Cp Holzinger, *ad loc.*

[5] Conder, *Heth and Moab*, **243 *f.***

[6] Baed. *Pal.*(3) 163 *f.*; cp Conder, *op. cit.* **182. A** large tree stands beside the shrine which is 'one out of the very few sacred domes **E.** of Jordan.'

"keep watch (and interpose) between' Laban and Jacob, when occasion for this arose[1] (*v.* 49). We may certainly infer from this that the place referred to by E was one of those called Mizpah. Possibly it was Ramath-ham-miṣpeh, which in Josh. 1326[2] is described as the N. limit of the territory of Gad, and is elsewhere called ham-miṣpā (see MIZPAH, 2). The cairn also received a name; it was called Gal'ēd—*i.e.*, Heap of Witness, implying a playful etymology of the name Gilead.

There is yet another conceivable inference from this singular narrative (when explained as above), against which a caution may be desirable. It might be supposed that when E wrote, the territory known as Gilead began at the Jebel 'Ajlūn. The truth is that the *Jebel 'Ajlūn* is the representative of the whole land of Gilead. So at least it must appear to those who approach Gilead from Damascus, and see, looming up beyond the plain of Bashan, the summits of the Jebel 'Ajlūn. On the other hand, to those who come from Moab. the natural representative of Gilead will be the first lofty range to the N. of the plateau of Heshbon—*i.e.*, the *Jebel Jil'ād.* How this latter name fixed itself just here is an obscure problem: why is the Yahwist's Gilead mountain preferred to the Elohist's? Problems of this kind, however, are numerous and baffling. Why, for instance, is the highest mountain in this range—the Jebel Ōsha'—named after the prophet Hosea? It is true, Hosea, according to the MT, speaks of a city of Gilead in 68 (cp 1211), and has been thought to refer here to some locality in the Jebel Jil'ād (see, however, 2). Can this have been known, however, to those who first used the Arabic name? Surely Hosea has displaced Joshua. Who, then, preceded Joshua? The truth is hidden from us.

5. Specialization of Gilead.

It would seem as if this specialization of the term Gilead had already occurred by the time of Eusebius and Jerome (see 2); and it should also be noticed that 5 m. N. of es-Salṭ there is a ruin known as Jal'ūd,[3] perhaps the 'Gilead' of the Onomasticon. Not impossibly, too, another *seemingly* recent place-name preserves the memory of a name of Gilead, which, though but slightly attested, may be genuinely ancient. The place-name referred to is Gerasa (the famous city of the Decapolis of Peræa), now called Jerash.[4] According to Neubauer,[5] the Midrash (*Samuel*, 13) affirms the identity of Gerash and Gilead: and Sir G. Grove has noticed that the Arabic version of Josh. 208 2138 [36] gives Rāmat al-Jaraš for MT's 'Ramoth in Gilead,' and that the Jewish traveller Parchi (*circa* 1315 A.D.) also says, 'Gilead is at present Jerash.'[6] That the name Gerasa is derived from the γέροντες, or veterans, of Alexander the Great is of course absurd. It reminds us so much of Girzites and Girgashites that one is tempted to suspect that a tribe called Girzim or Girshim (cp GIRGASHITES) may have dwelt in Gilead in pre-Israelitish times (cp 2 S. 29, where Ishbaal reigns 'over Gilead and over the Girshite'); see GIRZITES. Gerash, like Gilead, may have obtained a specialized reference to a town and a district later; hence Yāḳūt speaks of 'the Jerash mountain district' (Jebel Jarash), as well as of the ruined city of that name.

6. Called Gerash?

If the name of Gerasa is rightly thus accounted for, it still remains to determine what ancient city, if any, once stood upon its site. It is difficult indeed to believe that the founders of that magnificent city, the ruins of which still fascinate us, placed it upon a site unconsecrated by the sanctuaries of the past. Both Ramoth-Gilead and Mahanaim have been thought of: but we have reasons sufficient for accepting neither view. Just an hour W. of Jerash is the wretched but well-situated village of Reimūn (Ewald's Ramoth-Gilead), divided by a ridge from Siif (Mizpah?). Turning to the W., in two hours the traveller comes to 'Ajlūn (Mahanaim?), 'nestling at the bifurcation of the valleys, in its gardens and vineyards,' with the great castle already spoken of in the neighbourhood; on either hand are the well-clothed heights of the Jebel 'Ajlūn. A descent, a climb, and again a descent bring us to the Wādy Yābis (a plausible claimant to the title of 'the brook Cherith,' were it not for the faultiness of the reading CHERITH [*q.v.*]), and to an isolated round-topped hill, strewn with ruins (ed-Deir)—but these not ancient—Robinson's site for Jabesh-Gilead. If we turn to the N. of the same Wādy, we come to Miryamin, Merrill's site for the same famous city. About seven miles off is Pella (Fahl), which 'enjoys perhaps the finest climate, from an agricultural point of view, that can be found in Syria.'[1] The known history of Pella is a short one; but it may be noted here that, according to Eusebius (*HE* 35), the Jewish Christians fled, before the destruction of Jerusalem, to Pella.

7. Ancient sites.

And what shall one say of Irbid, the capital of the district of 'Ajlūn? Doubtless this was an ancient Arbela. Was it, then, the BETH-ARBEL of Hos. 1014? Our answer will probably be in the negative; but the site is of strategic importance, and the name implies the antiquity of the place. Es-Salt, too,—at present the only capital of the Belḳā, and the only important place in it—though not as strikingly placed as 'Ajlūn, must surely have been always a centre of population, and the lofty Jebel Ōsha' to the north must always have been crowned by an important sanctuary, surely not, however, Penuel. Where the latter place was, it is not easy to say; SUCCOTH (1), however, is possibly the modern Tell Dēr 'Alla. With more confidence we can identify JOGBEHAH with Jubeihāt, and the JABBOK with the 'blue' river, the Zerḳā.[2]

A passing reference is all that can be given to the interesting genealogies of Gilead (Nu. 2629-33 Josh. 171-3 1 Ch. 714-19); see MACHIR, ASRIEL, HEPHER (ii., 2), and especially ZELOPHEHAD. The last of these names occurs in a mutilated form as Jidlaph in Gen. 2222; it is probably identical with Salecah, and as Milcah, the mother of Jidlaph, is a corruption of Salecah, we see how mechanically the genealogies were often filled up. Nor can we here gather up the fragmentary notices of the history of Gilead. The country was the eastern bulwark of Palestine, and was the first district to suffer from Syrian and Assyrian invasions. In sacred legend it is distinguished by the passage of Jacob and by the residence of JEPHTHAH [*q.v.*]. The names of Barzillai, David, Ishbaal, Ahab, Elijah (was he really a Tishbite?—see TISHBITE) also will readily occur to the reader as connected with Gilead. The clansmen of GAD, whose name is almost treated as synonymous with Gilead (*e.g.*, Judg. 517 1 S. 137), had opportunity for learning resource and courage in the mountains and glens of the 'rugged' land. Cp GAD, § 2, PERÆA.

8. OT references.

Oliphant, *Land of Gilead* ('80): graphic descriptions; Conder,

[1] Verse 49, which, as it stands, is obviously imperfect, must be supplemented from *v.* 45. Read with Ball 'And the pillar which he set up he called "the Miṣpah," for he said,' etc.

[2] The two names next mentioned are Betonim (rather Botnim) and MAHANAIM [*q.v.*].

[3] This name is not to be confounded with Jālūd, the name of a river which starts from the 'Ain Jālūd under GILBOA [*q.v.*, § 3]. This Jālūd is also pronounced *Jālūt*, which is the Ar. form of Goliath. Goliath impressed the Moslem mind. Moḳaddasi (11th cent. A.D.) calls the citadel of 'Ammān the 'castle of Goliath.'

[4] According to Guthe (*MDPV*, '98, 578) Jerash, not Jerāsh, is the popular pronunciation.

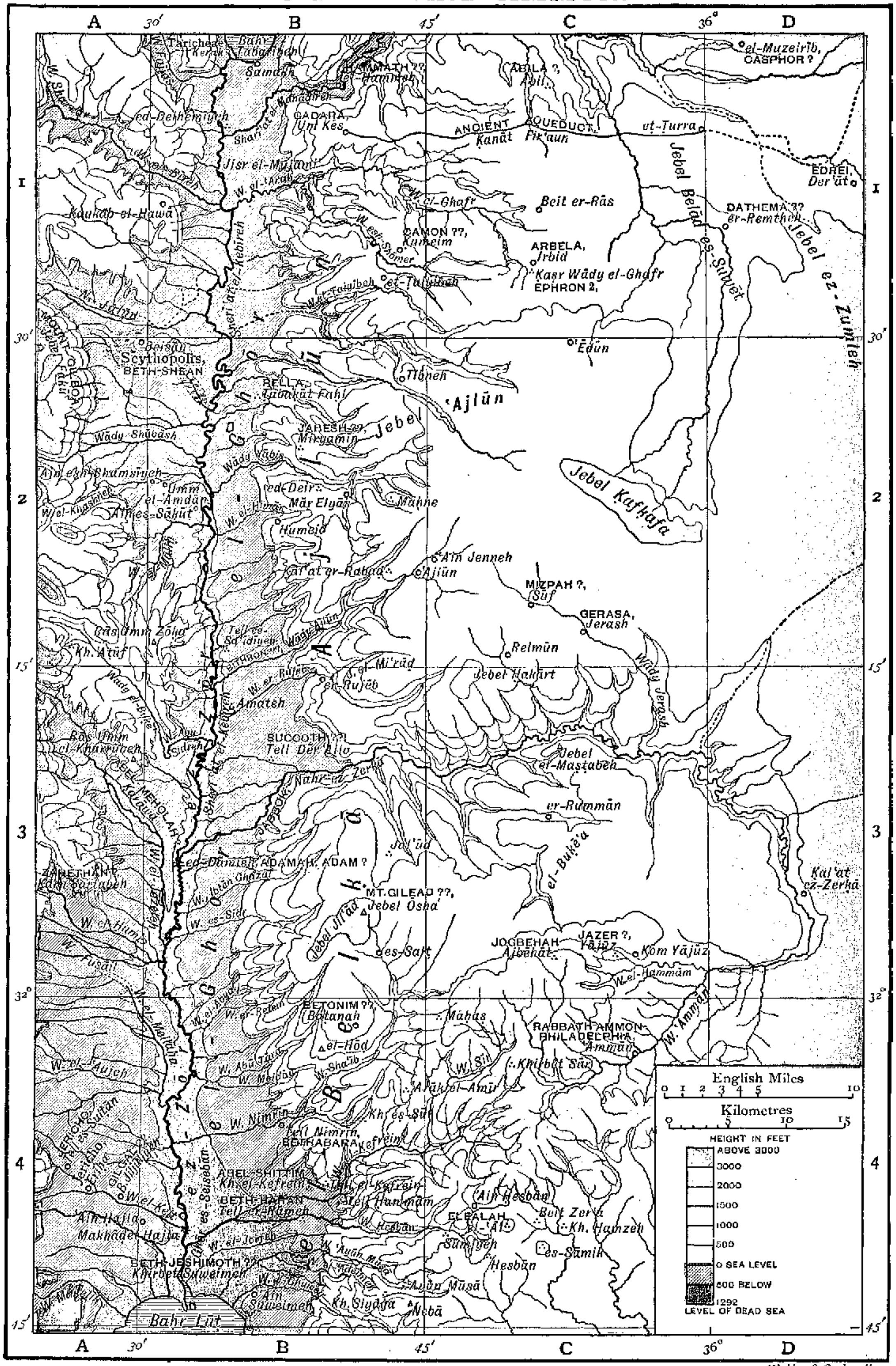
[5] *Géogr. du Talm.* 250.

[6] Zunz, quoted by Grove (Smith, *DB*(1) 2 1003). He also states that the Jews derived Gerash from Yegar-sahadutha (Gen. 3147).

[1] Le Strange, in Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 272. Pella is the פחל of Talm. Jer. (Neub. *Géogr.* 274); cp GASm. *HG* 292, n. 2.

[2] On the Jabbok of Gen. 3222, see JABBOK, § 2.

GILEAD AND AMMON.



ENCYCLOPAEDIA BIBLICA 1901.

MAP OF GILEAD AND AMMON

INDEX TO NAMES

Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement usually ignores prefixes: abu ('father of'), 'ain ('spring'), 'arāḳ ('district'), 'ayūn ('springs'), baḥr ('sea'), beit ('house'), bilād ('country'), jebel ('mt.'), jisr ('bridge'), ḳal'at ('castle'), ḳanāt ('conduit'), ḳarn ('horn'), ḳaṣr ('castle'), khirbet ('ruin'), kōm ('mound'), makhāḍet ('ford'), nahr ('river'), rās ('head'), tell ('mound'), umm ('mother'), wādy ('valley').

Abel-Meholah, B3
Abel-shittim, B4
Ābil, C1
Abila, C1 (ABEL-SHITTIM)
W. el-Abyad, B3, 4
Adam, B3
Adamah, B3
wādy el-'Adeimeh, B4
Ajbēhāt, C3 (JOGBEHAH)
'Ajliin, B2 (GILEAD, § 2)
jebel 'Ajliin, BC2 (GILEAD, § 7)
wHdy 'Ajlūn, B2, 3 (CHERITH)
el-'Āl, C4
tell dēr 'Alla, B3 (GILEAD, § 7)
Amateh, B3
um(m) el-'Amdān, B2
'arāḳ el-Amir, C4
'Ammān, C4 (ABEL-CHERAMIM)
wādy 'Ammān, C3, 4
Aqueduct, C1
wHdy el-'Arab, B1 (EPHRON, 2)
Arbela, C1
Kh. 'Aṭūf, A2
W. el-'Aujeh, AB4
'Ayūn Mūsā, B4
wHdy 'Ayūn Mūsā, B4 (BETH-PEOR)

Baṭanah, B4
Beisān, A2
Bethabara, B4
Beth-haran, B4
Beth-jeshimoth, B4
Beth-shean, A2
Betonim, B4
W. el-Bīreh, B1
Bithron, B2
W. el-Buḳē', A3
el-Buḳē'a, C3 (GILEAD, § 2)

Camon, B1
Casphor, D1

ed-Dāmieh, B3
Dathema, D1
ed-Deir, B2 (JABESH, § 2)
ed-Delhemiyeh, B1 (DALMANUTHA)
Der'āt, D1

Edrei, D1
'Edūn, C2

Elealeh, C4
Mār Elyās, B2
'Arāḳ el-Emir, B4 (HYRCANUS)
Ephron 2, C1
Eriha, A4

Fahl or Ṭabaḳāt Fahl, B2 (JABESH)
W. Fajjās, B1
j. Faḳū', A2
kanāt Fir'aun, BC1 (CONDUITS)
W. Faṣāil, A3

Gadara, B1
Gerasa, C2
ḳaṣr wHdy el-Ghafr, C1 (EPHRON)
wādy el-Ghafr, C1 (EPHRON)
W. el-Ghuweir, B4 (DEAD SEA)
Mt. Gilboa, **A2**
Mt. Gilead, B3
Gilgal, A4
'ain Hajla, B4
makhāḍet Hajla, B4
jebel Ḥakärt, C3
tell Ḥammām, B4
W. el-Ḥammām, C3
Hammath, B1
el-Hammeh, B1
Kh. Ḥamzeh, C4
Ḥesbān, C4
'ain Ḥesbān, C4 (HESHBON)
wādy Ḥesbān, B4 (BETH-PEOR)
Heshbon, C4
wHdy el-Ḥimār, B2
el-Ḥōḍ, B4
Humeid. B2
W. el-Humr, AB3

W. Ibtēn Ghazāl, B3
Irbid, C1

Jabbok, B3
Jabesh, B2
N. Jālūd, A1
Jal'ūd, B3 (GILEAD, § 2)
Jazer, **C3**
'ain Jenneh, C2
Jerash, C2 (DECAPOLIS)
W. Jerash, C2, 3
jebel Jil'ād, B3 (GILEAD, § 4)

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Jericho of OT, A4
W. el-Jozeleh, AB3
birket Jiljiiliyeh, A4
Jogbehah, C3
wady el-Jorfeh, B4

jebel Ḳafḳafa, C2 (GILEAD, § 4)
Ḳarāwā, B3
Ḳaukab el-Hawā, B1
Kh. el-Kefrein, B4 (ABEL-SHITTIM)
tell el-Kefrein, B4
wādy el-Kefrein, B4 (ABEL-SHITTIM)
W. el-Kelt, AB4
Kerak, B1
rās umm el-Kharrūbeh, A3
W. el-Khashneh, A2
Kumeim. B1

bahr **Lūṭ,** B4

Maḥaṣ, C4
Mahne, B2
W. el-Māliḥ, B2
jebel el-Maṣṭabeh, C3
W. Meidān, B4
W. el-Mellāḥa, AB4
jebel el-Mi'rāḍ, B3
Miryamin. B2
'Mizpah'?, C2
jisr el-Mujāmi', B1
W. Mukelik. B4
el-Muzeirib, D1

Nebā, B4
tell Nimrin, B4 (BETH-ABARA)
W. Nimrin, B4

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Philadelphia, C4

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Rabbath Ammon, C4
tell er-Rāmeh, B4
beit er-Rās, C1 (DECAPOLIS, § 2)
Reimiin, C2 (GILEAD, § 7)
er-Remtheh, D1 (DATHEMA)

W. er-Retem, B4
er-Rujēb, B3 (ARGOB)
wādy er-Rujēb, B3
er-Rummān, C3

tell es-Sdidiyeh. B2
'ain es-Sāḳūṭ, B2
es-Salt, B3 (MAHANAIM)
Ṣamakh, B1
es-Sāmik, C4
khirbet Sār, C4 (JAZER)
karn Ṣarṭabeh, A3
Scythopolis, A2
wādy Sha'īb, B4
'ain esh-Shamsiyeh, B2
Sheri'at el-Kebireh, B1-4
Sheri'at el-Menāḍireh. B1 (GOLAN)
W. esh-Shōmer, B1
W. Shūbāsh, A2
W. es-Sidr, B3
W. abu Sidreh, B3
wādy Sir, C4 (JAZER)
Kh. Ṣiyāga, B4
Succoth, B3
Siif, C2 (GILEAD, § 7)
tell es-Sulṭān, A4
Sūmiyeh, C4
Kh. eṣ-Ṣūr, B4
'ain Suweimeh, B4
khirbet Snweimeh, B4 (BETH-JESHIMOTH)
jebel bilād **eṣ-Ṣuwēt, D1**

Ṭabaḳāt Fahl, B2
bahr Tabariyeh, B1
eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, B1
wādy eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, B1
W. abū Tāra, B4
Tarichea̧e, B1
Tibneh, B2
et-Turra, C1

Um Kēs, B1

wādy Yābis, B2 (JABESH)
Yājūz, C3 (JAZER)
kōm Yājūz, C3

Zarethan, A3
beit Zer'a, C4 (JAZER)
ḳal'at ez-Zerḳā, D3
nahr ez-Zerḳā, BCD3
rās umm Zōḳa, B2
jebel ez-Zumleh, D1 (BASHAN)

9. Literature. *Heth* and *Moab* ('83); Selah Merrill, *East of Jordan* ('81); Schumacher, **Across** *the Jordan* ('86), containing 'A Ride through Ajlun,' by Guy Le Strange; Tristram, **Land of** *Israel;* G. A. Smith, *HG;* and Gautier, ***Au delà du Jourdain***[2] **('96).**

2. A city, mentioned perhaps in Judg. 10 17 and (𝔊^AL) 12 7; also in Hos. 6 8 12 11 [12]. Ewald (on Hos. *ll.cc.*) thinks of Mizpeh of Gilead (Judg. 11 29), which was the seat of an ancient sanctuary (Judg. 11 11 'Mizpah'). Buhl (*Geogr.* *262)* thinks of Ramoth, or rather Ramath-Gilead; Hitzig of Jabesh-Gilead; Budde (on Judg. 10 17) of the site of the modern Jal'ūd, N. of es-Salt (see 1), which may represent the 'Gilead' mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (OS 241 42, 124 30). But 'Gilead' for 'Mizpeh of Gilead,' or the like, is hardly conceivable, and the passages quoted, except the first, prove to be corrupt.

In Judg. 10 17 'in Gilead' simply covers over the narrator's ignorance; 11 11 supplied 'Mizpah' as the place of encampment of the Israelites; that of the Ammonites could not be determined (cp Moore's note). In Judg. 12 7 the text is mutilated; read probably 'in his city, in Mizpah of Gilead. In Hos. 6 8 12 11 [12] גלעד should most probably he גלגל (cp γαλγαλοις 12 11 [12] [Q?] for γαλααδ [2*a*]). No doubt Hosea might have referred to a second sanctuary in Gilead, and Ruben's restoration of 6 9 is geographically and historically plausible (cp Che. *Exp.*, Jan. '97, p. 47 *f.*). But the sanctuaries of Bethel and Gilgal are much more likely to he referred to than the hypothetical sanctuaries of ADAM [*q.v.*, i.] and 'Gilead.' For כאדם in *v.* 7 read probably בְּבֵית אָוֶן 'in Beth-aven,' and read *vv.* 8 *f.* thus—'Gilgal is a city of those that work wickedness, a hill fortress of evildoers (גִּבְעַת מְרֵעִים). And a company of traitors are her priests; the way of Yahwb they reject; they are eager to commit crimes' (וְחֶבֶר בֹּגְדִים כֹּהֲנֶיהָ דֶּרֶךְ י׳ נָאֲצוּ הִשְׁכִּימוּ וְמָה עָשׂוּ). In 12 11 [12] גלעד און is a corruption of גִּלְגָּל וּבֵית אָוֶן; the prefixed אם is a dittographed און (Grä.).

T. K. C.

GILGAL (always with definite article, הַגִּלְגָּל, except

1. Name. Josh. 5 9 and MT of 12 23), the name of several localities in the Holy Land.

𝔊 usually renders הגלגל by the plural τὰ γαλγαλα [BAQFL], as in Josephus and 1 Macc. So in Josh. (except 12 23 14 6 [B], 15 7; see below, § 6), 1 S. (except 7 16 τὴν *yahyaha* [BA], τὴν γαλγαλ [L], 15 33 γαλγαλ [BA]), 2 S. 2 K. Am. Hos. (except 9 15 γαλγαλ [BAQ], 12 12*a* [11*a*] γαλααδ [BAQ*]). The singular *yahyah* occurs in Josh. 14 6 [B], 15 7 [AL], Judg. 2 1 3 19 1 S. 15 33 *(yahyaha* [L]), Hos. 9 15 Mi. 6 5; γολγολ [BA] in Dt. 11 30 (but γολγο.' [F], σολγολ [L]). On Josh. 12 23 see below, § *6.*

The name means literally 'the circle'—*i.e.*, sacred circle of stones, the form now called 'cromlech' try archæologists.[1] Except in Galilee, such circles are not found W. of Jordan, where they may have been destroyed from the time of Josiah's reformation onwards; but many ancient specimens are extant in E. Palestine, similar to those of Western Europe, and Arabs still construct stone circles round graves. For a picture of a *gilgal* see *PEFQ,* **'82,** p. 72; and for a plan, *Survey of E. Pal.* II.

I. The first sanctuary and camp of Israel in W. Palestine. The earliest of the documents of which the

2. Joshua's Gilgal. Book of Joshua is composed (JE) relates that, after crossing Jordan, Joshua erected twelve stones which he had taken from the bed of the river on the W. bank 'in the Gilgal' (4 3 20), and they became (*v.* 21 *f.*, probably Dt.) a monument of the miraculous passage. This account agrees with the meaning of the name. The same document, however (with its unscientific habit of connecting place-names with events of ancient history), derives Gilgal from the reproach 'rolled away'—Gallōthī, 'I have rolled'—from Israel by Joshua when he re-instituted there the rite of CIRCUMCISION (*q.v.*, § 2), that had been in abeyance during the wanderings in the wilderness (5 9). That the 'place' (מקום, probably meaning sacred place, 5 15) was already so called, and was a centre of Canaanite worship, is apparent both from the narrative quoted, and from Judg. 3 19 (γαλγαλ [BAL]), where for 'quarries' read perhaps 'graven images'; see QUARRIES. The Priestly Writer, who records the celebration of the passover at Gilgal (Josh. 5 10-12), describes the site as at 'the east end' of the territory of Jericho' (4 19).

In the parallel passage in Josephus *(Ant.* v. 1 4), Gilgal is given as 10 stadia or a little over a mile from Jericho—*i.e.*, not the OT Jerichd at 'Ain es-Sultān but the NT site on the W. el-Kelt. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 126 22 243 94) place Galgala or Golgol (γολγωλ) 'to the E. of ancient Jericho,' 'a desert spot' 2 R.m. from Jericho, 'ab illius regionis mortalibus miro cultu habitus.' Theodosius (*De Situ Terræ Sanctæ* 16, *circa* 530 A.D.), sets it at 1 R. m. from the city; and later Christian records from a little less than 1 m. to as much as 5. After the eighth century the name was lost till Robinson heard a rumour of it in 1838 (*BR* 2 287); and in 1865 Zschokke (*Topog. der W. Jordansaue,* 28) heard 'Tell-Jeljul' applied to a low mound, a little more than a mile E. of modern Jericho, on the N. bank of the Kelt, with a heap of stones and remains of a wall. Conder (*Tent Work* 203 *ff.*) found the form Jiljūliyeh applied both to some 'small mounds and to a tank. An Arab graveyard suggests the traditional sanctity of the spot; and associated with it is a legend, derived from the fall of Jericho. There can be little doubt that, whether the name is due to a continuous tradition (which is probable, for Jos. *[Ant.* v. 1 4] could hardly have hit on the site otherwise), or is a Christian revival of the fourth century, the neighbourhood, and perhaps the very site, is that of the ancient sanctuary and camp of Israel. It should be said that the modern name is not altogether beyond suspicion, Zschokke having asked for it, 'in various forms,' before it was given back to him by the natives (*op. cit.* 28). Clermont-Ganneau (*Arch. Res.* 2 37) was assured that the name Jiljiiliyeh was 'only used by the Franks.' His excavations revealed nothing decisive, and he says 'the matter still seems to me extremely doubtful.'

The ark and the headquarters of the host remained here during Joshua's invasion of the hill-country, to which more than five roads opened conveniently from Gilgal, 9 6 10 6 *f.* 9 15 (om. B*A; *yahyaha* [B^b? c? mg. L]) 43 (om. BA; γαλγαλα [L]); there is little reason for supplying another Gilgal for these passages (see below, § 5), some of which are perhaps mere glosses (14 6, Judg. 2 1 all JE or Dt.). The place of Gilgal in the reverence of the nation was secured for centuries. Even if it were not the sanctuary to which Samuel went yearly in circuit (1 S. 7 16 *yahyah* [L], see below, § 4) it was certainly that to which he sent Saul before him (10 8 γαλααδ [B]), at which Saul was anointed king (11 14 *f.*), offered the hasty sacrifices which estranged the prophet, brought to Yahwe the devoted spoil, the *ḥērem* (see BAN, § 2 *f.*) of the Amalekite campaign, and by his refusal to slaughter Agag lost his kingdom (15 12-35). (The narratives here are doublets: see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 135 *ff.*; see SAMUEL ii.). Under Saul as under Joshua the religious attractions of Gilgal were supported by its military advantages. The Philistines had overrun the central range to the W.; there was no other place in the land at which Israel could be rallied to attack them; and Jordan and Gilead lay behind for a refuge (13 4 7). In the following reign Judah assembled at Gilgal to meet David when he came hack over Jordan (2 S. 19 15 [16] 40 [41]) after his flight, and to escort him to the capital.

At the disruption of the kingdom, Gilgal fell with the rest of the Jordan valley to N. Israel; but we have

3. The famous sanctuary? now a problem to decide; whether the famous N. sanctuary of Gilgal was the Gilgal of this site by Jericho, or another Gilgal, which lay on the central range to the N. of Bethel, and was also a place sacred to Yahwè (see § 4), or still another which lay near Shechem (see § 5). Amos and Hosea, who frequently speak of the great national sanctuary, give us no hint as to where it lay:—Am. 4 4 'come to Bethel and transgress—at Gilgal multiply transgression'; 5 5 'seek not Bethel, nor come to Gilgal, for Gilgal shall taste the gall of exile' (so one must clumsily render the prophet's play upon words *hag-gilgāl gālōh yiglèh;* Hos. 4 15 'come not to Gilgal and go not up to Beth-aven'; 9 15 'all their evil is in Gilgal, for there I hated them. . . I will drive them out of mine house'; 12 11 [12] 'in Gilgal they sacrifice bullocks' or 'to bullocks' or (as We.) 'to demons.'

Apropos of this last verse it is interesting that the Christian fathers should have read 'Gilgal,' sometimes for 'Bethel,' some-

[1] For an instance of twelve stones by the side of an altar see *Ex.* 24 4.

times for 'Dan,' as one of the two places where Jerohoam set up his golden calf (Cyril, *Comm. in Hoseam*, 5; [Pseud.-] Epiph. *De Vit. Proph.* 237; *Chron. Pasc.* 161).

Thus, then, we find Gilgal in the eighth century equal in national regard with Bethel; where the people zealously worship Yahwè, but do so under heathen fashion with impure rites that provoke his wrath. In an age passionately devoted to the sacred scenes of antiquity, such a kind of sanctuary might well be that ancient Gilgal (now belonging to N. Israel) at which, it was said, the ark had found its first rest in the land, circumcision had been restored, the first king had been anointed, and David himself had been reinstated in the affection of Judah. Beyond these general considerations, however, there is no proof to offer—unless it be found in the facts that the prophets never speak of going **up** to Gilgal as they do to Bethel, and that the Gilgal known to the writer of Micah *65* appears to be the Gilgal on Jordan. We turn now to the rival Gilgals in the hill-country of Ephraim.

4. A Gilgal by Bethel?

2. As early as the time of Eusebius there were[1] 'certain who suspected a second Gilgal close to Bethel' (OS, *s.v.* γαλγαλα). This suspicion, aroused by the list of Samuel's circuit (1 S. 7 16)—Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah—of which Bethel and Mizpah are both on the central range, and strengthened by the prophets' close association of Bethel and Gilgal, in regard to the latter of which, as we have seen, they never use the expression 'go down,' which would have been almost inevitable in the case of a site in the Jordan valley, is raised almost to the pitch of conviction by the narrative of Elijahs last journey (*2* K. 2 1-8; *v.* 1 ιερειχω [B*], γαλγαλα [B^ab mg.AL]). The order given is Gilgal, Bethel, Jericho (𝔊^B* for Gilgal reads Jericho, but evidently by error; for variants of B have γαλγαλων), and it is said (*v.* 2) that from Gilgal Elijah and Elisha 'went down to Bethel.'[2] This implies a Gilgal on the central range, with at least an apparent descent on Bethel. Such an one has been found in *Jiljīliyeh*, about 7 m. N. of Bethel, and 2½ m. W. of the present high road, between Bethel and Shechem and Samaria. It is now a large village on the summit of a commanding hill 2441 feet above the sea. This is lower than Bethel, which is **2890** feet, but the hill is so bold and isolated that the phrase 'to go down to Bethel' is quite appropriate. The view is one of the grandest in Palestine, from the sea to the hills of Gilead and as far N. as Hermon itself (Robinson, who seems to have been the first traveller to visit it, *BR* 3 *81*; **cp** *PEFM* 2 290, map, sheet xiv.). This Gilgal, like Jericho, had its school of the prophets. That it was the same as the Gilgal of 2 K. 4 *38* (γαλγαλα [BAL]), Elisha's residence, seems implied by the connection of the latter (*v. 42*) with BAAL-SHALISHA [*q.v.*], another Samaritan town, also on the western watershed (see further Buhl, *Geogr.* 171; and cp GOURDS, WILD, *ad fin.*).

If all these facts be held to justify the existence of a sanctuary and prophetic centre at Jiljiliyeh in Elisha's day, then a very strong presumption is established in favour of this being also the Gilgal famous in the time of Amos and Hosea. Moreover Jiljiliyeh is not far from Shiloh [*q.v.*], and the very curious passage in (Pseudo-) Epiphanius quoted above (§ 3), which identifies Gilgal as the shrine of the golden calf, adds ἡ ἐν σηλων—*i.e.*, Shiloh. It would go far to explain the disappearance from Israel's history of so ancient a sanctuary as Shiloh, if we could believe that its sanctity had been absorbed by that of the neighbouring Gilgal, which in such a case would have strengthened its claim to be the rival of Bethel. That, however, is only a guess: and the claims of this Samaritan Jiljiliyeh are as inconclusive as those of the Jordan Gilgal. The case between them must still be regarded as open; nor is it confined to them. There is a third Gilgal which also has strong claims to be regarded as the popular Israelite sanctuary of the eighth century.

5. A Gilgal by Gerizim?

Dt. *1130:* [Ebal and Gerizim] . . . 'are they not beyond Jordan, to the west of the road of the sunset, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the Arabah, over against Gilgal, beside the terebinth of Moreh?' As punctuated by the Massoretes the text means that it is Ebal and Gerizim that are opposite Gilgal. Taking the latter to be Gilgal by Jericho, certain Rabbis, followed by Eusebius, Jerome, and a constant Christian tradition, transferred Ebal and Gerizim to the hills immediately behind Jericho. Recent commentators have preferred to alter the punctuation, and taking 'over against Gilgal' as describing the home of the Canaanites in the Arabah, have thought to secure both good grammar and accurate geography (see Driver, *ad loc.*). Dillmann, however, preserving the Massoretic punctuation, supposed some Gilgal near Shechem; and his hypothesis has been justified by the discovery of a modern place named Juleijil, on the plain of Makhna, 1 m. E. of the foot of Mt. Gerizim, 2½ m. SE. of Shechem and 1¼ m. SW. of Sālim (*PEFM* 2 238). This suits the data of the passage. The terebinth of Moreh, 'the Revealer,' takes us back to Abraham, who built an altar beside it (Gen. 126). The place therefore was an ancient sanctuary, and further rendered sacred to Hebrew hearts by the worship of their great patriarch.

(The only difficulty in Dt. 1130 is the clause 'who dwell in the Arabah.' It is very possible that this is a later insertion due to one who supposed that the Gilgal mentioned must be that in the Arabah by Jericho.)

If then there was a Gilgal near Gerizim, sanctified by the worship of the patriarchs (for Jacob had been here as well as Abraham, Gen. 33 18), and by the command of Moses to Israel to celebrate there their entry into the Promised Land, this Gilgal has equal claims with the two others we have already described, to be considered as the popular sanctuary of N. Israel in the ninth and eighth centuries.

These claims have been defended in detail by Schlatter (*Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Palästinas*, 246 *ff.*) and accepted by Buhl (*Pal.* 202 *f.*). Schlatter makes out a most probable case, but his argument that the Makhna Juleijil was also the Gilgal where Joshua placed the camp of Israel after the conquest of Ai (96 106 15 43, 146 yahyah [B]) is very doubtful, and his other, that it was the Gilgal of Saul's appointment to the kingdom (1 S. 10 8 *ff.*), is quite unsnccessfnl. Schlatter mistakes the Judæan Carmel for Mt. Carmel. [For another view of the difficult passage Dt. 1130 see GERIZIM, § 2.]

6. Other Gilgals.

(*a*) In the list of the Canaanite kings conquered bv Israel we find a 'king of the nations at Gilgal' (Josh. 12 23 [Dt.]: מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם לְגִלְגָּל; γωειμ τῆς γελγεα [A], γεει τῆς γαλειλαίας [B], γοειμ τῆς γελγελ [L]). In harmony with 𝔊^B's reading some propose to read 'king of the nations of Galilee' (see GALILEE, § 1). The king, however, is mentioned between the kings of DOR (*q.v.*, § 2) and Tirzah, and Eusebius and Jerome (OS) place a γαλγουλις 6 R. m. N. of Antipatris; and this is represented to-day either by Jiljūlieh, *4* m., or Ḳilḳiliyeh, *6* m. NNE of Ḳal'at Rās-el-'Ain, a probable site of ANTIPATRIS (*q.v.*, § 2).

(*b*) In Josh. 15 7 (P) the border of Judah is said to turn N. 'from the **Oak** of Achor to the Gilgal (γαλγαλ [AL], ταaγαδ [B*], τα αγαδ [Bb]) which is over against the ascent of Adummim' the present Tal *ated-Dam on the road from Jericho to Jerusalem). (In the parallel passage, Josh. 18 17 (P), הגלגל becomes גלילות, GELILOTH, γαλιαωθ [B], αγαλλιλωθ—*i.e.*, הגלילות [A] γαλιλωθ [L]). This is surely the hitherto unidentified Beth-gilgal or [AV] House of Gilgal (בֵּית הַגִּלְגָּל; Bא*A om., βηθ αγ'γαλγαλ [א^c.a mg.], βαιθγαλ [L]) which is given in Neh. 12 29 along with the fields of Geba and Azmaveth as being 'round about Jerusalem.' (So, independently, Che. [GALLIM, 2], who also reads 'Beth-gilgal' for Bath-gallim' in Is. 1030.) If placed at the Tal 'at ed-Dam, Beth-gilgal would lie almost as far E. from the latter as Geha lies N.

(c) On the Gilgal or Galgala of *1* Macc. 9 2 see ARBELA. The data undoubtedly suit best the Gilgal on the Makhna Plain, not the Gilgal suggested in § 3 of that article.' **G. A. S.**

[1] 𝔊, however, reads simply ἦλθεν or ἔρχονται [L] (בוא); cp. Schlatter, *Zur Topog.* 249.

[2] In this connection it is interesting that the place-name Ashkaf (*i.e.*, cliffs of) Jiljāl occurs at Rammōn *33* m. E. of Bethel (*PEF Name Lists*, p. 225, sheet xiv.).

[1] Besides the modern place-names mentioned above the only

GILOH (גִּלֹה), a town in the highlands of Judah, in the same group with Shamir (=Shaphir), Debir, and Eshtemoh (Josh. 15 51 χαννα [B], γηλων [A], λανου [L]), according to MT of 2 S. 15 12 the home of Ahithophel (מֵעִירוֹ מִגִּלֹה; εν πολει αυτου εις [εν] γωλα [BA], εκ της πολεως αυτου της μεταλλαδ [L]).

The gentilic is **Gilonite**, גִּילֹנִי; 2 S. 15 12 (θεκωνει [B], γιλωναιω [A], γελμωναιου [L]); 2 S. 23 34 (γελωνειτου [B], γειλωνιτ. [A], γαλααδ [L])=1 Ch. 11 36 (PELONITE, הַפְּלֹנִי a corrupt reading;[1] φεδωνει [BN], φελλωνι [AL]).

Giloh is probably referred to by Micah in connection with Ophrah and Shaphir, though the paronomasia is disguised in MT (Micah 1 11). It seems to be represented by *Jāla*, the name now attached to some ruins about 3 m. NW. of Ḥalḥūl; the situation of Bēt Jālā—a place NW. of Bethlehem—seems too far north.

The text of 2 S. 15 12 is corrupt, but not desperately so. 'While he offered the sacrifices,' if it has any meaning at all, can only refer to the important sacrifices connected with Absalom's assumption of royalty at Hebron. Yet the position of the clause shows that it contains a statement respecting Ahithophel. The scribe must have wrongly deciphered his original. Read, with Klostermann, for כובחו את־הזובחים, בְּבָרְחוֹ אֶל־הַזִּיפִים, 'when he fled to the Ziphites' (see 1 S. 23 19). This awakens a suspicion that Giloh was not the real name of Ahithophel's home, which may have been rather a place not far to the SW. of Jālā, viz. Keilah. It is by no means certain that the translator of 𝔊 had before him גלה or גילה. He may have had קעילה (Ḳĕ'īlah); and even if he had not, גילה is an easy phonetic corruption of קעילה (see KEILAH). David was once in great straits at Keilah; the citizens were about to deliver him up to Saul, but he suspected them, and escaped in time (1 S. 23 8-13). Ahithophel may have warned David or Abiathar. With this clue, Klostermann thus reads the former part of this passage, 'Absalom had made a league (וַיִּשְׁלַם) with Ahithophel the Keilathite (הקעילתי, or 'the Keilanite,' הקעילני), who made possible his escape (מַעֲבָרוֹ) from Keilah.' We thus understand David's habitual reliance on Ahithophel's counsel, and see how Ahithophel's son came to be one of David's 'thirty' (see ELIAM, 2).

The text of Micah 1 10 *f.* is also corrupt. It opens, 'In Gath tell it not,' which Nowack regards as an interpolation inserted from 2 S. 1 20, whilst G. A. Smith thinks that the words describe the doom in store for Philistia as well as for the Shephelah of Judah in which Micah's home lay (*Twelve Proph.* 1 383). In support of this G. A. Smith refers to the situation of Shaphir, the modern Sawāfīr, in the Philistine plain. It is not probable however, that Micah extends his view beyond his own region: the fate of which alone evokes his sympathy. SAPHIR [*q.v.*] need not be Sawāfīr. There is one place known to us, and only one, the name of which suggests a paronomasia fit to form a parallel to 'In Bochim weep' (see BOCHIM), and that is Giloh. Rend therefore, בְּגִלֹה אַל־תָּגִילוּ, 'in Giloh exult not.' Cp Che. *JQR*, July 1898. **T. K. C.**

GIMZO (גִּמְזוֹ), a town in the Shephelah of Judah, mentioned in 2 Ch. 28 18 † (γαλεζω [B], γαμαιζαι [A], γαμζαι [L]). It is the modern *Jimzū*, about 3 m. SE. from Lydda.

GIN (1) מוֹקֵשׁ, *mōḳēš*; (2) פַּח, *paḥ*. See FOWLING, § 9.

GINATH (גִּינַת, § 77; γωναθ [BA], -νωθ [L]), 'father' of TIBNI (1 K. 16 21 *f.* †). Ginath (or rather, Gunath, cp 𝔊) is probably a place- or clan-name.

Klo. compares 'Guni' in Gen. 46 24 1 Ch. 7 13; We. (*IJG*(3) 70 n.) refers to 'Shallum b. Jabesh' (*i.e.*, the Jabeshite).

GINNETHO, RV **Ginnethoi** (גִּנְּתוֹי; γεννα θωθ [L]), a priest in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*); Neh. 12 4. In Neh. 12 16 **Ginnethon** (גִּנְּתוֹן) is a priestly family temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11), which was represented amongst the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7).

Other readings in 𝔊 are: Neh. 10 6[7] τνατοθ [B], ανατωθ [א], γααvναθων [A], γαναθωθ [L], 12 4 γεννηθουι [א c.a mg. sop.], BN*A om.; 12 16 γαναθωμ [א c.a mg. inf.], BN*A om.

GIRDLE. Originating perhaps not so much in notions of decency (Gen. 3 7) as in the necessity of protecting the loins from the extremes of temperature in tropical countries, the girdle forms one of the oldest and most serviceable of all articles of apparel. In Hebrew the commonest terms for 'girdle' are *ēzōr* and *Ḥăgōr*.

1. *'Ēzōr*, אֵזוֹר (ζώνη, etc.), is exactly the Ar. *'izār*, even the lengthened first vowel corresponding to the long form *'īzār* (Dozy, *Dict. de Vêt.* 32) which seems to be not merely Egyptian, since Payne-Smith has *īzārā* from Bar-Bahlūl. The *'izār*, now a large outer wrapper, was originally a loin-cloth or wrapper not covering the upper part of the body, wound round the loins (tied with a knot, Lane, *s.v.* p. 53) so as to be loosed if trodden on (Frey. *Chr. Ar.* 72 *l.* 7, and *Einl. in das Stud.* etc. 298). This is the dress of the Saracens in Ammianus, and is retained in the *'iḥrām*. *Mi'zar*, now a pair of drawers, is not originally different, *Ḥam.* 81 and Dozy, *op. cit.* Bar 'Ali (Hoffm. 5842) explains Syr. *mizrānē* by *mayāzīr* or *tabābīn*. The latter are the short drawers without legs worn by wrestlers or sailors. It is therefore an inner garment and so different from the *ḥăgōr* (see below, 2). This suits all the passages of OT. From Is. 5 27 we learn that it was easily loosed (*ḥalla* in Frey. *Chr.*, *l.c.*), from Jer. 13 1 2 K. 1 8 that it might be either of linen (פִּשְׁתִּים) or of skin. Elijah's was of the latter material. Like the old Arabs, he wore but two garments, the *'izār* and the *addéreth*[1] (Ar. *ridā'*); see MANTLE.

The person who wears the *'izār* has of course no shirt. So the prophet Isaiah (20 2) has only a waist-wrapper, and this explains Jeremiah's *'izār* (Jer. 13 1). Hence it is that in Job 12 18 the king who is humiliated is represented as wearing the *'izār*. In Ezek. 23 15 it is a peculiarity of the Chaldeans that they wear for girdle above their garments an *'izār*, and this is seen on the monuments (Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* etc., 1 fig. 14, 2 figs. 15 116). As the *'izār* is next the skin, the phrase Is. 11 5 is intelligible, and so the Arabs say *huwa minnī ma'kida l-izāri*, meaning 'he is my near neighbour' (Lane, *s.v. ma'kid*, Fr. *Einl.*, *l.c.*). Phrases like אזרו חיל (1 S. 2 4) are simply 'are clothed with.' But in Job 38 3 40 7 Jer. 1 17 אזר מתנים חלצים, (כגבר like a man) is like *shadda izārahu* or *mi'zarahu* = *shammara*, 'tuck up the cloth so as to leave the legs bare,' *Ham.* 334, 383, n. It is probable, however, that a (short) *'izār* was the dress of active life (sailor's *tubbān* is analogous), like the waist-cloth of the modern East and also of the warrior. In *Ḥam.* 334, *l.* 1 the warrior is *mushammirun* . . . *'anshawāhu*—leaves his sides bare—like Ammianus's Saracens, and cp Shanfara 1.62. התאזר Ps. 93 1 simply = לבש. But in Is. 8 9 it is Hitbp. 'put on your *'izār'* (which in that case is a warlike dress), or is it 'be a covering and support to one another' as in Arabic *'āzara* 'to hack' (lit. 'cover'), and of herbage, *ta'āzara* 'it grew thick and rank, the stalks supporting each other'? *Ḥam.* 657 *l.* 1 *naṣrun mu'azzarun* = 'effective stout help.' See also *Asās al-Balāgha*.[2]

From *ēzōr* 'waist-cloth' is distinguished:—

2. *Ḥăgōr*, חֲגוֹר, חֲגוֹרָה, *ḥăgōrāh* (ζώνη, περίζωμα), a belt or girdle worn round the waist outside the dress. In modern times it is usually a coloured shawl, or long piece of figured white muslin. The girdle of the poorer classes is of coarse material, often of leather, with clasps. This leathern girdle is also much used by the Arabs, and by persons of condition when equipped for a journey. It is sometimes ornamented with work in coloured worsted, or silk, or with metal studs, shells, beads, etc.

Such, probably, were the girdles worn by the ladies of post-exilic Jerusalem (Is. 3 24), and the eulogy of the 'virtuous woman' describes her (Prov. 31 24) as making a *ḥăgōr* which Phœnician merchants did not disdain to buy (cp the ζώνην χρυσῆν of Rev. 1 13 15 6). The warrior used a *ḥăgōr* as a sword-belt (2 S. 20 8; on text see Comm.; 1 K. 2 5); cp חגר חֲגֹרָה 2 K. 3 21, and חֶרֶב 'ח Jndg. 3 16 etc. That other objects also

other in W. Palestine which seems to repeat the ancient Gilgal is Jeljel, about ½ m. S. of Beisān (*PEF Name Lists*, 161). It is remarkable that the name has not yet been found E. of Jordan.

[1] On the passage see Klo. *Sam., ad loc.*, and cp AHITHOPHEL, end.

[1] So the Baptist, see Mt. 3 4 Mk. 1 6.

[2] Elsewhere Robertson Smith sums up thus: 'The general impression produced by a survey of the usage of the word is that among the Hebrews the *'ēzōr* ceased to be part of their ordinary dress pretty early being superseded by the tunic [כתנת, see TUNIC], but that 'it was used by warriors, by the meanest classes, by prophets and mourners, and that the word (or the cognate word) was also retained in proverbial phrases and similes, just as was the case with the Arabs' ('Notes on Hebrew Words,' I., *JQR*, 1892, p. 289 *ff.*). Cp also, on the *'ēzōr* of Jeremiah, Che. *Life and Times of Jer.* 161 (88).

might be carried in it, is suggested by Dt. 23 13 [14] 𝔊; cp Mt. 10 9 Mk. 6 8[1] (EV 'purse').

3. *Mēzaḥ*, מֵזַח, Ps. 109 19 (EV 'girdle'); מְזִיחַ, *mezīăḥ*, Job 12 21 (for מזיח = מֵיזַח; AV 'strength,' mg. 'girdle,' RV 'belt').

Che. reads in Ps. אֵזוֹר=מיורי (cp Lag. *Uebers.* 177), and in Job מִצְחוֹת, 'greaves.' מֵזַח occurs in a doubly corrupt context in Is. 23 10 (AV 'strength,' AVmg. RV 'girdle'); 'girdle' for "restraint' is intrinsically improbable. Du., Che. read מָחוֹז, 'haven.'

4. *Ḳiššūrīm*, קִשֻּׁרִים (bands) of costly make, worn by women (Is. 3 20 ἐμπλόκιον, Jer. 2 32 στηθοδεσμίς). Jewish interpretations vary; Kimchi and Rashi render 'headband' (so AV; RV 'sashes'). The *ḳiššūrīm* were richly studded with jewels and were the receptacle of the other ornaments worn by men and women.

5. The priestly *'abnēṭ*, אַבְנֵט (Ex. 28 4 39 *f.* 39 29 Lev. 8 7 16 4; all P), was a sash rather than a girdle (ζώνη; *balteus* [Vg.]; see Lag. *Ges. Abh.* 39).[2] The *'abnēṭ* was of great length, according to Rabbinic tradition 32 cubits long and 4 cubits wide. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7 2) says that the *'abnēṭ* was four fingers broad, 'so loosely woven that you would think it was the skin of a serpent.[3] It is embroidered with flowers of scarlet and purple and blue and fine linen; but the warp is nothing but fine linen.' It was wound under the breast, twice round the body, was tied in an ample bow or loop, and the ends reached the ankles. It was thrown over the left shoulder while the priest was officiating. Driver-White (*SBOT*, 'Leviticus,' 70) summarily describe the *'abnēṭ* as 'an embroidered loosely woven scarf.' The *'abnēṭ* was the only garment in which an intermixture of wool and linen was permitted. The same word is applied to the sashes of high officers in Is. 22 21.

6. On the 'curious girdle' (RV 'cunningly woven band' חֵשֶׁב) of the Ephod, see EPHOD, § 3.

The NT terms are :—

7. ζώνη (common in OT, cp also παραζώνη 1 S. 18 11) Acts 21 11 Mt. 3 4; see above.

8. σιμικίνθια, Acts 19 12, see APRONS.

W. R. S. (1)—I. A.—S. A. C.

GIRGASHITE, GIRGASHITES (גִּרְגָּשִׁי; o γεργεσαιος [BADEFL]; so Jos.; Judith 5 16 τους γεργεσαιους, AV GERGESITES, RV GIRGASHITES), a people of Canaan, Gen. 10 16 (gloss), 15 21 (gloss), Josh. 3 10 (D₂), 24 11 (D₂), Dt. 7 1 Neh. 9 8 (AV always 'Girgashites' except Gen. 10 16, where **Girgasite**; RV always 'Girgashite'). Another form of the name is very probably GIRZITES (גרזי), which has sometimes been corrupted into PERIZZITES (פרזי). In the Table of Peoples the Girgashites have, properly speaking, no place; it is to the Deuteronomist, who had archaeological tastes, that the resuscitation of the name is due. Apparently for a good reason he places it next on the list of peoples in Dt. 7 1 to that of the Hittites. Whence did he derive it? Probably from the Song of Deborah, where the slaughter of the Kadasoni, or, as he probably read, Kadeshi or Gadeshi, is spoken of (Judg. 5 21); the N. or Hittite Kadeshites, see KADESH, 2. ר [r] instead of ד [d], and the repeated ג [g] after the ר [r] are ordinary errors of scribes.[4] T. K. C.

[1] It is enough to mention the analogical use of 'girdle' (EV 'apron', but see AVmg., RVmg.) in Gen. 3 7.

[2] Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7 2) transliterates αβαιθ (Niese; *al.* αβανηθ), and notes that the term in use in his day was εμιαν (cp Targ. on Ex. המינין), probably the Pers. *himyān*; see also NECKLACE.

[3] [See picture in Braunius, *Vestit. Sacerdot. Hebræorum.*]

[4] Phœn. personal names גרגשם, גרגש are quoted. Are these too derived from Kadesh? The Hittites had allies called Karkis; but these, as Sayce remarks (*Pat. Pal.* 51), can hardly have left their name in Palestine. According to W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 355), the Karkis were Cilicians. We may compare the development of γεργεσηνῶν from γερασηνῶν (see GERASENES), and the reading of 𝔊 for GESHURI (see GESHUR, 2) in Dt. 3 14 (𝔊).

GIRZITES, THE (גִּרְזִי; for the readings of 𝔊 and of EV see GEZRITES), 1 S. 27 8 Kt. There seems to have been a widely extended pre-Israelitish tribe called Girzites or Girshites. In fact, wherever PERIZZITES [*q.v.*] or GIRGASHITES is read in the Hebrew text we should probably restore Girzites or Girshites.

It is doubtful whether 'Geshurites' or 'Girshites' is the correct reading in 1 S. 27 8 (see GESHUR, 2); but in 2 S. 2 9, instead of 'and over the Ashurites, and over Jezreel,' we should most probably read simply 'and over the Girzites' (וְאֶל־הַגִּרְזִי), the rest being due to dittography (see Che. *Crit. Bib.*). Of the 'Girzites' there is another record in the name miscalled 'Mount Geriz(z)im' (the mount of the Girzites), whilst the Girshites are also attested by גרשן (*i.e.*, גרשי, see HIVITES, § 1 *n.*) in Is. 17 10, and by the two trans-Jordanic places called Gerasa (see GILEAD, § 6).

Another (probable) occurrence of the gentilic Geraš has escaped notice—Boanerges, which seems to the present writer to have come from βανεγεροs = בְּנֵי גֶרֶשׁ, 'sons of Gerasa.' That the phrase is both misread and misinterpreted need not disturb us; there are quite as great misinterpretations in Lk. 6 15 ('Simon, called Zelotes') and in Acts 4 36 (see BARNABAS). After misunderstanding it, Mk. wrongly ascribed the name to Jesus.

Parallel corruptions are perhaps καναναῖος or κανανίτης for καναῖος or κανίτης = קַנָּאִי, 'a man of Cana' (but cp CANANÆAN). and ισκαριωτης for ιεριχωτης 'a man of Jericho' (cp JUDAS ISCARIOT, § 1). Possibly, too (but see JAIRUS, first note) Timæus in Bartimæus may be from a place-name Timai (see Nestle, *Marg.* 91). T. K. C.

GISPA, RV **Gishpa** (גִּשְׁפָּא), named after ZIHA as an overseer of NETHINIM in Ophel (Neh. 11 21†; γεσφα [ℵc.a mg. inf.L], om. Bℵ*A). According to Ryssel his name is a corruption of HASUPHA (חשפא), which follows Ziha in the list in Ezra 2 43.

GITTAH-HEPHER (גִּתָּה חֵפֶר), Josh. 19 13 AV, RV GATH-HEPHER (*q.v.*).

GITTAIM (גִּתַּיִם, γεθθαιμ [BADEL]; probably = Gittām, 'place of a wine-press'; on form of name see NAMES, § 107).

1. An unidentified town in the list of Benjamite villages (EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 33 (γεθθιμ [ℵc.a mg. inf.; om. Bℵ*A]).

2. A town where the fugitive Beerothites were received as *gērīm* or protected strangers, apparently in the days of Saul (2 S. 4 3). For the key to this incidental notice see ISHBAAL (1). This Gittaim can hardly have been the Benjamite town. The persecuted Beerothites would surely have fled to the territory of another tribe. There were probably several Gittaims as well as several Gaths. Thenius, Grove (Smith's *DB*), Klostermann, think the flight was towards Gath (γεθθαι [B], -θειμ [A]).

3. Gittaim is also probably the name of a town in or near Edom, Gen. 36 35 (𝔊ADEL), 1 Ch. 1 46 (so 𝔊B; 𝔊A γεθθαμ but 𝔊L ευιθ), where MT Kt. has AVITH (*q.v.*). Note that vineyards in Edom are referred to in Nu. 20 17.

4. By a manifest error Gittaim appears in 𝔊 1 S. 14 33 where Saul's speech begins, not with the appropriate 'Ye transgress' (בְּגַדְתֶּם), but with the difficult ἐν γεθθαιμ ([BL], 𝔊A γεθεμ), 'In Gittaim.' T. K. C.

GITTITE (הַגִּתִּי), 2 S. 6 10. See GATH, § 1.

GITTITH, 'Set to the' [RV], or, 'Upon Gittith' [AV] (עַל־הַגִּתִּית), ὑπὲρ τ. ληνῶν = על־הגתות [𝔊BℵAR Syr. Symm.]; *pro* [or, Ps. 81, *in*] *torcularibus* [J]; ἐπὶ τ. ληνοῦ, Aq. in Pss. 8 1 84 [Syro-Hex.], but in Ps. 8 ὑπὲρ τ. γετθίτιδος (so also Theod. in Ps. 8), Ps. 88 1 (om. T.; ὑ. τ. ἀλλοιωθησομένων [A]), 84 (headings).

According to Wellhausen we have a twofold question to answer: (1) Is it a mode or key which is denoted by 'the Gittith'; and, (2) Does Gittith mean 'belonging to Gath,' or 'belonging to a wine-press'? The latter question must be answered first. No doubt the vintage festival had special songs of its own (one such may he alluded to in Is. 65 8), and Baethgen thinks the three psalms with the above heading appropriate for such an occasion. If this view of the appropriateness of the psalms be accepted, it becomes plausible to follow those old in-

terpreters who read 'on (=with) the (treading in the) wine-presses.' If it be rejected, there still remains the view that the temple music had borrowed a mode or key or (see Tg.) instrument from the city of Gath. Philistine influence on the temple music, however, is scarcely credible (see, however, Hitz., Del.), and in any case Gath had probably been destroyed before the exile.

No theory therefore is in possession of the field, and when we consider the frequent miswriting of these musical headings (see, *e.g.*, HIGGAION, SHIGGAION, MAHALATH [ii.]), it is as natural as it is easy to read עַל־נְגִינוֹת, 'with string-music.' נ before נ might easily be dropped; the next stage of development is obvious. Gesenius in **1839** (*Thes.*, *s.v.*) had already given a kindred solution (גִּת for נְגִנַת=גִּנַּת). The question relative to the mode or key called the Gittith disappears.

T. K. C.

GIZONITE, THE (הַגִּזוֹנִי), 1 Ch. 11 34; see GUNI, I.

GIZRITES (הַגִּזְרִי), 1 S. 27 8 RVmg.; AV GEZRITES.

GLASS. 'The art of glass-making, unlike that of pottery, would appear not to have been discovered and practised by different nations independently, but to have spread gradually from a single centre.'[1] That the Phœnicians are not to be credited with this invention (Pliny, *HN* 36 26 65, etc.) is practically certain, since our oldest examples of glass proceed from the countries watered by the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. From Egypt we have a dusky green glass bead of the queen Hatasu (or rather Ha't-šepsut, see EGYPT, § 53), of the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., also a light green opaque jar of Thotmes III. (**1500** B.C.),[2] and, ascending higher, an amulet with the name of Nuantef IV., of the eleventh dynasty (*circa* 2400 B.C.).[2] With this agrees the fact that the most ancient representations of glass-blowing belong probably to the Middle Empire, the alleged earlier cases being capable of a different explanation—viz., smelting (Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 459).

1. Antiquity.

The Assyrians, too, were acquainted with the use of glass (ASSYRIA, § 13, cp n. *ib.*), and we have one of the most important specimens of their work in the unique transparent glass vase of the time of Sargon (722-705 B.C.).[2] The recent excavations in Nippur, however, appear to permit us to carry back the use of glass to a much earlier date.

According to Peters (*Nippur*, 2 134) 'badly broken inscribed axe-heads of a highly ornamental shape' of blue glass, coloured with cobalt (brought presumably from China) were found in mounds of the fourteenth century B.C.[3] These and other glass objects found here had been run in moulds, not blown. A small glass bottle was found with the door-sockets of Lugal-kigub-nidudu (*circa* 4000 B.C.; *op. cit.* 160, 374); but, 'in general, the glass objects found at Nippur were of late date, and while glass fragments were very numerous in the later strata, there were few or none in the earlier.' The above examples should no doubt be looked upon as exceptions, since 'the greater part of the glass found belonged to the post-Babylonian period' (*op. cit.* 373 *f.*).

The use of glass among the Phoenicians begins at a later date.[4] Their acquaintance with it was probably derived from the Egyptians and spread abroad by them in their trading expeditions. To them, also, are possibly due the many specimens of coloured beads found in many parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The part played by the Phœnicians in spreading the knowledge of glass—as well as certain arts, etc.—may need some qualifying in the future (see TRADE AND COMMERCE). In Cyprus, at all events, it would appear that glass was a native production, rather than of Phoenician origin. The art itself was probably derived from Egypt (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, etc., 416). That Egypt exported glass is well known (cp, *e.g.*, Martial, *Ep.* 21, 74).

1 A. Nesbitt, art. 'Glass' in *EB*(9).
2 Now in the British Museum.
3 In the same spot were found objects of Eubœan magnesite, implying regular intercourse with Greece.
4 The later manufacture of glass in the districts of Beirūt Tyre, and Sidon (see MISREPHOTH-MAIM) does not therefor: concern us.

From the treatment which glass received in the ancient world it is evident that in Egypt and Babylonia it was held to be a precious thing, a fit offering for the gods. It would, therefore. be appropriate to find it mentioned along with precious jewels in the eulogy of wisdom, Job 28 17 (*zĕkūkīth*, זְכוּכִית, √ 'clear' [transparency is not implied], AV CRYSTAL, RV 'Glass'; ὕαλος [BHAC]).

2. Biblical references.

ὕαλος originally denoted any transparent stone or stone-like substance (*e.g.*, Herod. 3 20). On the other hand, some vitreous ornament is undoubtedly referred to in ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ (*ib.* 269).

In the case of the 'glassy sea' (θάλασσα ὑαλίνη, Rev. 4 6 15 2), and the comparison of the golden streets of the heavenly city to pure 'glass' (ὕαλος, Rev. 21 18 21), the earlier meaning of ὕαλος perhaps holds good, although we are reminded of the Arabian legend that Solomon prepared in his palace a glass pavement which the queen of Sheba mistook for water (Qoran, *Sur.* 27).

A reference to glass-making has been found in Dt. 33 19 ('the hidden treasures of the sand');[1] but see ZEBULUN.

The colloquial use of 'glass' to denote a 'mirror' of glass, or of any other material, is found in AV of (*a*) Is. 3 23 (גִּלְיֹן, διαφανῆ λακωνικά), see DRESS, § 1 (2); (*b*) 1 Cor. 13 12 Jas. 1 23 (ἔσοπτρον); see further LOOKING-GLASS, MIRROR.

See art. 'Glass' in *EB*(9), and in Kitto's *Bib. Cycl.*; also A. Lowy, *PSBA*, '81 *f.* pp. 84-86.

S. A. C.

GLAZING (χρισμα [BℵA]), Ecclus. 38 30. See POTTERY.

GLEANING (לֶקֶט), Lev. 19 9. See AGRICULTURE, § 12.

GLEDE is EV's attempt to render the apparent Hebrew word רָאָה in Dt. 14 13 (γυψ [BAFL]). The error of the scribe was corrected in the mg., and from the mg. found its way into the text before ואת־האיה ('and the falcon'). That this view is correct is self-evident, even without the confirmation supplied by the ‖ passage, Lev. 11 14. The word *glead* or *gled* (AS *glida*) is Old English for 'kite,' and has not yet entirely disappeared.

To represent the phenomena of the text we might render, 'And the bite [read 'kite'] and the falcon.' Tristram (*NHB*) thinks that our translator means the Buzzard, and adds that there are three species of Buzzard in Palestine.

T. K. C.

GNAT. 1. (κωνωψ [Ti. WH].) Mentioned only once in the Bible (Mt. 23 24).

The gnats or mosquitoes are dipterous insects belonging to the family Culicidae. There are many species; they breed in swamps and still water, the first two stages, larval and pupal, being aquatic. The female alone inflicts the sting-like prick with its mouth-organs, the male insect does not leave the neighhourhood of the breeding-place.

RV's *strain out* a gnat is a return to the old reading of Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Geneva, AV's *strain at* being probably due to a misprint (see Whitney, *Dict.*). Reference is made in this proverb to the scrupulous care exercised by devout Jews (as also in the present day by Singhalese Buddhists) in conformity with Lev. 11 23 43 (cp *Chullīn*, *f.* 67 1). The comparison with the smallest and largest things finds analogy in the Talm.—*e.g.*, *Shabb.* 77 *b*, אימת יתוש על הפיל, 'the fear of the gnat is on the elephant'; cp the Ar. proverb, 'he eats an elephant and is suffocated by a gnat.'

2. The word 'gnat' ('like gnats') occurs also in the RVmg. of Is. 51 6. It would be safer to read כִּנִּים (Weir, Che.), which elsewhere AV renders LICE [*q.v.*]; in *SBOT* (Heb.) 147, however, a bolder correction is suggested (see LOCUST, § 2 [4]). In the case of the plague in Ex. 8 16 [12] *ff.* 'gnat' is possibly more correct. The σκνίψ (𝔊's word in Ex. *l.c.*) is called by Suidas ζῷον κωνωπῶδες.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

GNOSIS. In the second century, and also to some extent even in the third, the Church was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Gnostics. By Gnostics we are to understand a certain class of Christians—of many different schools, bearing a great variety of names, and diffused all over the Hellenistic world—all having in common a

1. Origin of term.

1 So *Meg.* 6 *a* interprets חול ('sand') by זכוכית לבנה, 'white glass.'

certain speculative pretentiousness, all laying claim to a special knowledge (*gnosis*) in contrast to the mere *faith* of the masses, and all giving effect to their fantastic ideas about the origin of the world and the origin of evil in a peculiar ethic that offended the conscience of the Church. If we could assume Carpocrates and Cerinthus (*circa* 100 A.D.) to have been the earliest representatives of the tendency in question, and all the writings of the NT to have been composed within the apostolic age, biblical science as such would have no concern with the Gnostics; and it is in point of fact true that the name of Gnostic does not occur in the NT, nor is it mentioned in any extant writing earlier than 176 A.D.

However, 'they who make separations' (οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες) referred to in the epistle of Jude (*v.* 19 RV) can only be taken as Gnostics of a libertinistic complexion; the emphasis laid in *vv.* 3 20 on the faith once for all delivered to the saints is best explained on this assumption, and still more, their ironical designation as 'natural' or 'animal' (RVmg. = ψυχικοί); plainly they were in the habit of calling themselves πνευματικοί, 'spiritual men,' as distinguished from the ordinary run of 'psychical' Christians who rested content with faith merely. So also in 2 Pet., only here the author points still more clearly at the Gnostics by his repeated references to the true knowledge (1 2 *f.* 5 *f.* 8 2 20 3 18). The polemic of the Johannine Epistles has a similar scope; if the substantive, gnosis, does not occur, the verb 'to know' is met with all the more frequently; 'we have known and believed' (1 Jn. 4 16) is, intended to express the true knowledge that is in accord with faith as contradistinguished from the knowledge which sets it aside. When the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. 6 20) bluntly warn against the oppositions of the gnosis which is falsely so called, the adherents of which have erred, or 'missed the mark,' concerning the faith, it may perhaps be possible to doubt whether the reference is to the Gnostic Marcion, who wrote 'Antitheses' about 140 A.D., but not to deny reference to the Gnostics altogether. Finally, in the Apocalypse we have at least the reference, in the case of Thyatira (2 24), to the false teachers who claim to have 'known the depths of Satan,' a grim characteristic of Gnostic speculation.

To all the writings hitherto named as containing allusions to Gnosticism, it might perhaps be possible to attribute a date about the year 100 A.D. or even later, in which case the traditional account of the Gnostic movement as having arisen about the end of the first century would remain unshaken; on other grounds also the Pastoral Epistles have, in fact, been assigned to the second century. Yet we are none the less compelled by the NT to recognise certain *gnosticising* tendencies as existing within the apostolic church itself as well as certain extra-Christian and pre-Christian developments bearing a Gnostic character. In the Synoptic Gospels, it is true, the intellectual side of religion is but rarely and exceptionally brought forward: Lk. 11 52 (key of knowledge), Mt. 13 11 and parallels (the gift of understanding the mysteries of the kingdom), and Mt. 11 27 (the knowledge of the Father [and of the Son] reserved for the chosen ones only) are the leading passages. The Fourth Gospel, however, lays an emphasis, that on this account is all the more striking, upon the capacity to understand. Just as the decisive confession of faith in Christ is (6 69), 'we have *believed and know* that thou art the Holy one of God,' so elsewhere knowing and believing are interchangeable expressions with reference to the same objects, and the impression is left that knowing is higher than believing. Thus, for example, to 'those Jews who had believed' the promise is given (8 31 *f.*), 'If ye abide in my word ... ye *shall* know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' The Gnosticism of the Fourth Gospel is distinguished from the heretical gnosis only (1) by the contents of the gnosis to which it attaches so high a value—in this case identical with the contents of faith; and (2) by the closeness of the connection between knowledge and faith; here there is no such distinction as is elsewhere drawn between the disciples who only believe and the disciples who only know, as two separate classes.

2. Gnostic tendencies.

3. Paul's use of γινώσκειν, etc.

Paul often uses the words for knowing (γινώσκειν, ἐπιγινώσκειν) in their most ordinary sense, as for example in Phil. 1 12 2 19 22 4 5 1 Cor. 14 37, and, inasmuch as he attributes to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews (Rom. 1 21 2 18) a knowledge of God—in contradiction, it is true, to 1 Cor. 1 21—he is obviously bound to assume in the case of every believer a knowledge of God, of Christ, of the Gospel as in Gal. 4 9 2 Cor. 8 9 13 5 Phil. 3 10 (here γινώσκειν θεόν, Χριστόν, etc.) or 2 Cor. 2 14 4 6 Phil. 3 8 Col. 1 9 *f.* (here γνῶσις, ἐπί-γνωσις, and the corresponding genitives) without our being thereby entitled to ascribe to him a vein of gnosticism.

In 1 Cor. 13 9 12, however, he speaks of 'knowing' without mentioning any particular object, and the substantive γνῶσις is, in the majority of cases, used absolutely; occasionally and exceptionally (*e.g.*, Rom. 11 33) as an attribute of God, mentioned along with his wisdom, but elsewhere as a possession—highly to be prized—of the man who has become a believer.

As proving that knowledge is here sharply separated from faith it will not do to cite 1 Cor. 12 8 *f.*, where we read that to one is given the word of knowledge and to another faith; for in this passage πίστις, faith, is used in a narrower sense than usual, whilst, according to 1 Cor. 12 8 13 8, *gnosis* is one of the charismata that are bestowed only on certain individuals, and 1 Cor. 8 7 [cp 8 10 *f.*] declares expressly that all have not knowledge. It is half ironically only that Paul (8 1) declares himself as accepting the proposition that 'we all have knowledge,' since in *v.* 2, with manifest allusion to the conceit of the Corinthians, he distinguishes between knowing as one ought to know and a gnosis that, in all essentials, is merely imagined. The circumstance also that in Gal. 4 9 (cp 1 Cor. 8 3) he speaks of it as the highest object of Christian effort that one should be known of God rather than that one should know God, is not to he understood as depreciating the high value he elsewhere attaches to *gnosis*, any more than 1 Cor. 13 8 *f.* 12 is to be so taken, where he speaks of all knowledge in the present aeon as only in part, and promises that in the time of perfection it shall, as imperfect, be done away. For the same thing is said of speaking with tongues and of prophecy, and of them also, as well as of acquaintance with all possible knowledge, he says (13 1 *f.*) that they are of no profit to the man who has not love.

It cannot be by accident merely that, in Paul, gnosis is always met with as the precious possession of the members of the Christian community and never as belonging to unbelievers; it has its place, in fact, among the charismatic manifestations of the spirit of God, which this same spirit bestows on individuals for the benefit of all (1 Cor. 12 7-11), and as such ranks with prophecy and the gift of miracles; he who is endowed with knowledge—the 'gnostic.' as the expression would have been at a later date—belongs to the number of the πνευματικοί, the men of the spirit.

4. Definition.

We might venture, after Paul, to define gnosis as the result of the instruction which a 'spiritual' man has received from the spirit of God in the things of the spirit down to the very depths of the Godhead (1 Cor. 2 8-16) in such a manner that, possessed of the God-given teaching, he finds everything dark in earth and heaven become clear to him and (if only 'through a glass,' in mere outline) he sees that which is true, where others see nothing, or only what is false. Paul himself belonged pre-eminently to the number of such gnostics (2 Cor. 11 6), and if that piece of 'knowledge' which, as we learn from 1 Cor. 8, he shared with many Corinthians—that idols are nothing, and that consequently, to speak strictly, there can be no such thing as meat offered to idols—is of a somewhat elementary character, we must nevertheless remain lost in admiration at the deeper passages in his epistles (*e.g.*, Rom. 8 and 9-11), in which he expounds the divine plan of salvation—at his 'gnosis,' in fact. The

deeper understanding of the scripture, which became possible to him as a Christian (as in Gal. 37 4 21 *ff.*), has the same origin. The gnosis of the individual becomes fruitful for the community only, of course, by the communication of it, whether orally or in writing; 1 Cor. 12 8 accordingly includes the ***word*** of knowledge in the list of the charismata; and it is almost certain that in 1 Cor. 14 6 the 'teaching' (διδαχή) means the communication of 'gnosis' (cp 14 26), and therefore that the 'teachers' (12 28) who take the third place, immediately after apostles and prophets, in the enumeration of those who possess the gifts of the spirit, are to be thought of as 'Gnostics.' Their sharp differentiation from the prophets is somewhat surprising; in many cases it cannot have been practically possible; but as Paul in 1 Cor. **14** 6 gives to 'prophesying' the same position with reference to 'revelation' that he gives to 'teaching' with reference to 'knowledge,' he would seem to have distinguished the word of knowledge from prophecy much in the same way as the latter was distinguished from speaking with tongues; those exercising the last-named gift did so unconsciously, those who prophesied did so in at least enthusiastic exaltation, whilst those who gave the word of knowledge did so in full calm consciousness and with a view to convincing their hearers. Moreover, the contents of prophecy were derived from former revelation and extraordinary experiences, whilst the word of knowledge proceeded from the continuous instruction of the Holy Spirit, making use of the forms of human thought.

5. Wisdom and gnosis.

In 1 Cor. **12** 8 Paul speaks of a word of wisdom alongside of a word of knowledge, and students have seldom failed to observe the close connection between the two; in fact, the 'teaching' of 14 6 26 must include them both. The distinction between them has sometimes been formulated thus: the essential feature of the word of wisdom is that it appeals to the understanding, whilst the character of gnosis essentially consists in intuition, in an illumination by the spirit of God, and in an immediate relation to this spirit (Weizsacker, *Apostolic* ***Age,*** 2 264). Wisdom (σοφία), however, of which Paul (apart from Col. and Eph., and apart from the fact that of course he does not deny it to be an attribute of God) almost always speaks in a tone of disfavour—the wisdom which, in his view, as the ideal of the Gentiles (1 Cor. 1 22), proceeds from the rulers of this present world—could never become for his theology a conception of importance comparable with that of gnosis; in 1 Cor. 2 6 *ff.*, what he opposes to the false wisdom as being the divine wisdom which he proclaims is the contents of his own gnosis (*vv.* 8 11), and only on polemical and rhetorical grounds is it that he speaks of wisdom, not gnosis (*v.* 6), as the subject of his discourses.

The unique passage in 1 Cor. 12 8 can hardly be taken as implying, on Paul's part, a deliberate co-ordination of wisdom and knowledge; probably all that he desired was to mention the gift of teaching as heading the list of the charismata, and this he could have done with perfect clearness by using the expression 'word of knowledge'; but, inasmuch as the Corinthians attached great importance to wisdom, and a section of them had even perhaps chosen to rank themselves among the followers of Apollos as being the man of wisdom, it occurred to Paul that be ought not to allow it to appear as if he did not recognise the 'word of wisdom' of (say) an Apollos as being a charisma also, as well as his own 'word of knowledge'; and if in 2 Cor. **11** 6 he contrasts his 'rudeness' in respect of spdech with his mastery in respect of knowledge, it becomes natural to take the 'word of wisdom' of 1 Cor. 12 8 as a kind of speech distinguished by correctness and brilliancy of form, as employing the resources of a finished education and training.

6. Summing up.

To sum **up:** Paul reckoned gnosis as among the highest gifts of grace belonging to the church of his day; its possessor was able to solve the riddles of time and eternity which remained insoluble to other believers; according to 1 Cor. 2 6 *ff.* he even held that such pieces of knowledge could be communicated only to such as were 'perfect,' to Christians who, in truth, deserved to be called spiritual men. These opinions Paul shares with the later Gnostics; it is easily intelligible why they all, and Marcion especially, felt closer affinities with him than with any of the other NT writers; what separates their gnosticism from his is the preponderance, to a greater or less degree, of heathen elements in their speculation, whilst his own confined itself to working out in a sympathetic, if speculative way, the fundamental ideas of the gospel. That Paul found such speculation indispensable is, however, no personal peculiarity of his; it was an element in his composition that he had derived from the atmosphere of his time; under its influence it was that he contributed to make Christianity, from being a religion, into a system of religious and metaphysical thought.

At the same time Paul's epistles, and especially Colossians, show that already at that early date he had to combat certain developments of the spirit that prided itself on knowledge. The false teachers of Colossæ (see COLOSSIANS, § 6) become intelligible only if we take them as judaizers on the one hand, and gnosticizers on the other, Christians who gave themselves up to fantastic dualistic speculation. A gnosticizing Judaism of this sort they must have imported with them from without; that is to say, gnosticism already existed in the apostolic age, and it was introduced into the Christian Church by the Jews. But neither had it its ultimate origin in Judaism; from the strong heathen element it contains we can see that it must have been imported from the heathen religious philosophy, undergoing manifold modification and accommodation in the process. Respect for gnosis is a pre-Christian, Hellenic phenomenon; Christianity was no more successful in withdrawing itself from the influence of this predominant tendency of the time than it was in the case of Judaism; but Paul at so early a date as that of his epistle to Colossæ already found, and made use of, the opportunity to draw the line beyond which gnosis could not be tolerated as a Christian basis, and succeeding generations of the Church only followed in his footsteps, though with increasing earnestness as the danger increased, when they carried on the struggle against 'Gnostics after the flesh.

Literature.

Cp F. C. Baur, ***Die Christl. Gnosis***, '35, and ***Das Christenthum u. d. christl. Kirche der 3 ersten Jahrhunderte***(2), '60; R. A. Lipsius, 'Gnosticismus,' in Ersch and Gruher's *Encyc.* vol. **lxxi.**, '60; Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, '75; J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon*, '86; M. Friedlænder, ***Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus***, '98.

A. J.

GOAD. 1. *dorbhān*, דָּרְבָן (ΔΡΕΠΑΝΟΝ; *stimulus*), 1 S. 13 21 [also *v.* 20 *d*, emended text, see *SBOT*], דָּרְבֹן, *dorbhōn* (βούκεντρον), Eccles. 12 11†. 2. *Malmādh*, מַלְמַד (ἀροτρόπους), Judg. 3 31†. 3. κέντρον, Acts 26 14 RV. See AGRICULTURE, § 4, col. 79.

GOAH, Jer. **31** 39 RV; AV GOATH.

GOAT. To supplement the general introductory notes respecting large and small cattle among the Hebrews (given elsewhere; see CATTLE) some remarks upon the treatment of goats in particular are necessary.

1. Hebrew Terms.

There are several different breeds of the genus *Capra* in Palestine and adjacent countries; but it is not possible to distinguish each precisely by its original Hebrew name.

The generic Heb. term, common to all the Semitic family is (1) *'ēz*, עֵז (Ass. *enzu*, Ar. *'anz*, Syr. *'ezzā*; 𝔊 usually renders αἴξ, also ἔριφος Gen. **27** 9, etc.), which includes male and female (*e.g.*, Gen. 15 9).

To denote the he-goat (so RV), four words are found: (2) *'attūd*, עַתּוּד (Ass. *atūdu*, mentioned as a swift mountain animal), AV 'rams' in Gen. 31 10 12. 𝔊 τράγος; but κριός Gen. **31** 10 12, χίμαρος Ps. 50 9 66 15.

(3) *ṣāphīr*, צָפִיר a late word (Ass. *šapparu*, Syr. *ṣephrāyā*), Dan. 8 5 6, and (Aram.) Ezra 8 35; צ׳ הָ[עִזִּים] Dan. 8 5 *a*[1] 2 Ch.

[1] In Dan. 8 21 glossed by הַשָּׂעִיר (Bev.).

29 21. 𝔊 τράγος; but χίμαρος 2 Ch. 29 21. 𝔊BNAL also read [ה]צפרים in Neh. 5 18 (MT צפרים 'fowls').

(4) *śā'īr*, שָׂעִיר ('hairy one'), שׂ' [ה]עִזִּים Gen. 37 31 Ezek. 43 22, etc., AV 'kid of the goats' (ἔριφος αἰγῶν), fem. שְׂעִירַת ע' Lev. 4 28, etc.

(5) *tayiš*, תַּיִשׁ, Gen. 30 35 32 14 [15], 𝔊 τράγος.

The generic terms for the young animal are (6) *gĕdī*, גְּדִי (fem. Cant. 1 8†), 𝔊 ἔριφος, or, in conjunction with (1) above, גדי [ה]עזים, 1 S. 16 20 Gen. 27 9 16, etc.; and (7) *śeh*, שֶׂה, used of both goats and sheep (Ex. 12 5 Dt. 14 4); cp CATTLE, § 2 (6), and see SHEEP.

The Hebrew terms refer generally to the domesticated goat, *Capra hircus*, which, it is probable, is descended mainly from the Persian wild goat, *C. ægagrus*, though doubtless other strains are mingled in its ancestry.

2. Species. Of the various breeds in Palestine, the chief is the *mamber*, or Syrian goat, which attains a large size. It is remarkable for its long pendant ears, half as long again as the head, an allusion to which is perhaps found in Am. 3 12. The hair is long, black and silky. Both sexes are generally horned and have short beards. Another breed which is found in some parts of the North of Palestine is the mohair or Angora goat. It is generally white and has long silky hair.

The WILD GOAT (C. *ægagrus*) extends through Asia Minor and Persia, and in Homer's time was abundant in Greece. It would be well-known to the Assyrians, although the species occasionally figured is doubtless (so Houghton) the Asiatic ibex—viz., the *Capra sinaitica* (colloquially called the *beden*). This animal occurs in the Sinaitic peninsula, in Palestine (but not N. of Lebanon), in Upper Egypt, and in Arabia Petræa. It is quite distinct from the ibex of other countries, being rather smaller than the Alpine species, and lighter in colour than any of its congeners. It is a shy animal, with a keen scent, and its coloration is so like that of the surrounding rocks, etc., that it is very difficult to see. It usually goes in small herds of eight or ten, and, when feeding, has a sentry on the look-out for enemies. The flesh is said to be excellent, the horns, which are much smaller in the female than in the male, are often used for knife handles, etc.

The generic Heb. term for the 'wild goat' is *yā'ēl* (only in pl., *yĕ'ēlīm*, יְעֵלִים), to whose fondness for rocky heights allusion is made in 1 S. 24 2 Ps. 104 18 (ἔλαφος) Job 39 1 (τραγέλαφος πέτρας). Like the GAZELLE, the 'wild' or (better) 'mountain' goat is used of a woman (יַעֲלַת חֵן Prov. 5 19, 𝔊BNA πῶλος), and occurs as a personal name (see JAEL). Another, probably more specific, term is *'ăḳḳō*, mentioned as a 'clean' animal in Dt. 14 5 (see CLEAN, § 7 *f.*). The Vss. vary between *yā'ēl* (so Targ. Pesh.), and τραγέλαφος (AFL, B om.), which is applied distinctively to the long-haired and bearded goat found in Arabia and on the Phasis.[1] We may probably identify the animal with the *beden* or Syrian ibex (cp above).

It is possible indeed that several of the terms may be mere appellatives, and when we find that the Hebrew *'ayyāl* (*Cervus*, see HART) and *'ayil* (*Ovis Aries*, see SHEEP) are virtually identical, it is natural to infer that the Semites did not always distinguish precisely between the *Caprinæ* and the *Cervidæ* and *Antilopinæ*.

We cannot, therefore, state exactly what animals are meant by the Ass. *armu* (cp ARAN, Syr. *arnā*[2]), *daššu* (see PYGARG), *ditanu*, *turāḫu* (Syr. *tarḥā*; cp TERAH), and *burḫu* (cp Syr. *barḥā*), although the probability is that a mountain-goat is referred to in each.

Goats form a large part of the wealth of a pastoral community. In hilly and poorly watered regions they are more abundant than the sheep.

3. Breeding. 'On the downs of Arabia where no shrubs are to be found, there are no goats. In the rich maritime plains their place is taken by horned cattle, for the luxuriant grasses are too succulent for their taste.'[3] They flourish best in the southern wilderness (Edom), and in the hills from Hebron (1 S. 25 2) to the top of Lebanon, and beyond Jordan (Cant. 4 1 6 5 [cp GILEAD, § 1, HAIR, § 1], Gen. 30 33 *ff.* 32 14 [15]). They have given their name to 'Ain-Jidy (see EN-GEDI), where they are said still to be found (Thomson, *LB* 603).

As a rule they are herded with the sheep.[1] The two flocks[2] keep apart, however, the sheep browsing on the short grass whilst the more agile and independent goat skips along nibbling at the young shoots of trees and shrubs. In this way great damage is done to seedling trees, and the goat is to a large extent responsible for the absence of trees in Palestine. When folded together at night, the goats and sheep gather separately, and round the well, while awaiting the filling of the trough, they instinctively classify themselves separately (Tristram, *loc. cit.*).

The *tayiš* is mentioned in Pr. 30 31 as one of the things 'stately in march' (τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου [𝔊BNAC]), an allusion, doubtless, to the he-goat's habit of leading the flock (cp *'attūd* Jer. 50 8). Hence the latter term is applied to the leaders of the people (Is. 14 9 Zech. 10 3; cp Jer. 51 40 ‖ אילים), and Ezekiel (Ezek. 37 17) contrasts the weak flock (the poor people) with their leaders, the rams and he-goats (the rich and powerful; cp Dan. 8 3 5). It is plain that there is no real affinity between this passage and Mt. 25 32 *f.* where the blessed are separated from the cursed 'as the shepherd divides the sheep from the kids' (ἐρίφια; RVmg. kids). This language does not imply that kids are either less valuable or (see Post in Hastings' *DB*, 2 195 *b*) less mild and tractable than sheep.[3] On the passage as a whole see SHEEP.

Herds of goats were a valuable possession in more ways than one (cp Prov. 27 26, and see CATTLE, § 8).

4. Use, etc. Their hair was woven (√טוה) by the women into curtains, tent coverings, etc. (Ex 35 26 Nu. 31 20 etc., see TENT, § 3), and Paul's native country Cilicia, in particular, exported goats' hair for this purpose (see CILICIA, § 3). The skins might be used to cover the body (see below, and cp DRESS, § 8; Heb. 11 37 ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν), though, in later times, this would rather be the garb of an ascetic. More commonly they were used for bottles.[4] Goats' flesh was, of course, eaten (see FOOD, § 15), and goats' milk (חֲלֵב עִזִּים Prov. 27 27) formed one of the main articles of diet (see MILK). Hence a gift or present frequently takes the form of a goat or kid (Judg. 15 1 1 S. 10 1 Gen. 38 17 Tob. 2 12), and, as at the present day, it is dressed and prepared for the guest by every generous host (Judg. 6 18 *f.* 13 15, cp Lk. 15 29).

The goat was one of the commonest sacrificial victims (Lev. 3 12 Gen. 15 9), and most frequently comes in connection with the priestly ritual of the sin-offering.

5. Religion, archæology, etc. It was the animal selected on the great DAY OF ATONEMENT to bear away the sins of the people to AZAZEL. Cp SACRIFICE.

The following terms are found: עֵז (Nu. 15 27), צפירי עזים 2 Ch. 29 21, שָׂעִיר Lev. 4 24, שעיר[י] ע' Lev. 16 5 *f.*, Nu. 7 16, fem. שעירת ע' Lev. 5 6, שעיר[י] החטאת Lev. 9 15 2 Ch. 29 23. Similarly in the Carthaginian ritual the עז and גדא were used as offerings; cp *CIS* I. no. 165, *ll.* 7 9.

The so-called Satyrs (see SATYR) must also be referred to in passing. If we may conjecture that there were ancient Hebrew rites wherein worshippers appeared in goat-skins (see DRESS, § 8, ISAAC, § 4; and WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 467) the origin of these *jinn*-like objects

1 See Liddell and Scott. The gloss ζόμβρος (*ib.*) is no doubt related to the Heb. *zĕmĕr*, see CHAMOIS.

2 In Dt. 14 4 Pesh. for זֶמֶר, see CHAMOIS.

3 Tristram in Smith's *DB*(2), 1200 *b*.

1 מִכְלָא denotes the fold of the goats (Ps. 50 9) as well as that of the sheep.

2 The 'flocks of kids' (חֲשִׂפֵי עִזִּים) in 1 K. 20 27 is a precarious rendering derived from 𝔊 (ποίμνια αἰγῶν). Klostermann reads (בשפי) כמשפט עזים, 'on the bare height, after the manner of kids.'

3 See Is. 11 6 Ecclus. 47 3.

4 See BOTTLE, § 1. This is literally expressed in the Palmyrene זקין די עז (Tadmor, Fiscal Inscr. [137 A.D.], B 2 48).

of veneration becomes more obvious. It may well be that at some early period the goat was regarded in Canaan as a sacred animal (cp GAZELLE, HART), It was so venerated by certain communities in Egypt,[1] and to some extent among the Greeks.[2] We know, too, that it filled a prominent place in Babylonian astronomy.[3] A. E. S.-S. A. C.

GOATH, or better (RV) GOAR (גֹּעָתָה, 'to Goah'), one of the land-marks of the restored Jerusalem (Jer. 31 39 †). Read גִּבְעָתָה, 'to the Hill'—*i.e.*, probably 'to the Hill of God,' the Mt. of Olives (see Is. 10 32, as emended under NoB). Gratz (*MGWJ*, 1883, p. *343)* thinks of Gibeah of Saul; but that is too far off. In *v.* 38 the new wall is traced from the Tower of Hananeel on the the NE. to the corner-gate on the NW.; in *v.* 39 from the NW. back to the NE. on the S. side, passing by GAREB [ii] (between the ravine of Hinnom and the Valley of Rephaim) to the Mount of Olives.

Pesh. evidently read נבעתה; cp ἐπὶ γαβαθα, cod. 36 (Field). 𝔊BℵAQ's rendering (καὶ περικυκλωθήσεται κύκλῳ ἐξ ἐκλεκτῶν λίθων) represents the last clause (ונסב געתה), and seems to be a paraphrase of a reading αγαθα (cp ܓܒܥܬܐ Syr.-Hex.) from γααθα (Aq.). T. K. C.

GOB (גֹּב, גּוֹב—*i.e.*, 'a cistern,' Ges.), if the reading be correct, is the name of the place where David's warriors had two encounters with the Philistines (see DAVID, § 7; ELHANAN, § 1), 2 S. 21 18 *f.* † In the ‖ passage (1 Ch. 20 4 *f.*) the place is mentioned only once (*v.* 4), and is given as Gezer (so in 2 S.; Then., Ew., with Jos. Ant. vii. 12 2) which is plainly a corruption of גּוֹב = גֹּב. The commentaries are just here very meagre; but we can hardly doubt that the true reading in 2 S. is either גַּת, 'Gath' (so Grove, Gratz, Klo.), or (more probably) רְחוֹבֹת, REHOBOTH (*q.v.*). For the restoration of Gob in 2 S. 21 16 (We. and others) see ISHBI-BENOB.

All the three encounters mentioned in 2 S. 21 18-21 presumably occurred in the same neighbourhood; 𝔊 in *v.* 18, and MT and 𝔊 together in *v.* 20, besides the reference in *v.* 22 (?), support 'Gath.' Ges. naively remarks (*Thes.*, *s.v.*, גֹּב) that 'Gob' being little known, 𝔊 substituted other names. The truth is that, though there probably in Talmudic times was a place called קוב, Ḳōb (now *el-Ḳubāb*, Bæd.(3) 15),[4] there never was any named 'Gob. Either 'Gob' is a fusion of 'Gath' and 'Nob,' or it is a corruption of Rehoboth. The latter view seems preferable. The γαζεθ of 𝔊L in *v.* 18 is a fusion of 'Gezer' (γαζερ), and 'Gath' (γεθ). (Some Heb. MSS have נֹב; so also the Soncino Bible [1488], etc.; *v.* 18, γωβ [Compl.]; γαζερ [HP 246]; γαρζελ [id. xi. 29 236, 242 etc.]; γεθ [BA]; γαζεθ [L]; *v.* 19, γοβ [A], ρομ [B], pop [L; Compl. *nisi* νωβ; cp HP). T. K. C.

GOBLET (אַגָּן), Cant. 7 2 [3]. See BASON, 1.

GOD, NAMES OF. See NAMES, § 108 *ff.*

GOEL (גֹּאֵל). The idea expressed by the verb גָּאַל, *gā'al*, is *to resume a claim* or *right*, which has lapsed or been forfeited, *to reclaim*, *re-vindicate*, *redeem*, *redimo* (to 'buy back'); it is thus used in Lev. 25 25 *ff.* of the *redemption* of a field or house after it has been sold, in 25 47 *ff.* of the *redemption* of an Israelite who, through poverty, has been obliged to sell himself as a slave to a resident foreigner, and in 27 13 15 etc., of the *redemption* of something which has been vowed to Yahwè; in the first two of these connections, the subst. גְּאֻלָּה, *ge'ullāh*, is used similarly, 25 24 26 48 etc. In practice, however, a man was seldom able himself to 'redeem' a right which had lapsed, and thus, by ancient custom, the right (and the duty) of doing so devolved upon his family (cp 25 48 *f.*), and, in particular, upon that member of his family who was most nearly related to him. The consequence was that the term *Gō'ēl*, properly *redeemer*, came to denote a man's *Kinsman*, and especially his *next-of kin* (𝔊 ἀγχιστεύς, ἀγχιστευτής, ὁ ἀγχιστεύων); see Lev. 25 25 Nu. 5 8 Ruth 2 20 3 9 12 4 1 3 6 8 14 1 K. 16 11 (𝔊BL om.), where it is rendered so (or similarly) in AV, RV (cp Ruth 3 13, where the verb 'to redeem' is rendered four times *perform* or *do the part of a Kinsman)*. What has been said is well illustrated by Jer. 32 7-9, where, Jeremiah's cousin Hanameel wishing to sell some property, the prophet is represented as possessing the right of redemption, which he proceeds to exercise; and by Ruth 3, where, when Naomi had determined to sell her husband's estate in Bethlehem, her nearest of kin, who has the right to redeem it (𝔊 ἀγχιστεία), expresses himself unable to do so, and the right devolves upon Boaz, her next nearest kinsman, who accordingly purchases the estate, and takes with it Ruth, Naomi's daughter-in-law, as his wife (3 12 4 4-10).

1. Meaning of term.

גאל, *gā'al*, to be carefully distinguished from the late verb גאל, *gē'ēl*, 'to defile,' occurs chiefly in the later literature, though the antiquity of the ideas and usages of which it is the expression is sufficiently attested by 2 S. 14 11 1 K. 16 11. In the derived meaning 'to act as kinsman' (2 S. 14 11 1 K. 16 11, and esp. Ruth, and the legal codes of DHP) it is generally rendered by ἀγχιστεύω (-τευτής, etc.), whereas the other meanings 'to redeem, redemption, etc.' are expressed by ῥύομαι (Gen. 48 16 and often [not always] in Is. 40-66), or, more frequently, by λυτροῦμαι (λύτρωσις, etc.). On the use of גאל in the metaphorical sense of 'redemption' from trouble, exile, death, etc., see BDB *s.v.* no. 3 (p. 145); in Job 19 25 גאלי, 'my vindicator' (RVmg.) is the vindicator of my innocence, whether (Di., Bu.) as against false accusations, or (Hi., Del., Che. *Job and Sol.* 288, Du.) as against an unjust death (see 2); on the distinction from פדה see Dr. on Dt. 7 8.

The principle of which these usages are the expression is the desire to keep the property—or, to speak more generally, the rights—of the family, intact: and the *gō'ēl had-dām* (גאל הדם), or 'avenger of blood,' is just the embodiment of a parallel application of the same principle. The *gō'ēl had-dām* is the man who vindicates the rights of one whose blood has been unjustly shed; by primitive usage the duty of doing this devolves upon the members of the family, or clan (as the case may be), of the murdered man (cp 2 S. 14 7: 'the whole family is risen against thy handmaid, and they said, Deliver him that smote his brother,' etc.); and any one of them (as now in Arabia) may find himself called upon to discharge it; but naturally the responsibility is felt most strongly by the more immediate relatives, and one of these is the 'avenger of blood,' κατ' ἐξοχήν.

2. The 'avenger of blood.'

The character is one that figures in many primitive or semi-primitive societies. In a completely civilised society the right of punishment for murder, or for other crimes, is assnmed by the state: for the revenge which might he inflicted in haste or passion (Dt. 19 6) by one prompted by personal feeling, is substituted the judgment of a cool and impartial tribunal. In a primitive community, however, the case is different; what the manslayer has there to fear is not public prosecution, but the personal vengeance of the relatives of the slain man. Hebrew law is an intermediate stage. Already in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21 12-14) there is drawn the distinction (which is not yet found in Homer) between intentional and unintentional homicide, and the importance of the distinction is insisted on in all the Codes (Dt. 19 1-13 Nu. 35 9-34), where provisions are laid down to prevent homicide, as distinguished from murder, being visited by death. The *gō'ēl*, however, not the state, still executes justice on the murderer (2 S. 14 7 11 Dt. 19 12; and, in P, Nu. 35 19 21 27): on the other hand, his authority is *limited;* the altar of Yahwè in Ex., and the 'cities of refuge' in Dt. and P, are appointed as places at which the homicide may be secure from the vengeance of the *gō'ēl;* restrictions are placed in the way of his acting hastily or in passion (Dt. 19 36); according to Josh. 20 4 *f.* (D,) the manslayer is to state his case before the elders of the city of refuge, and, if he has satisfied them (it is implied) of its truth, is to be taken under their protection; in Nu. 35 24 *f.* (P) the

[1] See Wilk. *Anc. Æg.* 3 303, and especially Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, cap. 46.
[2] See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1 326 *ff.*, 2 34 *ff.*; *Paus.* 4 105 *f.*
[3] Jensen, *Kosmol.* 76 *ff.*
[4] Neub. *Géogr.* 76.

case between him and the avenger of blood is subject to the decision of the 'congregation'; and the murderer is to be put to death only on the evidence of more than one witness (Nu. 35_{30}; cp the general rule, Dt. 19_{15}).

The practice of blood-revenge is widely diffused, especially among tribes in a relatively primitive stage of civilisation. It is essentially connected with the family, or clan; indeed it is found only where a clan-system is fully developed and clan-sentiment strongly felt. Its aim is to maintain intact the honour and integrity of the clan; the feeling which prompts it is the *esprit de corps* of the clan. The duty is felt as a sacred one; in Australia, for example, for the nearest relative of a murdered man to refuse to avenge his death would be to repudiate a most sacred obligation, and at the same time to incur the taunts and derision of the entire clan. As has been said above, however, it is often a matter not simply between a particular relative of the murdered man and the murderer; the whole clan, on each side, is implicated, and a remorseless and protracted blood-feud between the two clans may be the consequence of a murder, until the penalty which custom demands has been exacted.

3. Practice of blood-revenge.

Wherever the practice of blood-revenge exists, the principle underlying it is the same; though naturally there are many differences in the details of its application, and many special usages and customs arise in connexion with it. The limits of the clan implicated vary,—sometimes it is the murderer's more immediate family, sometimes it includes his relations in a wider sense; in Arabia it is the group called the *ḥayy*—*i.e.*, the aggregate of kinsmen, living and moving from place to place together, and bearing the same name (WRS *Kinship*, 22-24, cp 36-39). Very often, again, a *ποινή* or *wergild* is taken in compensation for a life (cp for instance Hom. *Il.* 18498 *ff.*; Tac. *Germ.* 21; and, among the Saxons, Stubbs, *Const. Hist. of Eng.* 153 143 *f.* 157 161 *f.*); this was against Hebrew feeling, and is strictly prohibited—implicitly in Ex. 21_{12} (JE) Lev. 2417 (H) and Dt. 19_{11-13}, explicitly in Nu. 35_{31-33} (P).[1] Where a *wergild* is accepted, its amount varies amongst different peoples, and also in accordance with the rank, age, or sex of the murdered person. For other varieties of usage in connexion with the institution, it must suffice to refer to A. H. Post, *Studien zur Entwickelungsgesch. des Familienrechts* 113-137 ['90]; also WRS, *Kinship*, 22 *ff.* 38 47 52 *ff.*; *Rel. Sem.*(2) 32 *f.* 272 *f.* 420; *PEFQ* '97, pp. 128-130. S. R. D.

GOG and MAGOG. Magog (מָגוֹג; ΜΑΓΩΓ [BADEL]), in Gen. 10_2 = 1 Ch. 1_5 (ΜΑΓΩΑ [A]), is a 'son' of Japhet. The name, which should be connected in some way with Gog, occurs also in Ezek. 396 (γωγ [BQ], σε [A]), where Magog is spoken of as exposed to judgment (Gog, Meshech, and Tubal, *v.* 1), and in Ezek. 382 where we have 'Gog of the land of Magog,'[2] mentioned with Meshech and Tubal. Gog (גוג; γωγ [BAQ])[3] is to come from the remote part of the N. (38_{15} 392). Meshech and Tubal (see TUBAL), as well as Gomer (386), also point northward. The order of the names would place Magog between Cappadocia and Media,—*i.e.*, in Armenia, or some part of it.

The correctness of the Hebrew text has been doubted.[4] Wi. connects Gog with the gentilic name *Gâgaya*, 'of the land of *Gâg*,' used in Am. Tab. 138 as a synonym for 'barbarian.' Others connect it with Ass. *Gagu*, ruler (*ḫazān*) of the land of *Sahi*, northward from Assyria, in the time of Ašur-bāni-pal (Schr. *KGF* 159; *KB* 2180 *f.*; Del. *Par.* 217: Tiele, *Gesch.* 362); less probably with Gyges, king of Lydia (Ass. *Gugu*), a contemporary of Ašur-bāni-pal (E. Meyer, *GA* 1558). The traditional identification with the Scythians (Jos., Jer.) is plausible, but without definite evidence (see further Di. on Gen. 10_2, Lenorm. *l.c.*).

For Gog and Magog in eschatology see ANTICHRIST, § 12, APOCALYPSE, § 46, ESCHATOLOGY, § 88 (*b*), and SCYTHIANS.

F. B.

GOG (גּוֹג), in a genealogy of REUBEN, 1 Ch. 5_4† (ΓΟΥΓ [BA], ΓΩΓ [L]).

GOIIM. (1) AV NATIONS (גּוֹיִם; ΕΘΝΩΝ [ADEL]; *GENTIUM*, [illegible]; Gen. 14_1), possibly = Gutium (Kurdistan). See KOA, TIDAL. (2) Josh. 12_{23} RV. See GILGAL, § 6.

GOLAN (גּוֹלָן; ΤΗΝ ΓΑΥΛΩΝ [BAFL], in Ch. ΓΩΛΑΝ), a town in Bashan in the territory of the half-tribe of Manasseh, only mentioned in Dt. 443 Josh. 208 (גלון Kt.; ΤΗΝ ΓΩΛΑΝ [AL]) as a city of refuge, and in Josh. 21_{27} (גלון Kt.; ΤΗΝ ΓΩΛΑΝ [AL]) = 1 Ch. 6_{71} [56] (ΤΗΝ ΓΩΛΑΝ [B]), as a Levitical city.

The site is uncertain. Golan was known to Josephus as *γαυλάνη* (*Ant.* xiii. 15_3; *BJ* i. 448); and Eusebius (*OS* 242) describes it as a 'large village in Batanæa' which gave its name to the surrounding district, Gaulanitis (cp Schürer, *GJV* 1 226 354). Gaulanitis is frequently mentioned in Josephus (*e.g.*, *Ant.* xvii. 8_1 xviii. 46) as part of the tetrarchy of Philip. The ancient name is still heard in the modern Jaulān—the name of an administrative district, bounded on the W. by the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, on the S. by the Yarmūk or Sheri'at el-Menāḍireh, on the E. by the Nahr el-'Allān, and on the N. by the declivities of Hermon and the Wādy el-'Ajam. Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*, 92) thinks that Golan may have been on the site of the present large village, Saḥem el-Jaulān, on the W. of Ḥaurān, 17 m. E. of the Sea of Galilee; the ruins here are extensive, and there is a tradition current among the inhabitants that the place had long ago been the 'capital of Jaulān,' and the seat of government. It is true, Sahem el-Jaulān is about a mile to the E. of the present border of Jaulān; but we do not know that the ancient Gaulanitis was exactly co-extensive with the Jaulān of to-day. The grounds of the identification are, however, not such as to be conclusive.

The modern Jaulān in its *western* part (between the Jordan and the Ruḳḳād) consists of a plateau rising gradually from a height of about 1000 feet above the sea in the S. to upwards of 3000 feet above it in the N. The whole region is volcanic; and the country is studded with the conical peaks of extinct volcanoes. The N. and middle tracts of this part of Jaulān are stony and wild, abounding in masses of lava which have been emitted from the volcanoes. The soil is of little use agriculturally; but it is valuable as pasturage; wherever between the hard basaltic blocks there is a spot of earth, the most luxuriant grass springs up in winter and spring, affording fodder for the cattle of the Bedouin. Parts of the country are well covered with oaks and other trees; and there are indications that it was once even better wooded than it is now. The plateau is intersected by deep wādys, mostly running in a SW. direction into the Sea of Galilee. The SW. part of this plateau, in the angle formed by the Yarmūk and the Sea of Galilee is, on the other hand, stoneless; the lava-rock surface gradually disappears and in its place is a rich dark brown lava soil, such as prevails in Ḥaurān, of extreme fertility, on which wheat and barley flourish in large quantities. Timber is less abundant here than it is farther north. *Eastern* Jaulān (between the Ruḳḳād and the 'Allān) is, in the N., covered with a number of

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[1] It was permitted only in the case of a man or woman being gored to death by an ox (Ex. 21_{28} *ff.*).

[2] Bertholet reads 'against the land of Magog' (ארצה מ׳).

[3] 𝔊 has γωγ also in Am. 7_1 (βροῦχος εἷς γωγ ὁ βασιλεύς), and in Nu. 247 (see AGAG). [B* also has γωγ for 'Og' in three places in Dt. (3_1 13 447). In Ecclus. 48 17 τὸν γωγ [BC] (מים) may be a corruption of ἀγωγόν which appears in א[c.a]].

[4] [In Gen. 10_2 מגוג is probably a corruption of מגר, miswritten for נמר. In Ezek. 38_2 read שִׂים פָּנֶיךָ אֶל־אֶרֶץ מִגְדֹּן, 'set thy face towards the land of Migdon.' Mig(a)don is probably a name of the Babylonian god of the underworld, which, like Beliar or Belial (*i.e.* Belili, see BELIAL, § 3), was adopted as a name of Antichrist (see ARMAGEDDON). In Ezek. *l.c.* המגוג נ׳ springs out of מגדון; גוג is a fragment of מגוג. שיא ראש משך ותובל—*i.e.* Tiras; Meshech, and Tubal, is a late insertion from Gen. 10_2, whence also comes מגוג, which the scribe substituted for מגדו[ן]. In 39_1 a similar emendation is required. גוג, in 38 and 39, should always be מגדון. In 39_{11} ואת־כל־המונה is a mere expansion of a miswritten מגדון. In 39_{11} 15 המון גוג, and in 39 16 עיר המונה may come from הרמגדון—*i.e.* Harmigdon. We now perhaps see from which source the Apocalyptist drew the name ARMAGEDDON [*q.v.*], and also where Armageddon was (see Ezek. 39_{11}). T.K.C.]

volcanic mounds, so that the soil here scarcely repays cultivation; in the S., though the country is still basaltic, the land is richer and less stony, and it is accordingly more cultivated. Extensive ruins have been discovered in different parts of Jaulān, dating from Roman times and onwards, which show that it must once have been the home of a thriving population.

Jaulān has been described very fully, with maps, sketches, and particulars respecting ruined sites, etc., by G. Schumacher in *The Jaulān* and *Across the Jordan*, 1-20, 41-102 (the two last named passages dealing with Eastern Jaulān, between the Ruḳḳād and the 'Allān). S. R. D.

GOLATH-MAIM. Golath-maim or Gullath-maim, as also Golath (Gullath)-illith and Golath (Gullath)-tahtith (Josh. 15 19, גֻּלֹּת מַיִם, גֻּ׳ עִלִּיּוֹת, גֻּ׳ תַּחְתִּיּוֹת; Judg. 1 15 גֻּ׳ עִלִּית, גֻּ׳ תַּחְתִּית, גֻּ׳ מ׳; EV 'springs of water,' 'the upper springs,' 'the lower springs') are, according to Moore and Budde, proper names. See, however, KEILAH.

GOLD. The importance of gold in Semitic antiquity is suggested by the number of words for gold in OT Hebrew compared with biblical Greek. χρυσός and χρυσίον (the latter also = wrought gold [1 Pet. 3 3] and gold coin) are the only Greek words. Hence in Is. 13 12 Job 31 24 and Prov. 25 12, where a second word is wanted, 𝔊 has to represent כתם by λίθος, λίθος πολυτελής, and σάρδιον πολυτελές. See also (d). The Hebrew terms are :

1. Terms. (a) זָהָב, *zāhāb*, Aram. דְּהַב, Ar. *dhahab*[un], perhaps 'the sparkling'; cp צהב. Note the phrases זָהָב מוּפָז, 'refined gold' (1 K. 10 18), for which 2 Ch. 9 17 has זָהָב טָהוֹר, 'pure gold' (𝔊 in each case χρυσίῳ δοκίμῳ; hut Pesh. reads מֵאוֹפִיר ז׳, 'gold from Ophir'), and זָהָב שָׁחוּט (χρυσᾶ ἐλατά), 'beaten gold,' 1 K. 10 16 *f.* 2 Ch. 9 15 *f.* See also UPHAZ.

(b) חָרוּץ, *ḥārūṣ*, Ass. *ḫurāṣu*, Phœn. חרץ (whence χρυσός, χρυσίον); in Hebrew, mostly poetical (Zech. 9 3 Ps. 68 13 [14] Prov. 3 14 8 10 19 16 16). We find it twice, however, in prose, according to necessary emendations of Gen. 2 11 *f.* and 23 16. Gen. 2 11 *f.* should run, '. . . the whole land of Havilah, where there is the *ḥārūṣ*-gold, where there is the *ḥipindu*-stone, and the *shōham*' (malachite?); see OPHIR, § 1; ONYX; TOPAZ. The sudden transition to naive wonder ('The gold of that land is good') conceals, in fact, a reference to a kind of gold designated *ḥārūṣ*. In Gen. 23 16 *ḥārūṣ* is concealed under *lassōhēr* (see KESITAH). What, then, does *ḥārūṣ* mean? Nöldeke (*ZDMG*, 1386, p. 728) and König (2 *a* 137) advocate the explanation 'yellowish'; so BDB, Ges.-Buhl. See Ps. 68 13 [14], בירקרק חרוץ, 'with yellowish [or, greenish] gold,' and cp BDB, *s.v.*, ירק. Ps. 68 13 [14], however, is corrupt (read ביקר ח׳, 'with the glory of gold'). חָרוּץ, *ḥārūṣ*, possibly described gold in one of the stages of its production. 'The bard stone [quartz] was first made brittle by the action of fire, then *hoed out with iron picks*' (λατομικῷ σιδήρῳ καταπονοῦσι . . . τυπίσι σιδηραῖς τὴν μαρμαρίζουσαν πέτραν κόπτουσιν, Diod. Sic., 3 12).

(c) כֶּתֶם, *kéthem*, possibly from √כתם, 'to cover' (so Ass., Ar.); same word in Sab.; in Hebrew only, or mostly, poetical (Is. 13 12 Job 28 16 19 31 24 Prov. 25 12 [and perhaps Prov. 25 11, by emendation, see BASKETS, n. 1] Lam. 4 1 Dan. 10 5, hut not Ps. 45 9 [10] Cant. 5 11, where the text is corrupt). One of the kinds of gold specified in Egyptian records [New Empire] is 'the good gold of Katm' (Erman). W. M. Muller gives the forms *Kā-ti-ma* and, more common, *Ktmt* (*As. u. Bur.* 76). Possibly כתם, *kéthem* (*Kathm*), also is the name of a gold-producing place, like Ophir; in Is. 13 12, as Duhm has seen, אוֹפִיר, *ōphīr*, is a *gloss* on כתם. Perhaps in Gen. 10 30 ספרה הר הקדם should be read סִפְרָה הָרֵי כֶּתֶם, 'to Sophir[1] (*i.e.*, OPHIR, *q.v.*), to the mountains of Kethem.' Tg. recognises, at any rate, a special kind of gold.

(d) פָּז (Talm. פִּיזָא; Tg. פִּזּוּזָא), *paz*, 'refined, gold,' probably = זהב מופז (see above, a). Ps. 19 10 [11] 21 3 [4] Prov. 8 19, λίθον τίμιον; Ps. 119 127, τοπάζιον [see TOPAZ]; Job 28 17 Cant. 5 15 [σκεύη, βάσεις], χρυσᾶ[ς]; Is. 13 12 Lam. 4 2, χρυσίον; Cant. 5 11, και φαζ [BA], κεφαζ [א].

(e) אוֹפִיר, 'Ophir,' also could be used poetically for זְהַב אֹפִיר 'Ophir-gold' (Job 22 24 σωφειρ, also Ps. 45 9 [10]: read כֶּתֶר).[2]

(f) Similarly סְגוֹר, *sĕghōr* (συγκλεισμός), or סָגוּר (Hoffm., Bu., Duhm) is perhaps used for זָהָב סָגוּר, Job 23 15, lit. 'gold closed up.' See the Comm. on 1 K. 6 20. Tg. דהב ס׳; Vg. *aurum obrizum*. Most probably = Ass. *ḫurāsu sakru*, 'massive or solid gold' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 499 6). It seems that we should read חָרֻץ 'gold' for אשכר (EV 'gifts') in Ps. 72 10,[1] and סגר for הסהר (EV 'a round goblet') in Cant. 7 3 [2] (*JQR* 11 404 ['99]).

To these we must not add the phrase כֶּתֶם פָּז, Cant. 5 11, EV 'the most fine gold' (the bridegroom's hair), the text being corrupt.[2]

Besides the above there are other terms (Latin, etc.) of strange aspect, which may claim to be mentioned.

1. Does the phrase χρυσὸς ἄπυρος mean Ophir-gold? or gold-dust (Ass. *epru*, [*a*] masses of earth, [*b*] dust)? Scarcely; against the latter view see Wi. *AT Unters.* 146, n. 2. Nor is there much to be said for Sprenger's conjecture (*Alte Geogr. von Arab.* 56 *f.*) that both Ophir and ἄπυρος describe the reddish colour of the best kind of gold (Ophir, therefore, not originally a place-name).

2. ὄβρυζον, Lat. *obrussa*, no doubt means the test of fire applied to gold in a cupel; the gold which has passed this test is called *aurum obrizum*; cp Arab. *ibrīz*[un], whence *abrazu*, *cepit aurum purum*. But what is the origin of ὄβρυζον?

At any rate, the words just mentioned have a real right to be. That is more than we can say of the Heb. בֶּצֶר, *beṣer*, however, commonly explained as 'gold-ore.'[3] It is suspicious, that בצר, 'ore,' was altogether unknown to the ancients. There is only one passage in which almost all moderns have found it, and only one more in which one or two have suspected its existence. In both passages the word taken to be בצר is surrounded by textual corruption, and there can hardly he a doubt that it is itself corrupt. The passages referred to are :

(a) Job 22 24 *f.* (בֶּצֶר), AV 'gold' : RV 'thy treasure' [mg. Heb. 'ore']; בְּצָרֶיךָ, AV 'thy defence'; RV renders as בֶּצֶר). It is necessary here to give the context. Budde renders his somewhat emended text thus :—

'And (if thou) layest ore of gold in the dust,
And in the sand by the sea Ophir-gold,
So that the Almighty is thine ore of gold,
And his law is (as) silver unto thee.

A reference to the Hebrew will show that *l.* 2 is in part happily emended. Still the gist of the passage seems to be misapprehended, and the בצר of MT is not cleared up. Beer, too, while adopting Budde's reading in *l.* 2, confesses that the phraseology of *v.* 24 seems to him very strange. So also, however, is that of *v.* 25. Nor is Budde's emendation, 'his law,' תּוֹרָתוֹ for תועפות, plausible. Duhm hardly improves upon Budde. Probably we should read thus,—

And thou wilt heap up treasures as the dust,
And as the sand of the sea Ophir-gold,
And Shaddai will he thy diadem (נזרך),
And a crown of Ophir-gold (וכתר אופיר) unto thee.[4]

(β) Ps. 68 30 [31], מִתְרַפֵּס בְּרַצֵּי־כָסֶף; RV 'trampling under foot *the pieces of* silver.' For this Cheyne (*Ps.*(1) 393, doubtfully) and Nestle (*JBL*, '91, p. 151) have read בְּבִצְרֵי כ׳, 'with (or for) pieces of silver ore'; hut the extreme doubtfulness of בצר in Tob makes it preferable to read 'בְּאוֹצַר ב, 'with store of silver.' On the corrupt מתר see PATHROS. (Duhm is rather disappointing here.)

It does not, in fact, appear that the OT Hebrew has any expression for 'gold ore.' In the margin of Job 28 6 AV does indeed give 'gold ore.' However. this may only record the impression of the translators that עַפְרֹת זָהָב would not he good Hebrew for 'dust of gold.' For the same reason probably RV gives in the margin 'and he winneth lumps of gold'; hut the only safe rendering is that of Delitzsch, Dillmann, Hoffmann, 'and he hath gold-hearing earth.' Yet this cannot represent the poet's meaning. No miner is mentioned in the context, and, as Bateson Wright has seen, the parallelism requires עַפְרֹתֶיהָ. Probably the verse should run thus,

Its stones are the place of silver,
Its clods are the mine of gold.[5]

Thus *v.* 6 corresponds (as it should) to *v.* 1. Cp SAPPHIRE.

1 Sophir may perhaps be simply a corruption of Ophir; א and ס are frequently confounded (*e.g.*, יבוא for יבוס, Is. 41 3). The forms σωφ[ε]ιρ, σωφειρα, σωφηρα, σωφαρα occur in 𝔊.

2 Vg.'s renderings are peculiar. כתם אופיר becomes (Job 28 16) *tinctis Indiæ coloribus* (cp in *colore*, Jer., for בכתם, Dan. 10 5); Is. 13 12, *mundo obrizo*, where *obrizo* = Ophir = Ophir gold.

1 In Ezek. 27 15 אשכרך should probably he סְחֹרָתֵךְ.

2 Grätz (cp Bu.) would read כתר for כתם; but the best reading seems to he כְּכַרְמֶל, 'like Carmel' (see 76 [5], HAIR, 1). 𝔊's χρυσίον καὶ φαζ in Cant. 5 11 represents כתם ופז (see UPHAZ). This became ωφαζ (Cod. 253 HP), οφαζ (Cod. 300)—*i.e.*, כתם אופז (Lag. *Mittheil.* 2 81). Neither form of text however, makes a good sense, and the connection of 5 11 a with 7 6 *ab* can scarcely he denied.

3 Abulwalīd derives it from בָּצַר, 'to break off,' comparing Ar. *tibrun* (native gold, whether dust or nugget).

4 See *Exp. T.*, 10 94 *f.* (Nov. '98).

5 מְקוֹם כֶּסֶף אֲבָנֶיהָ
וְלַזָּהָב מוֹצָא עֲפָרֹתֶיהָ.

The localities mentioned in the OT as sources of gold (Havilah, Ophir, Sheba) are all Arabian [1]; Arabia was evidently the Eldorado of the Hebrews.

2. Sources of gold. Now it is the gold of Ophir, now that of Sheba that rises before the mental eye; never, for some reason, that of Havilah. Midian, too, appears to have abounded in gold; the reference in Nu. 31 50-54 to the spoil of gold taken from the Midianites comes from a very late source (P), but reflects the traditional belief in the Midianitish gold; Gideon, too, is said in the legend to have won enormous spoil from the conquered Midianites (Judg. 8 24-27). According to Burton,[2] the 'land of Midian' was 'evidently worked, and in places well worked' in antiquity. There is just one allusion in the OT to the abundance of gold in Palestine in the pre-Israelitish period. Achan is said to have appropriated from the spoil of Jericho 200 shekels of silver and a 'tongue' of gold of 50 shekels weight (Josh. 7 21). One would like to know what the object called a 'tongue' really was. It was hardly a 'wedge' (Jos. *Ant.* i. 5 10, *μᾶζα*; Vg. *regula*); both here and in Is. 13 12 ('golden wedge' for כתם) AV must be wrong; and even RV has been too conservative in its rendering of Josh. *l.c.* Nor is there evidence for any object of use or ornament called from its shape a 'tongue' either in Hebrew or in Assyrian.[3] It seems a reasonable, and it is certainly an easy, conjecture that לשון is a corruption of שִׁרְיוֹן, 'a cuirass' (see BREASTPLATE [i.]); the king of a city like Jericho may well have been supposed by the late Hebrew narrator to have possessed golden armour. Certainly the quantity of the precious metals demanded as tribute by Thotmes III. and Ram(e)ses III. could have been borne only by a very rich country (see Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*); the gold was no doubt brought to Palestine by trading caravans from Arabia. In the Israelitish period Solomon's golden shields were carried off to Egypt by Šošenḳ (Shishak). See 1 K. 14 25 *f.* Solomon's hunger for gold may indeed have been exaggerated by legend (cp Jos. Ant. viii. 7 3); but solid fact lies under the possible exaggeration (see OPHIR).

The Egyptians, however, were not confined to pillaging highly civilized Syria; they were in direct relations with gold-producing districts. At Ḥammāmāt (see Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 596) and at Gebel 'Allāḳi, near the country now occupied by the Ababdeh Arabs, and also at another place bearing the same name nearer the Red Sea, there were important gold-mines. An interesting account of the mines is given in Egyptian records (*RP* 8 75 *ff.*; Brugsch, *op. cit.* 530; Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 463), and the 'earliest known map,' now in the Turin museum, represents the second of these mining districts, which was visited by Theodore Bent.[4] The precious metal was for the most part found in veins of quartz (according to Hoffmann, the חַלָּמִישׁ of Job 28 9), and Diodorus (3 12) gives a description of the processes employed which throws light on some of the Hebrew terms and phrases relative to gold in the OT. First of all the hard stone was made brittle by fire; then it was broken up into small pieces which were ground to powder between two flat granite millstones. This powder was washed on inclined tables furnished with one or more cisterns, so that all the earthy matter might be separated [cp Job 28 1, יָזֹקּוּ, 'where they cleanse it'], flowing down the incline with the water. The particles of gold were then collected, and, together with a certain amount of lead, salt, etc., kept for five days and nights in closed earthen crucibles. By exposure to the heat they were formed into ingots which, having been extracted, were weighed and laid by for use. (On this description cp Bent, *Through Mashonaland*, 184; *Southern Arabia*, 325.) The commonest objects produced were rings (*RP* 2 26; Erman, 464), or 'thin bent strips of metal' (Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*, 324) which were used as a basis of exchange. As distinguished from gold rings, the gold imported by Ha't-Sepsut from the land of Punt is called 'green' or 'fresh'; probably it was in ingots.' At a later time six kinds of gold are specified,—'mountain gold, good gold, gold of twice, gold of thrice, gold of the weight, and the good gold of Katm' (cp § 1 [c]). The wealth of Ram(e)ses III. (the Rampsinitus of Herodotus) must, to judge from the temple inscriptions, have been enormous. 'Gold in grains, in bags filled to the weight of 1000 pounds, from the mines of Amamu in the land of Kush, from Edfu, from Ombos, and from Kopfos, bars of silver, pyramids of blue and green stones,' etc. (Brugsch, *Gesch.* 596).

Gold (*ḫuraṣu*) was in equal request in Babylonia and Assyria, though AV's rendering in Is. 14 4 'golden city' (מַדְהֵבָה) is as impossible as the reading which it represents. Gudea (the very ancient *patesi* of Lagaš) speaks (*KB* 3 *a* 37) of having received gold dust from Miluḫḫa (*i.e.*, the Sinaitic peninsula). Nothing is said of gold coming from Miluḫḫa elsewhere; probably, however, it was not dug up in Sinai, but brought from Egypt.[2] The greater part of the Babylouian gold doubtless came from Arabia; but gold entered into the tribute of all the richer conquered peoples; Hezekiali, for instance, paid thirty talents of gold (2 K. 18 14; *KAT*(2) 293).

That the art of the Goldsmith (צֹרֵף, Neh. 3 8 [BℵA om.] πυρωτης [L] 31 [𝔊 transliterates], 32 χαλκευς [RSA cp Is. 41 7], χαλκουργος [L], Is. 40 19 46 6 Jer. 10 9 14 51 17 [AV in Jer. 'founder'], χρυσοχοος) was carried to as great a perfection in Nineveh and Babylon as in Egypt does not appear. Merodach-Baladan, the adversary of Sargon, had a canopy, a sceptre, and a bed of gold (Sarg. *Ann.* 339; cp Del. *HWB* 27), and gold was much used in architectural decoration. Still there was a Babylonian guild of goldsmiths whose patron was the god Ea. It may be noted here that in Gen. 4 20 *ff.* no mention is made of a founder of the goldsmith's art. Yet there must have been goldsmiths at Jerusalem, though a doubt exists whether 'goldsmiths' in Neh. 3 32 should not rather be 'money-changers' (Perles, *Anal.* 78). See METALS, and cp HANDICRAFTS.

For the Golden Calf, see CALF, GOLDEN.

The investigation of the sources of the gold elsewhere than in Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, and Palestine does not concern us here. The accounts which Herodotus, Arrian, and Diodorus give of the treasures of the great cities of Asia show that gold-mines in widely separated regions were well-worked (see Smith's *Dict. Class. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Aurum'; G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, 18-20). T. K. C.

GOLGOTHA (γολγοθα [Ti. WH]; Syr. ܓܓܘܠܬܐ), Mt. 27 33 Mk. 15 22 (γολγοθαν [ℵB, etc.]) Jn. 19 17†. The name of a place outside of Jerusalem, where Jesus was crucified. It was

1. Name. 'without the gate' (Heb. 13 12), and apparently beside some public thoroughfare (Mt. 27 39) leading to the country (Mk. 15 21), but 'nigh to the city' (Jn. 19 20). See CROSS, § 4.

The Aramaic form of the name (st. emph. גולגולתא from גולגלא; see Onk. Tg. on Ex. 16 16) corresponds to the Hebrew גֻּלְגֹּלֶת, *gulgóleth*. In the Greek transliteration (except in A)

[1] PARVAIM and UPHAZ [*qq.v.*] can hardly be mentioned; these supposed place-names arise from corruptions in the text.

[2] *The Land of Midian Revisited* ('79), 1329. Burton's object was 'to ascertain the depth from W. to E. of the quartz-formation which had been worked by the ancients.' His exploration was stopped by the Bedouin.

[3] Benzinger (*HA*, 190, n. 2) dismisses the rendering 'bar,' and supposes some tongue-shaped object to be meant. We can hardly acquiesce in this.

[4] See Chabas, *Les inscriptions des Mines d'Or* ('62); and cp Burton, *op. cit.* 196; Bent, *Southern Arabia*, 323 *ff.* Prof. de Goeje thinks it probable that the two sets of mines, though several hundred miles apart, may have belonged to the same reef and have been known by the same name.

[1] Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, 1 25.

[2] Krall, *Grundriss der altorient. Gesch.* 48; cp Jensen, *ZA*, 1895, p. 372.

the second ל of the original word has been dropped in order to facilitate pronunciation (cp Ar. *jalajatun*, and see Zahn, *NT Einl.* 1 20). Mt., Mk., and Jn. give its interpretation as κρανίου τόπος, the place of a skull; Lk. gives the Greek name only—to the place called *Kranion'* (23 33, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον κρανίον), RV 'The skull'—or, as it is rendered in AV and RVmg. after the Vg. (*Calvaria*), 'Calvary.' Eusebius mentions it as γ. κρανίου (*OS*, 175 11), γ. κρανίον (189 1 202 63), and γ. κρανίου τόπος (248 21); Jerome gives *Golgotha caluaria* (OS, 61 22) and G. *locus Caluariæ* (130 25).

According to Jerome (*Comment. ad Ephes.* 5 14; Epist. 46), and Basil (*in Canesii Thes.* 1 245) there was a tradition that the *skull* (whence the name) of Adam was preserved in this place; Epiphanius (*contr. Hær.* 1 46), Ambrose (*Epist.* 7 1), and others speak of his burial at Golgotha (see Guthe, 'Grab [das heilige]' in *PRE*(3)). Such a tradition only needs to be mentioned. The two explanations that have found most support are—(1) that it was so called because the place abounded in **skulls** (so Jer. *Comm. ad* Mt. 27 33; cp Jeremy Taylor's description 'Calvary, . . . a hill of death and dead bones, polluted and impure . . .'); (2) because for one or more reasons it resembled a skull (so Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 429; Brandt, *Die Evang. Gesch.* 168; Meyer, *Comm.* on Mt. 486 *f.* ['98], who compares the German use of 'Kopf,' 'Scheitel,' and 'Stirn').[1] To the former explanation serious objections have been raised (see Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* 3 405). The latter suggestion is, therefore, preferred by most scholars.

Several examples occur in the OT of names suggested by the configuration of the ground (see NAMES, § 99). The existence of a small village situated on a hill-top in the neighbourhood of Tyre called *el-Jumeijmeh* ('the little skulls'; *BR* 3 56 58, *PEFM* 194) makes it probable that a similar name was in ancient times applied to any knoll which was thought to resemble a skull.

Whatever be the explanation of the name, the place intended must have been outside the city wall (so Jn. 19 20, 'nigh to the city' [cp Mt. 28 11 Heb. 13 12], and Jn. 19 41, 'near a tomb,' new tombs would be outside the city). Further, it was a prominent position (Mk. 15 40 Lk. 23 49) and near a road (Mt. 27 39 Mk. 15 29). These data, however, suit several positions.

2. Site.

The traditional site, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, has lately been proved to lie beyond the second wall (see JERUSALEM, §32, ii.) which was the outside wall at the date of the Crucifixion; and several rock tombs have been found about it. It was near a road. It therefore may have been the site. The tradition in its favour, however, does not reach behind the fourth century; and the manner in which the site is said to have been indicated to [illegible] Em[illegible]stantin[illegible] he removed a temp[le] of Venus, that stood over the spot, [illegible] discovered the alleged tomb of [illegible]t and [illegible] erecte[d] the Church of the Resurrection, does not prove that the sanctity of the place was anciently, or even at the time, publicly known (Eus. *Vit. Const.* 3 25). When we consider the extension of the city over the site, the operations in the siege of Titus, whose principal camps were on this N. side of the city, the devastation of Jerusalem under Hadrian, and the interval before the first attempts of Christians to identify the sites, we can see how precarious the tradition is. The one element of value in it is the statement of Eusebius that a temple of Venus had been erected on the site; if we may argue from the analogous case of the Temple site, on which a temple to Jove was raised, this temple of Venus is evidence that its site had been regarded by the Christians as sacred.[2]

That too, however, is precarious, and by no means strong enough to dispose of rival sites. Other sites for Golgotha have been suggested on several positions to the north of the city. One, first pointed out by Thenius in 1849 and adopted by General Gordon and Colonel Conder, has received recently a great deal of support. It is an eminence above the grotto of Jeremiah, outside the present wall not far from the Damascus gate. Besides suiting the general data of the gospels—it is near a road stands high, and has tombs about it—its appearance agrees with Lk.'s rendering of the name; it has a strong resemblance to a skull; and there is a modern Jewish tradition that it was the place of stoning in ancient times. But neither are these things conclusive, and on the whole we must be content to believe that the scene of the greatest event in Jerusalem's history is still unknown. From this, of course, it also follows that the site of Stephen's martyrdom is uncertain.

M. A. C., § 1; G. A. S., § 2.

1 The Old English 'cop,' on the other hand, seems t? have meant primarily 'summit,' and then 'head' or 'skull. See Murray, *s.v.*

2 A *resumé* of the voluminous literature on the Holy Sepulchre and a discussion of the claims of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to occupy the site of our Lord's tomb will he found in the article 'Sepulchre, the Holy,' by A. B. M'Grigor in the *Ency. Brit.*(9) This article notes that the existence in the rock on which the church is built of several ancient Jewish tombs may be used as an argument against the site, for Eusebius (*Theophania*, Lee's transl., p. 199) embasises the fact that 'there was only one cave within it, but had there been many, the miracle of him who overthrew death should have been obscured.'

GOLIATH

GOLIATH (גָּלְיָת, Ginsb.; some editions גָּלְיַת [except in 1 Ch. 20 5], § 78; γολιαθ [BAL], also γολιαδ [B]; in Pss. γολιαδ [BNR], γολιαθ [AT], γολιαθος [Jos.].

1. Earlier story.

For the ending see AHUZZATH. G-l-y is probably a corruption of g-z-l.[1] Goliath is a pale reflection of those so-called 'throne-bearers (*guzalî*) who ran over hill and dale at the Deluge (Bab. legend, *l.* 100), and who are rather = the Anunnaki, those 'ravaging' (גזל) e[vi]l spirits whom Rammān, Nebo, etc., let loose at the Deluge; Jastrow (*Rel.* [of] *Bab. and Ass.* 500) renders *guzalî* in the Deluge sto[ry] 'th[rone-bea]rers.' [I]t is a title which belongs only to *divine beings* (see M[illegible] A[illegible] cp J[illegible] K[illegible] 389); Achish is an analogous name, meaning 'one [who] [illegible] forward' (from Assyr. *akâsu*).

A Philistine giant [illegible] g to 1 S. 17 by [Da]vid [illegible] [ac]cording to an older tradition (2 S 21 19; in 𝔊B γοδολιαν) by ELHANAN (*q.v.*). Sonic details as for exa[mple th]at Goliath was of Gath that he lived in the time of David, and that the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam—are common to the two [st]ori[es]. The older tradition adds [illegible] id th[e] real name of [illegible] sl[ain] of t[illegible] (*v.* 22; cp [illegible] that Goliath like his [illegible]vs was a descendant of the [illegible] hait[illegible] p[illegible]osh. 11 [illegible] Anakim are said [illegible] d only in Phil[is]tia). It [illegible], i[n] fact, [illegible] so soon as th[e] four [illegible] Philistine [illegible] had [illegible] magnified i[nto] giants, to account for the[ir] [illegible] stature by [illegible] th[e] Rephaites. It is also [illegible] that in 2 [S.] 21 15-22 [illegible] Israelite warriors meet the ga[illegible] Ph[illegible] in or Repl[illegible] [w]ith-out the [illegible] alarm, whereas in 1 S. 17 [illegible] succeeds i[n] paralysing [illegible] Isr[a]elite ar[my].

It i[s] certain, however, that this is not presented [to] us as the [illegible] of the gi[ant] [illegible]pe[illegible] He is called [illegible] champion (אִישׁ הַבֵּנַיִם a man of th[e] μετ[αι]χμ[ίου] [illegible] *Ant.* vi. 9 1, [illegible] μεταξὺ τῶν αρ[illegible] and in [h]i[s] speech [illegible] out a di[illegible] challenge to the [illegible]s of Israel. The [illegible] shi[illegible] back in cowardly [illegible] unaccountable falling back on the part of the comrades of [illegible] (cp 1 S. 14), which [illegible] to be [illegible] in order to [illegible] room for David. With fine poetic [illegible]ss and (as we sh[a]ll see) [illegible] the conqueror p[ro]vided for th[e] giant in this [illegible] offshoot of [illegible] was no trained warrior (1 S. 16 18 belongs t[o] the older story) [bu]t a shepherd [b]oy.

Later tradition.

In *v.* 56 [illegible] he is called a 'stripling' (; hut the same word is [illegible] in 1 [S.] 20 [illegible] one who in *v.* 35 is [illegible] as a 'littl[e] [bo]y' [illegible] and the y[ou]thf[u]l a[ge] of [D]av[id] is sufficiently shown [b]y the scorn expressed by Go[liath] at his yet unspoiled complexion[2] (*v.* 42.

The y[ou]ng champion's plan [wa]s simple. He would have recourse t[o] [illegible] th[e] weapon of the 'light-armed crowd' in the army of the [illegible] Troy.[3] He would replenish his [she]pherd's scrip with some good [illegible] pebbl[es] [illegible] th[e] 'de[e]p watercourse which [illegible] separat[es] the [illegible]s' (see ELAH [ii.]). He would then trust to the keenness of his brig[ht] eyes and [illegible] ligl[illegible] [o]f f[o]ot. The [illegible] of [t]he dr[illegible] is d[illegible] (*v.* [illegible]). 'And it used to happen, when the Philistine set forward [an]d came [illegible] to meet David, [t]hat David would haste and run [t]o the battle array to meet [th]e Philistine'; [illegible] whenever Goliath tried to come to close quarters with David, David would [ru]n quickly to the front rank of the Israelites to meet his foe under this friendly cover, [an]d wh[en] th[e] giant halted for a moment [illegible] would run upon him from another side [illegible] before he could be protected by th[e] g[illegible] shield[4] At last D[av]id's opportunity came; Goliath's face was exposed. 'Then [illegible]

1 [illegible], *guzalu.* The only alte[rnative] i[illegible] is to deriv[e] [illegible] fr[om] Ass[yr.] *ugallu* 'a leader' (Scheil [illegible]

2 See Che. *Aids* 102, n. 1. [illegible] in [illegible] a connection [illegible] ly implie[s] a yo[illegible] (cp Cant. 5 10). Compare the description of an Arab shepherd boy q[uoted] from Doughty i[n] [illegible] 100, n. 2.

3 *Il.* 13 [illegible]; [c]p A. Lang, *Hom. and the Epic*, 375 *f.*

4 Cp JAVELIN, 5.

put his hand in his bag and took thence a stone, and slang it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead- and the stone sank into his forehead, and he fell upon his face to the earth' (*v.* 49). Though sorely wounded Goliath was not dead. So David 'ran and stood upon the Philistine,' triumphing over his foe, like Sanehat in a similar case in the old Egyptian story,[1] next he drew the giant's sword[2] from its sheath and cut off his head. Then the Philistines saw that the incredible had happened, and took to flight.

Why did the Philistines flee? Had they not still their well-appointed infantry and their war-chariots? Had they not still the memory of their former victories? A Greek poet would have said that a god impelled them behind with mighty hand, and struck terror into their souls; and indeed it was a religious dread that seized them. They were powerless to resist the fierce Israelites.[3] Meantime, if the view suggested elsewhere (NOB) be correct, David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Saul; but he put his armour in the tent of Yahwè (*v.* 54).

3. The arms of Goliath. Goliath's arms of attack are made of iron; those of defence, of bronze. '*Javelin* of bronze' in 1 S. 17 6 must be a mistake (see JAVELIN, 5). The sword was afterwards given to David the fugitive by Ahimelech (1 S. 21 9 [10]; cp 22 10). The tradition said (apparently) that David had deposited it as hallowed spoil in the sanctuary of Nob (or Gibeon). The (reputed) weapons of ancient divine heroes have not infrequently been found in Babylonia,[4] and a sword like that with which a mere shepherd boy had cut off a giant's head would have not less supernatural power than the fairy lance of Gilgameš. There may have been stories, in the fuller Odyssey of Hebrew tradition, in which this sword played a part. If so, it is obvious that they have been with good reason passed over.

4. Religious covering. The story of David, as edited in the Book of Samuel, is that of a man who fought the 'wars of Yahwè,' and was by his God delivered, and later ages clung with special affection to the story of Goliath, because of its latent religious significance (see Ecclus. 47 2-11, and cp title of Ps. 144 [143] in 𝔊BℵRT).[5] From the first the idea that God alone gives strength to conquer must have been present to those who told this tale, and it is beyond reasonable doubt that a later writer of the post-Deuteronomic period inserted 1 S. 17 46 *f.*, to bring the lesson of the tale into clearer view.[6] It is only with an eye to this latent idea that the legend of Goliath can be retained by critically trained teachers and preachers. It has indeed been urged against this changed attitude that the story of Odysseus could be treated in the same way. So it could, provided that there was a genuine, however small, historical kernel in the story, and also that Odysseus held a prominent place in the period of preparation for the coming of Jesus Christ. Such was not the case. the story of Goliath may therefore remain unchallenged in thb repertory of the religious teacher. Nowhere else outside of the NT does the message of encouragement to the humble and exhortation to the weak in faith receive so affecting, so inspiring an expression. Such a message could not have been engrafted even on the instructive life of David but for that process of idealisation, which is so characteristic of some Hebrew writers, but often so shocking to modern students.

[1] Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales* 1 110 135.

[2] Robertson Smith and Klost. think there was a conflict of traditions, one stating that David (Saul's armour-bearer) drew his own sword to slay Goliath, the other that, having no sword, he used the giant's.

[3] Che. *Aids*, 109 *f.*

[4] Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 642; cp *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 3 52 *ff.* ['94].

[5] Τῷ Δαυείδ, πρὸς τὸν Γολιαδ. On the title in Pesb. see SIPPAI. The Greek Psalter also rejoices in a Psalm of David ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, composed ὅτε ἐμονομάχησε τῷ [πρὸς τὸν] Γολιαδ [-αθ] (cp *v.* 6 *f.*).

[6] Verse 46 predicts the slaughter by David, not only of Goliath, but also of the army of the Philistines; and announces as the consequence of this the universal recognition of the divinity of Yahwè (cp Ps. 18 47 [48] *ff.* Is. 55 4; both passages late). In *v.* 47 the warriors of Israel are spoken of just as if they were an 'assembly' gathered together for religious instruction (2 Ch. 20 14-20 is closely parallel), and the lesson that Yahwè 'saveth not with sword and spear' is precisely that which was so dear to the psalmists of the Second Tdmple (Ps. 20 7 [8] 44 5 [6] *f.*). The second clause of *v.* 46 reminds us of Ps. 79 2, while the phrase חית הארץ(היתו) occurs elsewhere only in late writings (see Gen. 1 24 *f.* 30 9 2 10 Ezek. 29 5 32 4 34 28 Job 5 22 Ps. 79 2). So Che. *Aids*, 117; cp Ku. *Ri. Sa.* 214, who is more definite and satisfactory on this point than We. (*Gesch.*(4), 268; ET, 266).

5. MT and 𝔊. The story of David and Goliath has taken the place of another narrative which described the call of the warrior David to the court, and his advancement in the army as the reward of his military talents (see DAVID, § 1). The narrative, however, whether we take the version given in MT or that in 𝔊, no longer preserves its original form. The former is too long, the latter too short. Robertson Smith, indeed (with whom F. H. Woods, *Stud. Bibl.* 1 29, agrees), is of opinion that 𝔊B's text of 1 S. 17 1-18 5 should be followed. He thinks that whatever the Hebrew text has in addition has been interpolated from some lost history of David which gave quite a different turn to the story of Goliath (see *OTJC*(2) 120 *ff.* 431 *ff.*). When in 1892 Robertson Smith revised his fine volume of Lectures he had before him all the recent examinations of the Goliath-story which advocate a different view of 𝔊B's text, and was not persuaded by the arguments of Wellhausen (who once held the same view as his own), Kamphausen, Stade, Budde, and Kittel. On the other hand, he has not himself persuaded Stade and Budde, who have expressed themselves anew since 1892, and the present writer, in view of the difficulties which beset Robertson Smith's and still more Klostermann's theory (cp Budde, *Ri. Sa.* 213 *f.*), sees no choice but to hold that if we put aside later insertions (such as *v.* 46 *f.*, pointed out above), MT represents the one original story of David and Goliath. Some of Robertson Smith's observations are, indeed, not only acute but also correct; but the roughnesses in the text can be accounted for differently (see Che. *Expos.*, '92 6, p. 156 *f.*; and cp Bu. *SBOT*; Kamphausen, 'Bemerkungen zur alttest. Textkritik,' in the *Arbeiten d. Rhein. Wiss. Pred.-Vereins*, 7 13 *ff.*). These differences among critics, however, are unimportant compared with the result on which there is no doubt whatever. The story of Goliath has poetical and religious truth, but not, except in a very minute kernel, the truth of history. Cp REHOBOTH, TAMMUZ.

T. K. C.

GOMER (1) (גֹּמֶר, ΓΑΜΕΡ [BADEL]; Gen. 10 2 *f.* 1 Ch. 1 5 *f.* ΓΟ. [L] Ezek. 38 6 ΓΟ. [BAQ]; Ass. *Gimirrai* [Schr. *KGF*, 157 *ff.*, Del. *Par.* 245 *f.*]), one of the 'sons' of Japhet, and 'father' of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen., Ch.), mentioned 'with all his hordes' along with Togarmah 'in the uttermost parts of the north, and all his hordes' in Ezekiel (*l.c.*). The territory corresponds in general to Cappadocia (which in Armenian is Gamir (+pl. ending χ); Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geog.* 91; Lag. *Arm. Stud.* 32, 448; *Übers.* 77; see also *Gimmeri* = Cappadocians, Eus. *Chron.* ed. Migne, 138, and note also γάμερ ἐξ 05 καππαδοκες, Eus. 2 12). Probably their earlier home was N. of the Euxine (κιμμέριοι, Herod. 4 11 *f.*; Strabo, iii. 2 12 7 2 2 *f.*; cp Homer, *Od.* 11 14; see Gelzer, *AZ*, '75 p. 14 *ff.*; Schr. *KGF* 156 *ff.*). The Ass. *Gimirrai* appear in Cappadocia from the time of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.; cp, further, on Gomer, Lenorm. *Origines*, ii. 1 332 *ff.*). See CAPPADOCIA.

F. B.

(2) bath Diblaim (גֹּמֶר בַּת דִּבְלָיִם, τὴν γομερ θυγατέρα δεβηλαιμ [B], τ.γ.θ. δεβηλαειμ [AQ]; cp perhaps בֵּית דִּבְלָתַיִם[1], ἐπ' οἶκον δαιβλαθαίμ (δεβ. [ℵA]) [BℵAQ] Jer. 48 22), Hosea's wife (Hos. 1 3). There is no reason for supposing that her name, like those of her children (see LO-RUHAMAH, JEZREEL [ii., 2]), has any symbolical import. See HOSEA, § 6.

GOMORRAR (עֲמֹרָה), Gen. 13 10. In Mt. 10 15 (ΓΟΜΟΡΡΩΝ [Ti. WH]), AV Gomorrha. See SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

GOODLY TREES, FRUIT OF. See APPLE, § 2 (3).

GOPHER, (גֹּפֶר, Gen. 6 14†), a very uncertain word, as it occurs only once and is unknown to the other Semitic dialects.

[1] For a personal name with this termination cp APPAIH, SHAHARAIM.

1. Versions. The ancient versions have **various** renderings; 𝔊ADEL ἐκ ξύλων τετραγώνων (ἀσήπτων and κεδρίνων being cited as alternatives of other interpreters), Vg. *de lignis lævigatis*, Pesh. 'of juniper wood,' and Targ. 'of cedar wood.' Gopher is by some moderns taken to be the name of a tree; thus Celsius (1 328 *ff.*) identifies it as the cypress, being misled by the likeness of names.[1] The word *may* be akin to כֹּפֶר, 'bitumen'—itself according to Lag. (OS 295; but see BITUMEN) properly an Aramaic word, for which the Heb. equivalent is חֵמָר—and may also, according to the same scholar, he connected with גָּפְרִית, 'sulphur,' for which an Indo-European etymology is offered (see BRIMSTONE). The most plausible suggestion, therefore, is that of a fragrant resinous wood (so Di.); but the entire uncertainty of the word (see below) must he maintained with Lag. (*Uebers.* 218).

2. Assyriology. The ordinary philological means fail us in dealing with the word Gopher. It is natural therefore to have recourse to Assyriology, which accounts (see DELUGE, § 13) for the mention of כֹּפֶר (EV 'pitch') in Gen. 614. Is it possible that גפר, or some word which explains it, occurred in an early form of the Babylonian Deluge-story? If so, what can that word have been? Halévy and more recently Hommel (Hastings, *DB* 1214 *b*) compare Bab.-Ass. *gipāru*; but this means 'reed,' 'canebrake' (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 170 *f.*, 325 *f.*; but not so Halévy), and would have been more suitable in a description of the 'ark' of Moses than in that of Noah. עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר ('gopher-wood') should mean the timber of some tree used in shipbuilding when J_2's Hebraised Babylonian authority (see DELUGE, § 10) took shape—most probably some kind of cedar.

The original Babylonian or Assyrian phrase probably ran—*gušur* (or *gušūrē erini—i.e.*, beams of cedar; see the Ass. Lexx.). Overlooking (*i.ş*) *erini*, the Hebrew translator mistook *gušur* for a tree-name, and so produced the phrase עצי־גשר. **Next,** a scribe, who saw כפר at the end of the verse, miswrote the second word גפר (פ and ש confounded, as in יחלש for יחלף, Job 1410 MT).

If this is correct, the timber used in the ark would be cedar-wood (*erinu*). Possibly, too, the substitution of a 'box' (תֵּבָה) for a 'ship' (*elippu*) arose from a confusion between *erinu* 'cedar' and *erinnu* (אֲרוֹן), 'box,' 'receptacle,' in the phrase *gušur* (*gušūrē*) *erini*. See Che. *ZATW*, 1898, p. 163 *f.*

N. M., § 1; T. K. C., § 2.

GORGET (כִּידוֹן), 1 S. 176 AV$^{mg.}$. See JAVELIN, 5.

GORGIAS (ΓΟΡΓ[Ε]ΙΑϹ [ANV, but ΚΟΡΓΙΑϹ, A in 1 Macc. 45]), one of the Syrian generals sent by Lysias against Judas the Maccabee. It was his vain attempt to surprise Judas by a night attack that led to the great battle of EMMAUS [*q.v.*, 1], in which the Syrian army was signally defeated (166-165 B.C.). After this, battle was offered to Gorgias, who declined it, and withdrew precipitately into Philistia (1 Macc. 41 *ff.*). About two years later, being governor of Idumæa, Gorgias was threatened hy a small Jewish force under Joseph and Azarias at Jamnia, which he put to flight (1 Macc. 555 *ff.*). In the account of the first incident given in 2 Macc. 88 *ff.*, it is NICANOR [*q.v.*, 1], not Gorgias, who is represented as being at the head of affairs; and in 2 Macc. 1232-37 the second incident, so unfortunate for the Jews, only receives passing notice (*v.* 34), whilst a fuller but somewhat confused account is given of the defeat and flight of Gorgias.

In 2 Macc. 1232 for 'Idumæa' (ἰδουμαίας) we should probably, but not certainly, read 'Jamnia' (ἰαμνείας), with Grotius (cp 1 Macc. 558 1540, and Jos. *Ant.* xii. 86), and in *v.* 36 for 'Esdris' we should perhaps read (with 44, 64, etc. of 𝔊) 'Gorgias' (see **ESDRIS**).

GORTYNA (ΓΟΡΤΥΝΑ [ℵV]-ΝΑΝ [A]; in classical writers ΓΟΡΤΥΝΑ or ΓΟΡΤΥΝ). The rival of Cnossus for supremacy in Crete (Strabo, 476, 478; Pol. 453 *f.*). It lies in the fertile valley of the Lethæus, in the plain Messara, midway between the E. and W. extremities of the island. Its only biblical interest is connected with the presence of Jews (1 Macc. 1523) in the time of Ptolemy Physcon (139 B.C.). In that year, as a result of the successful embassy sent by Judas the Maccabee to Rome, the Senate dispatched a circular-letter in favour of the Jews to Gortyna, and to eighteen other autonomous cities and countries. We may perhaps connect their presence with the abortive attempt of Ptolemy Philopator to surround the extensive site of Gortyn with walls (222-205 B.C.).

The city was the Roman capital of the island. The site is now marked by the poor village of *Agiùs Deka.* Among its ruins are those of a church dedicated to Titus, the patron saint of Crete; it dates from the fourth or fifth century (cp Tit. 15). Cortyn lies ten or twelve miles from **FAIR** HAVENS (Strabo, 478), so that during the long delay there (Acts 279) it is possible that Paul visited the city. See Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, 2 26 *f.*

W. J. W.

GOSHEN, but in Judith 19 AV GESEM (גֹּשֶׁן; ΓΕϹΕΜ [BℵAL], ΓΕϹΕΝ [*e.g.*, D, through later (Hexaplaric?) influence], rarely ΓΕϹϹΕΜ, ΓΕϹϹΕ, etc.; Vg. *Gessen*, cp Jer. OS1254 *Gesen* [also *Gesem*, which agrees with Jer.'s etymology]), usually in the phrase 'the land of Goshen' (exc. Gen. 4628*a* 29), is in J and E the name of the part of Egypt inhabited by the b'ne Israel from Joseph to Moses. P uses instead the phrase 'land of Rameses,' Gen. 4711, and remarkably enough 𝔊 in 4628 appends to καθ' ἡρώων πόλιν (= גֹּשְׁנָה, 'to Goshen') the explanatory gloss εἰς γῆν ραμεσση. The two expressions are in 𝔊 synonymous (see, however, JOSEPH ii., § 3). The problem is to determine the situation.

1. Names and other data in OT.

In 4634 Goshen is outside of Egypt and not inhabited by Egyptians; in *v.* 28 it is between Pharaoh's and Joseph's residence and Palestine; see also Ex. 1317 as to its situation on the frontier. It is (Gen. 4711) 'the best of the land'—*i.e.*, for a pastoral population; cp *v.* 6 (Pharaohs cattle pasturing there). It must therefore have been unsuitable for agriculture—*i.e.*, too far E. to be as regularly irrigated as most of Egypt. In Ex. 23 *f.* a branch of the Nile flows through (?) it, and a royal residence is near or in it.

2. Greek district of 'Arabia.' When we turn to 𝔊 we get something more definite: in Gen. 4510 Goshen is called 'the land of Gesem of Arabia' (γῆ γέσεμ ἀραβίας). Unfortunately, 'Arabia' is ambiguous.

There was (1) a nomos of Egypt called ἡ ἀραβία (in the Revenue Papyrus of Ptolemy II. always connected with the 'Bubastite nome'; see further Ptol. 4553; Strabo, 803; Pliny, 59), correctly identified by Brugscb with the 20th of Lower Egypt in the Egyptian lists;[1] but the Greeks (2) gave the name Arabia also to all the land E. of the Nile. The eastern part, indeed, was a distinct nome (see below) called Heroopolires (possibly the Phagroriopolites[2] of Strabo [840] means 'Arabia'); but by the Greeks (3) the name Arabia was usually extended so as to include it and to reach to the Crocodile Lake (B. et-Timsāḥ).

The choice between the alternatives seems easy: 𝔊 evidently means by Arabia a special district. It cannot well be the Arabian *nome*, however, as we should expect. On the contrary it must mean a more eastern part of the Arabian *district;* the Wādy eṭ-Ṭumīlāt and its western vicinity E. of Bubastus. This is the view of Gen. 4628 *f.* (see begin. of art.), where 𝔊 is still more definite. It takes Goshen to be a city, Heroöpolis (!). The discovery by Naville of this city = Tell el-Maskhūṭa = Pithom (= ETHAM [*q.v.*]), accordingly, has determined the centre of the region intended, and confirmed the general assumption of scholars. There is no evidence in the Egyptian inscriptions, however, that that region was ever called Goshen, a name which, as we shall now see, probably represents an Egyptian name for the *western* nome (next §, end).

We have said that the Greek *district* of 'Arabia' was

[1] In the East chests are often made of the wood of *Cupressus sempervirens*, which is delightfully fragrant. In the Middle Ages they were much in request in Italy.

[1] On name and capital see helow, § 3.

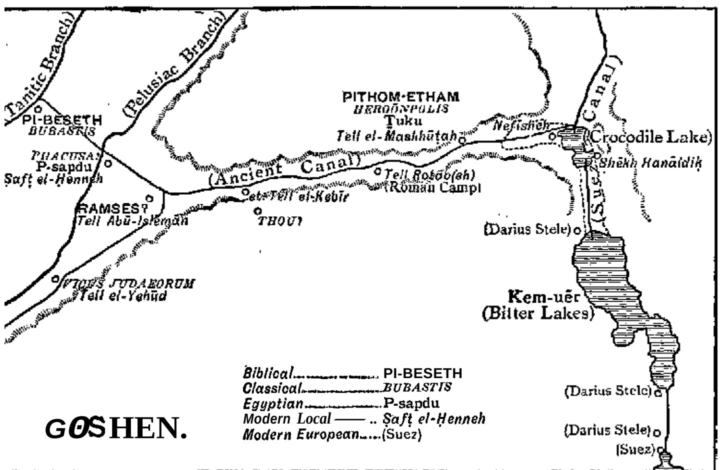
[2] With Oppert and Brngsch, the present writer derives this name from Pakrur, the name of the ruler of Pisaptu in the Egyptian Arabia under Ašur-bāni-pal (*KB* 2 160 *f.*). Phagroriopolis is possibly identical with the capital.

occupied by two Egyptian nomes, the western of which (the-zoth, already referred to) was by the Greeks specifically called 'Arabia.' This was the earlier occupied. Its position is determined by the fact that it was called 'that of the god Sapd(u),'[1] whose chief temple[2] was in the city P-('house of')Sapd(u),[3] a name which evidently has survived in the modern *Ṣaft* (cp Brugsch, *AZ* 81 16) *el-Ḥenneh,* 5 or 6 m. E. of Bubastus. Naville[4] has argued that this *P-sapd(u)* (Ṣafṭ el-Henneh), another name for which may have been P-ḳos (?), is the Φακουσα, Phacusi(m), of the *Tab. Peut.*, the *Phaguse* of Geogr. Rav., the 'village between Egypt and the Red Sea' of Steph. Byz., because Φακουσσα is called by Ptolemy (iv. 553) the capital of the Arabian nome, and Strabo states that at Φακουσσα the canal to the Red Sea branched off from the Nile.

3. Its western (20th) nome called Ḳesm.

The definition of the position of Φακουσα in the *Tab. Peut.* (36 R. m. from Pelusium), however, suits better the modern Fāḳūs, 16 m. NE. of Ṣafṭ el-Henneh, which had been supposed to be Phakusa by modern scholars. On the other hand, that the Greeks might repeatedly have confounded P-kosem (P-Sapd[u]) with a name like Pakos 5 (?)(Fāḳūs) may be admitted.

However that may be, the identification of P-sapd(u) (Ṣafṭ el-Henneh) and P-kos(em) is probable. The inscriptions dealing with sacred geography apply the phrase 'land of Sapdu' to a country '*Ḳsm(t)* of the East'[6] (Duem. *Geogr. Inschr.* 25). The shrine of Ṣafṭ (publ. Naville), pl. 6, *calls the* **gods** of Ṣafṭ 'gods of *Ḳs*',[7] connecting especially Sapdu with this name *Ḳs.* Other texts combine *Ḳsm* with the nome of Sapdu, indicating by the orthography sometimes a district, sometimes a city. See § 4 on the earliest mention. In any case, it is clear that the name *Ḳsm* (*Ḳs* seems only an abbreviation or 'defective orthography') referred originally to the land immediately E. of Bubastus.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

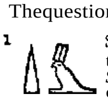
The question arises: Was the range of *Ḳsm* (= Goshen[8])

extended to the newly colonised territory to the E. of Ṣafṭ? This might have been done by the new settlers and the Palestinians. The sacred Egyptian lists, however, treat this eastern country (at least after 300 B.C.) as a distinct nomos, the eighth of Lower Egypt,' called 'Eastern. . . ,'[2] its capital being *Ṯk(t)*, *Ṯku(t)*, *Ṯkō(t)* (read *Ṯukō?*), which had the sacred name *P-atum.* (See SUCCOTH and PITHOM on the question whether these names are identical.)

4. Also the eastern (8th?)

The principal god was *Atum* of Heliopolis, dwelling in the temple 'seat (or house) of (the serpent) *Kerḥ*'—evidently this was the earlier local divinity. The canal flowing through the land was the *Ḥarma* (*Ḥalma*),3 water, so called from the many crocodiles (*ḥelma* in the language of the *Hamitic* Troglodytes)[4] which have given its name also to the present Timsāḥ-lake. This lake had in ancient times the name *Šei-serḳ*[5] 'Scorpion lake.'

The eighth nome belonged to the country called *'n*[6] (*'aian*? see *Æant*, Plin. *HN* 6 29, as name of the gulf of Suez), which included the desert between the gulf and Heliopolis (also the modern Moḳaṭṭam-mountain opposite Memphis). This desert region was originally inhabited only by a few Semitic and some Troglodytic nomads; it was unfit for agriculture, the narrow valley alone being reached by the yearly inundations, and that irregularly. At a very remote time. indeed. the Egyptians had in the Wiidy et-Ṭumīlāt, a strong fortification called the 'wall of the prince,' to guard (against the inroads of the nomads) the most vulnerable spot of the Egyptian frontier;[7] but the colonisation of the eighth (eastern) nomos seems to have been due entirely to the great king Ram(e)ses or Ra'messu II. (in the first twenty years of his reign), who must have improved the irrigation. The chief cities founded by him were:

1  Sapd(u) is mentioned repeatedly as 'lord of the E. and of the Asiatics' (cp Naville, ***The Shrine of Ṣafṭ el Ḥenneh,*** **5-13** ['88]). In his chief temple (see above) he had the name 'vanquisher of the Asiatics' (*ḥw mntyw*), as being a god of the frontier district. The present writer cannot follow de Rougé (Duemichen, Naville), who finds in a coin-legend of the nomos Arabia ἑπτὰ κωμ(αι || *Sepd-'Aḥ*[sic !]*om.*

2 It was called 'the place of the *nubs*-tree' (sycomore? lotus tree?).

3 Mentioned by Ašur-bāni-pal as *Pisaptu* or *Saptu*, 'at the gate of the East.'

4 *Op. cit.* 14 *ff.*, where a full discussion of the name Goshen is given. Earlier treatises, *e.g.*, in Ehers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, are now obsolete. On Ṣafṭ see also Daressy, *Rec. trav.* 20, 76).

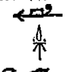
5 κως or κοος βρβρ (= Ar. Ḳūs, see Peyron, *Lex.* 71) is hardly *Phakusa* as Champollion (*l'Ég. sous les Phar.* 276, cp Naville) thought. The article *p* is not = *pha-*, *fā-*. Lists of bishoprics make 'the Arabian nome' = *Fāḳūs*, which is in favour of Naville's theory.

6  7 

8 ḳ=g in the transcription is regular; but not Egyptian s=

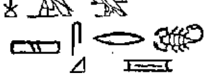
ẓ. Consequently the Semitic, or at least non-Egyptian origin of the name, proposed already by Semitic scholars, becomes very probable. The name seems to have been obsolete after 400 B.C., so that 𝔊's small inaccuracy in making Heroopolis the capital becomes intelligible.

1 On our present knowledge of the material, see Naville, *Pithom*(3).

2  The proposed reading (*nefer*) of this sign is very doubtful. The site of the 'Western . . .' to which this name is opposed, is not quite certainly determined.

3 

4 See WMM in *WZKM*, '96, p. 3.

5 

6 

7 This was the point selected for attack—*e.g.*, by the English army so recently as in the campaign against 'Arābi. On the history of the fortification, which seems to go back to the first four dynasties, see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 41-45. The site of it is unknown. We should look for it near the 'Great Black Lake'—*i.e.*, about the S. end of the 'Crocodile Lake,' according to the earlier passages. The *Se-nuhyt*-story (*ll.* 3, 8), however, would place it several hours' march from the lake. Griffith has found a passage of dyn. 12 (Kahun-Pap. 2 14), which speaks of 'the fortification of *Sapdu*(?) (in) *Ḳsm*.' Therefore, the wall of the middle empire is to be sought for in the eastern part or near the entrance of the wādy.

'The house of Ram(e)ses' with a royal residence and temples of Amon, Suteḫ, 'Astart, and Buto,[1] evidently not very far E., and P-Atum = Pithom on the site, of modern Tell el-Masḫūṭa. It is very questionable whether before Ram(e)ses II. there were in the eastern part of the valley any Egyptian settlements except the fortification mentioned above; at any rate, it fully deserved the name that it came to bear in later times—'land of Ram(e)ses' (this would hardly apply to the old western district). The position of the land colonised by Rameses was very advantageous. It possessed a healthy desert climate and was most fertile as long as the canal to the Crocodile Lake was kept in order.[2] The extension of the canal of Ram(e)ses[3] to the Ked Sea by Necho I. increased the commercial importance of the district. Quite recently, the repairing of the canal has trebled the population, now 12000, of this district, which forms a part of the modern province esh-Sharḳīye. Heroopolis-Patum thus became an important place[4] for the trade on the Red Sea, where also the Romans built a fortified camp.

Thus we see that *Kesm*-Goshen and 'land of Ram(e)ses' were with the Egyptians hardly identical.

5. The biblical and the Egyptian Goshen. The 'country of Ram(e)ses' could be only the eighth (eastern) nome. The application to that (eastern) district, of the (obsolete and rare) name *Kesm* (vocalise *Kosm*?) of the western (20th dome) has not yet been shown on the (later) Egyptian monuments.

The Hebrew story (Nu. 33 5 *f.*) of the Israelites marching two days (Rameses to Succoth, Succoth to Etham) through the whole valley of Ṭumīlāt (instead of starting from its eastern end) might suggest to some a mistake of P, JE placing the country of the Israelites between Bubastus, Belbēs, and Tell Abū Islēmān (cp Naville). The probabilities, however, of such a theory are small; all sources seem to mean the same part of the country.

Probably Heroopolis had, before the extension of the canal by Necho I., less importance, and the possibility that once also the eastern district had P-sapdu as capital and belonged to the district *Ḳsm* is, therefore, not to be denied. It must he confessed that the geographical texts upon which we have to rely date from Ptolemaic times only. The division of the 'Arabian district' may have been different in earlier centuries.

Tradition has been exceptionally fortunate with the name Goshen;[1] Maḳrīzī, in particular, identified Goshen with the region between Belbēs and the land of the Amalekit'es. The limitation of Goshen to Sadir, a village NE. of Belbēs, by Sa'adia (and Abu-sa'id) is as strange as the limitation to Fosṭāṭ (Old Cairo) by Bar Bahlūl. Modern scholars have, on the contrary, frequently extended Goshen too widely: Ebers, *e.g.*, included in it the whole eastern delta between the Tanitic branch (cp Targ. Jer. which made Goshen 'the land of Pelusium'), Heliopolis, and the Bitter Lakes. We can afford to neglect certain hypotheses which date from the period before the decipherment of the hieroglyphics; for the situation erroneously assumed by Brugscb, see EXODUS, § 13. W. M. M.

GOSHEN (גֹּשֶׁן; ΓΟϹΟΜ [BAFL]; *GOSEN*). **1.** A 'land' mentioned in Deuteronomistic portions of Joshua among other districts of S. Canaan, Josh. 10 41 (γῆν γ. [AFL]), 11 16 (γῆν γ. [BAFL]). It is strange to find the name of Goshen outside the limits of Goshen proper. Hommel (*AHT* 227 *f.* 237; cp *Exp. T.* 8 15 [Oct. '96]), supposes that as the Israelites in Egypt multiplied, the area allotted to them was extended, and that the strip of country between Egypt and Judah, which still belonged to the Pharaoh, was regarded as an integral part of the land of Goshen. This is obviously a conservative hypothesis (see EXODUS i., § 2; MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). The text, however, may need criticism. That the MT sometimes misunderstands, or even fails to observe, geographical names, is plain; we have learned *so* much from Assyriology. Let us then suppose that Goshen is wrongly vocalised, and should be גּוּשָׁן=גֹּשֶׁן, and compare the name of the Galilæan town גּוּשׁ חָלָב ('fat soil'), the Gischala of Josephus. Other solutions are open; we may at any rate presume that this old Hebrew name had a Semitic origin, see 2.

As they now stand, Josh. 10 41 and 11 16 do not convey the same geographical picture. The words in 11 16, 'all the Negeb and all the land of Goshen (הַגֹּשֶׁן) and the Shĕphēlah, suggest that 'the Goshen' lay between the Negeb or southern steppe region and the Shĕphēlah or Lowlands. We might hold that it took in the SW. of the hill-coimtry of Judah. In Josh; 10 41, where we read 'all the land of Goshen as far as Gibeon, we may ,presume that some words have dropped out after 'Goshen. Cp NEGEB, § 4.

2. A town in the SW. of the hill-country of Judah, mentioned with Debir, Anab, etc., Josh. 15 51 [P]. Probably an echo of the old name of a district in the same region (see 1). Cp Gesham. T. K. C.

GOS'PELS

CONTENTS

A.—DESCRIPTIVE AND ANALYTICAL.

A.—INTERNAL EVIDENCE AS TO ORIGIN.

[1] A poetic description of the new city is to be found in papyrus Anastasi, 4 6.

[2] Neglect of the canal always led immediately to an encroachment of the desert upon the narrow cultivable area.

[3] The canal was 50 cubits wide (according to Strabo; 100 ft. according to Pliny [6 165]; 70 yards according to traces near Balbēs) and 30 ft. deep (according to Pliny; 16-17 Engl. ft. according to modern traces).

[4] The canal was repaired by Darius, Ptolemy II., Trajan—whence the name of the province Augustamnica from the Canalis Trajanus.

[1] The Coptic versions, which simply transliterate, seem, however to have lost all tradition. Possibly the vocalisation of γεσεμ disguised the Egyptian name to them. A woman pilgrim of the fourth century places the 'terra Gesse' 16 R. m. from Heroöpolis, calling the capital 'civitas Arabia.' She believed Ram(e)ses to he 4 R. m. to the E. of this capital (see Naville, *Shrine of S.* 19), meaning apparently Ṣafṭ.

See JOHN (APOSTLE).

Special abbreviations used in this article.

Clem.Alex. (reff. to pp. in Potter's ed. and margin of Klotz).
Clem.*Anc.Hom.* = the epistle entitled 'An ancient homily,' in Lightfoot's ed.
Clement. = *Clementine Homilies*, ed. Schwegler.
Diatess. = The Arabic Harmony commonly called Tatian's *Diatessaron*.
Ephrem = *comm.* ed. Moesinger.
Eus. = Eus. HE ed. Schwegler.
Grätz = Grätz's *GJ*, ET.
Hippol. = Hippolytus's *Refutation of Heresies*, ed. Duncker.
Hor.Hebr. = Lightfoot, ed. Gandell, 1859.
Ign. = *Epistles of Ignatius*, ed. Lightfoot.
Iren. = Irenæus, *Refutation of Heresies* (text of Grabe books and sections of ET in 'ante-N'icene Library').
Lightf. *BE* = Bp. Lightfoot, *Bib. Essays.*
Lightf. *SR* = Bp. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion.*
Lucian (ed. Gesner, Amsterdam, 1743, ref. to vol. and page).
Mk.-App. = Appendix to Mk.—*i.e.*, *Mk.* 169-20.
Mk.-Lk. = the Common Tradition of Mk. and Lk. where it differs from Mt.
Mk.-Mt. = Common Tradition of Mk. and Mt. where it differs from Lk.
Mt.-Lk. = Common Tradition of Mt. and Lk. (whether in Synoptic or Double Tradition).
Orig.*Cels.* = Orig. *contra Celsum.*
Orig.*Comm.* = (ed. Huet, Rouen, 1668).
Philo (Mangey's vol. and page).
Pseudo-Peter = Gospel of Peter.
Schottg. = Schöttgen's *Hor. Heb.* 2 vols.
Ss. = The Codex (see TEXT), called Syrus Sinaiticus.
Tryph. = Justin's (ed. Otto).
Westc. = Bp. Westcott's *Comm.* on John.
Wetst. = Wetstein's *Comm.* on *NT*, 2 vols.

[The aim of the following article is to set forth with sufficient fulness the facts that have to be taken into account in formulating *a* theory of the genesis of the gospels, to record and criticise some of the more important theories that have been proposed, and to indicate if possible the present position of the question and the apparent trend of thought.

Its two parts, as will appear from the prefixed tabular exhibit of their contents, are partly independent, partly complementary. Roughly it may be said that the first (§§ 1-107) is relatively full in its account of the contents of the gospels as a basis for considering their mutual relations, and in its survey of the external evidence as to origin. The second (§§ 108-158) aims mainly at giving an ordered account of the various questions bearing on (especially) the internal evidence that have been raised by scholars in the long course of the development of gospel criticism, and at attempting to find at least a provisional answer.]

A. INTERNAL EVIDENCE AS TO ORIGIN.

I. THE EARLIEST TRADITION.

1. Earliest Tradition.

Roughly it may be said that, of the Synoptists, Mk. exhibits the Acts and shorter Words of the Lord; Mt. a combination of the Acts with Discourses of the Lord, the latter often grouped together, as in the Sermon on the Mount; Lk. a second combination of Acts with Discourses, in which an attempt is made to arrange the Words and Discourses chronologically, assigning to each the circumstances that occasioned it. A comparison shows that Mt. and Lk., where Mk. is silent, often agree with one another. This doubly-attested account—for the most part confined to Discourses, where the agreement is sometimes verbatim—may be conveniently called '*the*[1] Double Tradition.' Where Mk. steps in, the agreement between Mt. and Lk. is less close; and a study of what may be called 'the Triple Tradition,' *i.e.* the matter common to Mk., Mt., and Lk., shows that here *Mt. and Lk.*, as a rule, *contain nothing of importance in common. which is not found also in our Mk. (or rather in an ancient edition of our Mk., containing a few verbal corrections for clearness* [see below, § 3]). This leads to the conclusion that, in the Triple Tradition, Mt. and Lk. borrowed ***(independently of each other)*** *either from our Mk., or (more probably) from some document*[2] *embedded in our Mk.*

Any other hypothesis requires only to he stated in order to appear untenable. For example: (1) that Mt. and Lk. should agree by accident, would be contrary to all literary experience; (2) if Mt. and Lk. borrowed from a common document containing Mk., or (3) differing in important respects from Mk., or (4) if Lk. borrowed from Mt., or Mt. from Lk., *the two (i.e., Mt. and Lk.) would contain important similarities not found in Mk.*; (5) if Mk. borrowed from Mt. and from Lk., he must have *adapted his narrative so as to insert almost every phrase and word common to Mt. and Lk. in the* passage *before him*—a hard task, even for a literary forger of these days, and an impossibility for such a writer as Mk.

2. John.

The Fourth Gospel (henceforth called Jn.) does not contain the Synoptic 'repent,' 'repentance,' 'forgiveness,' 'faith,' baptism,' 'preach,' 'rebuke,' 'sinners,' 'publicans,' 'disease' 'possessed with a devil,' 'cast out devils,' 'unclean 'leper' 'leaven,' 'enemy,' 'hypocrisy,' 'divorce,' 'adultery,' 'wbe,' 'rich,' 'riches,' 'mighty work,' 'parable.'[3] Instead of 'faith (πίστις)' Jn. uses 'have faith in (πιστεύω).' 'Faith,' in Jn., is 'abiding in Christ.' The Synoptists say that prayer will he granted, if we 'have faith:' Jn. says (15 7), '*If ye abide in me*, and *my words abide in you*, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you.' Except in narrating the Crucifixion, Jn. never mentions cross' or 'crucify,' but he represents Jesus as predicting his being 'uplifted' or 'glorified.' In Jn. the Synoptic 'child' rarely occurs; but the necessity of 'receiving the kingdom of God as little children' is expressed by him in the necessity (verbally different, hut spiritually the same) of being 'born from above.'

Since the author of the Fourth Gospel must have known. (Eus. iii. 24 7) the substance of the Three,[1] it is antecedently probable that, where the Synoptists differ, if Jn. favours one, he does so deliberately. Independently, therefore, of its intrinsic value, Jn. is important as being, in effect, *the earliest commentary on the Synoptists.*

[1] For the meaning of the emphasised 'the' see helow, § 15.

[2] The hypothesis of an Oral Tradition, a's the *sole* origin of the similarities in the Synoptists, is contrary both to external and to internal evidence.

[3] 'The kingdom of God,' or, 'of heaven,' occurs in Jn. twice, in the Synoptists more than eighty times.

II. THE TRIPLE TRADITION.

3. Triple Tradition: Mt.-Lk.'s Mk.

Here we have to consider: (i.) The edition of Mk. from which Mt. and Lk. borrowed; (ii.) Mk. in relation to Mt. and Lk.; (iii.) Jn. in relation to Mk., Mt., and Lk.

(i.) *The Edition of Mk. from which Mt. and Lk. borrowed* differs from **Mk.** itself merely in a few points indicating a tendency to correct Mk.'s style.

The most frequent changes are (*a*) to substitute εἶπεν for λέγει,[2] and to insert pronouns, etc. for the sake of clearness. But there is often apparent (6) a tendency to substitute more definite, or classical, or appropriate words. For example, ἐκχεῖσθαι and ἀπόλλυσθαι are substituted for the single ἀπόλλυσθαι (Mk. 2 22, applied to wine and wine-skins), κλίνη (or some other word) for the barbaric (Mk. 2 4 9 11 12) κράβαττος, περιπάτει for (MU. 2 9) ὕπαγε (to the paralytic), ἐπιβάλλει for the unheard of (Mk. 2 21) ἐπιράπτει.[3] Ambiguity is removed—*e.g.*, by the following; bracketed additions: Mk. 4 11 '[*to know*] the mystery of God; (3 18) 'Andrew [his brother];' (4 4) ἐν τῷ σπείρειν [αὐτόν]. In Mk. 4 15, for 'them' Mt. and Lk. substitute 'their heart.' (c) Sometimes there is condensation (*e.g.* [Mk. 4 10] οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα [Mt.-Lk. οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ]); or an unusual word (*e.g.* [4 32] ἀναβαίνει [of a plant] is changed to a more usual one [ηὔξησε]); or a less reverential phrase (5 27) τοῦ ἱματίου to a more reverential one (τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου). In Mk. 10 25, τρυμαλιᾶς is altered into τρήματος or τρυπήματος, possihly because τρυμαλιά means in 𝔊 (four or five times)

[1] This follows from the generally admitted fact that versions of the Three Synoptic Gospels were welt known in the Church long before the publication of the Fourth (see helow, 'External Evidence'). An interesting testimony to the authority of our Four Canonical Gospels, and also to the later date of the Fourth, comes from 'the Jew' of Celsus, who says that (Orig. *Cels.* 2 27) certain believers, 'as though roused from intoxication to self-control (or to self-judgment, ὡς ἐκ μέθης ἥκοντας sir τὸ ἐφεστάναι ἑαυτοῖς), alter the character of (μεταχαράττειν) the Gospel from its first written form (ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς) in *threefold, fourfold*, and *manifold* fashion (τριχῇ καὶ τετραχῇ καὶ πολλαχῇ), and remould it (μεταπλάττειν) that they might have wherewith to gainsay refutations (ἵν' ἔχοιεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀρνεῖσθαι).'

Celsus apparently believes that there was first an original Gospel, of such a kind as to render it possihle for enemies to make a charge of 'intoxication' (perhaps being in Hebrew and characterised by eastern metaphor and hyperbole), then, that there were three versions of this Gospel, then four, thus making an interval between the first three and the fourth, which he does not make between any of the first three. The word 'manifold appears to refer to still later apocryphal Gospels.

[2] Perhaps εἶπεν seemed more appropriate for history. At *all* events Lk. *never applies* λέγει (without ἀποκριθείς, etc.), *to Jesus.* The only apparent instance is Lk. 24 36, 'And saith unto them, Peace he unto yon. This is expunged by Tischendorf, and placed in double brackets by **WH.** Alford condemns Tischendorf on the ground that 'the authority is weak.' But *the internal evidence* is strong.

[3] The deviations of Mt. and Lk. from Mk. are printed in distinct characters in Mr. Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, which is indispensable for the critical study of this question. It follows the order of Mk.

'the cleft of a rock.' Once at least our Mk. (9 50 : *ἄναλον γένηται*) seems to have the newer traditio;, Mt. and Lk. (*μωρανθῇ*) the older : *but there the parallel Mt.* **is** *out of Mk.'s* **order,** *and* is *taken from the Sermon* **on the** *Mount*, indicating that both Mt. and Lk. derive the saying, not from Mk. but from a different source, from which come the portion: common to Mt. and Lk. above called '*The* Double Tradition.

An examination of the deviations from Mk. common to Mt. and Lk. in the Triple Tradition confirms the view that Mt. did not borrow from Lk., nor Lk. from Mt. Had either borrowed from the other, they would have agreed, at least occasionally, against Mk. in more important details.[1]

(ii.) *Mk. in relation to Mt. and Lk.*—It is a remarkable fact that—whereas the later Evangelists, and other

4. Primitive character of Mk.

writers such as Barnabas and Justin, appeal largely to detailed fulfilments of prophecy—Mk. quotes no prophecies in his own person,[2] and gives no miraculous incidents peculiar to himself except (Mk. 8 25) an ancient and semi-poetical tradition of the healing of the blind. He makes no mention of Christ's birth or childhood, and gives no account of the resurrection.[3]

Occasionally, Mk. repeats the same thing in the form of question and answer. This may sometimes he a mere peculiarity of style, **e.g.**, 2 19 3 33 *f.* : but in many cases (**1 32 42 3 22** [compared with **3 30**] **29 4 15 5 15 12 44** *etc.*), he seems *to* have had before him two versions of one saying, and, in his 'anxiety to omit nothing,'[4] to have inserted hoth. For amplifications in connection with unclean spirits, see **1 26 *f.* 44 37-12 9 14-27 ;** for others, relating to the crowding of people round Jesus, the publicity of his work, and his desire for solitude, see **1 28 35-37 45 2 1-4 15 3 10-12** 6 31 etc. (some paralleled in Lk., but not so fully or graphically). Mk. abounds with details **as** to the manner, look, and gestures of Jesus (see **3 5 7 31-37 8 22-26**). In some of these, Aramaic words are given as his very utterances, *e.g.*, **5 41 7 34 14** 36. Sometimes Mk. gives names mentioned by no other writer (cp **3 17** 8 10 **10 46**).

In some circumstances, **Mk.'s** elaboration of **unimportant** detail (and especially the introduction of names), instances of which abonnd in the Apocryphal Gospels, **would** indicate a late writer. But Mk. often emphasises and elaborates points omitted, or subordinated, by the other Evangelists, and likely to be omitted in later times, **as** not being interesting or edifying.

For example, Lk. and Jn. subordinate facts relating to the **personal** appearance, influence, and execution of John the Baptist. Now Acts 19 3 indicates that several years after Christ's death 'the baptism of John' was actually overshadowing the baptism of Christ among certain Christians. This being the case, it was natural for the later Evangelists to subordinate references *to* the Baptist. Lk., it is true, describes Jn.'s birth in detail: but the effect is to show that the son of Zachariah was destined from the womb to be nothing hut **a** forerunner of the Messiah. Jn. effects the same object, in **a** different way, by recording the Baptist's confessions of Christ's preexistence and sacrificial mission. It is characteristic of Mk.'s early date, **as well as** of his simplicity and freedom from controversial motive that, whether aware or not of this danger of rivalry, he set down: just **as** he may have heard them, traditions about the Baptist, that must have interested the Galilean Church far more than the Churches of the Gentiles.

Another sign of early composition is the rudeness of Mk.'s Greek.

6. Rude Greek style.

Mk. uses many words expressly forbidden by Phrynichus, *e.g.*, (5 23) *ἐσχάτως ἔχει* ; (2 4 9 11 *f.*) *κράβαττος* ; (11 15) *κολλυβισταί* ; (5 41) *κοράσιον* ; (14 65) *ῥάπισμα* ; (10 25) *ῥαφίς*. Just as the *Apostolical* Constitutions improves the had Greek of the *Didaché* (Taylor's *Didaché*, 43), so Lk. always (and sometimes Mt.) corrects these inelegancies. Such words (which stand on quite **a** different footing from *Jewish* Greek, such as we find in Lk.'s Introduction) might naturally find their place in the dialect of the slaves and freedmen who formed the first congregations of the Church in Rome ; but in the more prosperous days of the Church they would be corrected.

Again, a very early Evangelist, not having much experience of other written Gospels, and not knowing

6. Vividness.

exactly what would most edify the Church, might naturally lay stress on vivid expressions and striking words, or reproduce anacolutha, which, though not objectionable in discourse, are unsuitable for written composition.

Many such words are inserted by Mk. and avoided by Mt. or Lk. or by both—*e.g.* (1 10) *σχιζομένους*, (2 21) *ἄγναφος*, (13s) *κωμοπόλεις*. For irregular constructions see **12** 40, **οἱ** *κατέσθοντες* (altered by Lk.) ; **5 23** *ἵνα ἐπιθῇς*. Note also the curious change of construction from *ἵνα* to the infinitive in 315, as compared with **314**, and the use of *ὅτι*, to ask **a** question (2x6 9 11 28). The Latinisms of Mk. are well known; see 627 **7 4 15** 15 **39.** Those in **1214** 15 16, and *φραγελλοῦν* in 15 15, Mk. shares with Mt. Less noticed but more noteworthy, are the uses of rare, poetic, or prophetic' words (7 **32** *μογιλάλον*, **8 23** *ὄμματα*, 25 *τηλαυγῶς*), which may indicate a Christian psalm or hymn **as** the basis **of** Mk.'s tradition.[1]

Mk. also contains 'stumbling-blocks' in the way of

7. Candour.

weak believers, omitted in later Gospels, and not likely to have been tolerated, except in a Gospel of extreme antiquity.

For example (6 5 *f.*), '*He* **was** *not able* to do there any mighty work', (**1 32 34**) **all the** sick are brought to Jesus, hut he heals only *many* whereas Mt. (**816**) says that he healed **all**, and Lk. (**4 40**) that he healed ***each one*** (*ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ*) ; (**3 20-21**) his mother and brethren attempt to lay hands on him, on the ground that he was insane. (**10 35**) an ambitious petition is imputed to James and Johh, instead of (as Mt.) ***to*** their mother; (**15 44**) Pilate 'marvels' **at** the speedy death of Jesus which might have been used to support the view (still maintained by a few modern critics) that Jesus had not really died ; Mk. omits (**6 7**) the statement that Jesus gave power (as Mt. 10 1 Lk. 91) to his apostles to heal diseases ;[2] (**8 24**) he enumerates the different stages by which Jesus effected **a** cure, and describes the cure as, at first, only partial ; (**11 20**) the fig-tree, instead of being withered up 'immediately' (as Mt. **2119** *παραχρῆμα*), **is** not observed to he withered till after the interval of **a** day.

(iii.) *Jn. in Relation to* **the** *Triple*[3] *Tradition.*—(*a*) Instances from the first part of Mk.—The following

8. Jn. and Triple Tradition in Mk. 1-8.

comparisons will elucidate Jn.'s relation to the Triple Tradition. (It will be found that Jn. generally supports a combination of **Mk.** and Mt., and often Mk. alone, against Lk. ; the exceptions being in those passages which describe the relation of John the Baptist to Christ. There Jn. goes beyond Lk.)

Mk. **1** 2 *f.*, 'As it is written in Isaiah, etc.' If these prophecies, wrongly assigned to Isaiah, are not an early interpolation, they are the only ones quoted by ***the Evangelist*** *in person*. Mt. and Lk. assign one of these prophecies to *Jesus ;* Jn. assigns both to ***the*** Baptist, so as to emphasise the willing subordination of the latter ('I am [but] the voice').

Mk. (1 6 *f.*) mentions no suspicion among the Jews that the Baptist might be the Messiah. Lk. mentions (3 15) a ***silent*** 'questioning' (that does not elicit **a** direct denial). Jn. adds **a** *public* question (**1 19**), 'Who art thou?' followed by **a** *public denial*, 'I am *not* the Christ.'

Mk.17: '*after me.*' Rejected by **Lk.** (possibly as being liable to an interpretation derogatory to Jesus), but. thrice repeated by Jn. (**1 15 27 30**) in such a context as to *testify to* ***Christ's precedence*** *and pre-existence*.

Mk.18: 'shall baptize you ***with the*** *Holy* ***Spirit,*** 'omitting '*and with fire*,' which is added by, Mt. and Lk. Jn. goes with Mk. (Jn. **133**) : '**He** it is that baptizeth with ***the*** *Holy* Spirit.'

Mk **19** mentions 'Jordan' in connection with the baptism of Jesus: Lk. does *not* (though he does afterwards in his preface to the Temptation). Jn. (**1 28**) *does*, with details of the place. (Note that Lk. never mentions the Synoptic 'beyond *Jordan ;*

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1 Almost the only addition of importance in this 'corrected edition of Mk.' is (**Mt. 26** 68 = **Lk. 22** 64) 'Who is it that smote thee?' added to explain the obscure Mk. **1465** 'Prophesy.'

2 The parenthesis in Mk. **1** 2 is the only exception. This was probably an insertion in the original Gospel (see 5 8).

3 For proof that Mk.'s Gospel terminates at 168, see WH on Mk. 16 9-20, which is there pronounced to he '**a** narrative of Christ's appearances after the Resurrection,' found by 'a scribe or editor,' 'in some secondary record then surviving from **a** preceding generation :' 'its authorship and its precise date must remain unknown ; it is, however, apparently older than the time when the Canonical Gospels were generally received ; for, though it has points of contact with them all, it contains no attempt to harmonise their various representations of the course of events.'

4 So Papias, quoted by Eus. (**3 39**) : 'For he (Mk.) took great care about one matter, viz., *to* omit *nothing of* what ***he heard.'***

1 It is beside the mark to reply that these words are used, occasionally, by classical prose writers. The point is, that *ὄμμα* occurs in NT *only here* and *in* ***a*** *Mk.-like* ***account*** *of blind*-healing in Mt. **2034**, *whereas ὀφθαλμός* ***occurs*** in ***NT*** *about ninety* times! In the canonical books of OT, *ὄμμα* occurs only in Proverbs. *Τηλαυγής* occurs only here in NT, and only twice (apart from a leper's '*bright* scab') in OT, and there in poetical passages. *Μογιλάλος* (practically non-occurrent in Greek literature, see Thayer) is found nowhere in the Bible, except in 𝔊 of **Is. 356**, and in Mk.'s account of the man who had (Mk. **732**) 'an impediment in his speech.'

2 It is omitted also in **3** 15 (where D **and** Ss. add it).

3 The parallel passages of Mt. and Lk. to Mk. will be found by reference to Rushbrooke's Synopticon. It may be assumed that, in this section, Mt. agrees with Mk., except where otherwise indicated.

Jn. has it thrice.) Lk. (3 22), in describing the descent of the Spirit, adds 'in a bodily shape.' Jn. implies that the descent of the Spirit was (1 33) a sign to the Baptist alone, and States that it *permanently* abode on Jesus. Thus he excludes 'bodily shape,'—at all events in the ordinary sense. **Lk.** alone (1 36) had stated that the Baptist was connected with Jesus through family ties; Jn. represents the Baptist as saying (1 33), 'And I *knew him not*.'

Mk. 1 14 *f.* (possibly also Mt.) leaves room for an interval after the Temptation, in which the reader may place Christ's early teaching in Jerusalem before 'John was betrayed. Lk. 4 14, omitting the mention of John, appears to leave no interval. Jn. repeatedly says, or implies, that the early teaching **took** place (3 24 4 1 3) *before the Baptist* **was** *imprisoned*.

Mk. 2 17: 'I have not come to, call the righteous, but the sinful.' Lk. adds 'to repentance. Jn. *never uses the* **word** *'repentance.'*[1]

Mk. 3 21 puts into the mouths of Christ's household or friends the words (3 21), 'He is *beside himself* (ἐξέστη)'; Mt. and Lk. seem to transfer this to 'the multitudes.' They render it 'were *astonished* (ἐξίσταντο),' or '*marvelled* (ἐθαύμασαν).' Jn. goes with Mk. in mentioning a charge of 'madness' (μαίνεται), and connecting it with the charge of possession (10 20: 'He hath a devil and is *mad*'). Mk. 3 22-30 repeats the charge of the Pharisees, *(a)* in thd form (3 22) '*He hath* Beelzebul,' and (3 30) '*He hath* an unclean spirit,' while adding *(b)* a milder form (3 22): 'In the prince of the devils he casteth out the (devils.' Mt. and Lk. reject *(a)* and adopt *(b)*, defining 'prince' by 'Beelzebnl.' Jn. goes with Mk. (Jn. 10 20), '*He hath* a devil.'

Mk. 4 26-29: the parable of the seed **that** springeth **up**, the sower 'knoweth not how,' **is** omitted by Mt. and Lk. Jn. gives the essence of this in his description of the birth from the Spirit, *as* to which, we (3 8) '*know* **not** *whence it cometh and whither it goeth*,' apparently modelled on Eccles. 11 5 *f.*: '*As thou knowest not what* **is** *the way of the* **wind** (τίς ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ πνεύματος), *nor how the bones grow in the womb of her that is with child*, even so thou knowest not the work of God who doeth all. In the morning *sow thy seed*, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest **not** which shall prosper, this or that.'[2]

Mk. 6 1-6: 'A prophet in his own country.' Lk. alone connects this proverb with a visit to Nazareth, in which the Nazarenes try to '*cast Jesus down a precipice*'; Jn. (4 44) connects it with a visit in which the Galileans '*received*' Jesus. Cp NAZARETH.

Mk. 8 27-29. Here Lk., alone of the evangelists, represents Jesus as (9 18) 'praying (προσευχόμενον),' and he does the same in four other passages where Mk. and Mt. omit it. Jn. never uses the word προσεύχεσθαι throughout his Gospel.

(*β*) Predictions of the Resurrection.—As to these **Mk.** and **Lk.** give us a choice between two difficulties.

(a) Mk. 9 10 (comp. also 9 32) says, that 'the disciples questioned among themselves what was the meaning of rising from the dead.' Yet what could he clearer? In

9. In predicting Resurrection.

Lk., Christ's predictions **of** death and resurrection *begin with fulness of detail, which diminishes as the Gospel proceeds*; and the last prediction of death contains a statement that (9 45) 'it was *as it were veiled from them*.' *(b)* Also, whereas Mk. 14 28 (and Mt.) contains the prediction, 'After I have been raised up, I will go before you *to Galilee*,' Lk. omits this; and subsequently, where Mk. (16 7) and Mt. repeat or refer to this promise, Lk. alters the words '*to Galilee*' into '*while* he was yet *in Galilee*.'

Jn.'s relation to *(a)* and (6) is as follows in *(a')* and *(b')*.

(a') Jn. makes it obvious why the disciples conld not understand Christ's predictions.

Take the following:—(2 19) 'Destroy this temple and in three days I will *raise it* **up** (ἐγερῶ)'; (3 14) 'The Son 'of man must be *lifted* **up** (ὑψωθῆναι)'; (12 23) 'The hour is come that the Son of man should be *glorified*'; (13 31) 'Now *hath* the Son of man *been glorified* (ἐδοξάσθη)[3] and God *hath been glorified* in him, and God *will glorify* him in himself and *will straightway glorify* him. Who was to conjecture that, when Jesus spoke of being '*lifted up* from the earth,' he said this (12 33), 'signifying (σημαίνων)[4] by what death he was (ἤμελλεν) to die'? or that 'glorify' meant 'glorifying' the Father, and hence the Son, by the supreme sacrifice on the Cross? No one can deny that these were what Jesus calls 'dark sayings (*paroimiai*).' True, the disciples contradicted him: (16 29) 'Behold *at this moment* (νῦν) speakest thou clearly and utterest no dark saying.' But they were wrong.

Jn. seems to say, therefore, not that Christ's teaching, though clear, was 'concealed' (Lk. 9 45) from the disciples supernaturally, but rather that it was *necessarily altogether beyond them* till the Spirit was given. Imbued with the popular belief that resurrection must imply resurrection in a fleshly form, visible to friends and enemies alike, how could they at present apprehend a spiritual resurrection, wherein the risen Christ must be shaped forth by the Spirit, and brought forth after sorrow like that of (16 21) 'the woman when she is in travail?'

Mk. and Mt. seem to have ***read*** *into the utterances of Jesus details borrowed* ***from*** *subsequent facts* **or** *controversies*. Towards these, **Lk.** and Jn. take different attitudes

Lk., starting at first in accord with the Synoptic Tradition, gradually drops more and more of the definite predictions; and at last, when confronted with the words, 'After I am raised, I **will** go before you into Galilee,' omits the promise altogether. Jn., on the contrary, recognises that the predictions of Christ were of a general nature, though expressed in Scriptural types.

Jn. and Lk. differ also in their attitudes towards Scripture as 'proving' the Resurrection. **Lk.** represents the **two** travellers as blind to the risen Saviour, till he (24 27) '*interpreted to them in all* ***the Scriptures*** the things concerning himself.' Jn. expressly says that the belief of the beloved disciple *preceded* the knowledge of the Scriptures: (20 8) 'And he **saw** and believed; for *not even yet* did they know the Scripture, how that he must needs rise from the dead.'

In the light of Jn., returning to Mk.'s statement that the disciples discussed together 'what *the rising from the dead* might mean,' we have only to substitute 'this' for 'the,' and it becomes intelligible. Every one knew what 'rising from the dead' meant. But they did not know the meaning of *this* ***kind*** of 'rising from the dead'—*i.e.*, *what* ***Christ*** *said about* ***his*** *resurrection*.

(*b'*) The promise (Mk. 14 28 and Mt.), 'I will go before you to *Galilee*,' occurs in close connection with Peter's profession that he will not desert Jesus. Jn. has, in the same connection (14 2), 'I go to prepare *a place* for you.'

This leads **us** to look elsewhere for a confusion between 'Galilee' and 'place.' Comparing Mk. 1 28 with Lk. 4 37, we find that Lk. has, instead of 'The whole **περίχωρος** of Galilee,' the words 'every place of the **περίχωρος**' (so also in Lk. 7 17, πάσῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ stands where we should expect πάσῃ τῇ Γαλ.: so Chajes [*Markus-studies*, 13], who also independently offers ***the*** same theory [double meaning of גָּלִיל to account for Lk. 4 37). In Mk. 3 7, Lk. omits 'Galilee.' The question, then, arises, whether, the original, may have been some word signifying 'region, or 'place which (1) Mk.-Mt. interpreted to mean *'Galilee,'* (2) Jn. 'the *place* (of my Father)' or 'the (holy) *place*,' while (3) Lk. found the tradition so obscure that he omitted it altogether. Now the word גְּלִילָה, a longer form of גָּלִיל ('Galilee'), is used to mean (Josh. 22 10 *f.*) 'region.' Again, Mt. 28 16, 'to Galilee, to the *mountain* where he *appointed* for them,' suggests two traditions, (1) 'Galilee,' (2) 'appointed mountain.'[1] Lastly, besides many passages (Acts 1 25; Ign. *Magn.* 5; Barn. 19 1; Clem. Rom. § 5, τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον, and also τὸν ἅγιον τόπον) where Jn.'s word τόπος is used, with an attribute, to mean 'place (in the next world),' Clem. Alex. (p. 978, παρὰ τῷ τόπῳ κατείχοντο), uses the word absolutely of 'Paradise.' All this leads to the inference [which is highly probable as regards 'Galilee,' and which further knowledge might render equally probable as regards 'place'] that an expression, misunderstood by Mk. and Mt. as meaning 'Galilee,' and omitted by Lk. because he could not understand it at all, was understood by Jn. to mean [my Father's 'place,' *i.e.*] 'Paradise.' In any case, we have here a tradition of Mk. and Mt., rejected by Lk., but spiritualised by Jn. in such a way as to throw light on the different views taken by Lk. and Jn. of Christ's sayings about his resurrection.

[1] 'Call,' used by Lk. 41 times, Mt. 26, Mk. only 4, is used by Jn. only twice. 'Righteous (δίκαιος)'—frequent in Mt. and Lk. (but only twice in Mk.), to describe 'one who observes the law'—is used but thrice in Jn., and then in the higher Platonic sense (17 25 'O righteous Father,' and see 5 30 7 24). 'Ἁμαρτωλός, 17 times in Lk., only 11 times in hft. and **Mk.** together, occurs only 4 times in Jn., and *never except in the conversation of 'the Jews*.' Jn. differs in expression from Mk. and Mt.; but he differs *far more from Lk.*

[2] Similarly, in the *Logia* of Behnesa (see § 86), 'Raise the stone cleave the tree,' Jesus—while mainly referring to the Baptist'; doctrine about raising up stones as children to Abraham, and about cutting down the barren tree of Jewish formalism—may possibly have had in his mind Eccles. 10 9.

[3] The aorist cannot be exactly expressed in English: 'hath been' is nearer to the meaning than 'was.'

[4] 'Signifying'—*i.e.*, representing under a figure or 'sign' (*which no one understood at the time*). In 21 18 the cross is 'signified' more clearly by the 'stretching out' of the 'hands'; but no one is said to have understood the 'stretching out,' and the context almost compels us to suppose that it was not understood.

[1] In 1 Sam. 20 20, where MSS of 𝔊 have a corrupt reproduction of *maṭṭārāh*, Sym. has συντεταγμένον (τόπον) 'appointed place.' Also compare Mt. 28 10, 'Go tell my brethren to depart to *Galilee*,' with Jn. 20 17, 'Go to my brethren and say unto them, *I ascend unto my Father*.' Does not this indicate that what Mt. understood as meaning 'Galilee' **or** 'appointed mountain,' Jn. understood as meaning 'heaven'? This points to some original capable of being expressed by 'the place,' 'the holy place,' 'the (place) of the Father,' 'the Mountain,' 'the Holy Mountain.'

(γ) Deviations of Lk. from Mk. (or Mk.-Mt.) caused by obscurity, appear to be corrected, or omissions supplied, by Jn., in the following instances:—

10. In correcting Lk.'s deviations.

Mk. (117, ἐκάθισεν) and Mt. say that Jesus '*sat* on the ass'. Lk. first confused ἐκάθισεν with ἐκάθισαν,[1] and then substituted for the latter the unambiguous ἐπεβίβασαν 'they put him thereon.' Jn. (12 14, ἐκάθισεν) goes with Mk. The Synoptists all mention 'garments,' placed on the ass and strewn in the road. But Mk. and Mt. mention also the 'strewing' of branches (Mt. κλάδους)—Mk., however, calling them στιβάδας, a word that mostly means '*litter*,' or '*grass and straw used for bedding, or for the stuffing of a mattress*.' This Lk. omits. John inserts 'palm-branches' (without mentioning 'garments'), but in a different context: (12 13) 'They took (in their hands) *the branches of the palm trees* (τὰ βαΐα τῶν φοινίκων), and went forth to meet him.'[2]

Whether Jn. or Mk. was right, or whether both were right, is not now the question. The point is that where Lk. omits a tradition of Mk. possibly as being difficult, Jn. modifies it, or substitutes a kindred one.

Mk.'s (143-9) account of the anointing of Jesus by a woman is either omitted by Lk. (7 36-50), or placed much earlier and greatly modified, the woman being called 'a sinner,' and the host being described as 'Simon,' a 'Pharisee.' Mk. and Mt., however, call him 'Simon the leper,' and Jn. (12 1-7) suggests that the house belonged to *Lazarus* and his sisters. It is not impossible that the difference may be caused by some clerical error. Chajes, *op. cit.* 74 *f.*, accounts for 'Simon the leper' by a confusion between הצנוע, 'the pious' = 'the Essene,' and הצרוע, 'the leper.' May there have been some further confusion between הצרוע and לעזר 'Lazarus'? Jn. apparently guards the reader against supposing the woman to be a sinner, by telling us (11 1 *f.*) that it was Mary, the sister of Lazarus.[3]

(δ) The Passover and the Lord's Supper.—The Synoptists, and especially Lk., seem to represent the Crucifixion as occurring after, Jn. as occurring before, the Paschal meal.

11. In the Last Supper.

There are traces of a confusion in Lk. between the Day of *Preparation* and the Day of *Passover*. It was one thing to (Mk. 14 12 and Mt.) '*prepare to eat* the Passover,' and another to (Lk. 22 8) '*prepare the Passover* that we may eat it,' which Lk. substitutes for the former. Also Mk. 14 17, ὀψίας γενομένης (which Mt. adjusts to a different context, and Lk. omits) indicates that Mk.'s original tradition may have agreed with Jn.'s view: for no one would have been abroad at, or after, sunset when the Passover meal was to be eaten. Though Mk. and Mt. in parts unquestionably sanction Lk.'s view, they do not express it so decidedly as Lk., and they contain slight traces of an older tradition indicating that the Last Supper was on the Day of Preparation.

1. Mk. 14 18, 'One of you shall betray me, *he that eateth* (ἐσθίων) *with me*,' was perhaps a shock to some believers, as indicating that Judas partook of the bread. Mt. omits the italicised words, retaining Mk.'s more general phrase, 'while *they* were eating.' Lk. omits 'eating,' having simply, 'the hand of him that is to betray me is with me on the table.' Jn. (13 18) quotes Ps. 41 9, '*He that eateth* my bread . . . ,' and *specially mentions Judas* as receiving the (13 26) 'sop' from Christ's own hands.

2. Mk. 14 20 (and Mt.), 'He that dippeth his hand in the dish with me' will be the traitor, is omitted by Lk. Jn. combines a modification of this with the foregoing; Jesus (13 26) 'dips the sop' and gives it to Judas.

3. Lk. differs from Mk. and Mt. in (1) mentioning the meal (apparently) as (22 8), 'the Passover'; (2) mentioning a 'cup' which Jesus (*ib.* 17) 'received' before the meal, and bade the disciples 'distribute to one another'; (3) inserting the words (*ib.* 19), 'Do this as a memorial of me';[4] (4) mentioning a second cup, that was (*ib.* 20), 'after supper';[4] (5) speaking of the cup as (*ib.* 20) 'the new covenant.'[4] In all these points Lk. amplifies and dignifies, while Jn. appears to subordinate, the circumstances of the Last Supper. What Jn. had to say about the feeding on the flesh and blood of the Saviour, he placed earlier, in the synagogue at Capernaum. There, Jesus insists, (6 63) 'the words (ῥήματα) that I have spoken to you are spirit and are life,' and, 'the flesh profiteth nothing.' Now he reiterates this doctrine (13 10), 'ye are clean (καθαροί), but *not all*.' This, when compared with (15 3), 'ye are clean (καθαροί) *because of the word* that (*have spoken unto you*,' indicates that participating in the bread and wine and washing of feet was useless, except so far as it went with spiritual participation in 'the *Word*' himself. A climax of warning is attained by making Judas receive the devil when he receives the bread dipped in wine by the hand of Jesus.

4. Jn. avoids the ambiguous Synoptic word 'covenant,' 'will,' or 'testament (διαθήκη),' and makes it clear, throughout the final discourse, that he regards the Spirit as a *gift* (or *legacy*) that implies nothing of the nature of a bargain or compact.

5. Mk. 14 27 (and Mt.; but Lk. om.) 'All ye shall be caused to stumble; for it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad,' was likely to cause a 'scandal'—as though God could 'smite' his son. This may be seen from Barnabas, who gives the prophecy thus: (5 11 *f.*) 'When *they* [*i.e.* the Jews] shall *smite their own shepherd*, then shall perish the sheep of the flock.' Jn., while retaining Christ's prediction that the disciples should be (16 32) 'scattered' effectively destroys the 'scandal' by adding that, even when abandoned by them, he would not be abandoned by the Father (*ib.*), 'And yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.'

(ε) The Passion.—The facts seem to be as follows:—

1. Mk. 14 42 and Mt. place the words, 'Arise, let us go' at the arrival of Judas. Lk. omits all that intervenes between (*a*) Mk. 14 38 '*Watch* and pray . . . temptation,' and (*b*) Mk. 14 42 '*Arise*, let us go,' having merely (22 46) '*Stand up* and pray . . . temptation.' Now 'to stand (עמד)' was 'nothing else than to pray' (*Hor. Hebr.* 2 142). But 'stand' might also mean 'watch,' cp Neh. 7 3. Lk. may have considered (*b*) a duplicate of (*a*), taking the meaning to be 'stand fast and pray.' Jn. places the words 'Arise, let us go,' at the moment when Jesus feels the approach, not of Judas, but of (14 30 *f.*) '*the prince of the* world' *who has just taken possession of Judas*.

12. In the Passion.

2. Lk. omits all mention of the 'binding' of Jesus. Yet early Christian writers (*e.g.* Melito) regarded it as a symbolical act, being performed in the case of the intended sacrifice of Isaac, the prototype of Christ (Gen. 22 9). Jn. inserts it (18 12), as does Mk. 15 1 (and Mt.).

3. Lk. speaks of (22 52) '*generals* (στρατηγούς) of the temple.' Jn. says (18 12), 'The *chiliarch*, and the officers of the Jews.' Lk. has, loosely, (3 2) 'Annas and Caiaphas' as 'high priests'; Jn. says that (18 13) Caiaphas was high priest, and Annas his father-in-law.

4. According to Mk. 14 55-60, *false* witnesses asserted that Jesus had declared that he *would* destroy the temple. Mt. alters 'would' into was *able*, and implies that, though what had been previously testified was false, *this* may have been true.[1] Lk. omits the whole. In his time the destruction of the temple by the Romans was accepted by Christians as a divine retaliation, which might he regarded as inflicted by Jesus himself, so that he might wish to avoid saying that the testimony was 'false.' Jn. says in effect, 'Some words about destroying "the temple" *had* been uttered by Jesus (2 19); but they referred to "the temple of his body." And *the Jews* were the "destroyers."'

5. Mk. 15 6 (and Mt.) says that it was the custom to release a malefactor at the feast. Lk. omits this. Jn. not only inserts it, but adds that Pilate himself (18 39) reminded the Jews of it.

6. Mk. 15 16-20 (and Mt.) mentions the (purple or scarlet) 'robe,' and the 'crown of thorns.' Lk. omits these striking incidents—for what reason, it is difficult to say.[2] Jn. inserts both of them.

7. Mk 14 65 alone of the Synoptists, mentions 'blows with the flat hand' (ῥαπίσματα; in 𝔊, only in Is. 50 6). Jn. also mentions them 19 3 (and cp 18 22).

(ζ) Conclusion and Exceptions.—The instances above enumerated might be largely supplemented. The conclusion from them is that—setting aside (1) descriptions of possession, and other subjects excluded from the Johannine province,[3] (2) allusions to John the Baptist, (3) a few passages where Jn., accepting Lk.'s development,

13. Conclusion.

Mt. 13 17 Lk. 17 22). Also (3) and (4) and (5) may be interpolations (but more probably early additions, made in a later edition of the work) from 1 Cor. 11 23-25, or (more probably) from tradition.

[1] Or the [illegible] may have arisen from a Hebrew original, in which the active voice was mistaken for the causative, a common error in 𝔊, and one that may [illegible] several deviations of Lk. from Mk.-Mt.

[2] Some have explained 'th[illegible] as meaning 'the branches of the (well-known) palm [illegible] (of the neighbo[illegible]' [illegible] bably Jn. meant '*the* palm-branches, used in [illegible] of welcome and religious triumph,' as when Simon (1 Macc. 13 51) entered 'the tower in Jerusalem' in triumph 'with [illegible] and palm-branches ([illegible] βαΐων),' and as was [illegible] ular [illegible] feast of Tabernacles (Lev. 23 40), [illegible] the 'bundles' of palm-branches [illegible] *Hebr.* on Mt. 21 9) shaken [illegible] cert[illegible] parts of Ps. 118, and so closely associated with (Ps. 118 25) 'Hosanna,' that the bundle itself was [illegible] called a 'Hosanna.' But cp HOSANNA.

[3] Mk. says that J[illegible] said (14 [illegible]) ἄφετε αὐτήν 'L[illegible] her [illegible] A very slight change ([illegible] being [illegible] Mk. [illegible]) would alter this to ἀφ(ι)εται αὐτῇ—*i.e.*, ἀφίενται αὐτῇ, or [illegible] αὐτῇ [her sins] are forgiven her,' or '[illegible] is forgiven' [illegible] is what Lk. 7 48 has in the form ἀφέωνται.

[4] As regards (1), Lk. 22 15, '*I have desired* (ἐπεθύμησα) . . . to eat *this passover*,' might have been originally used (however [illegible] by Lk.) of [illegible] desire *not destined to be fulfilled*' (as in

[1] D and Ss. destroy this possibility by reading 'two *false witnesses*.'

[2] Barnabas (7) connects them with the scapegoat. Possibly this connection may have seemed to Lk. objectionable.

[3] The miracle (Mk. 11 13 Mt. 21 19) of the Withered Fig Tree may come under this head. It has a close resemblance to Lk.'s (13 6) parable of the Fig Tree. Cp FIG.

carries it a stage further, *Jn. scarcely ever agrees* ***with Lk.***, *as against Mk.*, *whilst* ***he very*** *frequently steps* *in to* ***support, or*** *explain by modifying, some obscure or harsh statement of Mk., omitted by* ***Lk.***

Two important exceptions demand mention :—

14. Exceptions. *(a)* Mk. 15 25, 'It was the *third* hour and they crucified him,' is omitted by Mt. and Lk., and contradicted indirectly by Jn. 19 14, 'It was about the *sixth*[1] hour' (when Pilate pronounced sentence). Mk. may have confused *F* ('sixth') with Γ ('third'). [In 1 Macc. 6 37 the impossible 'two and thirty' may be due to a similar confusion.] Or the sentence may be out of place and should come later, describing the death of Jesus as occurring when 'it was the *third hour from the* lime *when* they crucified him.' How easily confusion might spring up, may be seen from the Acts of John (12), 'when he was hanged on the bush of the cross in the sixth *hour* of the day (ὥρας ἕκτης ἡμερινῆς) darkness was over all the land.' First, ἕκτης, 'sixth' might be mistaken for ἐκ τῆς, 'from the' (or vice *versa)*; then **a** numeral would have to be supplied. Or ἐκ τῆς might be repeated (or dropped) before ἕκτης. In Mk. 15 33, D, which elsewhere gives ἕκτος in **full**, has an unusual symbol Ϛ.

The conclusion is that Mk. seemed to Mt., Lk., and Jn. to be in error, and that Jn. corrected by insertion what Mt. and Lk. corrected by omission.

(6) Mk. 14 30, 'Before the cock crow *twice* thrice thou shalt deny me,' is given by Mt. and Lk. with the omission of 'twice.' This is remarkable because 'twice' enhances the miraculousness of the prediction. May not Mk. be based on **a** Semitic original, which gave the saying thus, 'Before the cock crow, twice and thrice' (=repeatedly, see Job **33 29** 40 5)? Jn. (13 38) accepts Lk.'s modification of Mt., but with a slight variation—'the cock shall not crow, until such time as thou deny me thrice (ἕως οὗ ἀρνήσῃ με τρίς).'

Here Jn. accepts, but improves on, the Synoptic correction of Mk., who, though perhaps literally correct, does not represent the spirit of what Jesus said.

III. DOUBLE **TRADITIONS.**

15. Double traditions: Mk.-Mt. The Double Traditions include what is common to (i.) Mk. and Mt., (ii.) Mk. and Lk., (iii.) Mt. and Lk. The last of these is so much fuller than (i.) or (ii.) that it may be conveniently called '*The* Double Tradition.'

(i.) *Mk. and Mt. ; Jn.* ***in*** *relation to Mk. and Mt.*—Much of this has been incidentally discussed above, under the head of the Triple Tradition : and what has been said there will explain why **Lk.** and Jn. omit Mk. 1 6[2] and 6 24-29 (accounts of the Baptist), 9 13 ('Elias is come already'), 15 34-36 ('He calleth for Elias').[3] Lk.'s omission of a long and continuous section of Mk. (6 45-8 21)—including ***(a)***, Christ's walking on the Sea, (*b*), the doctrine about 'things that defile,' and (*c*), about 'the children's crumbs,' *(d)*, the feeding of the Four Thousand, *(e)*, a comparison between this and the feeding of the Five Thousand, and (*f*), the dialogue (see **§ 39** n.) following the doctrine of 'leaven'—may indicate that Lk. knew this section as existing in a separate tradition, which, for some reason, he did not wish to include in his Gospel. Most of it may be said to belong to 'the Doctrine of Bread,' as taught in Galilee. Jn. also devotes a section of his Gospel to **.a'** doctrine of Bread' (but of quite a different kind from Mk.'s), concentrating attention on Christ as the Bread. Lk. also omits (Mk. 9 43-47) 'the cutting off of hand and foot,' and **(Mk.** 10 2-9) the discussion of the enactments of Moses concerning divorce—the former, perhaps, as being liable to literal interpretation, the latter, as being out of date. The ambitious petition (Mk. 10 35-40) of the sons of Zebedee, Christ's rebuke (Mk. 8 32 *f.*) of Peter as Satan, and the quotation **(Mk.** 14 27), 'I will smite the shepherd,' Lk. may have omitted, as not tending to edification. In **the** discourse on 'the last day' Lk. omits a great deal that prevents attention from being concentrated on the destruction of Jerusalem as exactly fulfiling the predictions of Christ; but especially he omits (Mk. 13 32), 'of this hour the Son knoweth not.'

[1] Attempts have been made, but in vain (see ***Classical*** Review, 1894, p. 243), to prove that Jn.'s 'sixth hour' meant 6 A.M.

[2] The **parallel** passages in Mt. can be ascertained by reference to Rushbrooke's *Synopticon.*

[3] For the Withering of the Fig-Tree (Mk. 11 13-20) see § 13 n.

GOSPELS

It must be added that, both in this Double Tradition and (to a less extent) in those parts of the Triple Tradition where Lk. makes omissions, Mk. and Mt. generally agree more closely than where Lk. intervenes. The phenomena point to a common document occasionally used by Mk. and Mt., and, where thus used, avoided by Lk. and also by Jn. The Walking on the Water is an exception to Jn.'s general omission. The Anointing of Jesus (since Lk. has a version of it) has been treated above as part of the Triple Tradition.'

(ii.) *Mk. and Lk.; Jn. in relation to Mk. and Lk.*

16. Mk.-Lk. Mk.-Lk. is very brief. The larger portion of it relates to exorcism, Mk. 1 21-25 9 38-40 (and note the close agreement between Mk. and Lk. as to the exorcism of the 'Legion,' a name omitted by Mt. in his account of it). There are also accounts of Jesus (Mk. 1 35-38 45) retiring to solitude, and of people flocking to him from (38) Tyre and Sidon. **A** section of some length attacks the Pharisees, as (Mk. **12** 38-40) 'devourers of widows' houses,' and prepares the (Mk. 12 39 = Mt. 23 6) way for (Mk. 12 41-44) the story of the widow's mite. In the later portions of the Gospel, Lk. deviates from Mk. (as Mt. approximates to Mk.), returning to similarity in the Preparation for the Passover (Mk. 14 12-16), but from this point deviating more and more.

Lk.'s insertion of what may be called the 'widow-section,' is consistent with the prominence given by him to women and to poverty (see below, **§ 39).**

(iii.) *Mt. and Lk.*[2] or, '***The*** Double Tradition' ; ***(a)*** the Acts of the Lord, *(b)* the Words of the Lord.

17. The double tradition: its 'Acts.' (*a*) The Acts of the Lord are confined to (α) the details of the Temptation and (β) the healing of the Centurion's servant.

(α) Mk. gives no detailed account of a Temptation, hut **just** mentions it, adding (1 13) 'and the angels were ministering (διηκόνουν) to him'—*i.e.*, apparently during the Temptation ; Mt. says that, after the departure of the devil, 'angels approached **and** *began to minister* (προσῆλθον καὶ διηκόνουν) unto him' ; Lk. mentions no 'angels.' Jn. omits **all** temptation of Jesus, but suggests (1 51) that 'angels were always ascending and descending on the Son of man,' and that, in course of time, the eyes of the disciples would be opened to discern them.

(β) As regards the healing, some assert that Jn. (4 46-53) does not refer to the event described by Mt. (8 5-13) and Lk. (7 1-9). But, if so, it can hardly be denied that he, *knowing their account, was influenced by* it in inserting in his Gospel another case of healing, resembling the former in being performed (1) at a distance, (2) on the child (apparently) of a foreigner, and (3) near Capernaum. Mt. and Lk. differ irreconcileably.[3] Jn.,

[1] Space hardly admits mention of the possible reasons for Lk.'s several omissions. Some of these passages (*e.g.*, the practical abrogation of the Levitical Law of meats in Mk. 7 24-30) may have seemed to him to point to a later period, such as that in Acts 10 9-16, where Christ abrogated the Law by a special utterance to Peter. Again, in the Doctrine of Bread, while (Mk. 7 28) 'crumbs' and (Mk. 8 15) 'leaven' are used spiritually, 'loaves' and (Mk. 8 14) 'one loaf' are used literally ; and this mixture of the literal and metaphorical may have perplexed Lk., especially if he interpreted the miracle of the Fig-Tree metaphorically, and was in doubt as to the literal or metaphorical meaning of the Walking on the Water. Some passages he may also have omitted as duplicates, *e.g.*, the Feeding of the Four Thousand. As regards 'leaven,' Lk.'s insertion (12 1 'which is hypocrisy'), if authentic, is fatal to the authenticity of Mk. 8 17-20. Perhaps the original was simply 'Beware of leaven,' and the explanation, *given after the misunderstanding*, was 'Beware ***of*** the leaven of the Pharisees—*i.e.*, hypocrisy.' The rest was evangelistic teaching ('How could Jesus mean real leaven and real bread when he could feed his flock with the leaven of heaven at his pleasure?') inserted first as a parenthesis (perhaps about the Son of man or the Son of God), and then transferred to the text in the first person. The variation of Mt. 16 9-12 ftom Mk. suggests that the words were not Christ's.

Jn. inserts the narrative of Jesus walking on the Sea, but adds expressions (6 16 21), borrowed from Ps. 107 23, 'go down to the sea' and (*ib.* 30) 'the haven where they would be,' which increase the symbolism of **a** story describing the helplessness of the Twelve, when, for a short time, they had left their master. Jn. omits the statement (**Mk.** and Mt.) that Jesus constrained the disciples to leave him.

[2] The passages referred to in this section will be found in Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, arranged in Mt.'s order.

[3] D and *Diatess.* omit Lk. 7 7*a* 'Wherefore *neither* thought **I** myself worthy *to* come unto thee,' thus harmonising Lk. with Mt., who says that the **man did** come to Jesus.

while correcting both Evangelists in some respects, and especially in tacitly (448) denying that Jesus 'marvelled,' corrects Lk. more particularly, by stating (1) that the man came to Jesus, (2) that Jesus pronounced a word, or promise, of healing, (3) that the child was healed 'in that hour,' and (4) by making it clear that the patient was not a servant but a son.[1] In the first tbree points, Jn. agrees with Mt.; in the fourth, he interprets Mt.; in all, he differs from Lk.

18. Its 'Words.'

(*b*) The Words of the Lord are differently arranged by Mt. and Lk. Mt. groups sayings according to their subject matter. Lk. avows in his preface (13) an intention to write 'in (chronological) order,' and he often supplies for a saying a framework indicating the causes and circumstances that called it forth. Sometimes, however, he is manifestly wrong in his chronological arrangement, *e.g.*, when he places Christ's mourning over Jerusalem (13 34 35) early, and in Galilee, whereas Mt. (23 37-39) places it in the Temple at the close of Christ's teaching.[2]

The Lord's Prayer (Mt. 6 9-13 Lk. 11 2-4). It was perhaps on the principle of 'grouping' that Mt. added to the shorter version of the Lord's Prayer the words, 'thy will be done, as in heaven so on earth,' as having been in part used by Jesus on another occasion (Mt. 26 42).[3] Mt.'s other addition, 'Deliver us from the evil one,' is not indeed recorded as having been used by Jesus elsewhere, but it resembles the prayer of Jesus for his disciples in Jn. 17 15: 'keep them *from the evil one*' (and cp 2 Tim. 4 18). On Lk.'s changes, see LORD'S PRAYER; they adapt the prayer for daily use, and indicate that Lk. follows a later version of the prayer in his alterations, but an earlier version in his omissions.[4]

The exactly similar passages in the Double Tradition are for the most part of a prophetic or historical character. Some describe the relations between John the Baptist and Christ; another calls down woe on Chorazin; another, in language that reminds us of the thoughts, though not of the words of Jn., thanks God for revealing *to* babes what He has hidden from the wise and prudent; another pours forth lamentations over doomed Jerusalem. Others, such as, 'But know this, that if the goodman,' etc., and 'Who then is the faithful and just steward,' etc., appear to have an ecclesiastical rather than an individual reference, at all events in their primary application. All these passages were especially fitted for reading in the services of the Church, and consequently more likely to have been soon committed *to* writing. On the other hand, those sayings which have most gone home to men's hearts and have been most on their lips, as being of individual application, seem to have been so early modified by oral tradition as to deviate from exact agreement. Such are, 'The mote and the beam'; 'Ask and it shall be given unto you'; 'Take no thought for the morrow'; 'Fear not them that kill the body'; 'Whosoever shall confess,' etc.; 'He that loveth father or mother more than me,' etc.; and note, above all, the differences in the Lord's Prayer. As Lk. approaches the later period of Christ's work, he deviates more and more both from Mt. and from Mk., perhaps because there was a Judæan as well as a Galilean tradition of the life of Jesus, and Lk., towards the close of his history, depended mainly on the former.

19. Its parables.

The Parables, owing to their length and number (and perhaps their frequent repetition in varied shapes by Jesus himself, and by the apostles after the resurrection), would naturally contain more variations than are found in the shorter Words of the Lord. The parable of the Sower, coming first in order, and having appended to it a short discourse of Jesus (Mk. 4 11 *f.*) that might seem intended to explain the motive of the parabolic teaching,[1] might naturally find a place in the Triple Tradition. But this privilege was accorded to no other parable except that of the Vineyard, which partakes of the natwe of prophecy.[2]

. The longer discourses of the Double Tradition show traces of a Greek document, often in rhythmical and almost poetic style. Changes of words such as ἠθέλησαν for **ἐπεθύμησαν, βασιλεῖς** for δίκαιοι, ἐκλαύσατε for **ἐκόψασθε, σιτομέτριον** for τροφήν, ἀπίστων for **ὑποκριτῶν,** may indicate merely an attempt to render more exactly a word in the original; but such substitutions as (Lk. 13 27) **ἀδικία** for (Mt. 7 23) ἀνομία, and (Lk. 11 13) '[the] Holy Spirit' for (Mt. 7 11) 'good things,' may indicate doctrinal purpose. The original of Lk. 11 13 was perhaps (i) παν αγαθον (as Ja. 1 17), (ii) **πν̄α αγαθον,** (iii) πν̄α αγιον (as in Ps. 143 10 'thy spirit is *good*,' τὸ ἅγιον [ℵc.a RT] **ἀγαθόν**). Lk. appears to have the older version when he retains (Lk. 14 26) ***'hate*** his father,' Mt. (10 37) 'love more than me.

Other variations indicate a corruption or various interpretation of a Greek original (not, of course, precluding a still earlier Hebrew[3] one): *e.g.*, **Mt. 10 29 δύο** στρουθία ἀσσαρίου was probably in Lk.'s text **στρουθια β̄** ασσαριου which he read **as β̄** ασσαριῶ, *i.e.*, 'for two farthings,' and then he added ε̄ ('five') before **στρουθία** to complete the sense. Perhaps a desire to make straightforward sense as well as some variation in the MS., may have led Lk. to substitute **τὰ ἐνόντα** for τὸ **ἐντός** in Mt. 23 23-29 Lk. 11 37-52.[4] This last passage exhibits Lk. as apparently misunderstanding a tradition more correctly given by Mt. In Mt. it is part of a late and public denunciation of the Pharisees in Jerusalem; in Lk. it is an early utterance, and in the house of a Pharisee, Christ's host. Probably the use of the singular (Mt. 23 26 'Thou blind Pharisee'), together with the metaphor of the 'cup and platter,' caused Lk. to infer that the speech was delivered to a Pharisee, in whose house Jesus was dining. The use of (Lk. 11 39) ὁ **κύριος** (see below, § 38) makes it Probable that Lk.'s is a late tradition. Other instances of Lk.'s alterations are his change of the original and Judæan (Mt. 23 34) **σοφοὺς** καὶ γραμματεῖς into the Christian (Lk. 11 49) ἀποστόλους. Lk. also omits the difficult (Mt. 23 34) **σταυρώσετε.** In Mt. 23 34, Jesus is represented as saying, 'Wherefore, behold *I* send unto ***you*** prophets . . . and some of them shall ye slay *and crucify*,' etc.; in Lk. 11 49, 'Wherefore also ***the Wisdom of God*** said, I will send unto ***them*** prophets . . . and some of them shall they slay,' etc., omitting 'crucify.' Here Lk. seems to have preserved, at least in some respects, the original tradition, whereas Mt., interpreting 'the Wisdom of God' (cp 1 Cor. 1 24 'Christ the Wisdom of God') to mean Jesus, *substituted for it* '*I*.' Also Mt. retains an apparently erroneous tradition (23 35) which made 'Zachariah' 'son of Barachiah'; Lk. omits the error.

In the 'parables of exclusion'—*e.g.* the Wedding Feast, the Talents, and the Hundred Sheep—it may be said that Mt. lays more stress on the exclusion of those who might have been expected to be fit, Lk. on the inclusion of those who might have been expected to be unfit.

Thus, in the Wedding Feast, Lk. adds (14 15-24) the invitation of 'the poor, the maimed,' etc.; Mt. adds (22 1-14) the rejection

[1] Mt. 8 6 mentions παῖς, which may mean 'child,' but more often means 'servant' in such a phrase as ὁ παῖς μου, αυτου etc. See (RV) Mt. 12 18, 'my servant'; Acts 3 13,' his Servant (marg. or 'Child'). Lk. mentions (7 2) δοῦλος 'servant.' Jn. has repeatedly (4 46 47 50) υἱός 'son,' but finally recurs to Mt.'s word (4 51), 'his child (παῖς) liveth' (the only instance in which Jn. uses παῖς).

[2] The reason for Lk.'s transposition is probably to be found in the last words of the passage, 'Ye shall not see me, until ye shall say, *Blessed* is *he* that cometh ***in*** the name of the ***Lord,'*** words uttered by the crowd (Lk. 19 38) welcoming Jesus on his entrance *into Jerusalem*. Lk. probably assumed that the prediction referred to this *particular* utterance, and must, therefore, have been made sometime before it—*i.e.*, before the entrance into Jerusalem.

[3] Cp 1 Macc. 3 60 **RV**: 'As may be the will in heaven, so shall he do.'

[4] Cp Lk. 9 23: **'If** any one wishes to come (**ἔρχεσθαι**) after me, . . . let him take up his cross ***daily,'*** where Lk. substitutes the present infin. for Mk.'s and Mt.'s **ἐλθεῖν,** and inserts 'daily. in order to adapt the precept to the inculcation of *the daily duty of a Christian.*

[1] Cp PARABLES.

[2] Mk. 12 9 (also Mt. and. Lk.) 'he will destroy the husbandmen'—*i.e.*, the Jewish nation. The parable of the Sower may also be said to predict the history of the Church, its successes and failures.

[3] 'Hebrew,' when used in the present article concerning the original tradition of the Gospels, means 'Hebrew or Aramaic,' leaving that question open. But see ***Clue***, A. and C. Black, 1900.

[4] Other instances are (Mt. 25 21) επι πολλων 'over many things,' which might easily be corrupted into επι ι πολεων 'over ten cities' (see Lk. 19 17, and comp. Mk. 5 20 Δεκαπολει, perhaps written ι πολει, parallel to Lk. 8 39 πόλιν). Also, in the Mission of the Seventy (Lk. 10 4 *f.*), μὴ βαστάζετε . . . ὑποδήματα καὶ μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε· εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν, is almost certainly (Abbott and Rushbrooke's ***Common Tradition of*** *the Synoptists*, p. xxxvii.) a confusion of two details in the Mission of the Twelve (1) 'Take nothing for the journey,' (2) (Mt. 10 12) 'Salute the house. The corruption of a Greek original is perhaps sufficient to explain this; but it is more easily explicable on the hypothesis of a Greek Tradition corrected by reference to a Hebrew original.

of a guest who has no wedding garment, and, in the Talents (25 30), the casting out of the 'unprofitable servant.' In Mt. 22 10 13 47 the inclusion of πονηροί prepares for an ultimate exclusion. The conclusion of the Hundred Sheep is, in Mt. 18 12-14, 'It is not the will of my Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish'; in Lk. 15 7, 'There shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.' The Single Traditions of Mt. and Lk., when examined, will be found severally to reveal the same tendency to dwell on exclusion and inclusion; and this will confirm the inference, in itself probable, that the hand of each Evangelist is apparent in the varying characteristics of the parables of the Double Tradition.

(iv.) *Jn. in relation to 'The Double Tradition.'*[1] The discourses in Jn. have almost for their sole subject

20. Jn. and Mt.-Lk.'s 'Words.' the Father as revealed through the Son, and lie outside the province of the precepts, parables, and discourses of the Double Tradition. In the Synoptists, Jesus is a teacher of truth; in Jn., Truth itself.

The word 'light' (not used by Mk.) is employed by Mt. and Lk. (Mt. 5 16 6 23 Lk. 8 16 11 33-36) to signify the light given by the teachers of the Gospel, or else the conscience. The Disciples themselves are called by Mt. (5 14) 'the light of the world.' Jn. introduces Christ as saying (8 12) 'I am the Light of the World.' Again, Mt. 7 13 14 and Lk. 13 24 declare that the 'gate' is narrow; Jn. implies that it *is not* objectively narrow, but only to those who make it so,[2] being no other than (10 7) Christ himself, through whom the sheep (10 9) 'go in and go out,' and 'shall find pasture.' Mt. 7 23 speaks of sinners as being excluded by ἀνομία (breaking the law of Moses), Lk. 13 27 substitutes ἀδικία (breaking the law of justice): Jn., not in his Gospel but in his Epistle (1 Jn. 3 4, cp with 5 17), appears to refer to some controversy about these words when he pronounces that ἁμαρτία is ἀνομία in the true sense, and that all ἀδικία is ἁμαρτία.

Though Jn. never mentions 'praying' but always 'asking' or 'requesting,' he nevertheless introduces Jesus as uttering, in his last words (17 1-15), a kind of parallel to the Lord's Prayer, of such a nature as to imply that *what the disciples were to pray to God for*, as *future*, *Jesus thanked God for*, *as past*.

It is true that prayer and praise are combined, and the words are wholly different: for example (17 1) 'the hour is come' has no counterpart in the Lord's prayer. But *(a)* 'the hour,' in Jn., means (12 23-27) 'the hour of glorifying the Father through the Son,' that is to say, 'the hour of doing his will and establishing his kingdom'; so that, in essence, '*the hour* is come' means 'Thy kingdom is *already come*.' So, too *(b)* (17 6), 'I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou hast given me' means, in effect, 'Thy name hath been hallowed.' *(c)* The prayer that, as the Son has glorified the Father on earth, so the Father may glorify the Son in heaven (17 5 παρὰ σεαυτῷ) with the glory which he 'had before the world was,' means, in effect, 'Thy will *hath* been done on *earth*; so may it now be done in *heaven* as it was from the beginning.' *(d)* Also, remembering that 'the words' of God are the 'bread' of man, we find in 17 8 ('*the words* thou gavest me I *have given* them') an equivalent to 'I *have given them day by day their daily bread*.' *(e)* The declaration (17 11-15) that *he* has kept all except the son of perdition 'in the name' given him by the Father seems to mean 'I have prevented them hitherto from being led into temptation.' *(f)* Last comes the one prayer not yet realised (17 15), 'keep them safe *from the evil one* (ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ)' which seems to allude to the clause in Mt.'s version 'Deliver us from *the evil one* (ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ).'[3]

Possibly there is also an allusion to Mt. 10 34 Lk. 12 51, 'I have *not* come to bring *peace*' (not as though denying the truth of Mt. and Lk., but as though supplementing what, by itself, would be a superficial statement), in Jn. 14 27 '*Peace* I leave with you, *my peace* I give unto you,' and (16 33) 'These things I have spoken . . . that *in me ye may have peace*.'

Jn.'s agreement with Lk. 14 26 '*hateth* . . . his own *soul* (or life),' against Mt. 10 37 'loveth more than me' (omitting 'soul') in Jn. 12 25 'he that *hateth* his *soul* in this world,' indicate; Jn.'s belief that Lk. has preserved the older tradition. But Jn.'s addition shows his sense of the obscurity of Lk., who did not make it clear that 'father,' 'mother,' and 'soul' are to be 'hated' only so far as they are 'in *this world*'—*i.e.*, instruments of temptation.

More conjectural must be the theory of an allusion to the Double Tradition in Jn. 19 30 κλίνειν τὴν κεφαλήν, used of Jesus on the Cross. It is commonly rendered 'bowing' his head, but no authority is alleged for this.[4] The expression is not found in the LXX, and occurs in NT only in Mt. 8 20 Lk. 9 58, 'The Son of man hath not *where to rest his head*.' But there is pathos and power in the thought that the one place on earth where the Son of man 'rested his head' was the Cross, and the one moment was when he had accomplished the Father's will.

IV. INTRODUCTIONS (Mt. and Lk.).

(i.) *The effect of prophecy* in these is very manifest. The agreement of Mt. and Lk. in the introductions

21. Introductions: Mt. and Lk. describing the birth and childhood of Jesus consists in little more than fragments from Is. 7 14, which, in the Hebrew, is, 'A young woman shall conceive and bear a (or, the) son and *shall call* his name Immanuel,' but in 𝔊, 'The virgin (νεᾶνις) shall be with child and bring forth a son, and *thou (i.e., the husband) shalt call* his name Immanuel.' This was regarded as having been fulfilled, not by the birth of Isaiah's son recorded in Is. 8 3 *f.* (but cp IMMANUEL) but by the birth of the Messiah. In the earliest days of the Jewish Church of Christ, the Messiah would naturally be described in hymns and poetic imagery as the Son of the Virgin the Daughter of Sion. In Rev. 12 1-6 'the Man Child' is born of a woman 'clothed with the sun,' who evidently represents the spiritual Israel. Eusebius (*HE* v. 1 45) quotes a very early letter from the church of Lyons, where the 'Virgin Mother' means 'the Church,' and other instances are frequent.[1]

(ii.) *Philonian Traditions* about every *child of promise* would tend in the same direction: (i. 131) 'the Lord begat Isaac'; Isaac (i. 215) 'is to be thought not the result of generation but the shaping (πλάσμα) of the unbegotten.' The real husband of Leah is (i. 147) 'the Unnoticed (ὁ ἡσυχαζόμενος),' though Jacob is the father of her children. Zipporah is found by Moses (i. 147) 'pregnant, (but) by no mortal.' Tamar is (i. 598-9) 'pregnant through divine seed.' Samuel is (i. 273) 'born of a human mother' who 'became pregnant after receiving divine seed.' Concerning the birth of Isaac, Philo says (i. 148): 'It is most fitting that God should converse, in a manner opposite to that of man, with a nature wonderful and unpolluted and pure.' If such language as this could be used by educated Jewish writers about the parentage of those who were merely *inspired by* God's Word, how much more would even stronger language be used about the origin of one who was regarded as being *filled with* the Word, or *the Word himself!*

(iii.) *Justin* and *Irenæus* confirm the view that prophecy has contributed to shape the belief in a miraculous conception. Justin admits that some did not accept it, but bases his dissent from them on *(Tryph.* 48) 'the proclamations made by *the blessed prophets* and taught by him (*i.e.*, Christ).' Irenæus says that the Ebionites declared Jesus to have been the son of Joseph (iii. 21 1) 'following (κατακολουθήσαντες),' those who interpreted 'virgin' in Is. 7 14 as 'young woman (νεᾶνις).' Prophecy will also explain the divergence between Mt. and Lk. Some, following the Hebrew, might say that the divine message came to *Mary*, the mother of the Lord, others (following 𝔊) might assert that the message came to *Joseph*, Mary's husband. Lk. has taken the former course, Mt. (though inconsistently) the latter. Prophecy also explains Mt.'s and Lk.'s attitude toward

[1] The relation of Jn. to the Double Tradition of the *Acts* of the Lord has been considered above, § 17. This section deals with his relation to the Double Tradition of the *Words* of the Lord.

[2] Comp. Clem. Alex. p. 79: στενὴ ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπερορωμένη, πλατεῖα ἐν οὐρανοῖς προσκυνουμένη.

[3] Even in this last clause Jn. implies partial fulfilment already: 'They *have* been *delivered*: now let them be *kept* in a state of deliverance.'

[4] When Lk. means 'bowing,' *he* uses 24 5 κλίνειν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν. And the word 'bow' is so common in the Bible that the non-use of κλίνειν κεφαλήν to represent it throughout 𝔊 and NT makes it improbable that it would represent 'bowing' here.

[1] The name 'virgin' is sometimes ambiguous. Thus, when Abercius (A.D. about 190) writes that '*the pure Virgin* grasped the Fish' (the Fish meaning Christ), Lightfoot (Ign. i. 481) hesitates between 'the Virgin Mary' and 'the Church,' but apparently inclines to the latter. Marcion is accused by Epiphanius of 'seducing a *virgin*' and being consequently excommunicated. But (1) neither Tertullian (an earlier but not less implacable enemy of Marcion) nor the still earlier Irenaeus, makes mention of any such charge, (2) Hegesippus (Eus. iii. 32 7) says that 'the Church remained *a pure and uncorrupted virgin* till the days of Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, when *heresies* began. Marcion must clearly be acquitted: cp *Diognet. ad fin.* οὐδὲ Εὔα φθείρεται ἀλλὰ παρθένος (the Church) πιστεύεται.

the Messianic name 'Immanuel.' Jesus was *not* (any more than Isaiah's son) called by this name, and Lk. omits all reference to it. Mt. (or the author of Mt.'s Introduction),[1] though he represents Joseph as receiving the Annunciation, representspeopk *in general* as destined to give Jesus this name, and alters the prophecy accordingly (Mt.1 21-23), 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus . . . that it might be fulfilled . . . *They shall call* his name Immanuel.'

(iv.) *Divergence of Mt. and Lk.*—For the rest, Mt. and Lk. altogether diverge. Both the genealogies of

22. Their divergence. Jesus (according to all reasonable interpretation) trace his descent through Joseph, not through Mary,[2] and there survive even ndw traces of a dislocation between them and the Gospels in which they are incorporated.[3] The Genealogies (for an account and analysis of which see GENEALOGIES ii.) appear to have denied, the Gospels certainly affirm, a Miraculous Conception.

(*a*) Mt. 1 16, in its present text, has 'I. δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός. But Ss. has 'J. begat Joseph; Joseph to whom was espoused Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, whd is called the Christ.' 'Begat' is **also** retained by *a*, 6, Bohb. and S. Germanensis, even though they make 'Mary' the subject.[4] This indicates that the original had simply *(a)* 'James begat Joseph, and Joseph hegat Jesus.' Then, when the belief in the Miraculous Conception arose, various corrections were made, such as (6) 'to whom was espoused, or betrothed, Mary the Virgin,' or 'the husband of Mary,' to indicate that the 'begetting' was to he taken in **a** putative sense, or to refer the reader to what followed **as a** corrective of the formal genealogical statement. Then (*c*), 'Mary' was repeated as the subject of a new clause, in the genealogy, hut with the repetition of the now misplaced 'hegat.' Then (*d*), some altered 'begat' into 'brought forth,' others into 'from whom was begotten.'

(*β*) Lk. *323* (WH) has καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὢν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσήφ. But Ss has, 'And Jesus, when he was about thirty years old, as he was called the **son of** Joseph, son of Heli,' etc.; which is not **a** complete sentence. D has ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος ὡς ἐνομίζετο εἶναι υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, etc., and just before, has (3 22) ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε: but both Clem.Alex. (407) and Iren. (ii. 22 §) read ἐρχόμενος (for ἀρχόμενος), and interpret it as 'coming to baptism.' D may be interpreted to mean that Jesus, at the beginning of his thirtieth year, was (really), **as** he was supposed to be, the **son** of Joseph, hut that, in the moment of baptism, he was begotten again by the Holy Spirit. Ss will have the same meaning if we insert 'was' as the missing verb, 'Jesus . . . [was], as he was called, the son of Joseph.'[5] The *Acta Pilati* throw light on almost forgotten Jewish charges against Jesus that may have influenced some Evangelists, inducing them to lay stress on the fact that Jesus was really 'the son of Joseph,' or at all events that Mary, at the time of the birth of her first-born, was 'espoused to Joseph.'[6]

As regards the childhood of Jesus, Mt. looks on Bethlehem (2 1) as the predicted home of Joseph and Mary, and mentions their going to Nazareth as a thing unexpected and (2 23) a fulfilment of prophecy. He also mentions (as fulfilments of prophecy) a flight into, and return from, Egypt, and a massacre in Bethlehem. Neither of these is mentioned by Lk., and the latter is not mentioned by any historian.[1] But a typical meaning is also obvious in both Mt.'s narratives; Jesus is the vine of Israel 'brought out of Egypt.' He is the antitype of Moses, who was saved from the slaughter of the children under Pharaoh. Lk. treads the safer ground of private and personal narrative, except *so* far as he has given trouble to apologists by his statement about an enrolment that took place under Quirinius, which was the cause why Joseph and Mary left their home in Nazareth in order to be enrolled at Bethlehem, the home of their ancestors.[2] Instead of prophetic there is contemporary and typical testimony:—Anna, the prophetess of Asher, representing the extreme north; the aged Simeon representing the extreme south; and Elizabeth and Zachariah, of the tribe of Levi.

As regards the Baptist, while omitting some points that liken him to Elijah, Lk. inserts details showing that, from the first, John was foreordained to go before the Messiah, not really as Elijah, but (1 17) '*in the spirit and power* of Elijah.'

(v.) *Jn. in relation to the Introductions* is apparently, but not really, negative. In his own person he makes

23. John's method. no mention of Nazareth or Bethlehem. He takes us back to the cradle (Jn. 1 1) 'in the beginning,' as though heaven were the only true 'Bethlehem (House of [the] Bread [of life]).' The fervent faith of the first disciples defies past prophecies about Bethlehem, and present objections as to Nazareth and Joseph, by admitting the apparent historical fact to be fact, and yet believing (1 45 *f.*): 'We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, *Jesus, the son of Joseph, the man of Nazareth.*' When the objection is urged against (1 46) 'Nazareth,' faith in the personality of Jesus overwhelms the objector with the mystical reply (1 46), 'Come and see.'[3] In Mt.

[1] It is highly probahle, on grounds of style, that the author of the Introduction is not the author of the whole of Mt.'s Gospel.

[2] *D* rewrites the earliest part of Lk.'s genealogy, partially conforming it to Mt.

[3] This is all the more important if the tradition recorded by Clem.Alex. is correctly interpreted to mean that 'those *portions* of the Gospels which consist *of* the genealogies were written first' (see below, § 80).

[4] Codex *a* (and sim. Bobb.) has 'J. autem *genuit* Joseph cui desponsata Virgo Maria *genuit* Jesum'; 6 has 'Joseph,' cui desponsata erat V.M., V. autem Maria *genuit* Jesum.' Later, *b* and Bohb. (*a* is missing) use 'pariet' and 'peperit' of Mary, showing that 'genuit' is not **an** error here, hut is a retention of the old true reading, inconsistent with the alterations adopted. Codex *d* (D is missing) alters 'genuit' into 'peperit,' but in other respects agrees with *a*. Corh. and Brix. agree with the Greek text. The Vat. MS. of the *Diatess.* gives Mt. 1 16 thus: 'Jacob hegat Joseph, the husband of Mary, who of her hegat Jesus, the Messiah. See the English translation by Hogg (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, add. vol. **1897**, p. **45**, n. 6), who points out the possibility of confusion between 'who of her begat,' and 'from whom was begotten,' in passing from Syriac to Arabic.

[5] Ss, however, has above (not 'This day Ihave begotten thee,' hut) (Lk. 3 22), 'Thou art my Son and my beloved.' **But** this may have been taken as equivalent to 'I have begotten thee to-day as my Son.' Codex *b* has 'quod videbatur et dicebatur esse filius Joseph', *d* follows **D**.

[6] In *Acta P.* (A and B) 2 3 *f.*, the 'elders of the Jews' **say** to Jesus 'Thou art born of fornication,' (B 'of sin') to which other'pious Jews reply (1) (A), 'we know that Joseph espoused (or betrothed [ἐμνηστεύσατο]) Mary, and that he is not born of fornication'; (2) (B), 'we know that Joseph received Mary his mother *in the way of espousals, to guard her*,' of which another version is (3), '**His** mother Mary was given to Joseph *for espousal, not in actual wedlock, but to guard* (εἰς μνηστείαν οὐ γαμικήν, ἀλλ' εἰς τήρησιν).' The first of these three version; defends Jesus against the Jewish charge hut surrenders the Miraculous Conception. The second is 'obscure. The third sacrifices the defence, but retains the miracle.

[1] Some attempt to explain the omission by other omissions of the crimes of kings by their *panegyrists*; but Josephusdwells on the history of Herod and his family, in order to show (*Ant.* xviii. 5 3) *the retribution of Providence.*

[2] Quirinius was governor of Syria, A.D. 6, *fenyears after* this *time.* The most plausible explanation suggested is, perhaps, that Quirinius was *twice* governor of Syria; but there is no direct, and scarcely any indirect, evidence to justify the belief. There is also **no** proof that Mary's presence was ohligatory. That **Lk.** invented such **an** 'enrolment' is impossible; hut that he antedated it is highly probable. Making (or revising) a compilation toward the close of the 1st century, he might naturally consider that the 'enrolment' supplied an answer to the difficult question, 'How came the parents of Jesus to Bethlehem at the time of the birth?' See CHRONOLOGY, § 59 *f.*; also QUIRINIUS.

[3] For the meaning of this Rabbinical formula, see Schöttg. and *Hor. Hebr.*, *ad loc.*, and Wetst. (on Jn. 1 40) who quotes, among other illustrations, Rev. 6 1. It introduces the explanation of a mystery. Ndte also *a* similar contrast between personal belief and pedantical unbelief in 7 40 *ff.*: 'Some . . . when they heard these words said, This is . . . the prophet . . . hut some said, What, do the Christ come *out of Galilee?* Hath not the Scripture said that the Christ cometh *of the seed of David and from Bethlehem?*' And compare the subordinate 'officers' (7 46, 'Never man so spake') with 'the chief priests and Pharisees' (7 52, '*Out of Galilee* ariseth no prophet'). Westcott says, on Jn. 7 42, 'There is a tragic irony in the fact that the condition which the objectors ignorantly assumed to he unsatisfied,' *i.e.* birth in Bethlehem, 'was actually satisfied.: But are we to, believe that Jesus knew that the 'condition was 'satisfied, and yet left the objectors in their ignorance, so as to keep back from them the fulfilment of God's word, making himself responsible for the 'tragic' consequences? And in the face of such an objection, publicly and persistently made, is it credible that **a** conspiracy of silence should have been maintained by Christ's relations, friends, and neighbours? This, at **all** events, **cannot** be disputed, that Jn. represents the

it is the fulfilment of prophecy ; in Lk. it is the testimony of visions and voices pointing to John as the messenger of the Messiah, and to the Messiah himself; in Jn. it is (1 14), 'the glory as of the only begotten of the Father'—that constitutes the true testimony to Christ.

V. THE CONCLUSIONS.

24. 'The Conclusions': method.

The conclusions (Mt. Lk. and Mk.-App.) in effect treat of Christ's resurrection. This the genuine Mk. does not describe, breaking off abruptly at (16 8), 'for they were afraid.'[1]

i. The *Evangelists select* their evidence.—Mt. mentions two appearances. In the first, Christ appears to women who 'held his feet'; in the second, to the Eleven; but it is added that 'some doubted.' In Lk. Christ never appears to women. Indeed, Lk. almost excludes such an appearance by speaking of (24 23) 'a vision of *angels*,' which the women are reported to have seen, without any mention of *Christ's* appearing to them. In this omission he resembles Paul, who enumerates several appearances to men but none to women.[2] Now, in giving a list of the 'appearances' on which he had laid stress, an apostle might write thus in a letter to his own converts. But Lk. writes as a historian, giving Theophilus evidence that he might know 'the exact truth.' Him, therefore, we might reasonably expect not to omit any important testimony, known to him, concerning Christ's resurrection. His omission, in itself, disposes of the theory that the differences of Lk. from Mt. arise from mere haste or carelessness of observation, like those with which we are familiar in a court of justice. Like a glacier-worn rock, Lk. exhibits the signs of attempts to smooth away points of objection. Not, of course, that he invents. But while adopting old traditions, he accepts adaptations suggested in the course of new controversies. He shows a desire to prove, improve, edify, reconcile, select—motives natural, but not adapted *to* elicit 'the exact truth.'

25. Duration of Manifestations.

(ii.) The ***Period of Manifestations.***—Even for the coolest and most judicial historian, the difficulty of reconciling and selecting must have been very great. Jn., though he mentions only three manifestations, implies (20 30) that there were many more. Not improbably the period of appearances and voices was much longer than is commonly supposed.[3] Mt. tells us, concerning the only manifestation that he records as made to the Eleven, that (28 17) 'some doubted,' while

disciples as believing in a 'Jesus of ***Nazareth,***' whilst the unbelieving Pharisees demand a 'Jesus of *Bethlehem.*'

[1] For the evidence of spuriousness (lately increased by the discovery of the Sinaitic Codex of the Syriac Gospels) see WH 2 (notes), pp. 29-51.

[2] Cp ***Acta Pilati (7)*** (A and sim. B), 'We have, a law that a woman is not to come forward to give evidence. Doubtless, such an objection was often heard by Christians from their adversaries.

[3] The only evidence is Acts 1 3 δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, where **D** reads, in different order, τεσσ. ἡμ. without διά. In Hebrew 'days' sometimes means 'some, or several, days,' as in Gen. 40 4, 'They continued [for some] ***days*** (𝔊 ἡμέρας) in ward.' By corruption, or tradition, M (*i.e.* 'forty') might easily be added to **ΗΜΕΡΩΝ** (or **ΗΜΕΡΩ̄**) before or after it · and the number would suit OT traditions about Israel, Moses, and Elijah. The Valentinians supposed Christ to have remained with his disciples eighteen months: ***Pistis Sophia***, ch. 1 mentions eleven years. Lk. indicates that the disciples were to remain (Acts 1 4 *f.*) in Jerusalem till the descent of the Spirit, *i.e.*, two or three days. Apollonius indicates (Eus. v. 18 14) 'from tradition,' a period of twelve years : Clem. Alex. (764) says, '*In the Preaching of Peter*, the Lord says to the disciples after the Resurrection, 'I have chosen *you* ***twelve disciples***, judging you worthy of me . . . that those who disbelieve may hear and testify, not being able to say in excuse, "We did not hear"'; but, just before, (762) 'Peter says that the Lord said to the apostles. . . . After *twelve years* go forth to the world, lest any should say, We did not hear.' Perhaps there was a confusion between 'twelve ***years***' and 'twelve (really eleven) ***apostles***.' See below (§ 89), for the evidence that Barnabas and Jn. disagreed with Lk. as to the day of the Ascension.

others 'worshipped.' If other manifestations were of the same kind, different observers might record them differently. To testify to the resurrection was the special duty of an apostle, and such testimony was oral. The two earliest Gospels (even if we include Mk.-App. as genuine) contain very much less about the resurrection than the two latest. When at last the apostles passed away, and it became needful to write something about Christ's rising from the dead, and to add it to the already existing manuals of his teaching, the writers might find themselves forced to choose a few typical instances that seemed to them most 'according to the Scriptures,' and best adapted for edifying the Church. At first, they might be content (as Paul was) with bare enumerations ; but, when the time came to fill in details, the narrators might supply them, partly from prose traditions, partly from the most ancient and popular of those hymns, which, as Pliny testifies, they sang to Christ as to a god, on the day on which they celebrated his resurrection, partly from the Scriptures on which the earliest witnesses for Christ's resurrection lay so emphatic a stress.

26. Poetic tradition.

(iii.) *Traces of* poetic tradition.—In the more ancient traditions of Mk. and Mt., some details appear to arise from hymnal traditions.[1] Later accounts indicate an intention to convey either (as Lk.) 'proofs' of a historical fact, or (as Jn.) 'signs' indicative of the real though spiritual converse held with the disciples by the risen Saviour.

27. Discrepancies.

(iv.) *Discrepancies.*—Mt.'s account appears to have been (in parts at all events) the earliest. The testimony of the soldiers to the Resurrection (where note the words (28 15) 'to this day') was dropped in subsequent gospels, perhaps owing to the unlikelihood that Roman soldiers would risk their lives by a falsehood such as Mt. describes.[2]

Henceforth there was (Mk., Lk., Jn.) ***no*** 'guard'; the stone was ***not*** 'sealed'; there was ***no*** 'great earthquake'; an angel did *not* descend from heaven ; the women came, ***not*** 'to look at the tomb' (for they had carefully 'looked at' it before (Mk.

[1] It is impossible here to do more than indicate one or two traces of this. The earthquake, which Mt. alone reports, might naturally spring from Pss. 46 *f.*, 'God is gone up with a shout,' and 'The earth melted' (𝔊 ἐσαλεύθη 'was shaken'). Mt.'s account of the resurrection of (27 52) 'many bodies of the saints'—a miracle, if authentic, more startling than the Raising of Lazarus, but omitted by the other Evangelists—was probably derived from some hymn describing how Christ went down to Hades and brought up to light the saints detained there. Mk. 16 2 says that the women came to the sepulchre when 'the sun had *risen*,' inconsistently with his own 'very early,' Lk.'s 'deep dawn,' and Jn.'s 'dark.' This becomes intelligible if tradition was variously influenced by hymns describing how (Mal. 4 2) 'the sun (of righteousness) had risen,' or by the prophecy (Ps. 46 5) 'God shall help her and that at the dawn of the morning.' It is difficult for us to realise the probable extent and influence of metaphor in the earliest traditions of the Christian Church. The Logion of Behnesa, 'Raise the stone, cleave the tree,' is taken by many in a literal sense. But it probably means, 'Raise up stones to the children of Abraham; cut down and cleave the tree of Pharisæism.' Christ never used such words as 'sowing' and 'ploughing' in a literal sense. If his own disciples misunderstood, for example, his use of the word 'leaven,' it is highly probable that the hymns of the first Christian generation might be so misunderstood as to affect the historical traditions of the second.

[2] Later writers modify Mt.'s account so as to soften some of its improbabilities. Pseudo-Peter makes the soldiers tell the whole truth to Pilate, who (at the instance of the Jews) enjoins silence. In some MSS of ***Acta Pilati*** (A) the soldiers try to deny the truth, but are supernaturally forced to affirm it. The retention of Mt.'s story, with modifications, in apocryphal books of the second century that delighted in the picturesque, does not prove a late origin. Some have thought that Mt.'s tradition is proved to be late by the excess of 'prophetic gnosis' in it. But that, alone, is not a sure criterion. The difficulties presented by Mt.'s account of the 'dead bodies of saints arising,' and of the women 'grasping the feet of Jesus,' and the bald statement that 'some doubted,' all suggest early origin. The use of 'prophetic gnosis' depends in large measure not on the date but on the personal characteristics of the writer. For example, there is more in Mt. than in Jn. But ***the existence of 'stumbling-blocks' is a sure sign of an early date.*** In course of time, sceptics and enemies detected and exposed 'stumbling-blocks,' and subsequent evangelists adopted traditions that sprang up to remove or diminish them.

15 47 Lk. 23 55), hut to 'bring spices' for the purpose of embalming the body. But when did the women buy them? When the Sabbath was ***'quite*** passed (διαγενομένου)' says Mk. (16 1). Not so, says Lk. (23 56); they bought them first, and ***then 'rested*** on the Sabbath.' Again, what was the use of the 'spices' if the 'great stone' was in the way? Mk. gives no reply. Lk. obviates the objection by not asserting that the stone was 'great.' Pseudo-Peter, who has committed himself' to a 'very huge stone,' replies, 'the women determined, if they could not enter, to ***leave the spices outside the*** *door.*' Jn. says in effect 'The women brought ***no*** spices. The body had received 'this honour already from Nicodemus.' From this point, inconipatihilities constitute almost the whole narrative. The women (1) came to the tomb (Mk. 16 2 *[a]* Mt., Lk., Jn.) ***very early, before*** *dawn,* or ***while it was yet dark,*** yet (Mk. 16 2 [*b*]) ***after sunrise;*** (2) they said (Mk.) ***nothing to anyone,*** yet (Lk.) they ***told the Eleven everything ;*** (3) they (Mk., Mt.), were to hid the Eleven go '***to*** Galilee,' yet (Lk.) they were merely to remind the Eleven of what Jesus had said '*in* Galilee' or (Jn.) they (or rather Mary) brought ***no*** message at **all** hom angels, but subsequently a message from Jesus that he was on the point of 'ascending'; ***(4)*** they (Lk., and perhaps Mk.)[1] ***entered*** the tomb, yet (Jn., proh. Mt.) they did *not* enter it; (5) the angel was (Mk., Mt.) *one,* yet (Lk. Jn.) ***two;*** (6) the angel (or angels) (Mt.) ***encouraged*** the women ***because*** they sought **Jesus (Mt. 28 5): '**Do not *ye*[2] fear, for **I** know that ye seek Jesus,' and yet (Lk.) blamed them for ***so*** doing (Lk. 24 5: 'Why seek ye the living among the dead?'[3]); **(7)** The Eleven (Mk., Mt.) were to go ***to Galilee*** to see Jesus, yet (Lk., Jn.) **they** saw him in Jerusalem, and were (Acts) ***not to depart from Jerusalem*** (apparently not having left it since the resurrection); (8) Peter (Lk. 24 12, v.l.[4]) looked into the tomb and then went home without entering, yet (Jn.) Peter ***entered*** the tomb ;(9) Mary (Jn.) was *not* ***to touch*** Jesus because he had not yet ascended, yet (Mt.) the women ***held fast his feet*** though he had not yet ascended; (10) when the two disciples from Emmaus reported that the Lord had appeared to them, the Eleven (Mk.-App. **16 13)** ***did not believe,*** yet (Lk.) ***they replied*** 'the Lord ***is risen indeed';*** (11) the Lord (Mt. Jn.) appeared to the disciples in Galilee, yet (so far as we can judge from Lk. and Acts) no manifestations in Galilee could have occurred.

(v.) *Lk.'s view* ('proofs').—Lk. concentrates himself on the accumulation of (Acts 1 3) 'proofs,' by (1) rigidly defining the time when Jesus ascended and left his disciples, (2) representing Jesus as appearing merely in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, so as to omit all appearances in Galilee where 'some doubted,' **(3)** giving the impression that the women saw nothing but (24 23) 'a vision of angels,' **(4)** recording no apparition that was not attested by at least 'two [male] witnesses,' (5) introducing Jesus as eating[5] in the presence of his disciples.

28. Lk.'s 'proofs,'

Yet even **Lk.** shows loopholes for detecting possihle misunderstanding of metaphor. Compare, for example, Lk.'s narrative of the Lord's drawing near, and conversing with the two disciples **on** their way to Emmaus, with the ***Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (ii.) 'the Lord ***was standing near*** and ***conversing with them*** (παρεστὼς ὁ Κύριος ὡμίλει αὐτοῖς).' In the latter, the 'standing near' is spiritual; and so may have been (originally) the 'drawing near,' and the 'conversing,' in the former.[6]

The difficulties that befell Lk. in his attempt to ascertain the facts may be illustrated by the probable explanation of his omission of the appearance of Christ to Peter. In reality, Peter was probably one of the two disciples journeying to Emmaus, as is repeatedly assumed by Origen. But Lk.'s tradition confused the story, by ***attributing to the Eleven the words really uttered by the two travellers.*** Lk. 24 33 *f.* should have run (**as** in D), the travellers 'found the Eleven and those with them, and said

1 B (ἐλθοῦσαι) favours the supposition that they did *not* enter. This is not inconsistent with ἐξελθεῖν, which sometimes means 'depart,' nor with Mk.16 8, ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, which may mean that they 'fled' ***away from*** (not 'out of') the tomb.

2 'Ye' is emphatic. The ***soldiers*** might well be afraid, but the ***women*** were not to he afraid.

3 This is still mort obvious in ***Pseudo-Peter, 'But if ye believe not,*** stoop and look.

4 Though probably not a part of the original **Lk.,** this insertion represents a very early tradition, and perhaps formed **a** part of a later edition of the Gospel. It can hardly he **a** condensation of Jn. 20 3-10.

5 See Tobit 12 19 (and cp. Philo on Gen. 188) for the established belief that an angel or spirit might live familiarly with men for **a** long period, but ***could*** *not eat.*

6 Also 24 31, 'their **eyes *were opened*** (διηνοίχθησαν)' may be a metaphor meaning that 'their eyes were opened to discern Christ ***in the Scriptures'*** (cp. Lk. 24 45, Acts 16 14, where it is used of opening the ***mind,*** *or,* ***heart);*** and their 'constraining' the Lord's presence (παρεβιάσαντο) at the breaking of bread, reminds the reader of the implied precept to resort to 'violence' **in** prayer (**Lk.16 16, and** cp. 18 1-5).

(lit. 'saying,' λέγοντες, not λέγοντας) 'the Lord is risen indeed and hath appeared to Simon.'[1] This is consistent with Mk.-App., who says of the two travellers, 'they went away ***and told it unto the rest*** (*i.e.*, to the Eleven), ***neither believed they them.'***

(vi.) *The Manifestation to the Eleven* (Mk.-App., Lk., Ignatius), occurring in Mk.-App. 'afterwards,' but in Lk. while the two travellers are telling their tale, is described by the latter as follows (24 39): 'See my hands and my feet that it is I myself: handle me and see (ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε); for (ὅτι) a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me having. [And when he had said this, he shewed them his hands and his feet.[2]] And while they still disbelieved for joy and wondered, he said unto them : Have ye anything to eat here (ἐνθάδε)? And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish [and a honeycomb.] And he took it and did eat before them.' Cp Ignatius, *Smyrn. 3* : 'For I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the resurrection; and when he came to Peter and his company (τοῖς περὶ Πέτρον), he said to them: "Take (λάβετε), handle me (ψηλαφήσατέ με) and see that (ἴδετε ὅτι)[3] I am not a bodiless demon." And straightway they touched him and believed, ***being mixed*** *with* (κραθέντες) *his flesh and his* **Spirit** (or, v.l., *blood*).[4] For this cause also they despised death, and were found superior to death. And after his resurrection he ate with them and drank with them as being in the flesh (ὡς σαρκικός) although spiritually united with the Father.' The word λάβετε (as in Mk. 14 22 Mt. 26 26 λάβετε [φάγετε]) is grammatically, as well as traditionally, adapted to express a Eucharistic meaning,[5] and the words, 'mixed

29. 'The Eleven.'

1 Ss is confused, 'They found the Eleven gathered together, and them that were with them. And he hath appeared. ***And they . . .*** saying, Our Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon. **And** they also told them what things had happened in the way. . . .' In direct speech the two travellers would say, 'The Lord hath appeared nnto **us.'** In reported speech, this would become, 'the Lord appeared unto them.' The next stage of the tradition would define 'them' as 'Simon and ***a*** companion.' Lastly, Simon, as being the more important, would be alone mentioned.

2 W H regard the bracketed words as an insertion 'at **a** period when forms of the oral Gospel were still current.'

3 'See ***that'*** is proh. the rendering of ἴδετε ὅτι here (so Lightf.), though in the corresponding passage in Lk. it means. ***'see, because.'***

4 The best MSS are in favour of πνεύματι.

5 No instance has been alleged of the use of λάβετε in the sense of the middle, λάβεσθε, 'take hold of.'

There are several signs of early variations **as** to this tradition both in Ignatius and in Lk. The words 'and see that I am not a bodiless demon' dislocate the sentence, which begins with an appeal to touch, not to sight. We know from Origen (see Lightf. ***adloc.)*** that these words were in the ***Preaching of Peter*** which he rejected, and we have reason to believe that they were ***not in the Gospel of the Hebrews, as known to him and Eusebius;*** Lightf. suggests that they were added in the recension of that Gospel known to Jerome. Cancelling them, we should have, as the original, in ***the Gospel of the Hebrews,*** 'Take me; and they straightway handled him and believed.' As regards Lk., Irenreus (iii. **14** 3), when quoting passages from Lk. accepted by Marcion and Valentinus, omits this passage, though Tertullian inserts it as part of Marcion's Gospel. Possibly Irenæus considered that Marcion was quoting it from some apocryphal source (though Tertullian does not say so, hut merely accuses Marcion of perverting the passage). Irenreus himself nowhere quotes this passage, hut alludes to the assumption about 'spirits' expressed in it, in v. 2 3 'For *the* Spirit (τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα) hath neither hones nor flesh.' Tertullian ([*a*] ***Marcion 443,*** [*b*] ***De Carne Christi 5)*** quotes the words twice, ***omitting the appeal to handling, and also omitting 'flesh.'*** Even in ***(a),*** the context shows that he is not quoting a mutilated text of Marcion's; but (6) makes it certain *that the* ***omission is Tertullian's own.*** He quotes thus, *(a)* 'See my hands and feet that it is **I** myself,' (6) 'See that it is **I'**; and in both cases adds, 'for **a** spirit hath not ***bones*** as ye see me having.' In the context of (6) he asserts that **a** spirit ***has*** 'flesh,' but has not 'bones' 'hank,' and 'feet.' Marcion (according to Tertullian) interpreted the passage thus: *(Marcion* 4 43) 'A spirit hath not hones, ***as,*** i.e. ***and so, 'ye see me having*** [*no* ***bones]'*****:** and he remarks that Marcion might as well have cancelled the passage as interpret it thus. [In (6) Clark has, by error, 'hath not ***flesh and*** hones' instead of 'hath not bones.'] A fragment of Hippolytus from Theodoret (Transl. Clark, p. 95) has : 'For He, having risen . . . when His disciples were in douht, called Thomas to Him and said, "Reach hither; handle me, and see : for **a** Spirit hath not hones and flesh, as ye see me have."'

D (differing from *d*) has (Lk. ***2439)*** ψηλαφήσατε καὶ

with his flesh and spirit (or blood),' implying *a close union such as* ***binds*** *each member of the Church to Christ* ***in*** *the one* Body *or* ***one*** *Bread,* may very well be a part of the tradition (or of some comment on it) from which Ignatius is quoting. If so, the original (though not the Ignatian) meaning may be correctly expressed by the Armenian paraphrastic version, 'they believed, who (or, and they) were participators of the Eucharist (lit. communicated), and who (?) feasted before on his body and blood.' In other words, the disciples not only received a vision and an utterance of the Lord, but also *were made one with the body and spirit* (or *blood*) *of Christ* ***and*** *were* ***raised*** *above the fear of death* by *participating in* ***the*** *Eucharist and therein handling* ***his*** *flesh.* These facts, being literalised in later narratives, may have given rise to the statements, made in good faith, that they had 'handled' Christ's 'body,' or that Christ had given them his 'body' to 'handle.'

(vii.) *The historical estimate of Lk.'s Tradition* must be lowered, (1) by evidence of his other errors and misunderstandings given above, (2) by the variations in the corresponding tradition quoted by Ignatius and Tertullian, (3) by the fact that, about A.D. 110, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (of which city Luke [Eus. 346] is said to have been a native), wishing to attest the reality of the bodily resurrection of Christ, quotes from an unknown authority a passage that omits all mention of 'eating,' and neither here nor elsewhere refers to the testimony of Lk. This certainly leads to the inference that **Lk.** had not, in the mind of Ignatius, that preponderant authority which a 'canonical' or even authoritative Gospel might be expected to have.'

30. Historical estimate of Lk.

Lk.'s evidence must not be disniissed without **a** reference to Acts **14**, **συναλιζόμενος**, which really meant 'assembling with,' hut was probably interpreted by Lk. (as by patristic commentators, *e.g.* Clement, *Epist. to James and Hom.* 15 13) 'eating with,' cp Acts 10 41: 'Not to all the people, but to witnesses, to those foreordained by God, namely ourselves, who (οἵτινες) *ate* ***and*** *drank with him* after the resurrection from the dead.' This, when combined with Acts 1 4 Lk. 24 43 and Lk. **13** *26* ('we have eaten and drunk in thy presence'; not in parallel Mt. 7 22) indicates a consistent interpretation of such a nature as (possibly) to convert metaphorical accounts of spiritual intercourse and revelation into literal accounts of historical 'proofs.'

(viii.) *Jn.'s view* ***(signs).*** In Jn., 'proof' is entirely subordinated to 'signs'—*i.e.*, spiritual symbolisms. The first manifestation of Jesus is to **a** woman, who (**20** *16*) does not recognise him till called by name. The Ascension is mentioned as impending and as (apparently) preliminary to being (20 17) 'touched.' In the second manifestation, Jesus conveys to 'the disciples' the Holy Spirit which (739) *could not* ***be*** *conveyed till after the Ascension—a* fact indicating that, in the interval between the two, Jesus had ascended. In a third (making the *second to 'the disciples'*), he offers himself to the 'handling' of the incredulous Thomas, and pronounces a blessing on those who have not seen yet have believed. In a fourth, (21 14 'the *third' to 'the disciples'*), he is in Galilee, directing the seven fishermen in their task of catching

31. Jn.'s 'signs.'

the one hundred and fifty-three [1] fish in the nét of the Church, and feeding them with the One Bread and the One Fish before they go forth to preach the Gospel to the world. Then, without definite demarcation of the period of manifestations and voices, the Gospel ends.

In all this, the difference between Jn. and Lk. is obvious. Take, for example, the first manifestation to the disciples., In Jn., the disciples are *not* (Lk. **24 37**) terrified and affrighted'; they have received the message from Mary in which Jesus calls them his 'brethren,' and when Jesus 'stood in the midst' of them,[2] they 'rejoice' as soon as they see 'the hands and the side.'[3] They do not (as in Lk.) suppose Jesus to be a 'spirit' (or, **as** D, 'phantasm'); they require no appeal to sight or touch; nor does Jesus eat in their presence. The object of the first manifestation in Jn. is apparently not to prove the Resurrection hut to convey the Spirit to the disciples. There is no explanation of prophecy', the Spirit **is** conveyed at once, not promised as a future gift. The appeal to touch comes afterwards. The incredulity of Thomas (absent on the first occasion) makes Jesus reproachfully suggest on a second occasion that the incredulous disciple may touch the wounds in his hands and side; hut it is not indicated that Thomas does this. The words that follow suggest that it was *not* done: **(2029)** 'Because thou hast *seen* thou hast believed': (it is not said, 'Because thou hast *touched').!*

32. Contrast between 'signs' and 'proofs.'

The same spiritual (as distinct from Lk.'s logical) purpose pervaded Jn.'s sign of the 'seven'—who, if 'proof' and not a 'sign' had been intended, should have been 'the Eleven.'[5] There is indeed some similarity between the words of Jesus in Jn. 215: 'Children, have ye any meat?' and those in **Lk.** (24 41): 'Have ye here anything to eat?' But how great a difference in reality! In the latter case the Messiah deigns to take food from the disciples in order to meet their (Lk. 24 38) 'reasonings'; in the former, the Saviour gives himself to the 'children' to strengthen them for the work of the Gospel.

(ix.) *Contrast between Jn. and the Synoptists.*—There

ιδετε το πνα οστα ουκ εχει και σαρκας καθως εμε βλεπετε εχοντα. Codex ***a*** has 'Handle me *yourselves'* (reading αὐτοί for αὐτός in what precedes). In Ss the passage, which has been (142) scraped with a knife, runs thus, 'Behold, see my hands and my feet, and *feel and* see that it is I; for a spirit . . . flesh and hones. . . as. . . see me. . . When. . . not. . . were. Again he said unto them, 'Have ye here anything to eat?' Codices ***a*** 6 ***d*** and Brix. omit 'me' after 'handle.

The emphasis laid on 'bones' may have arisen from an allusion to Is. **6614** (𝔊BNAQ): 'Your hones shall spring up.' 'Blood' was omitted, perhaps in accordance with a sense that it could not appeal either to sight or to touch. (Justin [*Tryph.* **761** indicates something specially non-human about the blood of Christ.)

1 Apologists usually depreciate what they call 'a mere argument from silence'; but it has weight varying with circumstances. Here it is extremely weighty. The evidence is almosf as strong as if Ignatius said expressly, 'I did not know Lk., or else, 'I knew Lk., hut did not believe it to he so authoritative as the tradition from which I quoted.'

1 For the symbolism of this, see helow, § 47.

2 This 'standing in the midst,' however, is from prophetic *gnosis:* see Ps. **22** 22, quoted by Heb. **2** 11 *f.* and by Justin (*Tryph.* 106): also cp Lk. **24** 36.

3 *Not*, as Lk., 'the hands and the *feet*.' In Jn., as in Pseudo-Peter, the feet are ayyarently reearded as hound. not nailed, to the cross.

4 In Jn., the first manifestation to the disciples seems to include a new and spiritual Genesis or Creation of man. The old Genesis **(2 7)** described how God *'breathed* (ἐνεφύσησεν) into the face (of man) *the breath of life*, and man became *a* ***riving*** *soul.'*

The rarity of **ἐμφυσᾶν,** *which occurs in NT nowhere except in* Jn. **2022**, suffices to make the reference to Gen. **2 7** certain. Philo also frequently quotes Gen. **2 7** (with ἐμφυσᾶν) to contrast the 'earthy' or 'first' man with the 'spiritual' or 'second' man. Not improbably Jn. also has in mind that Ignatian tradition which described the apostles as 'mixed with his flesh and his *spirit.* (Careful analysis of all the passages where Ignatius combines 'flesh and spirit' and 'flesh and blood' makes it probable that 'spirit' (not 'blood') is the correct reading. **At** the same time, if *both* traditions were prevalent, Jn.'s first manifestation to the disciples would express the 'being mixed with his *spirit,'* and the second (that to Thomas) the 'being mixed with his *blood'*).

In any case, Jn. takes this historically sacred word, traditionally associated with the creation of man, and represents it as dramatised in an act, in which the Logos *remakes man in the Divine image,* 'breathing into' him that Spirit of himself which (as Paul says, 1 Cor. 15 45) was not only 'living (ζῶν)' hut also 'life-giving (ζωοποιοῦν),' so **as** to enahle the disciples to transmit life to others.

5 It is interesting to note here (in the light of Mk. 116-20) the difference between Lk.'s and Jn.'s Draught of Fish, which Lk. connects with the calling of Peter to be a Fisher of Men, but Jn. with an imparting of the One Fish and the One Bread to the 'seven' disciples—apparently as a preparation for their apostolic work. It will he found that Lk. differs from Mk. and Mt. in seven points:—(1) the boats are 'standing' by the lake; (2) there are two boats (the Jewish and Gentile Churches), not one; (3) all (Peter included) have given up fishing in despair; (4) Jesus enters one of the vessels; (5) the nets are 'rent asunder'; (6) Peter fears and bids Jesus depart; (7) Jesus does not expressly bid any of the fishers 'follow' him. Jn. differs from Lk. *in all these details:* (1) It is Jesus (not the boats) who is standing by the sea; (2) there is but one vessel; (3) Peter has not given up fishing; (4) Jesus does not enter the vessel; *(5)* io spite of the multitude of the fishes **(21** 11) 'the net was *not* rent'; (6) Peter leapt into the sea and hastened toward Jesus; (7) Peter is hidden, after the Sacramental Feast, not only to feed Christ's sheep, hut also to 'follow' him.

is a curious contrast between the personal and as it were private nature of Christ's last utterances in Jn. and the public or ecclesiastical utterances recorded by Lk., Mk.-App., and the last verses of Mt.

33. Last 'words': Paul.

In Jn., 'Hither, break your fast,' 'Lovest thou me?' 'Feed my sheep,' 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' In the Synoptists, either (Mk.-App.) the injunction to preach the Gospel, the prediction of condemnation for those who will not believe and be baptized, and the promise of signs such as the 'casting out of devils,' 'tongues,' 'lifting up serpents," drinking poison, etc., and healing the sick; or else (Mt.) 'baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to keep all things as many as I commanded you,' and a farewell in Galilee, with an assertion that Jesus possesses all power, and a promise that he will be always present with the disciples; or, lastly (Lk.), an 'opening' of the disciples' minds to understand the Scriptures, and a long statement that the Scriptures 'must needs have been thus fulfilled,' and that there must be the preaching of repentance in his name 'with a view to the remission of sins to all the nations—beginning from Jerusalem,'[2] and then a promise, and a warning that they must remain in the city till the promise is fulfilled:—concerning all which utterances we are warned by our knowledge of the various accounts of Christ's revelations to Paul that we must accept none of them as necessarily representing the actual words of Christ himself, though (in various degrees, and subject to various qualifications) they may be regarded as revelations to the Early Church, conveyed, during the period of manifestations, to this or that disciple, in the same way in which the vision and the voice were conveyed to Paul at his conversion.[3]

1 An interesting instance of the combination of (1) the historical, (2) the exaggerated, (3) the metaphorical. (1) The healing of diseases by the Christians was a historical fact; (2) the gift of 'tongues'—as we infer from Paul's Epistles—was a phenomenon remarkable, but not supernatural; *(3)* the 'taking up,' or, more probably, 'destroying (ἀροῦσιν) of serpents' was probably a literalising of the promise in Lk. 10 19 that the disciples should 'trample upon serpents and scorpions and **all** the power of the enemy.'

2 'The text is doubtful.

3 ***The Testimony of Paul,*** in any full discussion of the **Re**surrection, **would** come first and claim **a** detailed consideration. Here we can only observe on 1 Cor. 15 3-8 that (1), among the earliest traditions communicated to converts, was **a** doctrine (probably oral, παρέδωκα) on the Resurrection of Christ; (2) in this tradition, 'accordance with the Scriptures' played a prominent part; (3) the manifestations of Christ were described by the word 'appeared (ὤφθη),' **a** word regularly denoting visions [the ***only instance*** in which it is used in NT of the appearance of **a** ***material*** body is Acts 7 26]; (4) Paul places first an appearance to Cephas, and last but one an appearance to James, neither of which is recorded in our canonical Gospels; (5) he excludes all appearances to women; (6) he places the appearance of Christ to himself on the same footing as those witnessed by the apostles: **(7)** he speaks of the risen body as '**a** spiritual body' (on which, note that Clem. Alex. (970-972) says that every spirit has **a** 'body,' and that demons are called 'bodiless' ***only in comparison with the spirits that are destined** to be **saved)***, and as being (8) the same, in kind, for Christ, as' for the faithful after death—*i.e.*, as we should infer, ***not a tangible body.*** **(9)** The latest of Paul's speeches on **his** vision repeats, **as** from **Jesus, a long** discourse (Acts 26 **14-18**). It then continues (*ib.* **19**) 'Whereupon . . . I was not disobedient unto ***the heavenly vision.'*** **But** Paul's earlier speech **(22)** assigns to Jesus merely ***a portion** of this **discourse,*** while another portion (mentioning '**a** witness' and 'sins') occurs (22 **15** *f.*) in the report of ***a speech of Ananias*** *to Saul,* and another (mentioning 'the Gentiles') is uttered by Jesus indeed, but ***on a much later occasion*** (22 18-21) ***when the apostle was in** a **'trance.'*** On the other hand, in the earliest account of the vision, the mention of Saul's mission to 'the Gentiles' is made by **Jesus (915)** *not to Saul, but to **Ananias;*** and Jesus is represented as saying to Saul no more than occurs in 22.

These facts lead to the following general conclusions:—***(a) Words recorded as having been uttered by Jesus may really have been heard in the course of a 'vision.' (b) Words recorded as uttered in a 'vision' may have been heard in the course of a 'trance.' (c) The alleged occasion of utterance may really be a confusion of two or even more occasions. (d) Some of the words may have proceeded not directly from Jesus, but indirectly, through an inspired speaker.***

VI. Single Traditions.

(a) The **First** Gospel.—(i.) *Doctrinal and other characteristics.*—That Mt. was primarily intended for Jewish readers is suggested by the stress laid on prophecy; the tracing of genealogy back to Abraham (not, as in Lk., to Adam; cp Genealogies ii.); the Sermon on the Mount corresponding to the Law given on Mount Sinai; the contrast between what had been said 'of old time' and what the new Lawgiver prescribed; the word 'lawlessness' (altered in Lk. 13 27 to 'iniquity'), used by Mt. alone, and the strong condemnation of him who (Mt. 5 19) breaks, or teaches others to break, 'one of the least of the commandments.'[1]

34. Single tradition: Mt.

Mt.'s parables point less to the inclusion of the Gentiles than to the exclusion of unworthy Jews. He alone has the saying (22 **14**): 'Many are called but few chosen. He seems to move amid **a** race of backsliders, among dogs and swine unworthy of the pearls of truth, among the tares sown by the enemy among fishermen who must cast back again many of the fish caught in the net of the Gospel. 'The broad way' is mentioned by him alone, and the multitude of those that go thereby, and the guest without the wedding garment, and the foolish virgins, and the goats and those who even 'cast out devils' in the name of the Lord' and yet are rejected by him because they 'work **lawless**ness.' He alone introduces into the Lord's Prayer the words 'Deliver us from the evil (one).' Elsewhere he alone gives as **a** reason for not being distracted, 'sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' The wavering or retrogression of many Jewish converts when the breach between Jews and Gentiles widened, about the time of the siege of Jerusalem, may well explain the emphasis laid by Mt. on backsliding; and the Condemnation of 'lawlessness' might refer to Hellenising Jews who considered that the new law set them free from all restraint, and who, in casting aside every vestige of nationality, wished to cast aside morality as well. Yet Mt. prefers **(12** 33) even open and consistent wickedness to the sin of the 'hypocrites' whom his Gospel continually denounced (the word occurs in Mt. 13 times, in Mk. 1, in Lk. 3, in Jn. 0); and he dwells more than the rest on the blessings of the meek, the merciful, and the little ones whose angels behold the face of the Father.

Besides the fulfilments of prophecy or type mentioned in his Introduction, Mt. sees several others not mentioned in the Triple Tradition.

Some of these, *e.g.* that relating to the **(21 2-5)** 'ass and the colt,' (27 9) 'the potter's field,' (12 40) the 'three days and three nights in the belly of the whale' **as** representing the time of Christ's remaining in the tomb, and the **(23 35)** apparently inaccurate reference to Zachariah the son of Barachiah, contain such obvious difficulties that they may be regarded **as** evidences of early, not of late composition,[2] and the same applies to (2 23) 'He shall be called **a** Nazarene,' which **is** found in no existing book of prophecy. See Nazareth.

Apart from his account of the Resurrection, few new miracles are introduced **by** Mt. Two of these consist of acts of healing. Two are connected with Peter, (1) Mt. 14 28-33, the walking on the water (2) Mt. **17 24**, the coin in the fish's mouth. As to these, the omission of the former **by** Mk. and Jn., who record what precedes and follows, points to the conclusion that it is **a** poetic symbolism of Peter's lapse and restoration. A metaphorical explanation probably applies also to the latter.[3]

1 Cp also *Proceedings of **the Society** of Historical Theology* **('97)**, 46 *f.*, as to the *seven* beatitudes on character (omitted or altered by Lk.), the ***seven*** petitions of the Lord's Prayer (where Lk. probably retains the original and shorter form), the ***seven*** parables in Mt. 13 the genealogy compressed into ***a triad of fourteen***, and other numerical groupings that show Jewish influence.

2 An authoritative and widely circulated Gospel stands in this respect on quite **a** different footing from an apocryphal and non-authoritative book. The former would be attacked by controversialists, and any difficulties contained in it would be exposed. Christians could not cancel the difficult passages without giving up the authority of the book. Consequently the difficult passages would remain in that Gospel, but would be quietly dropped by subsequent evangelists. Hence, ***as between our canonical** Gospels*, the presence of difficulties is a mark of early date. But this criterion does not apply to comparatively obscure works not so liable to attack.

3 See an extraordinary comment in Ephraem (p. 161) 'So when Simon . . . took his ***net*** and went to cast it into the sea, ***they** also **went with him'*** (cp Jn. **21** 3, 'I go a-fishing. They say unto him, We also ***come with thee'***). Also cp Philo (**1499**) on 'the holy didrachm,' and Clem. Alex. **(947)**, where he says that 'the fish' hints at (αἰνίττει) God-given food, and that the stater might admit 'other solutions not unknown (οὐκ ἀγνοουμένας)'—which implies a tradition of symbolism on this incident. For other traces of Philonian symbolism in the Synoptic Gospels, cp Mt. **13** 33 and Lk. **13** 21 on the 'leaven' which a woman ***'hid*** (ἐνέκρυψεν, ἔκρυψεν) in *three measures* (σάτα) of meal,' with

(ii.) *Evidence as to date.*—When Mt. recorded the prediction that the apostles (10 23) would not 'accomplish the cities of Israel' until the Son of man had 'come,' must he not have assumed that, in some sense, he *had 'come' already?* If so, this will explain the difficult expression in **2664**, 'ye shall *henceforth*, or *immediately* (ἀπ' ἄρτι), see the Son of man, etc.'[1] It would seem that, as Jn. saw at least a primary fulfilment of Zech. 12 10 ('They shall look on him whom they pierced') in the moment when the spectators of the Cross gazed on the pierced side of Jesus, so Mt. regarded the 'coming of Christ with power' as commencing from the time of the sacrifice on the Cross, or of the Resurrection. But, whatever he the interpretation, the difficulty of this and some other passages leads to the belief that Mt. has in some cases preserved the earliest tradition. Other passages point to a very much later date—*e.g.*, the name of the 'Field of Blood' borne (**278**) 'to this day,' the charge of stealing Christ's body repeated (**2815**) 'to this day,' and the mention of 'the Jews' in the same passage as an alien race; also the recognition of (7 15) 'the false prophets' as a definite **class** to be avoided, and of (1817) 'the church' as the arbiter in quarrels. Perhaps, too, when viewed in the light of the *Didaché*, the precepts (5 24) to be reconciled with a brother before 'bringing one's gift to the altar,' and (7 6) to avoid casting pearls before swine, indicate a time when the Eucharist had so long been celebrated in the Church as materially to influence the general traditions of the doctrine of Christ.

35. Its date.

(iii.) *Jn. in relation to Mt.'s Single Tradition.*—Jn. often agrees with, but intensifies, the doctrine of Mt.

36. Its relation to Jn.

Mt.'s depreciation of (5 21-48) the teachers of old time is more strongly expressed in Jn.'s (10 8) 'thieves and robbers'; Mt.'s (**1130**) 'easy yoke' is less strong than Jn. 8 31 *f.*, which implies that Christ's service shall deliver from every yoke; Mt. 12 5-7 'the priests profane the Sabbath' is not so clear as Jn. 7 22 'on the Sabbath ye circumcise **a** man'. and Mt.'s (12 34 23 33) 'offspring of vipers' and 'serpents' (Satan being 'the *serpent'*) is less forcible than (Jn. **844**) 'ye are of your father the *devil*.' Mt., alone of the Synoptists, describes the Pharisees as (15 14) 'blind,' and mentions (**1513**) the 'rooting up' of Pharisaism, and (16 27) the rewarding of men according to their works; and similar thoughts will he found in Jn. 9 39-41 15 4-6 5 29. In **a** very few cases does Jn. appear to be tacitly correcting Mt.'s Single Tradition. Perhaps Mt.'s doctrine of 'little children' and the stress laid by him on 'meekness' appeared to Jn. liable to be perverted into a confession that Christianity was a religion of weakness and puerility.[2] At all events, though he alone of the Evangelists supports Mt. **21 5** in quoting Zech. **9 9** 'Behold thy king cometh,' he omits 'meek (πραΰς)'[3] on which the Rabbis (Schottg. 2 139 171, etc.) laid emphasis; and, whereas Mt. immediately afterwards (21 15 *f.*) describes the testimony to Jesus **as** that of 'babes and children,' Jn. (12 42 *f.*) states that 'even of *the* rulers many believed on him.' In a few other passages (Mt. 26 22 25, Jn. 13 24 *f.*; Mt. 26 52 Jn. 18 11), though partly correcting Mt., Jn. appears to be rather supporting him against omissions or statements of Mk. and Lk.

(*b*) THE THIRD GOSPEL.—(i.) *Literary form.*—(*a*) The Dedication of Lk.—The dedication (1 1-4) shows that we have passed into **a** new literary province. The Muratorian fragment calls attention to the fact that the author writes 'in his *own name*,' a novelty among evangelists. He also dedicates his work to some one who, if not an imaginary 'God-beloved,'[4] would appear to be a patron, a man of rank. The apostles—the (1 2) 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the word'—appear to have 'delivered' their testimony by oral tradition (παρέδοσαν) and to have passed away. To supply their places (1 1) 'many' had 'attempted to draw up a formal narrative (ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν)' concerning the matters fully established in the Church. These writers had clearly not been eye-witnesses, nor were they, in Lk.'s judgment, so successful as to make unnecessary any further attempts. Apparently they had failed in the three points in which he hopes to excel: they had not (1) 'traced everything up to its source (παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν),' and this (2) 'accurately (ἀκριβῶς),' and (3) they had not written 'in order (καθεξῆς).'

37. Single tradition: Lk.

All this affords **an** interesting parallel to the description of the collection of the Mishna by R. Judah (*Hor. Hebr.* 1 161). 'When he saw the captivity was (*sic*) prolonged, and the scholars tohecome faint-hearted, and the strength of wisdom and the cabala to fail, and the oral law to be much diminished—he gathered and scraped **up** together **all** the decrees, statutes, and sayings of the wise men.' For 'the captivity was prolonged,' substitute 'the Lord delayed his coming,' for 'sayings of wise men' substitute 'traditions (παραδόσεις)' and 'narratives (διηγήσεις),' some of which were probably based on the Psalms of Israel and the hymns of the first generation of Christians—and we have the same phenomena introducing themselves. Catechumens were disturbed by the diversity of traditions; catechists and evangelists themselves found it hard to distinguish the genuine from, the spurious; it was time to 'gather and scrape up together the traditions—especially those upon the Resurrection and the Incarnation, and to do this with such exactness (ἀκριβῶς) that the catechist might 'know the certainty (ἀσφάλειαν)' about the points of Christian faith.

(β) Linguistic characteristics.—As a corrector, **in** the Triple Tradition, Lk. has been shown above to be **a** linguistic purist, and his insertions often indicate a love of sonorous and compound words (18 22 17 33). But in his Introduction, when describing the days before the Nativity (as also when describing the first days of the church in Acts), the narrative takes an archaic and Hebraic turn.

38. Its style.

The vocabulary of Lk. is largely borrowed from the LXX, and in particular from the Apocrypha—*e.g.*, ἐπίβλεψον, ἀποσπασθέντων, ἐπιβάλλει (in the sense of 'belonging'), ἐπισιτισμός, the use of ὕψιστος for God, στιγμή, ἀντιβάλλειν, εὔθετος, περισπᾶσθαι, καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς, δοχή and λυσιτελεῖ. Cp Lk.'s story of the rich fool (**1219**) with Ecclus. **11 18**; Lk. 18 7 ('Though he bear long with them [μακροθυμεῖ] . . .') with Ecclus. **22 22**; Lk. **1 42** ('Blessed art thou among women') with Judith 13 18. Often there is an allusive use of LXX words. Cp Lk. 23 51 (about Joseph of Arimathæa who had not '*consented to*' the decision of the Pharisees) with Ex. **23 1**, 'Thou shalt not *consent with* (συγκαταθήσῃ) the unjust'; Lk. 23 49 with Ps. 88 8 'Thou hast **put** mine acquaintances (γνωστούς) far from me', and Lk. 20 20 ἐγκαθέτους with Job 19 12, 31 9; also Lk. 1 7 προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις with Gen. **1811** προβεβηκότες ἡμερῶν. It is difficult to decide whether those portions of Lk. which approach the LXX in

Philo (1 173) on 'the three measures (μέτρα) of the soul' that are to be 'kneaded' like cakes (ἐγκρυφίαι) wherein the sacred doctrine 'must he hidden (κεκρύφθαι).' After the destruction of the Temple, Vespasian compelled Jews in **all** parts of the Empire to pay the didrachm to the Roman Treasury. Among Christian Jews there may have arisen the question whether they, being no longer 'Jews,' were liable to pay it.

[1] Mk. 14 62 omits 'immediately,' Lk. 22 69 substitutes 'shall be' for 'ye shall see.' Cp also Mt. 16 28 'till they see the *Son of man coming* in his kingdom,' Mk. 9 1 'the *kingdom of God having come*,' Lk. **9 27** 'the kingdom of God.'

[2] Cp 1 Cor. 14 20 'be *not children* (παιδία) in mind: howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in mind be men' (see also 1 Cor. 3 1 13 1).

[3] There may have been, however, controversial reasons for omitting that epithet.

[4] Cp Lightf. *BE* 197, 'Theophilus, if a real person and not **a** nom *de guerre*. Theophilus, in itself, is not an unlikely name for **a** Jew. And the omission of κράτιστε in Acts 1 1 might he explained on the ground that Lk. thinks it in bad taste to be-noble a young catechumen too much (just **as** Dion. Halic. *Orat. Antiq.* [Reiske, 5 445] begins and ends [6 1128] a treatise with κράτιστε Ἀμμαῖε, but intersperses [719] τῷ φιλτάτῳ and [722] βέλτιστε). To use the term obtrusively is characteristic of 'the obsequious man' in Theophr. *Charact.* 5, ἄνδρα κράτιστον εἰπών (Jebb, 'after **a** large *display of respect*').

κράτιστε certainly cannot refer to *moral* qualities alone. This is proved (1) hy Lk.'s use of the vocative in Acts 24 3 **26 25** (and cp **23 26**); (2) by **2** Mac. 4 12, Jos. Ant. iv. **2 8** (in the latter, vocatively), where it is applied to 'young men of distinction or nobility,' and cp Lucian **2** 272 Κρητῶν οἱ κράτιστοι, . . . οὐχὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ βασιλικώτεροι καὶ πρωτεύειν ἀξιοῦντες. (3) Dion. Halic. seems (as quoted above) to distinguish between κράτιστε and βέλτιστε. (4) It seems highly probable that the author of the first part of the Epistle **to** Diognetus has Lk. in view when writing (§ 1) ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶ, κράτιστε Διόγνητε, where Diognetus' represents not a Christian, but an inquirer, and is probably **a** fictitious name. If so, this tends to show that he regarded Lk.'s 'Theophilus' as representing **a** typical catechumen, **just** as his own 'Diognetus' represented a typical inquirer. On the whole, the impression left hy the use of the name is that it is typical of one who might be addressed in a twofold sense as (*Hamlet*, i. 5 38) 'thou *noble* youth.' Philo undertakes **a** treatise on the Creation (1 1) 'for the sake of *the* God-beloved (τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς).' And does not Lk.'s (Acts 1 1) τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεόφιλε, sound like an echo of Philo 2 444 ὁ μὲν πρότερος λόγος ἦν ἡμῖν, ὦ Θεόδοτε, περὶ τοῦ . . . ? Tatian speaks of (12) 'interpretations (of Scripture) which being published in writing make those who give heed to them *greatly beloved of* God (θεοφιλεῖς).'

rhythm and vocabulary are translations from Hebrew documents, or imitations, conscious or unconscious, of the books of the LXX. But the use of ὁ Κύριος,[1] 'the Lord'—in (7 13) the raising of the widow's son at Nain, (10 1) the appointment of the Seventy, (11 39) the rebuke of the Pharisees, (12 42) the preface to the parable of the faithful and just steward, (13 15) the healing of the daughter of Abraham bound by Satan, (17 5 *f.*) the parable of the sycamore tree, (15 6) the parable of the unjust judge, (19 8) the story of Zacchæus, (22 61) Christ's looking on Peter, and the verse (24 3) where it is said that 'they found not the body of the Lord Jesus'—confirms the theory (which is also supported by internal evidence) that these passages in Lk. are translations. Another test-word is Ἰερουσαλήμ. Lk. uses Ἰερουσαλήμ about twenty-six times, Ἱεροσόλυμα only three times (2 22 19 28 23 7). The latter form is sometimes used geographically by writers who use the former rhetorically or historically; but it is remarkable that in 2 22 and 41 the two forms should be used, apparently in the same sense, ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα and ἐπορεύοντο . . . εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ.[2] Cp JERUSALEM, § 1.

(ii.) Doctrinal *Characteristics.*—The key-note of Lk.'s doctrine is touched in the song of Zacharias over the Baptist, and struck more clearly in the song of Simeon over the child Jesus; proclaiming, in the first case, redemption for (1 77) 'God's people,' in the second, for (2 31 *f.*) '*all the peoples*, a light for revelation of *the Gentiles*.'

39. Its spirit.

The implied (4 16-30) rejection of the Jews in favour of the Gentiles at the outset of Christ's public life in Nazareth is a chronological error; but it indicates the tendency of the Gospel. When (Mt. 6 32) 'the Gentiles' are condemned as seeking pleasures, Lk. is careful to add (12 30) 'the Gentiles *of the world*,' *i.e.*, those who are spiritually Gentiles; and Lk.'s 'seventy' missionaries are emblematic of the Gospel to 'the nations.' Mk. makes no mention of the Samaritans, Mt. has merely (10 5) 'Go not into any city of the Samaritans'; but in Lk. the sons of Zebedee are rebuked for desiring to call down fire on a Samaritan village; a just Samaritan shames both priest and Levite; and a grateful Samaritan puts nine Jewish lepers to the blush. As for the law, it is valid as long as Jesus is a child or (2 51) 'subject to' his parents; but as soon as he has been baptized, it is regarded as (4 18 16 16) superseded because fulfilled.

Lk.'s Gospel is abundant in contrasts. It couples 'blessings' with (Lk. 6 24-26) 'woes.' It proclaims a conflict pending—between God and Satan, forgiveness and sin, self-renunciation and worldliness—which is to culminate in the triumph of mercy imparting to the Gentiles (24 47) a message of 'repentance and remission of sins.'

When Satan departs from Jesus, it is only (4 13) 'for a time'; Satan binds a daughter of Abraham, is beheld by Jesus 'fallen from heaven,' enters into Judas, and demands the Twelve that he may 'sift' them. There is a sharp demarcation between rich and poor. It is 'the, poor,' not (as Mt. 5 3) 'the poor *in spirit*,' that are 'blessed. In Lk., Christ pronounces a woe upon them that are rich, rebukes the 'cumbered' Martha, exhorts the rich to entertain the poor and dooms the rich fool to a sudden death, while Dives is 'consigned to unalterable torment. But, above all Lk. contrasts 'repentance' with pride. If Lazarus is contrasted with Dives, the grateful Samaritan with the ungrateful Jewish lepers, the merciful Samaritan with the heartless priest and Levite, and the trivial anxieties of Martha with the simple devotion of Mary, much more does the publican find his foil in the Pharisee who prays by his side; the woman 'which was a sinner' and 'loved much' in Simon the churlish host who loved little; the prodigal younger son in the envious elder son; and the penitent thief on the right in the impenitent thief on the left. All these stories, as well as that of Zacchæus, and the lost piece of silver, must have appealed with great force to many who applied to themselves the words of Ephes. 2 1: 'And you did he quicken when ye were dead through your trespasses and sins'; they magnify the power of forgiveness—contrasting the instantaneous and complete victories of faith (for the most part 'without works') with the inferior results of a long life of ordinary and prudent respectability.

(iii.) *A manual for daily* conduct.—The insertion of 'day by day,' both in the Lord's Prayer and in the precept to 'take up the cross,' indicates a purpose in the writer to produce a practical Gospel. Lk. seems to see, as the main obstacles to the Faith, not 'hypocrisies' nor Jewish backsliding, but the temptations of wealth and social position acting upon half-hearted converts; and his sayings about 'building the tower,' 'putting the hand to the plough,' 'renouncing all one's possessions,' and 'hating' father and mother, are pathetic indications of what must have been going on in the divided household of many a young 'Theophilus.' The important part played by 'devout women' in Acts prepares the reader for finding prominence assigned to them here. Lk. alone gives us the songs of Mary and of Elisabeth, and the testimony of Anna. The mother of the Lord (not Joseph) ponders in her heart the words of her Son, and her sufferings are made (2 35) the subject of prophecy; Lk. alone mentions the domestic anxieties of Martha and the devoted faith of her sister, the cure of the afflicted 'daughter of Abraham,' the woman who invoked a blessing upon the womb that bare Jesus, the story of her who 'loved much,' and the parable of the woman rejoicing over the lost piece of silver. Lot's wife is mentioned by him alone; nor do we find in any other Gospel the utterance of Jesus to the 'daughters of Jerusalem.' Mk. and Mt. concur with Lk. in pronouncing a blessing on the man who gives up father or mother or lands or houses for Christ's sake; but Lk. alone adds 'wife.'

40. Its aim.

Strangely incongruous with these sayings and with the great body of Synoptic doctrine, are the parables of the unjust steward the unjust judge, and the friend persuaded by importunity: The moral of they appears to be 'Copy the world, only in an unworldly fashion. Yet the thought, the style and the language, make it difficult to believe that Jesus uttered' these parables in their present shape; and the last two (as they stand) seem at variance with his command to remember that the Father knoweth what things we need before we ask for them. Everything points to the conclusion that we have here and probably elsewhere in Lk., discourses, based indeed on Christ's doctrine but not containing his words or modelled after his methods and style. Else, why, in the parable of the Shepherd, do we find the dramatic element in Lk. 15 6 whilst it is absent in Mt. 18 13? and why do *Lk.'s parables alone* **introduce** *the soliloquy*—*e.g.*, in the case of the rich fool, the prodigal son, the unjust steward, the unjust judge?

(iv.) *Evidence as to date.*—Lk., more clearly than Mk.-Mt., describes the fall of Jerusalem as the result of a siege and capture. He also more definitely sets a term for all troubles. Lk. alone has the exhortation to (21 28) 'look up.' Omitting the remarkable saying of Mk. and Mt. that the Son himself knoweth not 'the hour,' he declares that the trampling down of Jerusalem will be only till 'the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.' Then will come a time of 'distress'—not, however, now for Israel, but for the Gentiles—and amidst convulsions of nature the Son of man will come. In the hope of this coming, the disciples are to lift up their heads, remembering that, although some of them will be 'slain,' not a hair of their heads will be injured. The comparatively cheerful discourse on the Coming, combined with the joyful and triumphant tone of the Introduction, accords with the general tenor of Lk. when compared with Mt., and indicates as the author a Christian Gentile to whom (as to Barnabas) the fall of Jerusalem was an accepted and not unwelcome fact. Writing with recollection, but not under the present pressure, of persecution, when the Church was making rapid progress in the conversion, not only of the slaves, the poor, and the 'devout women,' but also of the higher and more educated classes in the Roman Empire, the Evangelist seems to be looking forward to the moment when 'the times of the Gentiles' would be 'fulfilled,' and the Son of man would suddenly 'come.' Such a date might be reasonably fixed at the close of Vespasian's or the beginning of Nerva's reign.[1] See ESCHATOLOGY, § 84 *f.*

41. Its date.

[1] The Gospel of the Hebrew always uses the form ὁ Κύριος, never ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

[2] Another test-phrase is εἶπεν δέ, frequent in Genesis and the early part of Exodus but rare or non-existent in later books. It does not occur in Mk. or Mt. In Jn. it occurs only (*a*) in the interpolated 8 11 the woman taken in adultery' (*b*) in 12 6 [where D transpose; Syr., and Ss omits εἶπεν δέ ('how Judas did not care'), the original probably being simply, 'Not that Judas cared']; (*c*) in 21 23 οὐκ εἶπεν δέ, where δέ is supported by אBC and is perhaps genuine, meaning 'however.'

In Lk. (as also in Acts) it is frequent, mostly in his Single Tradition, but sometimes in the Double or Triple *when he introduces* **words** *or arrangements of his own.* In view of these facts, Mt. 12 47, bracketed by Tischendorf and placed by WH in marg., should be rejected as an interpolation.

[1] Acts 25 30 ('And he (Paul) abode two whole years [in Rome]') suggests, at first sight, that Acts—and, *a fortiori.* (Acts 1 1)

(v.) *Supernatural Narratives* peculiar to Lk., apart from the Introduction and the Conclusion, are: (1) the miraculous draught of fishes; (2) the raising of the widow's son at Nain; (3) the healing of the woman bound by Satan; (4) the cure of the dropsical man; (5) the appearance of the angel strengthening Jesus, and (6) the healing of the severed ear.[1]

42. Its miracles.

As regards (6), its omission by all the other Evangelists is, in itself, almost fatal to its authenticity, and it is probably to be explained as the result of a literary misunderstanding. There was probably some tradition—ambiguous, or obscure, and omitted by Mk.—that Jesus said *(a)* 'let it (*i.e.* the *sword) be restored to* its place.' This was misunderstood by Lk. as meaning (6) 'let it (*i.e.* the *ear) be restored.*' He therefore substituted (6) for (*a*), and amplified his narrative in such words as to leave no ambiguity.[2]

(vi.) *Lk.'s position historically.*—We are led to the conclusion that, although Lk. attempted to write 'accurately' and 'in order,' yet he could not always succeed. When deciding between an earlier and a later date, between this and that place or occasion, between metaphor and literalism, between what Jesus himself said and what he said through his disciples, he had to be guided by evidence which sometimes led him right, but not always.

43. Its relative trustworthiness.

In regarding the story of the fig-tree as a metaphor, and the promise about treading on scorpions as a spiritual promise, and in placing the home of the infant Jesus at Nazareth, not at Bethlehem, he was probably right. The Feeding of the Four Thousand he may have rightly rejected as a duplicate of the tradition about the Five Thousand. But he himself seems to give in his Mission of the Seventy a duplicate of the Mission of the Twelve.[3] His two-fold description of Jesus as mourning over Jerusalem, once (13 34) in Galilee, and once (19 41) near the city itself, seems an error of an inferential character (like his inference from the expressions 'cup' and 'platter,' that a certain discourse of Jesus was uttered at the table of a Pharisee).[4] Again, Mk. and Mt. show traces of duplicate traditions concerning the insults offered to Jesus in the Passion; and these (combined with the Psalmists predictions about (Acts 4 26) 'The kings of the earth') may have led Lk. to adopt a tradition—not mentioned by the other Evangelists—that Herod joined with Pilate to persecute Christ. In the journey to Emmaus and the Manifestation to the Eleven, it has been shown (§ 28 *f.*) that he seems to take metaphor for literal statement. Some textual ambiguity may have induced him to believe that the Nazarenes, instead of (as Mk. and Mt.) 'being caused to *stumble* in Jesus,' tried to 'cause Jesus to *fall*'[5] (down a precipice)' and that the words uttered to the woman at the anointing[6] 'were not 'Let her alone,' but 'Her sins are forgiven her.'

Lk.'s absolute omission of some genuine and valuable traditions—especially in connection with Christ's appearing to women after the Resurrection and with Christ's promise to go to 'Galilee'—though it may be in part extenuated on the ground of the need of selection, and in part almost justified on the ground of the obscurity of the original, nevertheless seriously diminishes the value of his work. Every page of it shows signs of pains, literary labour, and good taste. It is by far the most beautiful, picturesque, and pathetic of all the Gospels, and probably the best adapted for making converts, especially among those who have to do with the life of the household. But, if bald bare facts are in question, it is probably the least authoritative of the Four.

Jn. often intervenes to describe facts mentioned by Mk.-Mt. and omitted by Lk. But, as regards facts mentioned by Lk. alone, Jn. is either silent or gives so different a version of them (as in the case of the Draught of Fishes) that many would fail to recognise an intention to describe the same event. On this point, see the next section.

(vii.) *Jn. in relation to Lk.'s Single Tradition.*—It is only where Lk. alters, or omits, some Synoptic Tradition, or where he attempts to describe the phenomena that followed the Resurrection, that Jn. (as a rule) steps in to correct Lk. The Fourth Gospel lies outside that large and beautiful province, peculiar to the Third, which deals with the welcome of repentant sinners; and some of the words most in use with Lk.—'repentance,' 'faith,' 'rich,' 'riches,' 'divorce,' 'publican,' and (in the words of Jesus) 'sinner'—are altogether absent from Jn.

44. Its relation to Jn.

Perhaps the only important point of doctrine in which Jn. may be thought tacitly to contradict the Single Tradition of Lk. is *prayer*, as to which Lk. encourages something approaching to importunity, while Jn. so far discourages it that he avoids the very use of the word, preferring 'ask' or 'request,' and everywhere implies that the essential thing is, not that the petitioner should be importunate, but that he should be '*in* Christ,' in which case his petition *must* be granted.

Lk. aims at chronological order. Jn., while giving a new chronology, groups his history according to symbolical and spiritual principles. Lk. often removes from the old Tradition such words as Atticists might condemn; Jn. seems sometimes to prefer them,[1] and always uses a vocabulary simple even to monotony. Lk. writes what 'eye-witnesses' have delivered,' Jn. (not here dissenting, but indicating superiority) writes in the name of eye-witnesses concerning (Jn. 1 14) that which 'we have contemplated (ἐθεασάμεθα).'

So far, Jn. may be said to differ, without correcting; but on one or two points of Lk.'s Single Tradition he seems to write correctively. For example: Lk. 3 2 mentions 'Annas and Caiaphas' as 'high priests,' but Jn. 18 13 describes Annas as the father-in-law of the high-priest Caiaphas; Lk. 22 52 mentions 'g[illegible] ls of the temple,' but Jn. 18 12 'the chiliarch.' Lk., alone of the Synoptists, mentions Martha and Mary together. Mary, he says, was seated at Christ's feet; Martha was 'troubled' (θορυβάζῃ, Lk. 10 41) 'about much serving. Jn. does not contradict this, but he presents us with a different aspect of Martha. Mary, he says, was sitting at home with the Jews; Martha went to meet Jesus, and made a confession of faith in him, and induced Mary to come forth also to meet him.

In two or three instances, Jn. represents as an *act* what Lk. represents as a *word*. *E.g.*, Lk. 22 27 ('I am in the midst of you as he that serveth') is parallel to Jn. 13 1-5, where Jesus 'serves'; Lk. 22 32 ('I have besought for thee') seems parallel to the prayer to the Father in Jn. 17 15 ('keep them from the evil one'). Perhaps we may add Lk. 23 46 ('I commend my spirit') and Jn. 19 30 ('he delivered up [παρέδωκε] his spirit').

(*c*) THE JOHANNINE GOSPEL.—The Fourth Gospel has been the subject of various (i.) hypotheses of authorship. The internal evidence for these (apart from direct statements) is derivable from (ii.) names, allusions, etc.; (iii.) style; (iv.) structure.

45. Jn.: authorship.

(i.) *Hypotheses of authorship.*—The Gospel states that (21 20 24) 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' is the witness and writer[2] of 'these things,' adding 'and we know that his witness is true.' A comparison of several other passages leads (by a process of elimination) to the inference that the author—writing perhaps with some co-operation or attestation of others—was John the son of Zebedee. But the belief that the apostle originated the Gospel is compatible with a conviction that he did not compose or write it in its present shape.

'the former treatise,' *i.e.*, Lk.—was completed during the apostle's life. But although Acts may incorporate documents written while Paul was living and left unaltered by the compiler, the compilation may have been made many years after the apostle's death.

1 Of these *(3)* and (4) demand no special mention; (1) must be classed (§ 32 and § 47) with Jn.'s draught of 153 fishes, which is symbolical; (2) will be discussed with the Raising of Lazarus (see below, § *58*). As to *(5)* (described by WH as not a part of Lk.'s gospel, but as one of 'the most precious among the remains of' an 'evangelical tradition' 'locally current beside the Canonical Gospels,' and as being 'rescued from oblivion by the scribes of the second century') see 5 *62 (4)*.

2 The same word ἀποκαθιστάναι means 'restore' *a sword* in Jer. 29 (Heb. 47) *6*, and *a limb* in Lk. *6 10*. The solution is unconsciously suggested by Ephrem (236-7): Justitiam (*i.e.* gladium) *in locum suum reduxit* . . . Aurem *in locum suum restituit*.'

3 Cp Lk.'s accounts of the two Missions *(a)* 9 3-5 (*b*) 10 1-12 with Mt.'s account of the single Mission (Mt. 10 7-15), and it will be found that (*b*) is almost entirely made up of that portion of Mt. which does not occur in *(a)*.

4 See above, § 19.

5 Confusion between a verb and its causal form produces many variations in the LXX (Gen. *32* 23 Num. 20 *27* Jer. 15 16 etc.), and probably explains many Synoptic variations; cp Mk. 2 19 Mt. 9 15 δύνανται νηστεύειν (Mt. πενθεῖν) with Lk. 5 34 δύνασθε . . . ποιῆσαι νηστεῦσαι; Mk. 9 2 Lk. 9 28 Mk. *11 7* Lk. 19 35. A great many instances occur in Theodotion's and the LXX version of Daniel (1 5 [στῆσαι, στῆναι] 11 2 13 *16*, etc.).

6 See above, § *10 n.*

1 *E.g.* κράβαττος, κολλυβιστής, πιστικός (as used in Mk. 14 3).

2 The text is uncertain. There may have been originally a distinction between 'the witness' and 'the writer': 20 31 has simply 'hath been written,' and *19 35* simply 'hath witnessed.'

For example, the teaching of the aged apostle may have been taken up by a disciple or 'interpreter,' and may have been ultimately published by the latter, as Peter's is said to have been recorded and, circulated by Mark (see below, § 65), Peter's 'interpreter. If, as Irenæus says John the apostle wrote the Apocalypse about A.D. 96, the' difference of style between that and the Gospel would necessitate a very lon interval to admit even a possibility that he wrote the latter5 Suppose the apostle to have been ninety, or, say, only eighty-five, when he wrote the Apoc., and concede an interval of only ten years to allow him to learn a new kind of Greek, change his vocabulary, and adopt a new style, new thoughts, and a new tone, yet this brings us to 106 A.D. and the apostle to the age of a hundred or ninety-five. Is it probable that one so aged could retain powers of memory and expression sufficient for the mental construction, or even the literary expression, of *a* work in which, as will he shown, every word is weighed and every detail adapted to a spiritual purpose? The improbability is increased by the tradition (reported by Jerome) that towards the close of his life the venerable apostle bad to he carried into the midst of the congregation and could do no more than repeat over and over again the injunction 'Love one another.'

If this was so, John's Gospel would nevertheless continue to be preached, probably by one or more of his 'elders,' preaching in his name, say from A.D. *98* to A.D. 110 or A.D. 115. Then it becomes easy to understand how the individuality of an 'interpreter' may have combined with the force of new circumstances—attacks from philosophers without conflicts with incipient Docetism within—to mould the oral Johannine Gospel into its present shape, first without an appendix, and then, when the nominal author had passed away (say A.D. 108), with the additional chapter that, in effect, alludes (21 23) to his death. Who this 'Elder' or 'interpreter' may have been we cannot now discuss.[2] For the present it must suffice to point out that, as the Muratorian Fragment enrolls among the canonical books the *Wisdom of Solomon*, though admitting it to have been written not by Solomon but by Solomon'sfriends 'in his honour,' so a pupil and 'interpreter' of John, committing to writing a Johannine Gospel, might deem it a merit to ignore his own part in the composition, and to impute it as a whole to his master and teacher. The alternative was to do as Lk. had done : to use 'I' and 'me' in the preface, and to explain that the writer received his doctrine from the aoostle. That, however, was an innc vation. The first two Gospels given o signs of authorship. The Fourth Gospel differs from the 'hird in method, arrangement, and system, as well : in matters of fact and views of fact. Lk.'s novel precedent even stimulate the Johannine 'interpreter' to merge his own authorship in that of the apostle, or, rather, in that of 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' and whom he perhaps regards as a pattern and type of true discipleship.

Some of these points will be more fitly discussed under External Evidence. What has been said above is intended to guard the reader against assumptions fatal to unprejudiced criticism.

For example, it is commonly assumed (1) that the author must be an eye-witness or a forger ; (2) that if he knows *some things* not known to the Synoptists he must know *everything* known to an apostle and must *be* an apostle; (3) that the minute details with which the narrative abounds are signs of an eye-witness with a taste for the picturesque, and of an ear-witness with a keen sense of the dramatic.[3] On the contrary, (1) if the writer is a disciple regarding himself as the pen of a teacher, he is not to he regarded as a forger ; (2) if the writer received from John the apostle some things not known to the Synoptists, it does not follow that he received everything, still less that he must himself be an apostle ; (3) if, among a vast store of details of name and number (such as might naturally drop from the lips of a very old man in oral accounts of reminiscences) he selected those which lent themselves to a symbolical meaning, it does not follow that he was an eye-witness or ear-witness; and it may even be that he would have regarded picturesqueness as an impertinence approximating to profanity in one who was attempting to write a Gospel that should be a New Testament 'Scripture'

(ii.) ***Evidence from*** *Names, etc.* —Here we consider (*a*) *Names*, (*β*) ***Numbers***, *and* (*γ*) *Quotations*.[4]—(*a*) Names of places in Jn. divide themselves into two classes : first, the well known ; second, the obscure and contested. Concerning the former, Jn. mav be shown *to* write mostly from biblical, or literary, not from local, knowledge. The latter he mentions only when they are adapted for symbolism.

***& Jn.'s proper names.**

For example : (1) that Jesus (8 20) 'spake in the Treasury' is an error (so far as we know) arising from a supposition that what held in the days of Nehemiah (10 37-39 and cp Neh. 13 5) held also in the time of Christ;[1] that the temple was built in (2 20) 'forty and six years' was a false inference[2] from Ezra 1 *1* about the second temple. (2) That Jesus (18 1) crossed the Kidron may very well have happened; but the fact appears to he introduced as a parallel to David, who similarly (2 S. 15 23) crossed the Kidron in mourning to return in triumph. (3) The mention of the cornfields of Sychar, or Shechem, far from implying an eye-witness, might have been made by any reader of Philo (1 471) familiar with Gen. 4915. (4) Dialogues between a Samaritan and a Jew about 'this mountain' (Gerizim) as compared with Mount Sion, existed among the Talmudists, and it was the custom to place the scene at the foot of the former near Shechem.[3] SYCHAR (*q.v.*) appears to have been an opprobrious name for Shechem (see § 54, *γ*) ; it adapted itself to the dialogue on 'the living water.' (5) As for the alleged familiarity with Capernaum and its 'sea,' it reduces itself to this, that the writer knew Capernaum to he on the sea-shore, so that people would 'go down' to it, and knew that the sea was large enough to allow men to row—under stress of weather and not necessarily in *a* straight direction—for (6 19) 'twenty-five or thirty furlongs.'

Passing to 'obscure and contested' places, we find (6) in (323) 'Ænon near to Salim' [the var. loc. 'Salem' is cited] (*i.e., Fountains* near to *Peace'*), a reference to the Baptist's purification by water as a preparation for the higher purification of Melchizedek, king of Salem (or *Peace*)—*i.e.*, Christ. Cp SALIM. As for (7) the corrupt passage4 relating to Bethesda, Bethzatha, or Bethsaida, the most probable supposition is that Jn. wished to describe some place of bathing or purification in Jerusalem., that the Jews themselves (Wetst. *ad loc.*) called a bathing place by the Greek-derived name *probaté* ('sheep-pool'), and that a kindred name appeared to he applied to a pool in Jerusalem by Nehemiah.[5] Lastly (8), the pool of Siloam, and its spiritual interpretation—which Jn. introduces in the healing of the man horn blind, the type of the converted Gentile world—would he known to every reader of Is. 86.

(*β*) Numbers—If the man at Bethesda represents sinful Israel, his 38 years of waiting might correspond to the 38 years that elapsed before Israel (Deut. 2 14) 'went over the Brook Zered.'[6] The 153 fish, according to Philonian principles,'?would mean (as explained by Augustine) the Church as evolved from the Law and the Spirit. The 6 water-pots 'containing 2 or 3 firkins apiece' (after the Jews' manner of purifying) represent the inferior dispensation of the week-days—*i.e.*, the Law—preparing

47. Its numbers.

[1] The Apocalypse contains much internal evidence (*e.g.* the reference to cheap wine and dear corn in Rev. 6 6) for placing at least part of the work in the reign of Domitian. The ancient external evidence for the Domitian date is singularly strong. Cp APOCALYPSE.

[2] See JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE.... If it was John the Elder—a contemporary who, as Eusebius (iii. 396) tells us, was confused with the apostle—the imputation of the Gospel to John the apostle might he more easily explained.

3 Some critics actually extend this last inference to the dialogue with the Samaritan woman at which *no disciple was present* !

4 In order to appreciate what follows, the reader must remember (1) that every name, number, detail, and even syllable in Scripture, was generally supposed in Rabbinical tradition to have some spiritual significance ; (2) that this significance or symbolism was reduced to a system by the Alexandrian Jews (see Siegfried and Drummond on *Philo*); (3) that Jn. (as will he shown in foot-notes to this section) was familiar with the Philonian teaching.

Further, how little security there is that names would he accurately preserved in passing from Hebrew to Greek (not to speak of the gulf dividing an oral tradition from Gospels written, say, A.D. 65-110) may be seen by comparing two books of 𝔊B in the circumstances most favourahle to accuracy, viz., *where 60th translate the same Hebrew original by which errors might be corrected.* Cp (*a*) 2 Ch. 35 8 15 with (6) 1 Esd. 1 8 15 : (*a*) Ιειηλ (6) Ησυηλος, *u.8* : (*a*) Αιμαν, Ιδειθωμ (6) Ζαχαριας, Εδδεινους, *v.* 15. Similar discrepanciesahound in *1* Esd. and 2 Esd. It was inevitable that variations in obscure Gospel names should abound at the beginning of the second century, leaving it open to the writer to choose that form which seemed most suitable.

[1] Neh. 10 39 might give the impression that 'the children of Israel,' when bringing their offerings into 'the Chambers,' were allowed to enter the treasure-house. Mk. 12 41 ('*over against* the Treasury') is correct, and so is Josephns (*BJ* v. 5 2, *Ant.* xix. 6 1). But no unofficial person was, in Christ's time, allowed '*in* the Treasury.'

[2] See the *Classical Review*, '94, pp. 89-93, and the *Chronology* of Eusebius (ii. 81). A pious Jew would regard Herod as repairing, not as 'building,' the temple. A historian would say, with Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11 5), that Herod built his part of the tempie 'in eight years.'

[3] *Hor. Hebr.* on Jn. 4 20.

[4] The RV rendering 'by the sheep (gate)' is unsupported by any instance of a similar ellipse in Greek literature, and is indirectly condemned by Eusebius and Jerome.

5 See Neh. 3 15 𝔊, '*the pool of the fleeces* for the shearing of the king.' 'Sheep' in Philo (1 170) represent the irrational passions. The sick man in Jn. typifies sinful Israel (Jn. 514 sin no more') waiting for the intermittent purification of the Law (typified by the intermittent pool).

[6] 'Thirty-eight' ***does** not **occur in** the whob of the Bible* ***except in*** *these two places.*

7 The Law = 10 (the ten commandments): the Spirit (Rev. 14 31 etc.) = 7. According to Philo (1 10), the fulfilment of any potentiality, say 3, is 1+2+3 ; the fulfilment of *4* is 1+2+3+4. The fulfilment of 10+7 (or 17) is 1+2+3 . . . +17, *i.e.* 153 :—absurd of course to modern readers, but a systematic result of Philonian interpretation, and not thought absurd by Augustine.

the way for the perfect dispensation of the Sabbath—*i.e.*, **the** Gospel—of which the wedding feast at Cana is a type. Peter (21 8) swims over 200 cubits,[2] a number that represents (Philo on Gen. 5 22) repentance. The 'five porches' in Bethesda represent the five senses of unredeemed humanity—*i.e.*, the unregenerate passions—and so the 'five husbands' of the Woman of Samaria represent what Philo calls 'the five seducers,' who lead the soul from its union with God.

(γ) Quotations.—Quotations from OT (rare in the Gospel, and non-existent in the Epistle) are condensed and adapted to the context. Almost all differ both from the Hebrew and from the LXX, even where these agree. For the most part, Jn. quotes the OT as illustrating fundamental tendencies or pointing to types.[3]

48. Its OT quotations.

The words **(10 34)** 'I said ye are gods' are taken to indicate that all men who have received 'the Word of God' are in some sense divine. **(8** 17) 'The testimony of two men is true' means that in the spiritual world, as in the material, experience is the test of truth; so that he who can produce the results he aims at is proved to he—so far as the province of the action extends—in the region of truth having the testimony of *'two'* (himself and God, or himself ahd Nature). From first to last this Gospel ahounds in allusions to the OT and is permeated with Jewish tradition, but the author seems to have shared in the growing dissatisfaction felt by Jews with the LXX at the beginning of the second century, and to have been largely influenced by Christian traditions of free quotation.[4]

(iii.) *Style.*—The Fourth Gospel abounds in iteration—sometimes (a) double, sometimes (β) triple, sometimes (γ) of the same statement expressed positively and negatively—quite different from anything in the Synoptists.

49. Its style.

(1 20) 'He confessed, and (γ) denied not, but (a) confessed'; (3 20 *f.*) 'everyone that doeth ill . . . cometh not to the light . . . but he that doeth the truth (γ) cometh to the light'; (10 7 9) 'I am the door of the sheep. . . I am (a) the door.' (a) In the Baptist's testimony, and at the beginning of the Gospel, the iteration (with or without slight variation) is often twofold—*e.g.*, 1 31 33 'I knew him not' (twice), and cp 3 31 4 23 *f.* 6 39 *f.* 6 35 48 etc. (β) But not infrequently—with the aid of question and answer, or other slight variations which have a meaning besides breaking the sense of monotody—the effect of a threefold iteration is produced, as when Jesus is predicting his Resurrection (16 16-19), where the words 'A little while and ye shall see me,' are repeated thrice, and 'a little while' seven times. So the words of Mk. and Mt. '(cometh) *after* me'—rejected by Lk.—are converted by Jn. (1 15 27 30) into a triple testimony from the Baptist to the pre-existence of Christ.

Westcott rightly calls attention to the triple repetition **of** 'these things' in **12** 16, where the allusion is to an unconscious fulfilment of prophecy; but in fact the Gospel ahounds with such instances (3 3-7 6 54-57 **8** 55 **10** 15-18 16 13-16 18 34 *f.*); and sometimes the repetition refers not to words hut to acts. Thrice did Jesus (7 28 37 12 44) 'cry aloud (ἔκραξεν)': thrice (6 5 11 41 17 1) raise his eyes to heaven, and always as a prelude to some sublime mystery of act or utterance. The writer implies that Jesus manifested himself to the disciples after the Resurrection by many signs; but he selects three, and, of the last, he says (21 14) 'This is now the third time . . .'

Numerical groupings, in threes, fives, sevens, etc., are frequent in the Talmudists; and something similar has been indicated (§ 34 *n.*) as present in Mt. But in Jn. we find repetition rather than grouping. Now Jn. differs from the Synoptists (and shows some resemblance to the Apocalypse) in being from first to last a 'witness,' whether from the Evangelist, or the Baptist, or the Son, or the Father; and it expressly distinguishes between (3 12) 'earthly things" and 'heavenly things,' to both of which Christ 'hears witness.' Hence we are led to ask whether Jn.'s twofold iteration may not he a kind of verbal image of the principle that 'The testimony of *two* men is true' (referring to the earthly witness of the Son attested by the co-operation of the Father). Again, the occurrence of threefold iteration in references to the Resurrection and other mysteries, recalls the mention (in the Epistle) of the 'Three that bear witness on earth,' (1 Jn. 5 7 *f.*) 'the Spirit, pnd the Water, and the Blood,' which three 'make **up** the one. Here the witness, though 'on earth,' yet testifies to a 'heavenly' mystery, namely, to the essence and redeeming powers of Christ. Thus, once more, we are led to ask whether this juxtaposition of twofold and threefold iteration may be neither accident nor tautological blemish, hut the result, partly of a style formed in the schools of Jewish thought, partly of a deliberate purpose to direct the spiritual reader to distinguish between the things of earth and those of heaven. And the question is almost changed into an affirmative inference, when we find Philo commenting on the distinction (1 284 *f.*) between the Lord's speaking 'once' or 'twice, and declaring—in allusion to Dent. 19 15 ('*two* witnesses or three') —that (1 243) 'A holy matter is proved by three *witnesses*.'[1]

50. Jn. a 'witness.'

Probably, also, the combination of positive and negative was based on principles of Midrash.[2]

It may be objected that such a style would be highly artificial, whereas Jn.'s style is simplicity itself. Rut, in the first place, what might seem artificial for us might be a second nature for those bred amid Jewish and Alexandrian traditions of the interpretation of the OT; and, in the second, though Jn.'s words are as simple as those of Tennyson's *In* Memoriam, his *style* is not simple.

51. Its ambiguities.

There are more ambiguities in Jn. than in all the rest of the Gospels put together,[3] so that sometimes it might almost seem **as** if he intended to leave his readers to choose between several possible meanings, or even to decide according to their impressions, whether the Evangelist or some other is speaking. Moreover he abounds in subtle variations—impossible to render in English, and wholly wanting in the Synoptists—between Greek words such as: (21 15 *sq.*) φιλῶ and ἀγαπῶ ('Simon, . . .

[1] For this mention of 6, in connection with 2 and 3, cp Philo 2 281: 'The number 6 . . . composed of 2×3, having the odd as male, and the even as female, whence originate those things which are according to the fixed laws of nature. . . What the number 6 generated, that the number 7 exhibited in full perfection.'

[2] The number 200 occurs again **(6** 7) in the old tradition derived from Mk. 6 37: 'two hundred pennyworth of bread.' This is a good instance to show how Jn. may (as often elsewhere) have retained an old tradition that adapted *itself to* spiritual interpretation, as if to say, 'Not all the repentance in the world could suffice to *buy* bread to feed, the Church; it must be received as the free *gift* of God. On the other hand, in mentioning **(12** 5) 'three hundred pence' (see Philo on Gen. 6 15), Judas Iscariot unconsciously (like Caiaphas, 11 49), testifies to the completeness of 'the offering of sweet savour which represents (as 300 does in Philo) the harmony between God and man, or the symmetrical body of Humanity, so that it is here appropriate to the perfect sacrifice of Christ, and the consequent unity of the Church in his body.'

[3] Jn. 19 24 appears at first sight to resemble Mt.'s quotations in being an instance of minute and exact fulfilment. But the 'vesture' is the Church, which is not to he 'rent,' and there is also **a** reference to the Logos, which keeps the Church together (Phil. 1 562) 'Nor shall he rend his *garments* (Lev. 21 10), for the Logos of the spiritual Universe . . . keeps all its parts in union.'

[4] Perhaps also he did not know Hehrew enough to render the OT with that exact accuracy which was attempted soon after his days in the version **of** Aquila. That a writer might be familiar with Hehrew tradition hut not with the Hebrew language, is proved by the example of Philo.

[1] Cp *Hor. Hebr.* **184** for a quaint illustration of the 'twice' and 'thrice' (the 'twice' apparently denoting earthly confirm; ation, and the 'thrice' the 'holy matter'). Siegfried **(p.** 168) gives **as** a Philonian rule, that 'Scripture points to a deeper meaning by doubling *an expression*,' and adds that this is '**a** principle of Midrash.' It might he a mere accident that Jn. rejects the Synoptic '(Jesus) answering said' and always prefers 'answered and said.' But note that, in the Synoptists! Christ always says 'Verily'; in Jn., always 'Verily, Verily. Both can hardly be right; for who can believe that Christ used sometimes one, sometimes the other, and that the Synoptists by a mere accidental coincidence, rejected all the sayings that contained the latter, whilst Jn. rejected all that contained the former'? Yet, if Jn. added the second 'verily' without additional meaning, he was guilty of tautology, which Philo calls **(1** 529) the vilest kind of 'macrology' (μακρολογίας τὸ φαυλότατον εἶδος, ταυτολογίαν), denying its existence in the OT. Moderns may think this a trifle; but the question is, not what they think but, what was thought by **a** Jew A.D. 95-115. To him, no word in 'Scripture' could be trifling.

This distinction between the heavenly and the earthly, represented by threefold and twofold rhythms, is perceptible at the very outset (1 1 *f.*), where the three clauses about the Logos, followed by their summary in one clause—suggesting the Three 'heavenly' Witnesses, who are One—are followed by the account of the 'man, named John,' of whom it is *twice* said that he (1 7 *f.*) 'came to hear witness of the light.'

[2] On the Positive and Negative, see the Canon of Sohar, a treatise of suspicious origin but containing very ancient elements —(Grätz, *Hist.* 4 16), 'All laws of the Torah . . . resolve themselves into the mysteries of the masculine and the feminine principle (positive and negative). Only when both parts meet together does the higher unity arise.' As regards what may be called the Canon of the Twofold witness, see Schöttg. (2 362) (on **Ex.** 31 16): 'It (the Sabbath) is mentioned *twice* because of the Shechinah *above* and below,' *i.e.*, in Johannine language. to attest it in the name of the Son and of the Father: and see the comment on Gen. 5 1 (*ib.* 1 671): 'Behold *two* Adams are named in this section: one is the mystical *celestial*, the other is the mystical terrestrial' So Philo (on Ex. 25 13 14) speaks of 'duo verba divina' or '*duplicis mundi* rationes.'

[3] The **first** chapter alone suffices to prove this (1 3 5 9 15 16 50). Especially difficult is it to decide whether his verbs are used affirmatively, interrogatively, or imperatively **(5** 39 **12** 19 **14** 1 **15** 18 27 **16** 31 **20** 29); and his ὅτι may often mean 'that' or 'because' (3 21 5 28 7 52 etc.).

lovest [ἀγαπᾷς] thou me?' followed by 'Simon, . . . art thou *my friend* [φιλεῖς]?') and (*ib.*) οἶδα and γινώσκω ('Thou ***knowest*** [οἶδας] that I am thy friend [φιλῶ]' followed by 'Thou *knowest* [οἶδας] all things, thou *understandest* [γινώσκεις] that I am thy friend [φιλῶ]'). Similar distinctions are drawn between the meanings of ποιῶ and πράσσω, between θεωρεῖν, ὄψεσθαι, ἰδεῖν and βλέπειν, and between the aorist, and present, and subjunctive.[1] All these are natural in an Alexandrian Jew familiar with Philonian philosophy and so long habituated to Greek as to be able to play on its words and utilise to the utmost its minute differences of grammatical expression.

(iv.) *Structure.*—(*a*) *The Gospel, as a whole.*—The Fourth Gospel (Westc. on Jn. 12 1) 'begins and closes with a sacred week.' The (week' has to be deduced from a careful reading of the context. But this is a characteristic of the Gospel, distinguishing it from the Apocalypse. In the latter, symbolism is on the surface: in the former, latent. The word 'seven' occurs about fifty-five times in the Apocalypse (*e.g.*, 'seven spirits,' 'stars,' 'angels,' 'vials,' etc.); in the Gospel never. None the less, as might be expected in a work that opens with the words 'in the beginning,' so as to suggest a parallel with the seven days of Creation and Rest, the thought of the perfect 'seven' pervades all Jn.'s highest revelations of the divine glory.[2]

52. Its systematic structure.

There are seven miracles or 'signs.' There is a sevenfold witness (West. xlv.) of (1) the Father, (2) the Son, (3) the Son's works, (4) Scripture, (5) the Forerunner, (6) the Spirit, (7) the Disciples. In the final discourse—a Deuteronomy in which Jesus reviews his 'testimony,' the clause ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν (which occurs nowhere else in the Gospels) is repeated seven times. So is the noun 'love' (which the Epistle mentions as the very Name of God).[3] Lastly, the sacred words, I AM, used (8 58) absolutely to represent the eternal being of the Son, are combined with seven predicates to represent seven revelations: (1) the Bread, (2) the Light, (3) the Door, (4) the Good Shepherd, (5) the Resurrection and the Life, (6) the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and (7) the true Vine.

(6) ***The Details.***—(1) The Prologue is based on ancient traditions, describing[4] Wisdom as having taken part with God from the beginning in the creation, and predicting the accomplishment of God's 'truth and grace,' and the 'tabernacling' of his glory among men.[5] These traditions Jn. concentrates on Christ. Only, instead of calling him Wisdom, he prefers the term Word,[6] more commonly used in the OT.

53. Prologue.

The Synoptists begin their Gospels by saying in effect (Mk.) 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . was John[7] (ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης),' or by tracing the descent of Jesus to (Mt.) Abraham or (Lk.) Adam. Jn. goes farther hack, saying that the Word '*was* (ἦν) in the beginning, and . . . was God,' and that the 'man' John merely (Westc. on Jn. 16) '***arose***, or *came into* ***existence*** (ἐγένετο).' He then turns to nature and history. 'What has been (γέγονεν) in the Word,' he says, 'was (ἦν) Life, and the Life was (ἦν) the Light of men.'[1] Alluding to the name by which the Jews called the Messiah (the Comer, ὁ ἐρχόμενος), Jn. tells us that the Light has been ever from the beginning (1 9) 'coming' to the world, but that at last, as the Psalmist had predicted, the Word 'tabernacled' among men, and they beheld his 'glory.' But what 'glory'? Not that of material splendour, but that of 'grace and truth.'[2] These words introduce a parallelism with the OT.[3] The same Logos who has given light and life to men has also given 'grace' and 'truth' to Israel; (1 17) 'The Law was given through Moses, the *grace* (thereof) and the ***truth*** (thereof) were through Jesus Christ.'[4] See TRUTH.

Having prepared us by a parenthesis (1 14, 'the glory as of an only-begotten') *to* ***conceive*** of an 'only-begotten,' and of a 'glory' in the unity of divine love, exceeding all Hebraic notions of the splendour of prophetic signs or visions, and all Hellenic notions of wisdom, he now concludes by saying that it is not (as Job had said) God who has 'declared' Wisdom, it is (1 18) the Only-begotten in the bosom of the Father who has 'declared (ἐξηγήσατο)' God.

(2) The Bridegroom.—This section contains the Doctrine of Water: 1st, the Water of the Law superseded by the Wine of the Gospel; 2nd, the Water of Purification 'from above'; 3rd, the Water of Life that quenches the soul's thirst. The three scenes of these subsections are severally Galilee, Jerusalem, and Samaria.

54. Doctrine of water.

(*α*) Galilee. After a period of (1 29 35 43 2 1) six days comes the wedding-feast at Cana,[5] where Jesus, the unacknowledged Bridegroom of the Church, after first doing justice to the 'purification of the Jews,' bids his ministers draw forth from the well[6] the water which the Governor of the Feast pronounces the best wine.[7]

(*β*) Jerusalem. The next act of the Bridegroom

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1 *E.g.* 10 38: ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ γινώσκητε 'that ye may know and grow in knowledge.' A difference is also kept between πιστεύωσι and πιστεύσωσι.

2 There are indications that Jn., in writing his Gospel about the New Genesis or regeneration of man, had in view the ***Great Announcement*** of Simon Magus, who (see below, § 91), allegorising the Pentateuch, discerned in the five books a reference to the five senses, and in the whole a description of the second creation. If so, it is to the point to remember that the Talmudists (Schöttg. ii. *363)* found a mystical meaning in the sevenfold repetition of 'the cloud'—*i.e.*, the Shechinah—in the Pentateuch.

3 Owing to the variation of MSS, it is impossible to speak with certainty as to the repetition of ὁ Θεός as the ***subject, representing the divine Creator.*** There is fair evidence, however, for its sevenfold repetition, and still better for that of ἔν in the words of Jesus, *expressing* ***the divine unity.***

4 Prov. 8 1-36 Job 28 12-28. The latter declares that God alone 'hath seen and declared (εἶδεν καὶ ἐξηγήσατο)' wisdom.

5 Mic. 7 20 Ps. 85 9-11.

6 Thus he leaves it an open question—to be answered in what follows concerning the person of Christ—as to the ***nature*** of the Word. 'Wisdom' would have closed the question by giving it a *too* narrow answer. Note that Jn., alone of the Evangelists, ***never uses the word*** '*wisdom*,' though it is found (four times) in the Apocalypse. He regards God as a Spirit, permeating, attracting, and harmonising all that ***is***, and especially all that ***is*** in the sphere of righteousness. To call such a being 'Wisdom' would be bathos. In the Epistle he prefers 'Love.'

7 WH vol. ii., on Mk. 1 1, say that 'several fathers' connected the words thus, and this is by far the least harsh connection, whether the parenthesis (1 2 *f.*) be considered genuine or not.

1 For the connection, cp Ps. 36 9, 'With thee is the fountain of ***life***: in thy *light* shall we see light.' Also note the distinction between that which 'has been and is (γέγονεν)' ***in*** the Logos and that which 'came into being (ἐγένετο)' *through* the Logos: The former is permanent, the latter transient. This distinction is lost in the punctuation of the AV, 'was not anything made that was made?'

2 Ps. 85 9-11 after mentioning 'glory,' 'tabernacle,' 'mercy' or 'grace,' and 'truth,' goes on to personify these virtues and to describe Truth as 'rising up' from the earth, and Righteousness as 'looking down' from heaven. This enables us to understand the spiritual meaning of (Jn. 1 51) '***the angels*** of God ascending and descending on the Son of man.' They are 'grace and truth,' 'peace and righteousness,' looking down from heaven and rising up from earth. Thus was fulfilled the promise implied in (Gen. 28 12) the vision of Bethel when Jacob rested on the stone which was afterwards 'anointed (χριστός),' the type (Just. *Tryph.* 86) of, Christ. Probably δόξα ὡς (for δοξὰ ὡς) should he read with the Valentinians (Iren. 1 8 5), cp Orig. *Cels.* 668, where the context necessitates δόξα, though the text has been conformed to T.R.

3 Light, corresponds to 'truth,' as every Jew would feel who thought of the high priest's Urim and Thuminim ('light' and 'truth'), and of Ps. 43 3 'Send out thy ***light*** and thy ***truth***.' Again, the life of man: says the Psalmist (30 5), is in God's 'favour (θελήματι, more often χάρις).' Hence, what, from the point of view of nature, may be called 'light and life,' will be, from the point of view of the Law, 'truth, and favour, or grace (χάρις).

4 Cp. Barn. 5 6, 'the prophets ***having their grace from him*** *i.e.*, Christ.' For the curious expression (1 16) 'grace for grace' —*i.e.*, apparently 'grace following grace,' ***i.e.***, one 'grace' or 'favour,' after another—cp *Philo, 1342*, 'constantly bestowing his graces one after another (ἐχομένας ἀλλήλων)' (possibly based on some Jewish tradition about the repetition of 'grace in connection with [Zech. 4 7] 'the head stone,' 𝔊 ἰσότητα χάριτος χάριτα αὐτῆς.)

5 Origen takes Cana(h) to mean 'purchased possessions'; but it might mean (קנא) 'jealous' or 'zealous,' a word applied only to Yahwè as the husband of Israel. The meaning 'zeal' or 'jealousy' suits the context, and also (2 17), 'The ***zeal*** of thine house,' etc.

6 From the ***well***,' not from the 'vessels.' So Westc. ***ad loc.***

7 Philo, 1296: he that hath received from God, directly (or indirectly, through an angel), draughts of wine (ἀκράτου), will not drink out of a cistern.' See also his comment on Gen. 16 7, and his description of the Therapeutæ as (2 485) 'intoxicated (μεθυσθέντες)' with the wine of the divine love of God. Add also (1 103) 'Melchizedek' bringing forth bread and '***wine*** instead of ***water***,' and (1 683) 'the truly great High Priest, the Cupbearer of God, who, having received the draughts of grace, gives them in turn, pouring forth the libation in its fulness, namely himself.' For the 'six' vessels and the 'two or three firkins,' see above, § 47. According to Westcott's new, adopted above, the water ***in the vessels*** 'remained water,' but the water *afterwards* ***drawn from the well*** became wine; so that the filling of the vessels was a purely emblematic act. This fact, the context, the structure of the Gospel, and the traditions. of Philo, combine to indicate that the whole of the narrative is spiritual and emblematic.

is to attempt to win back and purify the unfaithful daughter of Jerusalem, typified by the temple. The Synoptists, from the human standpoint, describe the temple as 'a den of robbers'; Jn. 216, as a 'place of merchandise (ἐμπόριον).'

Herein Jn. seems to be following the prophets, who called Tyre (Ez. 27 3 Is. 23 17) 'a place of merchandise (ἐμπόριον)' of the nations—*i.e.*, as the Hebrew in the latter passage expresses it, she 'played the *harlot*.' To Jn. the greedy 'merchandise' of the priestly monopolists in the temple appeared a kind of 'idolatry' (cp. Col. 3 5)—*i.e.*, unfaithfulness to the Bridegroom—and he represents Jesus as devoured by 'jealousy (ζῆλος)' for the House of God—*i.e.*, for the true Church (his bride and his body)—and as predicting that, even though men might destroy it, it should be raised up in 'three days.'

Closely connected with this attempt to purify Jerusalem (Ezek. 16 15-35), 'the harlot,' comes the mention of a new birth by 'water and the Spirit.'[1] It is introduced as a doctrine of 'earthly things'—*i.e.*, as a rudimentary one—and in inculcating it Jn. seems to he *assuming* baptism with water, and *insisting on* baptism with the Spirit also. The full purification, which requires 'blood' (1 Jn. 5 8 'the Spirit and the water and the blood') is yet to come; but it is faintly suggested by the (2 4) 'hour,' and (3 14) 'the (brazen) serpent.'[2]

(y) Samaria.[3] From unfaithful Jerusalem the Bridegroom passes to unfaithful Samaria (the woman with the 'five husbands'). She, too, like the House of Jacob of old (Jer. 2 13-25), had played the harlot 'with many husbands,' and had gone to the waters of Shihor[4] to slake her thirst, having forsaken the Lord, 'the fountain of living waters.'

The dialogue takes place near Jacob's well. In Philo, the 'well' and the 'fountain' represent different stages of knowledge. The well of Agar represents a lower stage than that of Rebecca; Rebecca (1 249-55) supplies the camels from the 'well,' but the servant from the 'fountain,' because the latter is (1 255) 'the holy word.' The highest and best well of all is the Father of all, the Fountain of life, *ever-flowing* (ἀέναος).[5] In Jn. we find a place called (4 5) Sychar or 'drunkenness,' probably an opprobrious name for Shechem (see § 46 *a*), alluding to (Is. 28 1-7) 'the drunkenness of Ephraim,' but in any case suited to the moral of the dialogue. It is (45) 'near the place that Jacob *gave to* Joseph *his son*.' This is explained by Philo. Shechem ('shoulder') has two meanings; in connection with Gen. 49 15, where 'a certain athlete' becomes a 'husbandman,' it indicates 'labour'; but when it is mentioned as *given to Joseph*, it means (1 92) 'the bodily things which are the objects of the senses; Jesus (Jn. 4 6), 'wearied of his journey, *sat thus at the well*. So Philo (1 89 *f.*) says that Moses '*sat at the well*'—not in a cowardly retreat, but 'like an athlete recovering breath' for a new attack—an 'interesting parallel to the position of Jesus before his attack on Samaritan unbelief. It was (46) 'about the sixth hour'—the hour described by Philo (on Gen. 18 1) as fittest for the revelation of divine truth. The woman of Samaria, coming to draw water from Jacob's well, received the rebuke from Jesus (418), 'Thou hast had *five husbands*, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband.' Philo says (on Gen.36) that woman is symbolically 'the sense (*sensus*),' and (1 131) 'There are two husbands of the senses, one lawful, one *a seducer*'; but he proceeds to say that 'the seducer' acts through *the five senses*; he also (1 563) connects 'having *many husbands*' (cp Jer. 2 23, πολυανδρίῳ) with 'having many gods,' and speaks of (1 609) those 'enamoured of many gods,' who know not the one Husband, namely God.[6]

The woman (Jn. 428) 'left her water-pot (ὑδρίαν) and departed' to carry news of the Messiah. Philo differs here but in such a way as to show that the 'water-pot' is not a mere picturesque detail. He says that Rebecca (1 252) did not, like Agar, need the ἀσκός, leather skin—*i.e.* the body—to hold the water, but only the ὑδρία, 'water-pot,' which is a symbol of a heart that can hold the supreme draught. Jn.'s view may be that, as Rebecca needed not the ἀσκός, so the woman of Samaria, who had risen a stage higher, needed not the ὑδρία, having received the indwelling spring of living water.

The seed of the Gospel having been sown in Shechem, the associations of the place are changed. It is connected no longer with Jacob but with Jesus (or with Jacob in his higher stage, as a type of Jesus); no longer with 'the things of the senses,' but with 'the Husbandman.'[1] 'Jesus bids the disciples 'lift up their eyes' to look on the fields white already' with the results of his husbandry. Immediately the harvest begins. The Samaritans come from the city. Some of them had believed in Jesus (4 39) on the testimony of the woman. But Philo says that it is characteristic of a false god to exist only 'by report and convention, and *the report moreover of a woman* (1 258; ἀκοῇ, καὶ τῷ νομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀκοῇ μέντοι γυναικός).' Here it is added 'that afterwards the Samaritans (442) believed 'no longer owing to the *speaking* (λαλιάν) of the woman,' but owing to the '*word* (λόγον)' of Christ.

Jesus returns to Galilee and Cana. Thus the cycle of the Bridegroom ends in the place where it began, making way for the doctrine of Bread.

55. The Bread of Life.

(3) The Bread of Life.[2]—The healing of the sick man at Bethesda on the Sabbath, which represents the healing of Israel—not unaccompanied with (514) warning that the work might be undone—is followed by a statement[3] that the Son does nothing but what he sees the Father do. Hence, when he 'lifts his eyes'[4] before the eucharistic sign of the giving of the bread, we are prepared to hear that what he gives, the Father is really giving. It is the bread from heaven.

By placing the giving of Christ's flesh and blood early in the Gospel, and by introducing, much later, the one commandment of love, fulfilled by Christ on the Cross, Jn gives the impression of a desire to discourage materialistic views of the Eucharist: (663) 'The spirit it is that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken unto you, they are spirit and they are life.[5]

56. The Light.

(4) The Light.—The doctrine of Light, though enunciated in the Prologue, and touched on (apparently not by Jesus but by the Evangelist) in 3 19-21, is not definitely set forth by Jesus till near the middle of the Gospel (8 12), 'I am the light of the world.'

This revelation is described as being followed by a more active hostility in the enemies who now (8 37-44) seek to destroy him, revealing themselves as the children of the Destroyer. The depth of darkness (8 48: 'thou hast a devil') draws out the fullest light: (8 58 'Before Abraham was, I AM'). Then, upon

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1 Cp the introductory words in the same passage of Ez. 16 3 *f.*, 'Thus saith the Lord thy God unto Jerusalem. . . neither wast thou washed *in water* to cleanse thee; thou wast not *salted*.' 'Salt' is a symbol of the Spirit. Mk. 9 49 speaks of 'salting' with 'fire.'

2 See Philo, 1 80, on 'the brazen serpent' (the enemy of the serpent that came to Eve); it is (*ib.* 315, 317) 'the strongest virtue.' For the apparently abrupt transition that ensues from 'the serpent' to 'the living water,' see Philo, 1 82; 'The one is healed by *the brazen serpent*, the other is caused to drink that most excellent draught, Wisdom, from the *fountain* which he brought forth from his own wisdom.

3 The statement, that '(Westc. *Jn.* p. lx) 'there can be no question as to the individuality of the discourse with the woman of Samaria,' is perfectly true, if 'individuality' means unity of style and purpose. It is practically certain, however, that the dialogue did not actually occur in the exact words recorded by Jn. For (1) no disciple (48) was present; and, even if we assume that the Evangelist received an account of the dialogue from Jesus himself, (2) both Jesus and the Woman of Samaria talk in Johannine style. The same applies to the dialogue with Nicodemus.

4 *I.e.*, 'the Nile.'

5 Cp a tradition on Joel 3 [4] 18, Schöttg. 1361: 'As the first Gōēl caused a well to spring up, so shall a second cause waters to spring up.'

6 What is the sixth husband (Jn. 4 18), 'he whom thou now hast'? Philo speaks (26) of the 'six powers' of turbulence, namely, 'the five senses and uttered speech,' of which the last 'prates with unbridled mouth of countless things that should not be uttered.' If Jn. wrote in part with a view to contemporary heresies, he might very well include that of Simon Magus, who is said in Acts (8 11) to have held the Samaritans at a very early period bound in his enchantments. Justin Martyr testifies to his influence in Samaria in the first half of the second century. More probably, however, it means, primarily, religious pride and ambition (leading to hatred of truth and moral goodness), Rev. 13 5 'a mouth speaking great things,' which some might identify with Simon Magus.

1 Philo, i. 92 471, quoted above.

2 For (Jn. 4 46-54) the healing of the nobleman's son compared with Mt.-Lk.'s healing of the centurion's servant, see above (§ 17). βασιλικός may mean either 'king's servant,' or 'kinglike,' 'princely.' Origen (perhaps reading βασιλίσκος with D), regards the nobleman as representing Abraham, and the raising of the son as representing the action of the Logos in raising up Isaac, as if from the dead. If that is so, the three miracles of healing represent the action of the Logos (1) before the Law, (2) under the Law, (3) outside the Law. This 'sign' is wrought at Cana, and is (4 54) 'the second.' It terminates the section of the Bridegroom, and introduces that of health and food, or healing and the Bread of Life.

3 Philo says that (1 414) the First-born imitates the Father's ways 'looking to his archetypal patterns.'

4 Jesus thrice lifts his eyes (6 5 11 41 17 1): when he (1) gives the Bread, (2) raises Lazarus, (3) offers the final sacrifice of praise and prayer to the Father.

5 Words—but words *received into* the heart—not acts, nor miracles, are the climax of Christ's life among his Disciples before the crucifixion. He washes their feet; but Judas, like the rest, is washed, and Judas is also expressly said by Jn. (not by the Synoptists) to have received 'the sop.' Neither act makes them (13 11) '*all* clean.' They are 'clean' (15 3) 'because of *the word*' that he has spoken and they have received; Judas is not 'clean' because he has not received it.

an attempt to stone Jesus! he *'was hidden* (ἐκρύβη),[1] and went forth from the temple. This and a second (12 36) eclipse are 'two witnesses' against 'the darkness' that will not (1 5) 'apprehend the light.

Next comes the healing of the Gentile world, typified by the man who was blind from his birth.

As Naaman was sent to Jordan, so the blind man is sent to (9 7) the Pool of Siloam which represents (Is. 8 6 *f.*) the worship of the true God as distinct from the worship of false gods (see also Is. 73 22 9 11 36 2; *Hor. Hebr.* 1 365, 3 322). The Judaising inference that the Gentile world must be purified by Jewish waters—*i.e.*, by the Law—is obviated by the statement—probably implying the supersession of the Law by (Gen. 49 10) 'Shiloh'—that Siloam means 'sent.'[2] This sign is altogether different from the healing of the man at Bethesda (Israel), who is never said to believe, and who is threatened with penalty in case of relapse. The Gentile world (9 38) 'believes, so that this sign includes the creation of spiritual, as well as material, light.

The section terminates with a denunciation of the 'abiding' sin of 'the blind' who profess to lead others and who say 'we see.'[3]

(5) The Life.—The mention of the 'blind leaders' leads to the mention of the ideal Leader who 'knows' (*i.e.* loves) all that are his, and that, too, individually (10 3 φωνεῖ κατ' ὄνομα), so that they are drawn towards him as the Good Shepherd who does not drive, but leads.[4]

57. The Life.

All the shepherds and deliverers of the world that 'came' before the Logos are described as (10 8) 'thieves and robbers,'[5]

[1] Westcott has no note here, but the second 'hiding (ἐκρύβη)' in 12 36 he translates 'was hidden' (not 'hid himself') and declares it to be 'the result of the want of faith' of Christ'; adversaries; and he there refers to the present passage (8 59), as being apparently similar. The difficulty of this theory ('want of faith') here will be at once detected by embodying it in the context: 'They took up stones therefore, to cast at him, but Jesus *was hidden from them as the result of their want of faith*, and went out of the temple.'

Are there not *two* meanings: (1) one for spiritual readers (2) another for superficial? In (1), the meaning is that Christ was hidden from the *souls* of his enemies, in (2), that he was hidden from their *bodily eyes* by divine intervention. The former is *spiritual*, but gives us no clear explanation of the way in which Jesus escaped. The latter is *definitely miraculous*, but not necessarily spiritual. Jn. seems to leave it to his readers to choose. Perhaps he is here (as often) expressing dramatically what Lk. expresses non-dramatically (Lk. 19 42 ἐκρύβη 'but now *they are hid from thine eyes*'). (The meaning 'hid himself,' grammatically possible, is, from a Johannine standpoint, impossible.)

[2] Probably Jn. (as Grotius suggested) identified Siloam with the Shiloh of Gen. 49 10; cp SHILOH.

[3] Cp Philo (1 382) on the two kinds of ignorance, of which the second fancies that it knows what it does not know, puffed up 'with a false notion of its own wisdom: this 'generates *deliberate evil-doing* (ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικήματα).' It is this proud, complacent, 'and deliberate evil-doing (implying hatred and scorn of goodness), that is, in the Synoptists, unpardonable, and, in Jn., the sin that 'abideth (μένει)'—*i.e.*, cannot be effaced. (For μένει cp Jn. 15 16 1 Cor. 13 13.)

[4] The true Shepherd and the trne Husbandman (or Vine-dresser) are connected by Philo (1 300-305) in a discourse about the husbandry, or tendance, of the soul. He distinguishes between the mere tiller of the ground (who is [*ib.* 301] a 'hireling') and the real husbandman (who prunes, or encourages growth, as the case may require). So (*ib.* 304) the 'shepherd is distinguished from the mere 'keeper.' Poets, he says (*ib.* 306), call kings the shepherds of their people, but the title is rightly reserved for 'the wise.' The difference between Philo and Jn. is that the former makes no mention of 'laying down life for the sheep.'

[5] If the text is correct, 'came (ἦλθον)' means (with allusion to the Comer, or Deliverer), 'came in the character of the ideal Deliverer.' Of Gideon, Barak, David, as of Abraham, Jn. would say that they (8 56) 'saw Christ's day'—*i.e.*, they did not claim to be independent, but depended on the ideal Deliverer. But this does not explain πρὸ ἐμοῦ *'before me.'* We should expect '*apart from* me,' or 'setting themselves above me.'

A Hebrew original may have caused confusion between 'be; fore (in time).' 'before (in estimation),' and 'in the place of. Cp Ex. 20 3 *'before* me' (mg., 'beside me') πλήν, Job 3 24 4 19 'before' (mg., 'like'). Or an original Gr. tradition, δόξαν ἔχοντες ἄρχειν πρὸ ἐμοῦ (cp Mk. 10 42 δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν with parall.) might mean 'before me,' or 'above me.' Cp Justin, 1 *Apol.* 12 (ἄρχοντες πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας δόξαν τιμῶντες). Since Christ is 'the Truth,' πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας in Justin may represent a traditional version of the πρὸ ἐμοῦ in Jn. Many authorities omit πρὸ ἐμοῦ owing to the perversion of the words by heretics. Justin may have adopted a new interpretation of them.

Tatian (12 and 14), gives the name of 'robbers' to 'demons,' and adds (18) 'the admirable *Justin* has rightly denounced them as "robbers".' Either he did not remember it in the Gospel, *or* he did not, at the time of writing, recognise the

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because they did not understand that ruling implies serving and even dying. The Shepherd (10 11) 'layeth down his life for the sheep' (10 17) '*in order that* it may *be received again.*' In other words, the Resurrection, or attainment of life through death, is a law of the spiritual world a part of the Father's will. Thus Jn. anticipates the objection that, if the Shepherd dies in conflict with 'the wolf,' the wolf is victorious.

Later, the law is restated as the law of the Harvest: (12 24) 'Except it (the grain) die, it abideth alone, but if it perish it bringeth forth much fruit;' meantime, Jesus says (10 18) that he has power to take np his life as well as to lay it down, and these words naturally prepare us for a 'sign' of this particular 'power.' Such a sign is afforded by the Resurrection of Lazarus.

(6) The Raising of the Dead.—That marvellous cures (and, not improbably, revivifications) were wrought by the earliest Christians is indicated by the Pauline Epistles, by indirect Talmudic testimony, and by early Christian traditions. There are signs, however, of very early exaggeration arising from misunderstood metaphor.

58. Raising of dead in Gospels.

For example, Apollonius (Eus. v. 18 14) alleges (170 A.D.) that John in Ephesns raised a dead man. How, we ask, did this escape earlier writers—Papias for example, who records such an act of Philip, but not of Jbhn? The answer is to be found in Clem.Alex. (960), where the apostle, questioning an Elder about a young convert, receives the answer 'He is *dead.*' 'What death?' 'He has died *to God.*' The apostle reconverts the youth, who becomes 'a trophy *of* resurrection.' Similarly, whereas the churches of Gaul speak of reconverted apostates as (Eus. v. 1 45) '*the dead brought to life*' by the prayers of martyrs, Irenæus (ii. 31 2) says that, ere now, in the brotherhood, 'owing to sore need,' many have been raised by the prayers of the Church, and this, literally; and it seems highly probable that he has confused some metaphorical tradition.[1] The question arises, how early did such misunderstandings occur? 'The wicked,' says a Jewish tradition,[2] 'though living, are termed dead.' 'Let the dead: says our Lord, 'bury their *dead.*' In Chrisf's commission to the Twelve, Mt. (10 8) alone has 'raise the dead,' and afterwards (11 5) 'the dead are raised.' Yet Mt. describes Jesus himself as revivifying no one except the daughter of Jairus, concerning whom Mt. has written (9 24) 'she is not dead but sleepeth.' See JAIRUS. It is probable that Mt. has here given the actual words of Jesus, or the closest approximation to them; they were perhaps omitted by Mk.-Lk. owing to their being first literalised and then regarded as difficult or erroneous. Lk. as well as Mk. records, it is true, (7 22) 'the dead are raised' but he meets the possible objection, 'No dead have been raised,' by inserting the raising of a widow's son (7 11-17) immediately before. Including Jairus's daughter, he might now plead that the raising of *two* persons justified the plural 'are.' But—besides the suspicion attaching to the absence of this narrative not only from Mk. but also from the parallel Mt. which closely agrees with Lk.—the story suggests a misunderstanding of metaphor. In 2 Esd. 9 43 *ff.* there is a vision of a woman *(Sion)* sorrowing for the death of her 'only son' (the City or Temple). Christians would assert that Christ (Jn. 2 19) 'raised up the Temple,' or, in the language of Christian psalms and hymns, that he 'raised up the only son of the sorrowing widow.'[3] Thus the possible influence of symbolism combines with other causes[4] to oblige us to reject as non-historical Lk.'s account of the raising of the widow's son. See NAIN.

Gospel as authoritative. The saying has affinities to the Greek notion that the only lawful kingdom is that of the wise man (see Philo 2 38).

[1] (1) Eusebius, in quoting these words of Irenæus, prefixes to them (v. 7 1) ὅτι δή, 'that, *as he* says,' which (though in ii. 17 6 it introduces a statement attested by 'the canonical Acts of the Apostles') may imply, according to context, an emphasis laid on the subjectiveness and doubtfulness of what is alleged (see iv. 15 46 v. 18 6 13); (2) the words 'owing to sore need (διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον)' apply very well to apostasy, hut less well to literal death; (3) subsequently, Irenæus (ii. 32 4) implies that, whilst healing of the sick still went on (ἰῶνται), the raising of the dead was a thing of the past (ἤδη . . . ἠγέρθησαν), and that, though they had lived for some time, *none were* living *when he wrote* (παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἔτεσιν ἱκανοῖς). For the date of the Gallican letter, seventeenth year of Titus Antoninus Pius (not Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), see *E.* [illegible] *rr*, 1896 (p 111 *ff.*). The earlier date (by lengthening the [illegible]val between Irenæus and the Gallican letter) facilitates the theory that Irenæus misunderstood the metaphor. When Papias records similar acts, Eusebius, by the words (iii. 39 9) θαυμασίαν and παράδοξον, appears to indicate his disbelief in them, at least if we combine them with the following (*ib.* 11-13) 'mythical,' 'not perceiving what was figurative and mystical,' 'of very limited intelligence.

[2] 'Bĕrākhōth,' 18, 'Bĕrēshith Rabbā,' *c.* 39. The application is derived from Ezek. 21 25, 'And thou, O *deadly wounded* wicked one, prince of Israel.' The interpretation is applied to Eccl. 9 5, 'The dead know not anything.' See an article on 'The Raising of the Dead in the Synoptic Gospels' in *The New World*, '96, pp. 473-493.

[3] So Lam. 1 1 'How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is she become as a *widow!*'

[4] Lk. 7 14 *f.* says that Jesus (1) 'came near and touched the

59. Raising of Lazarus.

(7) Reserving the historical question for special treatment (see LAZARUS) it may be said here that : in spite of Martha's inferential statement in 11 39 the words of Jesus at the tomb (11 41), 'Father, I thank thee that thou heardest me,' imply that the 'hearing' was already past, and the life of Lazarus was in effect already granted to his prayers. We must, however, suppose that the narrative—though possibly based on one or more of Christ's actual works—is mainly allegorical. The great *negative* reason is the silence of the Synoptists[1] about Christ's greatest miracle, which was, according to Jn., the chief cause of both (*a*) the applause that greeted his entry into Jerusalem, and (6) the resolution of the priests to slay him.[2]

The *positive* reasons are : (1) Jn., adopting Philonian traditions of style and expression, and writing on the lines of the OT, might naturally subordinate the literal to the synibolical. For example, Philo calls the creation of Eve from Adam's rib (1 70) 'mythical (μυθῶδες).' If such was Jn.'s view, he might well think himself justified in composing a single symbolical story that might sum up a hundred floating traditions about Christ's revivifying acts in such a form as to point to him as the Consoler of Israel, and the Resurrection and the Life of the world. (2) The name of Lazarus suggests symbolism. Another form of it is Eliezer, who is, in Philo (1 481), the type of a being '*liable to dissolution and (indeed) a corpse,*' but 'held together and *kindled into life* (ζωοπυρεῖται) by the providence of God.' (3) Lk. and Jn. alone mention Martha and her sister Mary. They appear to differ in their views of the sisters; possibly they differ as to the brother Lazarus.[3] Some early writers took Lk.'s Lazarus to he a real person ;[4] and it is easy to see that traditions about the Lazarus of Lk. may have prepared the way for the Lazarus of Jn. 'Jesus,' it might he said, 'raised many from the dead. hut concerning one, Lazarus by name, he said (Lk. 16 31) : "If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe though one rise from the dead."' The next step would he to say that this prediction was fulfilled : 'Lazarus *was* raised from the dead; yet the Jews did not believe.'[5]

(8) The Preparation for the Sacrifice.—We pass to the beginning of (12 1) the week before the Passover.

60. Preparation for Sacrifice.

The anointing of Christ (12 1-8) is a kind of preparation of the lamb for the sacrifice, and the coming of the 'Greeks' to the New Temple is hailed by Jesus as a sign that (12 23) 'the hour' of 'glory' has arrived. The Voice from heaven, which the Synoptists place at the Baptism (where Jn. omits it), and also at the Transfiguration, is mentioned (12 28) here alone in this Gospel,[6] as ratifying the act of Jesus when he puts, and answers negatively the question 'What shall I say? [Shall I say] save me from this hour?' By this act, he virtually fulfills tde Law of Sacrifice, or the Law of the Harvest, which he has (12 24) just enunciated. If (*Hor. Hebr. ad loc.*) 'the prince of this world' is, in Jewish Tradition, the prince of the 'seventy' nations of the Gentiles, there is a peculiar point in the words that follow the introduction of the 'Greeks' : (12 31) 'Now is the judgment of this world, now shall *the prince of this world*[1] he cast out ; and I, if I he lifted up, will draw *all men* unto me.' But as before (8 59), with this second manifestation of light comes (12 36) a second and final eclipse (ἐκρύβη).

The unstable ὄχλος or 'multitude' of the Jews is now mentioned for the last time, quitting the stage as the devout Gentile world enters; and its last words are (12 34): 'Who is this Son of man?'

61. Last Charge.

(9) The Deuteronomy.—The public doctrine of Jesus ends when he 'cries aloud' for the third time (see above, § 49), saying that his word will judge the world and that (12 50) his word is the word of the Father.

We are now transported to a higher sphere, to the inner teaching of Christ, the revision and summary of his doctrine, the giving of the One commandment, the promise of the Paraclete, and the prayer to the Father.

It is a Deuteronomy, full of mystical allusions in which a numerical symbolism—sometimes veiled, sometimes manifest, as in the seven times repeated refrain 'These things have I spoken unto you'—is prevalent throughout. As Abraham (Gen. 18 4) washed the feet of the Three Persons and gave them food, so now the Son, or Messiah (Schottg. 2 61 *f.*), repays the debt to Abraham's children. The Talmudists, speaking in the spirit of the prophets, describe (Schottg. 2 370) the 'mansions and habitations' of God as coming to man, and Philo speaks of the Divine word and Powers (i. 249 158) 'making their home in,' and 'sharing their table with,' the devout soul, and of (i. 643) God himself as 'walking in' the souls of the perfectly purified; So Jn. teaches that the Father and the Son will (14 23) 'make their 'mansion' in the heart of the faithful.[2] As Philo, agreeing with the Talmudists warns us that (1 457) 'place (τόπος)' does not mean a region filled with matter, hut God himself, the refuge of the Universe, so Jn., by his context, teaches us that the (14 2) 'place (τόπος)' which Jesus will 'prepare' for his disciples is a home in the bosom of the Father.

All these allusive iterations of ancient traditions, and all the lines of various doctrine, converge towards Christ in his threefold character of (14 6) 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

First, in the doctrine of the Way, the disciples are taught to pray *in his* name—a clause seven times repeated.[3] Then the 'Truth,' or the 'Spirit of Truth,' introduced before, becomes the predominant element, leading to the threefold (16 8) conviction of the Spirit.[4] The two sections of the Way (or Son) and the Truth (or Spirit) terminate with a prediction of victory because the Father is with the Son; so that the latter has, in effect, already (16 33) 'conquered the world.' Last comes the doctrine of the Father himself (the Life), called (17 1) 'Father,' (*ib.* 11) 'holy Father,' and finally (*ib.* 25) 'just,' or 'righteous[5] Father.' Here 'my name' ceases and 'thy name' is introduced. Finally—with repeated references to the Church as being (17 2 6 7 10, etc.) 'that which' or 'those whom' the Father hath 'given' to the Son—the Last Words terminate in an outpouring of the Son's devotion to the 'righteous Father,' wherein his 'name' is, in effect, revealed as 'love' : (17 26) 'I have made known unto them thy *name*, and will make it known, that *the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I in them.*'

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coffin,' (2) 'the dead man sat up,' (3) 'he began to speak' (4) Jesus 'gave him to his mother.' Similar details are found in (5) 2 K. 13 21 and 1 K. 17 22 *f.*, which describe miracles of revivification performed by Elisha and Elijah.

1 Those who regard the speeches in Acts as historical would also have to explain how Paul, in mentioning the Resurrection, omits (17 31) the raising of any dead people by Christ, and, still more, how Peter (10 38), when emphasising his acts of 'healing,' makes no mention of revivification.

2 This has never been explained. Some have suggested that the Synoptists kept silence to screen Lazarus. But how could they hope to 'screen' one who was known to all Jerusalem, not to speak of the multitude of pilgrims?

3 As regards the different delineations of the sisters, see § 44. In Lk. (10 38) Martha comes first as entertaining Jesus, apparently (or certainly, see v. 1.) in *her* house; then Mary is mentioned, hut Lazarus not at all. Jn. (11 1) mentions in order Lazarus, Mary, Martha. In Jn. Mary is (*before* the anointing is narrated) 'she who anointed the Lord,' which implies knowledge of only one anointer. But in Lk. (7 37) the only woman that anoints the Lord is 'a sinner.' Again, in Lk., the anointing is in the house of 'Simon the Pharisee' ; in Jn. in the house of 'Lazarus.' Lk.'s mention (16 23) of a Lazarus in connection with the life after death in 'Abraham's bosom' suggests that there is some confusion of tradition latent under these differences and similarities in Lk. and Jn. On the name Lazarus, see above, § 10, and cp LAZARUS.

4 Iren. iv. 2 4 (see Grabe's note), Tertull. *De Anim.* 7, and the Fathers generally, regard the story as history. Lazarus is placed by *Constit. Apost.* vii. 8 7 in the same category as Job. But those who took this view, no doubt, distinguished the Lazarus of Lk. from the Lazarus of Jn.

5 A literal interpretation of the narrative is accompanied by many minor difficulties, such as the question why Jesus, after he had been informed of the sickness of Lazarus, remained beyond Jordan (11 6) 'two days.' From this and from 11 17 Lightfoot infers (*BE* 178) 'a journey which occupies *three* days,' Westcott (on Jn. 11 6) 'The journey would occupy about *a day.*' There is no solid basis for either conclusion. A full discussion of the subject would show the mystical meaning underlying these and other details.

6 Jn. takes pains to show that the Voice was not, in the popular and modern sense of the term, 'objective.' A 'multitude' was present. Those who heard anything did not hear the true thing. They heard 'thunder' or 'an angel.' See Grätz, 2 341, for the decline of the authority of the Bath-Kol.

1 Cp Lk. 10 18, 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven,' uttered on the return of 'the Seventy.'

2 Cp Is. 57 15.

3 14 13 14 26 15 16 16 23 24 26 (15 21 is obviously to be excluded).

4 The Paraclete or 'friend called in to help,' is connected by Philo sometimes (ii. 247) with the Elenchos, or Convicting Power, sometimes (ii. 155, 227) with the high priest entering God's presence to represent the Cosmos, but perhaps more often with the Spirit of the ideal Cosmos (the name Logos being given to the High Priest, see i. 501). Sometimes (ii. 227) the Priest appears as interceding with the Father of the Cosmos, hut calling to his aid the Son of the Father. Philo does not bind himself to one form of expression. The Elenchos is called (ii. 247) Paraclete ; (i. 219) god's own Logos ; (i. 195) the ideal Man or Man according to Truth (ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος). The whole of Jn.'s last discourse shows Philonian influence ; but (as usual), whereas Philo regards the intellect, Jn. regards the heart—a consequence of the belief of the latter in the incarnate Logos.

5 δίκαιος in Jn. and 1 Jn. 1 9 2 1, etc.—instead of having the narrow legal meaning implied in the Synoptists Mt. 1 19 Lk. 1 6 Mk. 2 17, etc.—means 'just' in the Platonic sense, and is *the climax of the attributes of God and Christ.*

62. Passion.

(10) The Passion (see above, § 12).—Space can be found here for only one or two points, not only peculiar to Jn. but essential to his purpose. They are connected with Christ's last utterances on the Cross, and with what followed them.

1. The words 'Eli, Eli, etc.,' recorded by Mk. and Mt., are said to have been misunderstood by bystanders at the time. Lk. omits them, and even Mk. and Mt. are at variance in the context.[1] In the corresponding passage Jn. has simply 'I thirst.'

Of course the first impulse is to take this, as the bystanders took it, in a purely literal meaning, and to say that it has no connection with Mk. and Mt. But in the Fourth Gospel the words 'bread,' 'water,' 'food,' 'eat,' 'drink,' 'feed,' and 'thirst' are hardly ever used by Jesus in the literal sense: *e.g.*, when the disciples bring him food he replies that (**434**) his meat is to do the will of the Father and accomplish his work. This suggests that in Christ's last utterance the same spiritual standard must be maintained, so that, in effect, it was the expression of a 'thirst' for that final acconiplishment of God's will which would enable him to say 'it is finished,' and then to break down the barrier of the flesh and to enter into unfettered communion with the Father (cp Ps. 68 1).

What Mk. and Mt. express in the form of (apparent) complaint, and what Lk. entirely omits (perhaps because of its difficulty), Jn. appears to express in the form of the highest spiritual aspiration. Not that he excludes the physical meaning, but (as always throughout the Gospel) he includes a spiritual meaning—that the Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father,' endured for our sakes to feel, for a brief space, as if, in a certain sense, he were not there, 'so that he 'thirsted' for the presence of God.

2. The spontaneousness of Christ's death was not clearly expressed by the two earliest traditions.[2] Lk. inserts, as uttered by Jesus, the first half of the quotation that, to this day, terminates a pious Jew's confession on his death-bed (Ps. 31 5). Yet even this was liable to the Jewish objection that it implied, as the utterer,' not a Redeemer, but' one in need of redemption. No, such objection applied to the tradition preserved by 1 Pet. 2 23 (παρεδίδου, perhaps 'gave himself up as a sacrifice'; cp Gal. 2 20 Eph. 5 2). This word Jn. adopts. But he represents Jesus not as ***saying*** this, but as ***doing*** it: (19 30) 'he *gave up* his spirit.' See above, § 20.

3. The rending of the veil is omitted by Jn., partly perhaps because, in his view (1) Christ's body is the 'Temple, and the 'veil' is his flesh, so that the piercing of his side by the soldier's spear constituted the true and essential 'rending of the veil,' but partly because (2) Jn. may have considered the Synoptic tradition erroneous.

Jn.'s tradition here explains many difficulties. Death under crucifixion did not generally ensue till after two or three days; Mk. (**15 44**) mentions Pilate's 'surprise' (omitted by Mt.-Lk.) at the speedy death of Jesus. Unbelievers, explaining Christ's resurrection as a fraud, might say, 'Pilate might well be "surprised," for death could not happen so soon.' Jn. steps in to say that it ***did*** happen, and to spiritualise the circumstances. The 'crurifragium' (see CROSS, § 6), was performed, he says, on the two criminals; but this infliction (which would have violated the ordinance about the Paschal Lamb [Ex. **12 46**]) was averted from Jesus hy his death, and the death was attested hy the piercing of his side; and thus two Scriptures were fulfilled.

It is more probable that the Synoptic account of 'the rending of the veil' should have sprung from a misunderstanding of the 'piercing of the side' than vice versa. In the earliest days of the Church, when it became customary to speak of Christ's flesh

[1] Mk. 15 36 supposes ἄφετε to be addressed by the man with the vinegar to the bystanders, Mt. 27 49 supposes ἄφες to he addressed by the bystanders to the man. See ELI, ii. Aramaic (or in D Hebrew) is confused in all the MSS. Pseudo-Peter interpret; the, words 'My Power, my Power, why hast thou forsaken me? Justin (Tryph. **125**) translates Ηλ by δύναμις, Eusebius (***Dem. Ev.*** x. **8494**,' Robinson on Pseudo-Pet. 21) translated the word in the Psalm by ἰσχύς, and Aquila by ἰσχυρέ.

[2] The word φωνήν in Mk.'s (15 37) ἀφεὶς φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐξέπνευσεν (where MSS might have φωνῇ μεγαλῇ), seems to have been, in the corrected edition used by Mt.-Lk., φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Mt. (27 50) retained ἀφείς (in the form ἀφῆκεν), hut with τὸ πνεῦμα (from Mk.'s ἐξέπνευσεν) as object. This expresses somewhat more of voluntariness. Lk. (**23 46**) goes farther. Retaining ἐξέπνευσεν in the sense of 'breathing his last,' he adds an expiession of trust on the part of Jesus.

as 'the veil' (Heb. 10 19 *f.*), it would be natural to describe the piercing of his body as the 'rending of the veil.' It is said (Joel's *Religionsblicke*, 7) that the Jews believed the veil of the Temple to have been literally rent, shortly before the capture of the City. This may have helped to literalise the veil-tradition. Christians would say to Jews, 'What you speak of, did not happen in the siege, or at least it did not happen only then; the veil ***was rent when our*** *Lord* ***was*** *crucified* by ***you.'*** Also, against the Synoptists, there is this consideration, that the 'rending of the veil,' if it had occurred, would probably have been kept a secret by the priests (who alone would know of it), and,' if it was ever revealed by any of them, would probably be revealed by zealous converts apt to make exaggerations and find coincidences.

4. The piercing of Christ's side takes us to the central thought of the Fonrth Gospel and the Epistle, namely, the love of God revealed in the Blood of Christ the Paschal Lamb.

The Epistle to the Hebrews (9 19) recognises that the old way to God was through (Lev. **14 6**) 'blood,' 'water, 'scarlet wool,' and 'hyssop,' but asserts that the *new* way was (Heb. 10 19 *f.*) simply "by the blood of Jesus.' The Epistle of Barnabas (**11** 1-8), however, will not give up the old Levitical elements: it even adds the Levitical 'wood,' which it discerns in the Cross (ξύλον), and, though not without difficulty, it brings in the notion of 'water' by speaking of the Cross (ξύλον) **as** a 'tree,' past which flows the purifying stream of baptism. In the Gospels, the 'scarlet cloak' represents the 'scarlet wool,' and the cross the 'wood'; hut the 'blood' that came from the mere piercing of the hands, or perhaps the hands and feet,[1] might well seem insufficient to express the purifying blood of the Lamb; and there was nothing at **all** to' indicate the 'water.' An early tradition inserted in Lk. (**22 44**) endeavoured to supply the 'blood of sprinkling' by relating how 'drops **as** of blood streamed from Jesus in his agony; hut still there was no mention of 'water. Yet not only did the Levitical requirements mention 'running water,' hut Zech. **13 1** predicted the opening of a 'fountain' against sin and uncleanness for Israel.[2] It is in the piercing of Christ's side that Jn. sees a revelation of the opening of this purifying 'fountain.' This completes the threefold sacrifice that Christ had made for men: (1) the invisible sacrifice of the breath, or spirit, (2) the human soul, visibly represented by the 'blood'; (3) the human body, visibly represented by water.[3]

Physically, that these details should have been seen by the eye of a disciple kept probably at some distance from the cross by a crowd of hostile spectators and soldiers, must he, if not impossible at least disputable. But, whatever *physical* facts may have been seen, the essence of the narrative is a spiritual **fact.** A revelation is vouchsafed to the beloved disciple. His eyes are opened to discern the Fountain of Life.[4] It may have

[1] In the Synoptists, the feet, too, are pierced, but not in Jn. and Pseudo-Peter.

[2] The LXX, however, reads מקום 'place' for מקור 'fountain,' so that Greek-speaking Christians would hardly be much influenced by this passage. Justin does not mention it, yet he quotes Lk.'s tradition, ***omitting*** the ***word*** 'blood,' and seeing in it a fulfilment of Ps. **22** 14 'poured ont like ***water.'***

[3] This symbolism seems to be in accordance with Philo's (1 653) describing 'ashes and water' **as** 'the origin of man's generation (γενέσεως αἱ ἀρχαί); and (2 251) the purification of the body with water as preparatory for the purification of the soul with blood. But Jn. may be also alluding to the 'mixed cup' of the Eucharist, which contained wine mixed with water. Irenaeus says that (5 1-3) the Ebionites (who denied Christ's divine nature and used water alone in the Eucharist) 'not receiving the combination of God and man into their soul,' rejected the mixing of the heavenly wine,' and did not 'receive God into their mingling (non recipientes Denm ad commistionem suam)': in other words he declares their rejection of the divine natnre in Christ to he analogous to their rejection of the wine in the Eucharist. According to this view, the wine in the Eucharist, and the blood of Christ on the cross, would represent Christ's *divine* nature. But whatever reference Jn. may have had to Ebionitism, or to a rising Docetism that rejected Christ's human nature, it seems probable that his main object is to hear witness for the Church to Christ's human nature as being completely real—in body and **soul as** well as spirit. Applied to the Eucharist, the Johannine view would recognise the body in the bread, the soul and spirit in the water and blood.

[4] Cp Ps. **36 9**: 'With thee is the *fountain of life:* in thy light shall we see light'—a passage closely connected with a key-passage in the Gospel (1 4): 'The *life* was the *light* of men,' and cp Rev. **21 6**: 'I will give unto him that is athirst of the ***fountain*** of *the water of life* freely.' Also cp Rev. **22 1**: a 'river of water of life . . . proceeding out of the throne of *God* and *of* the Lamb.' It was a saying, older than the Fourth Gospel, that (Barn. 8 5) 'The kingdom *of* ***Jesus is on*** the tree' (or ***Cross,*** ἐπὶ ξύλου: cp Justin, 1 *Apol.* **41**, *Tryph.* 73, 'The Lord hath ***reigned*** from the tree'). So, in Jn., the Cross—heing the place where Christ is '*lifted* ***up***' and where God is '*glorified*'—is 'the throne of God.' In Barn. **11** as in Rev. **22 2** (imitating the Pastoral picture of Ezek. **47 7** *sq.*), the Cross **is** also 'the tree (ξύλον) of life' whose leaves will heal the nations, and it is planted ***by*** *the* side ofthe river of living water. But there were varieties

been given to some one to see literally the piercing of the side and to hand down to the church of Ephesus a historical fact obscured in previous traditions. But the spiritual meaning of the act is not to be regarded or criticised from the materialistic or historical standpoint.[1] The whole of the context is spiritual in thought and mystically symbolical in expression. First there is a threefold mention of accomplishment. Then, as there were *seven* 'signs' wrought by Christ during his life, so now there are, perhaps, *seven* 'accomplishments' of OT type or prophecy that accompany, or follow, his death.[2] In the last of these, the most striking of **all** (prospective as well as retrospective, pointing backward to prophecy hut also forward to the conversion of the Gentiles, to the christianising of the Roman Empire, and to the metamorphosis of blind persecution into awe-struck adoration), the soldiers of 'this world,' coming to 'break the bones' of the Paschal Lamb, are not only diverted from their purpose, but as it were forced to 'look on him whom they pierced.'

Thus, amid mysticism and symbolism,[3] as it began, ends the Johannine life of Christ. Viewed as history, it must be dispassionately analysed so as to separate, as far as possible, fact from not-fact. No criticism, however.

63. Conclusion. ought to prevent us from recognising its historical value in correcting impressions derived from the Synoptic Gospels, and the epic power and dramatic irony with which it brings on the stage the characters and classes whereby the will of God is being continuously fulfilled, so that we find ourselves learning from Pilate to 'behold the man,' and discerning with Caiaphas that 'it is expedient that one man should die and not that the whole people should perish.' It often raises us above details of which the certitude will probably never be ascertained, into a region where we apprehend the nature and existence of a Word of Life, essentially the same in heaven and on earth, human yet divine, the incarnation of the concord of the spiritual universe. Yet, while no Gospel soars so high, none stands more firmly, more practically, below.

B. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

The External Evidence as to the authorship and authority of the Gospels consists of, I. Statements, II. Quotations.

I. Statements.

Written Gospels are neither mentioned nor implied in the NT Epistles, nor in that of Clemens Romanus, nor, probably, in that of Barnabas, nor in the *Didaché*.

i. The Third Gospel.—Lk. 1 1-4 implies *(a)* that 'many' Gospels were current, and perhaps *(b)* that their diversity was calculated to obscure

64. Statements of Lk. (*ib.* 1 4) 'the certainty concerning the things wherein' the Christian catechumen was instructed: *(c)* that whereas the apostles 'delivered (παρέδοσαν)' these—*i.e.*, *taught them orally*—'many' 'drew up a narrative'—*i.e.*, *wrote.* This points to a time when the apostles had passed away, leaving the ground open to the historians. Lk.'s qualification was, not that he had consulted an apostle and obtained his *imprimatur*, but that he had (13) 'traced the course of all things accurately from the first.' The particular defects implied in existing 'narratives' are, that they were not 'accurate,' and not in 'chronological order.'

ii. Papias, a bishop of Phrygian Hierapolis in the first half of the second century, wrote five books of 'Exposition(s) of the Lord's Logia.'[1]

(a) His *Exposition* was probably a 'setting forth' of the Logia, though it might include 'interpretation' as well.[2] By 'Logia (oracles),' he meant the Words (possibly also Including the Acts) of Christ as being 'oracularly' applicable to the guidance of man. This title was already in use to denote, in their oracular aspect, the Scriptures of the OT, and Papias here transfers it to what he regards as the 'oracles' of Christ.[3]

65. The 'Exposition' of Papias.

of tradition, and Barnabas himself quotes a saying that suggested the thought of the Cross as a Vine *from which* the juice, or blood, is dropping: (Barn. 12) 'When a tree shall bow down and rise up, and when blood shall drop *from a tree.*'

This view is developed in the later Johannine vision. The water and the blood flow *from* the Cross, or rather from Christ on the Cross. See Rev. 22 17.

1 It may be objected that the author lays stress upon 'seeing' (19 35: 'He that hath *seen* hath borne witness'). The very stress, however, indicates that 'seeing' has a spiritual signification, as in (14 9) 'He that hath *seen* me hath *seen* the Father,' (1 14) 'we *beheld* his glory'; and elsewhere in Jn. Space does not allow the exposition of the Philonian and Johannine uses of expressions relating to sight and vision, which would demonstrate this conclusion. But it may be assumed that, *whenever verbs of the senses are used by Jn. with emphasis, they are always used primarily in a spiritual significance.* 'Handling' in 1 Jn. 1 1 is no exception to this invariable rule; see above (on the 'handling' in Ignatius), § 29.

2 (1) The 'thirst,' (2) 'hyssop,' (3) 'vinegar,' (4) the 'bone not broken,' *(5)* the 'looking' on him whom they 'pierced,' are all definitely mentioned in the OT, and *(6)* the 'delivering of the spirit' may be regarded as a fulfilment of Ps. 31 5; but there is no verbal allusion either to Zech. 13 1, or to Ps. 22 14. We cannot therefore assert that 'seven' is here in the author's mind. But the structure of the whole Gospel makes it probable.

3 (19 35): '(1) And he that hath seen hath borne witness (2) and *his* (αὐτοῦ) witness is true (3) and *he* (ἐκεῖνος) knoweth that he saith true.' On the assumption (so Westcott and Alford) that ἐκεῖνος is the usual substitute for a repeated αὐτός, the sentence is strangely tautological. But may not Jn. intend ἐκεῖνος to mean Christ? The passage is the keynote to the Epistle, and in the Epistle (see Westc. on 1 Jn. 2 6) '*ἐκεῖνος is always used of Christ*' (cp especially 1 Jn. 3 16, 4 17). It is characteristic of Jn. that he should **use** the pronoun so that a superficial reader should render it in one way and a spiritual reader in another. In any case, the threefold form of the attestation appears deliberately adapted to the context describing the Three Witnesses.

1 **Eus.** iii. 39 1, τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως (al. -εων, Schwegl. conj. -εις).

2 Lightfoot (*SR* 156-57) proves that Eusebius, *but not that Papias* (*two centuries before*), uses ἐξήγησις to mean 'interpretation.' Ἐξηγεῖσθαι, in LXX and NT, means 'set forth' (not 'interpret'). In Judg. 7 15 ἐξήγησις (AL διήγησις), 'setting forth' is *distinguished from* σύγκρισις, 'interpretation.' Heretics are called by Irenæus (Pref. 1, and i. 3 6) 'bad *setters forth* (or, *expositors*) of things well said,' because they '*tamper with* (ῥᾳδιουργεῖν, sometimes = "forge" "make false entries")' the Scriptures, besides 'perverting' *interpretations* (παρατρέπειν ἑρμηνείας).' For example, the Valentinians are said to (*ib.* i. 8 1) 'transgress the order and connection of the Scriptures,' 'transposing and recasting (μεταπλάττοντες), and making anything out of anything (ἄλλο ἐξ ἄλλου ποιοῦντες).' As an instance, they asserted that the anguish of Sophia was indicated by the words, 'And what I shall say I know not,' which Irenæus apparently regarded as a heretical ἐξήγησις, or 'exposition,' of Jn. 12 27. Similarly μεθοδεύειν (Polyc. *Phil. 7)* does not refer merely to (Lightf. *ad loc.*) 'perverse interpretations,' but to 'knavish tricks,' 'artful treatment,' in '*setting forth*,' as well as interpreting.

The ἐξηγηταί of oracles in Lucian (ii. 255) deal with both ἐξήγησις ('setting forth'), and διάλυσις ('solution'): the pantomime makes his meaning so clear as to need (*ib.* ii. 301) μηδενὸς ἐξηγητοῦ, 'no one to set it forth in words.' In Aristotle's *Rhetor. ad Alex.* (30, 31) ἐξήγησις is perhaps a short *version* of facts, as compared with διήγησις a long narrative. Apollo is called by Plato πάτριος ἐξηγητής, 'the setter forth of the will of Zeus,' not because he *explained*, but because he *set forth* the Oracles, or Logia, of Zeus. In course of time, however, both among Christians and among Greeks, no new 'oracles' were forthcoming. Then the *exegetes* had to confine himself to explaining the old oracles; and so, by degrees, *exegesis* and *exegetic* assumed their modern meaning, which also prevailed in the days of Eusebius. This explains why the Alexandrine scribe altered ἐξήγησις into διήγησις in Judg. 7 15.

3 It cannot he denied that a collection of the Lord's Logia might contain nothing but his words, like the Oxyrhynchus papyrus. It is true that Philo applies the term Logion even to a *historical statement* in the Pentateuch (*e.g.*, Phi. 1 538 quoting Deut. 10 9; Phi. 1 555 quoting Gen. 4 15). But in the passage where (2 163 *f.*) he speaks of 'all things written in the sacred books' as 'oracles (χρησμοί),' he proceeds to say that they were 'oracularly delivered through' Moses, and then divides them into three classes according as they are uttered (1) in the person of God, (2) by question and answer, (3) in the person of Moses, under inspiration and control from God. This separates them, it would seem, from historical statements made by the historians themselves, in the books of Kings, Chronicles, Esther, etc. In the LXX the regular meaning of λόγια is the Words of the Lord, regarded either as *commandments to be observed* (*e.g.*, Dt. 33 9 Ps. 119 67 [sing.] 158) or as sure promises of deliverance (*e.g.* Ps. 12 7 18 31 105 19 Prov. 30 5). In NT the 'living oracles' (Acts 7 38) are those delivered from Mount Sinai, apparently referred to in Rom. 3 2; and in the only two other

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(*b*) Papias' *account of Mk.* **and** *Mt.* is as follows: **(Eus.** iii. 39 15 *f.*) "**Μάρκος** μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς **Πέτρου** γενόμενος, ὅσα **ἐμνημόνευσεν**[1] **ἀκριβῶς** ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι **τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ** roil Χριστοῦ ἢ[2] λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε **γὰρ ἤκουσε** roil Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν **αὐτῷ**, ὕστερον δέ, **ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς** χρείας **ἐποιεῖτο τὰς** διδασκαλίας, **ἀλλ'** οὐχ **ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν** κυριακῶν ποιούμενος **λόγων** (v. l. λογίων), **ὥστε** οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε[1] **Μάρκος,** οὕτως ἔνια **γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν,**[2] ἑνὸς γὰρ **ἐποιήσατο** πρόνοιαν, roil **μηδὲν** ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς." ταῦτα μὲν **οὖν ἱστόρηται** τῷ **Παπίᾳ** περὶ **τοῦ** Μάρκου. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου **ταῦτ'** εἴρηται.[3] "Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν **Ἑβραΐδι**

instances (Heb. **5** 12 1 Pet. 4 11) it means the moral precepts, or Law, of Christ. In the only two instances given in Otto's index to Justin it means (1 *Apol.* 32) **OT** 'prophecy,' or (*Tryph.* **17·18**) prophetid denunciation of woe (where the Lord's Logia against the Pharisees are coupled with the prophetic Logia of OT). Eusebins perhaps expresses his view of the meaning of Logia (**as** signifying *mainly* discourses), when he says that (Eus. *HE* iii. **24** 5) Matthew and John were the only apostles that left memorials of the Lord's **διατριβαί** a word that in sing. sometimes meant 'life' (Epict. ii. 16 29), but in pl. 'discourses' (Epict. iii. 24 5, etc.). Although the term Logia might include actions, in special circumstances, it is extremely doubtful whether Papias would have given the name, for example, to Mk. 6 14, 'And King Herod heard it, for his name had become known ; and he said John the Baptist is risen from the dead, etc.' We must there! fore he content to be uncertain how far, if at all, Papias embodied history in his 'setting forth' of the Logia, **as** distinct from the 'interpretations' and traditions which he may have added to them

Papias calls them **Κυριακά,** rather than **Κυρίου,** for obvious reasons. **Κύριος** is distinguished from **ὁ Κύριος,** in that the former pften means 'God,' whilst the latter means 'the Lord (Jesus). Λογίων Κυρίου (**ἐξηγήσεως**) might have meant 'Oracles of God'—*i.e.*, the OT (as in Iren. Pref. **1**). Τῶν Λογίων τοῦ Κυρίου ἐ. would be clear, but lengthy. **Κυριακός,** being applied to the Lords Day as distinct from the Sabbath, was exactly the fit word to distinguish the oracles of the Law of Christ from the oracles of the Law of Moses.

[1] ἐμνημόνευσεν may mean 'remembered.' But it may also mean 'mentioned.' In deciding the meaning, the usage of Papias elsewhere will be our best guide here—' In **§** 68 below, Papias uses it twice; and there Lightf. (***SR*** 143) renders it fiist 'remember' and then 'relate.' That the same word should he used in two consecutive sentences to mean quite different things is, in itself, highly improbable, still, more when Papias might have used **μεμνῆσθαι** for 'remember. The meaning 'repeat ' trach from memory,' which is absolutely necessary in the secohd, is highly probable also in the first. When a convert had been taught the Logia, his business was (Heb. **5** 12) to 'repeat' them to others. Hence, in **§** 68, Papias contrasts himself, as 'learning well and teaching (μνημονεύειν) well' the traditions of 'the Elders,' with the heretics who taught (μνημονεύειν) alien commandnients' and not those of the Lord. So Iren. i. **18** 1 of the Valentinians teaching their dogma of the decad (μνημονεύειν with gen.). Eusebius (iii. 24 12) describes the Synoptists as **μνημονεύοντες** (**with** accus.), co-ordinately with Jn. as **παραδιδούς.**

It **may** be urged that, in the LXX, μνημονεύειν means 'call to mind.' There is close connection, however, between 'calling to mind' (*e.g.* Exod. 13 3, the deliverance of the Passover) and 'commemorating.' The two words are the active and causative forms of the same Hebrew verb (**זכר**), and 𝔊 renders both ('remember' and 'make mention') by the Greek μνησθήσομαι and **ἐμνήσθην** in Ps. 77 11. 1 Macc. 12 11 speaks of 'remember-*ing*' friends in prayers, sacrifices, etc. (cp 2 Macc. 10 6), and **2** Macc. 9 21 (Tisch.), 'I would have *remembered* your good will,' means, '**I** would have acknowledged or recorded it by some act.' Similarly, in NT, Gal. 2 10, *remember* the poor' means, 'remember them in act.' So Heb. **13**7. '*remember* them that had the rule over yon, which spake'unto you the word of God,' would, **by** itself, imply what actually follows, 'imitate their faith.' So the Ephesians are bidden to (Acts 20 **31 35**) '**call** to mind' Paul's life among them, and also 'the words of the Lord Jesus.' Col. **4**18, 'remember my bonds' (following Col. **4**3, '*praying for us that God may open* unto *us a* door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ, **for** which I *am also* in bonds'), probably includes, or means, **as** in 1 Macc. **12** 11, and **as** in later Christian writers, '**remember** my bonds (in your prayers).' (For the connection between 'praying' and 'remembering,' see 1 Thess. 1 3.) In Mt. 16 9, μνημονεύετε τοὺς is probably **a** corruption of Mk. 8 16 μνημονεύετε ὅτε τοὺς. So far, in NT, with this exception, μν. takes the gen. or ὅτι : but in 1 Thess. 2 9 μνημονεύετε **γὰρ** τὸν κόπον **ἡμῶν** (best taken imperatively), the meaning is, perhaps, 'remind one another of' (**implying** 'mention'), and, in **any** case, 2 Tim. 2 8 μνημόνευε **Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,** following 2 2 ('the things *which* thou *hast heard*, commit to faithful men, who will be able to teach others), and preceding **2** 14 ('of these things *put them in remembrance*'), almost certainly means 'make mention of, or teach, Jesus Christ.' We see, therefore, in the Pauline Epistles, a commencement of the later tendency to pass from the active to the causative meaning of the Hebrew **זכר** (**μνᾶσθαι, μνείαν** ποιεῖσθαι, **ὀνομάζειν,** μνημονεύειν), from mere 'remembering' to some practical way of remembering—*e.g.*, in prayer, doctrine, preaching.

The ambiguity of the word has probably caused Clem. Alex. (following, but misunderstanding and modifying, Papias) to describe Mark as (Eus. *HE* vi. 14 6) 'remembering (μεμνημένον)' Peter's words. Iren. iii. **3** 3 **roil** Λίνου Παῦλος **μέμνηται** (***meminit***) must mean 'Paul ***makes*** mention of Linus.' Justin, *Tryph.* **117 μέμνηται** seems to mean '**a** commemoration is made.

[2] This (which is **a** very rare construction, if it occurs at all, in NT) appears to differ from **τὰ λεχθέντα** καὶ τὰ **πραχθέντα,** and to mean 'whatever originated from Christ, *either* discourse *or* action.' In the light of what follows—about the contrast between (1) Peter, who 'adapted his discourses to the needs of the occasion, making no classified collection of the Lord's Logia,' and (2) Matthew, who 'compiled the Logia—he seems to mean that Peter neither confined himself to the Logia, nor attempted to group or classify them (as Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount), but taught all that related to Christ's life, 'whether *spoken or done*'—*i.e.*, without distinguishing between his words and his deeds.

[1] He 'committed *no fault*' (not, 'he made ***no*** misfake'). This must be the meaning, as the verb is invariably so used in NT **and** almost alwpys (if not always) in OT. Cp especially Acts 25 8 1 Cor. 7 28, thou didst *not commit* ***a*** *fault* (οὐχ ἥμαρτες), also 1 Cor. 7 36. See also **Lucian,** 2 **172,** τὰ **μέγιστα** ἁμαρτάνων, *ib.* 176, **τοῖς μηδὲν** ἡμαρτηκόσι, etc., Plut. *Gracch.* ed. Holden, 51, Xen. Cyr. iii. **1**40. Papias is defending Mark against the very natural objection that he did not do the apostle justice in writing down oral and casual (or at all events ex tempore, **πρὸς τὰς** χρείας) teaching, unchanged, in a permanent book. The style that suits the former is often unsuitable to the latter. Lightfoot (*SR* 163) in calling this ('he did no wrong') a 'mistranslation' of the author of *SR*, must be thinking of the sense, not of the Greek. But, thus interpreted, it makes excellent sense.

2 ἀπεμνημόνευσεν appears to be used by Papias **as** an emphatic form of **ἐμνημόνευσεν** (used above in the sense 'repeat, or teach from memory') and to mean 'repeat *exactly* from memory.' Cp another passage, generally admitted to be from Papias, in Iren. v. **33** 3, '**AS** the Elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, *repeated from* memory (Lat. *meminerunt*),' where there can be little doubt, that the Latin points to a Greek original **ἀπεμνημόνευον** or **ἐμνημόνευον.** And a precisely parallel use occurs in the description given by Irenæus himself of the way in which Polycarp, the pupil of John and of the apostles (Eus. *HE* v. 20 6), used not only to 'relate (ἀπήγγελλε)' his intercourse with them, but also '*to* repeat *exactly* front *memory* (ἀπεμνημόνευε) their *words*.' Justin goes a step further and apparently takes ἀπομνημονεύειν to mean something distinct from traching. Influenced by his belief that the ἀπομνημονεύματα were not about the apostles but *from* the apostles, he appeals to those who (1 *Apol.* 33) 'having recorded (**ἀπομνημονεύσαντες**) all that concerned our Saviour Jesus Christ, have **taught** (**ἐδίδαξαν**) it.' And pubsequent passages show that he meant 'recorded *in writing*. There is no doubt that he was in error. But his error strengthens the evidence that ἀπομνημονεύειν in Papias means something more than 'remember.' In Lucian, **2** 8, **ἔνια** ἀπομνημονεῦσαι means to 'relate exactly, or in detail, some special instances'; (*ib.* **3** 621) it is contrasted with 'disorderly (**ἀτάκτως**)' speech, and seems to mean 'repeating what one has thought out'; (*id.* 3 419) it describes one who not only knew the exact facts but also 'repeated from memory (or? registered in memory) the exact words (**ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὰ** γεγενημένα **καὶ** τοὺς λόγους **αὐτοὺς** ἀπομνημονεῦσαι).' So Strabo 830, **ἀπομνημονεύουσι τοῦ Φειδίου,** introducing one of the sculptor's sayings.

As, therefore, Irenaeus describes Polycarp, one of John's disciples, as repeatinq exactly from memory 'John's doctrine abcut (Eus. *HE* v. 20 6) 'the mighty works (δυνάμεις)' and 'teaching (**διδασκαλίαν**)' of the Lord, so Papias appears to be describing Mark, Peter's 'interpreter,' first as 'repeating from memory (**ἐμνημόνευσεν**),' and then as 'repeating exactly from memory (ἀπεμνημόνευσεν)' the doctrine of Peter about Christ's discourses or actions, and as afterwards committing to writing what he (Mark) had thus 'repeated.'

Lightfoot translates ἀπεμνημόνευσεν here (*SR* 163) 'remembered. And the word has this meaning in a few phrases such **as** 'bear **a** grudge against,' etc. But (1) there is no notion here of 'grudge'; (2) the general usage, and (3) the context, favour the meaning 'recount'; **(4)** besides the above-mentioned passage from Irenreus, and (5) that from Justin (meaning apparently 'record,' but at all events something more than 'remember'), there is also (6) Justin's frequent appeal to ἀπομνημονεύματα as 'written records.' These considerations, together with the kindred use of **μνημονεύειν** above mentioned, are conclusive in favour of the decision **that ἀπομνημονεύειν** here means 'recount' or 'repeat from memory.' There is a considerable probability that the word was in regular use to denote the Memoirs or Anecdotes *about* the apostles, first 'repeated' by their immediate interpreters or pupils; then committed to writing by some of them in the form of Gospels ; and lastly accepted by Justin as Memoirs written by the apostles *about* Christ. Yet he seems to have retained the old title. **As** Xenophon's 'Ἀπομνημονεύματα **Σωκράτους** mean '**Memoirs** *of*—*i.e.*, *about*—Socrates,' so '**Ἀπομνημονεύματα** '**Ἀποστόλων** would naturally mean 'Memoirs about the apostles,' and about Christ's teaching through them. Justin appears to retain an old title but to give it a wrong interpretation.

Perhaps the use of **ἀπομνημονεύειν** was influenced by the use of the Hebrew '*šānāh*.' This, meaning originally 'repeat from memory,' came to mean 'teach the oral Law,' whence came the word 'Mishna,' the doctrine of the oral Law.

[3] **Is** εἴρηται interchanged with the co-ordinate **ἱστόρηται** for

διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος."

(*c*) The *system of Eusebius*.—In order to appreciate the negative as well as the positive value of the evidence of Papias, we must briefly consider the purpose of Eusebius, who has preserved it.

66. Method of Eusebius.

Eusebius promises (*HE* iii. 33) to record (1) the quotations of ecclesiastical writers from 'disputed books,' (2) '*what they have said about the canonical* Scriptures *and the uncanonical as well* (τίνα τε περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἴρηται).' His promise to include the latter we have reason to believe that he faithfully keeps. But he gives no extracts from Papias about Lk. and Jn. It may be reasonably inferred that Papias was silent about them. The silence may have proceeded from either of two causes: (1) Jn. and Lk. may not have been recognised by Papias as on an equality with Mk. and Mt.; (2) though recognising them as authoritative, Papias may have had nothing to say about them.

67. Silence of Papias.

(*d*) The silence of Papias on Lk. and Jn.—The latter of the alternatives just mentioned is highly improbable.

Papias dwells on the defect of 'order, or arrangement (τάξει),' in Mk., who, he says, never even contemplated an 'orderly treatise (σύνταξιν)' of the Logia. Now Lk. avowed it as one of his objects to write 'in (chronological) order (καθεξῆς),' and Lk.'s 'order' differs not only from that of Mt., but also from that of Jn. It is hard to believe, then, that Papias would 'have nothing to say' about Lk., if he recognised Lk. Again, as regards Jn., would not Papias have naturally added what the Muratorian Fragment says—that this want of order was corrected by Jn. who wrote '*in order* (*per ordinem*)'? The Muratorian Fragment, Clement of Alexandria, and the anonymous tradition preserved by Eusebius (iii. 24 11) all have *something of great importance* to tell us about the original authorship of the 'spiritual' Gospel of John the disciple of the Lord; and what they say testifies to the interest taken in its origin by those ecclesiastical writers who were among the first to recognise it as apostolical. Is it likely that Papias, if he acknowledged it to be the work of the last of the apostles, knew ***nothing about*** it that ***he deemed worth saying***?[1]

These considerations point to the conclusion that Lk. and Jn. were not recognised by Papias as on a level with Mk. and Mt.[2]

If Papias did not recognise Lk. and Jn. as authoritative, it would seem likely that Jn.—though probably (Eus. *HE* iii. 24 7) it had been for some time taught orally, and though traditions from it may have been in use in Proconsular Asia—was not yet circulated in writing, or, if circulated, not yet acknowledged as apostolic, when Papias wrote his *Exposition*. Consequently the date of the *Exposition* becomes of great importance.

(*e*) The *Date* of Papias's Exposition.—There is no evidence of importance bearing on it beyond Eus. *HE* iii. 39 1-4 *f*.

Τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε **τὸν ἀριθμὸν** φέρεται, **ἃ καὶ** ἐπιγέγραπται, **Λογίων κυριακῶν** ἐξηγήσεως. **τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνων** αὐτῷ γραφέντων μνημονεύει, ὧδέ **πως λέγων**. "**ταῦτα**
62 καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος

mere variety? Or as indicating a shorter statement? or as implying any doubt? In Eus. *HE* ii. 15 2, φασί and ἱστορία probably denote distinctions of historical certainty (see below, § 80).

[1] Lightfoot, who assumes that Papias must have said something about Jn., thinks it probable that (*SR* 207) the Muratorian writer borrowed from Papias 'his contrast between the secondary evidence of Mk. and the primary evidence of Jn.' But, in that case, how is it that Eusebius—*who* was *bound to record whatever* was *said* by ecclesiastical *writers* about ***canonical*** books—whilst inserting what was said by later writers, omits what was said by the earliest of all?

[2] This might be regarded as almost certain but for one consideration. Eusebius has a contempt for Papias. Forced by his antiquity to devote a great deal of space to him, he does it with terms of disparagement, and (iii. 39 14-17, *bis*) 'confining himself to what is indispensable (**ἀναγκαίως**).' Want of space, and contempt for his author, may have induced him to break the promise he made just before, and to omit what Papias may have said about Lk. and Jn., reserving it till he came to later ecclesiastical writers who borrowed from Papias. This is highly improbable. Eusebius is a most careful and conscientious writer. Though, for example, on one occasion he gives in his own words a tradition about Mk. at an early period in his history, and adds (2 1 *j*) 'Clement has quoted this story, and ... Papias attests it,' this does not prevent him from giving the testimony of Papias in full, in its chronological order.

γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα." καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα. αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρειλῆφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων[1] διδάσκει δι' ὧν φησὶ λέξεων· "οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα,[2] συντάξαι ταῖς ἑρμηνείαις,[3] διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένας τῆς ἀληθείας. εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους—τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἤ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἅ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης [οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ][4] λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

68. Date of Papias.

69. Not a hearer of John.

1. Was Papias 'a hearer of John'?—Was Eusebius right in denying, or Irenæus in asserting, that Papias was 'a hearer of John'?

Here, and in what follows, we must distinguish the statements of Eusebius from his inferences. The former are almost always accurate; the latter are sometimes erroneous (though by giving us the grounds for them he enables us to avoid error[5]). Even the inferences of Eusebius are probably more trustworthy here than the statements of Irenæus.[6] Now Eusebius rejects the definite statement of the latter that Papias was a 'hearer of John,' on the ground that Papias himself makes no such claim in his preface, where he naturally, and almost inevitably, would have made it, if he could. He gives us the preface to speak for itself. He adds facts and extracts from the work of Papias, the whole of which was apparently before him. These convey no indication that Papias 'heard' John. That Irenæus—influenced by the natural tendency of early Christian controversialists to exaggerate the continuity of Christian tradition, and by the fact that Papias lived in Polycarp's time and reported what John said—hastily declared Papias to be 'a hearer of John,' is more probable than that Eusebius, subsequently reviewing all the evidence, was mistaken in denying it.

The probable conclusion is that Papias was *not* a 'hearer of John.'

2 and 3. Was Papias 'a hearer of Aristion and of John the elder'? And were they 'disciples of the Lord'?

70. Nor of Aristion and John the Elder.

2. Eusebius affirms that Papias did hear them, and he gives his reasons thus (iii. 39 7): 'He (Papias) confesses that he has received the words of the apostles on the one hand from those who had followed (παρηκολουθηκότων) them; but of Aristion and of the Elder John he says he was himself a hearer.' The context indicates that Eusebius is drawing this inference merely from the 'distinction' that Papias makes between the past and the present,—'What (τί) Andrew, etc., *said* (εἶπεν), and the things that (ἅ τε) Aristion and the Elder John say (λέγουσι)'—as though the two last were still living, so that Papias had probably consulted them, and the historian's habitual conscientiousness leads him (recognising perhaps the slightness of his grounds) to qualify his inference in the following sentence—'At *all events* (γοῦν), making *frequent* mention *of* them by name in his treatise he sets down their traditions.' He does not add 'and Papias states that he received them from their own lips,' and he appears to have no evidence beyond what he himself puts before us. But the change of tense from 'said' to 'say' is

[1] γνωρίμων—*i.e.*, 'pupils,' as in Origen, *Cels.* 2 13; Clem. Alex. 104 and 898; Epictet. *passim*; and Eus. iii. 4 4, etc. It is equivalent to Papias's παρηκολουθηκώς.

[2] Probably 'taught from memory,' or 'repeated.' See note above, § 65, n.

[3] See above, § 65 n. Papias (1) 'set forth (ἐξηγεῖσθαι)' the Logia, (2) 'interpreted ἑρμηνεύειν' them, and (3) 'arranged along with them (συντάξαι)' illustrative traditions.

[4] These bracketed words are perhaps to be omitted. See § 70 (3) below.

[5] *E.g.*, he says that Luke had (Eus. iii. 4 6) 'diligently followed the rest of the apostles (besides Paul),' but shows the source of his error by quoting Lk. 1 3, *taking* **πᾶσιν** *as masc.* He also (cp iii. 4 6 with iii. 36 1) takes Lk.'s **ὑπηρέται τοῦ** λόγου (the word) to mean ὑ. τοῦ Κυρίου (the Word). These are such errors as the most honest and impartial historian might make.

[6] This could be proved by a collection of Irenaeus's mistakes. And a comparison of the *eulogistic* ***remarks made by*** Eusebius about other *ecclesiastical* writers with *his general* ***silence when*** quoting ***Irenæus*** would indicate that, although he would by no means call the latter (as he calls Papias) 'a man of very little understanding,' he nevertheless thinks less highly of his power of weighing evidence than of his (v. 20 3) orthodoxy and high standard of carefulness in copying MSS.

[7] Eus. iii. 39 5: **διαστείλας τὸν λόγον.**

(Lightf. *SR* 150 n.) 'probably for the sake of variety,'[1] so that nothing can be inferred from it; and the mere fact that Papias 'sets down their traditions' and 'mentions their names,' by no means proves that he obtained his information from them, and not from 'those who had followed them.'

We conclude that *(a)* Papias is not proved to have been, and that *(b)* (so far as we can judge from Eusebius's production of inadequate, and omission of adequate, evidence) he probably was not, a 'hearer' of Aristion and John the Elder.

3. Again, the words 'disciples of the Lord' can hardly have followed 'Aristion, etc.,' in the text used by Eusebius. For he regards Aristion as living at the time when Papias wrote. But that 'disciples of the Lord' should be living when Papias 'was making his investigations (Lightfoot; *SR* **150** n.) would involve 'a chronological difficulty.'

This Eusebius would 'probably have felt, especially as he apparently regards Papias as born too late to have been a 'hearer of John.'[2] Moreover, if Papias was a hearer of *any* 'disciple of the Lord' this would contradict the spirit of Eusebius's inference that Papias drew his 'information about the apostles merely from their 'pupils.' Aristion and the Elder John, if 'disciples of the Lord,' could not be called 'pupils' of the apostles. This internal evidence that Eusebius did not find the words 'disciples, etc.' after 'Aristion etc.' is confirmed by (1) their absence from the Armenian version, (2) the omission of οἱ in several Greek MSS, and of τοῦ κυρίου by Rufinus, (3) the extreme harshness of *(a)* 'Elders,' *(b)* 'disciples of the Lord,' *(c)* the repetition of 'disciples of the Lord,' as though they were *three classes*,[3] and (4) the ease with which the words can be explained as an interpolation.

71. Papias's Elders. 4. Papias's 'Elders.'—It remains to consider who are 'the Elders' from whom Papias obtained his information.

There is no evidence to show that apostles were called 'Elders.' Yet Papias's *words—seeming* to amount to this, 'If pupils of the Elders came, I used to ask about the words of the Elders, viz. Andrew, Peter, etc.'—appear, at first sight, to identify 'apostles' with 'the Elders.'

The truth appears to be that, in the days of Papias, the latter title was given to *the generation of Elders* **ordained** *by* the 'disciples of the Lord.' The next generation of Elders was not yet called '*the* Elders,' but rather the 'pupils of [or those who had followed] *the* Elders.' The object of Papias was to get back to the teaching of *the disciples of the Lord*, whether through (1) 'the Elders' or (2) 'their pupils.' If, for example, Papias met (1) an Elder appointed by John the apostle, or (2) a 'pupil' of such an Elder, in either case his question would be, 'What said John?'[4]

The most probable conclusions, then, are that (1) Papias was not a hearer of John; *(2* and **3)** whether he was, or was not, a hearer of Aristion and the Elder John, the two latter were not 'disciples of the Lord'; *(4)* the Elders from whom he obtained his information were not apostles but Elders appointed by John or other apostles; and he supplemented this by information obtained from their followers and successors.

5. Papias's list of the apostles.—Why does Papias specially mention, as the disciples about whose sayings

72. His list of apostles. he made investigations, Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew? and why in this order? An answer is suggested by the context in the extract quoted above (§ 71).

1 Note that in the same sentence τί is varied with ἅ. So Eusebius (quoted above, § 66) varies τίνα with ὅσα, where there is but a shade of difference in meaning.

2 Eusebius might naturally assume that Papias—who tells us that he regularly cross-examined any who could tell him 'what John said'—would have questioned John himself had he been alive and accessible to questioning. Denying that he *was* a 'hearer,' he probably implies that he was too late to be one.

3 See *Expositor*, 4th ser. *3* 245. Papias probably wrote 'the disciples of the Lord . . . and Aristion and John *their* disciples.' 'Their,' αυτω (in οἱ μαθηται αυτω, *i.e.* αὐτῶν), was changed into 'his (αὐτοῦ)' and αὐτοῦ replaced by τοῦ κυρίου. (For the frequency of αὐτοῦ, τούτου, etc., confused with αὐτῶν, τούτων, see Otto on Justin, *Tryph.* 106, p. 356.) Prof. W. E. Bacon has suggested that οι τουτω was corrupted into οι τοῦ κῦ before the time of Eusebius. This is very likely; cp Judg. **4** *24* των υιων B, but A κυ (*i.e.*, κυριου) υἱῶν.

4 This interpretation of 'Elders' is confirmed by the following consideration. Irenæus in passages where he is probably (Lightf. ***SR*** 202) quoting) the substance, if not the very words, of Papias, speaks of the doctrine as that of (v. **5** 1 3F2) 'the Elders, *the disciples of* ***the*** *apostles*' (*ib.* *33* **3**), 'the Elders ***who have*** *seen John*.' If these are the words of Papias, the fact that he uses 'Elders' ***there*** to mean '*the disciples of the apostles*,' makes it probable that he uses it in the same sense ***here,*** and that they represented ***the generation preceding his own.***

"Most people,' says Papias, took pleasure in 'voluminous (τὰ πολλά) falsehoods'; and he was driven to conclude that he would gain more profit from the living voice of tradition derived from 'the disciples of the Lord' than from 'the books' that attracted popular attention. In 'the books' he may have included Gnostic treatises, such as that of Basilides; but we must not exclude Christian apocrypha and 'disputed' books, and various versions of authoritative books.

For example, though Matthew had made a compilation of the Logia, it was variously 'interpreted'; and this affords a very good reason for the desire of Papias to ascertain 'what Matthew ***said,'*** in order to throw light on what Matthew *wrote* or was supposed to have written. Again, the Epistle of James mentioned by Eusebius **(iii. 25)** not as spurious but as 'disputed,' was probably current in the days of Papias; and we can understand that its existence may well have caused him to add his name to the apostolic list: Between 'Matthew' and 'James' comes 'John, in whose name a gospel (preached perhaps in 'his behalf at Ephesus during his last years) may have been recently circulated as a tradition in writing; and this 'would account not only for the inclusion of John's name, but also for its position between that of James and Matthew. Apocryphal works were early current in the names of (Eus. iii. **25**) 'Andrew, Peter (whom Papias himself mentions as the originator of Mk.), and Thomas (as well as John and Matthias). The inclusion of Philip (whose apocryphal Acts Eusebius does not mention) may be explained by his having resided in Hierapolis, where Papias was bishop.[1] As regards Aristion, Eusebius **(iii. 39** 14) informs us that Papias inserted some of Aristion's 'accounts (διηγήσεις) of the words of the Lord (τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων),' and there is some slight evidence (*Exp.*, 1893 *b*, p. 245) for regarding him as the author of Mk.-App. At all events, the fact that he wrote 'accounts (διηγήσεις) of words of the Lord'—presumably not found in Mk. or Mt., or else why should Eusebius mention their insertion?—would make it desirable to ascertain what Aristion was in the habit of 'saying.' Lastly the two disputed Epistles of John (the Second and Third) & written by 'the Elder,' and may have been naturally attributed to the Elder John. And Papias, who (Eus. iii. 39 17) '*makes quotations*[2] from the First Epistle of John,' may on this as well as on other accounts have made the traditions of John the Elder a special subject of investigation.

Thus, though there may be, and probably are, other local causes, 'unknown to us, for Papias's selection and arrangement,[3] the drift of evidence, external and internal, indicates, as one important cause, the uncertainty arising from spurious 'Christian literature, and the special importance of ascertaining 'what had been

1 Among other things that came to him (Eus. iii. 39 8) 'as from tradition (ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως),' Papias is said by Eusebius to have received 'a wonderful narrative (composed) by the daughters of Philip (διήγησιν παρειληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φ. θυγατέρων).' From this passage it is commonly inferred that Papias knew the daughters of Philip. But (1) διήγησις (not παράδοσις, see *ib.* 14 and vi. 13 9, both of which distinguish between π., 'oral tradition,' and δ., 'written narrative'), and (2) ὑπό (not παρά or ἀπό), and (3) ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως and παρειληφέναι, all imply that, though the narrative had been related *by* them; Papias did not receive it *from* them, but from others who handed it down and warranted its genuineness. This has an important bearing on the date of Papias. The words (Eus. iii. 39 9) κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος, following on κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν . . . διατρίψαι most naturally mean that, whereas Philip and his daughters *lived at Hierapolis*, Papias was '*born among the* ***same (people).***' (They can hardly mean 'that Papias was 'born *during* ***the time*** *of* the same people—*i.e.*, Philip and his daughters.')

2 κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις. We are not to infer that Papias ***mentioned*** John, or any one as the ***author.*** Had he done ***so,*** Eusebius would probably have said, as he does of Irenæus (Eus. v. 8 7), 'He also *makes mention of the First* ***Epistle*** *of John*, introducing a good many quotations from it, and likewise from the First of Peter.' From (1) this contrast, and (2) the early custom of quoting without names, we may reasonably infer that Papias did *not* 'mention' John's Epistle. It is shown elsewhere (see JOHN, EPISTLES OF) that some so-called quotations from the First Epistle are probably mere quotations from floating Johannine traditions.

Why does Eusebius—who was *not* bound to tell us of ***quotations*** from ***canonical*** books—take **up** space by telling **us** that Papias quoted from (iii. 39 17) 'the First Epistle of John'? The answer is to be found partly (1) in the completion **of** Eusebius's sentence ('and from ***that*** of Peter likewise'), partly (2) in the similar statement about (v. 8 7) Irenæus. It is simply a quiet way of saying, 'You see Papias and Irenæus do *not* quote from the *Second* and ***Third*** Epistles **of** John, nor from the ***Second*** Epistle of Peter.' These were 'disputed works' and Eusebius is *tacitly bringing* ***against them*** '*the argument from* ***silence.'***

3 For example, he places Andrew first. Cp with this the leading part assigned to Andrew by the Muratorian Fragment (see below, § 78) in originating the Fourth Gospel.

said by those disciples of the Lord who were reported, truly or falsely, to have left *writings* also.

6. Papias's relation to Polycarp.—On this point, Eusebius affords the following indirect evidence.

73. His relation to Polycarp.

He first (iii. 36 1-2) mentions Polycarp as 'the scholar (ὁμιλητής) of the apostles'—appointed *to* the bishopric of Smyrna 'by the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Lord'—*in whose time* flourished 'Papias (he, *too*, bishop of Hierapolis) and the world-famed (ὁ παρὰ πλείστοις εἰσέτι νῦν διαβόητος) Ignatius,' second in succession, to Peter in the bishopric of Antioch.[1] Then he (*ib.* 4-15) describes the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp. Next he mentions (*ib.* 37 1) Quadratus and the daughters of Philip as being among those who 'occupied the first rank in the succession to the apostles,' adding that he has confined his mention of these to (*ib.* 37 4) such as have left extant records of apostolic teaching. Then, after (iii. 38 *f.*) going back *to* Clement of Rome to protest against spurious works attributed to him, he continues, 'Now I have (already) mentioned the works of Ignatius and Polycarp: of Papias five, hooks are extant'; and he deals with Papias and his works in detail, denying that he was a "hearer' of the apostle's, which is equivalent to denying that he was one of those 'in the first rank in the succession to the apostles.' Some time after this, (iv. 14 *f.*) comes Polycarp's visit to Rome and martyrdom. All this harmonises with the supposition that Papias was so much younger than Ignatius and Polycarp that he could not be reckoned in their 'rank of succession,' but that Eusebius was obliged to insert his name with theirs on account of the importance of his 'extant records,' which he compiled before the death of the aged Polycarp. His habit of speaking (in his *Exposition*) in the name of 'the Elders that have seen John' may have led Irenæus to the erroneous inference that Papias was 'a hearer of John and companion of Polycarp.'

(*f*) *Summary of the Evidence relating to Papias.*—Reviewing the evidence, we are led to the following negative and positive conclusions.

74. Conclusions about Papias.

Papias was not a 'hearer of John,' nor a 'companion of Polycarp,' nor did he 'hear' any 'disciple of the Lord.' He was not in the same 'rank of succession' as Quadratus and Philip's daughters. The daughters dwelt in Papias's native city and died (Lightfoot, *SR* 150) about 100-110 A.D. Papias records a narrative handed down *by* them but not (apparently) as coming to him *from* them. These facts suggest for Papias's birth a date about 85 A.D. When he reached early manhood (105 A.D.) the last of the apostles, if still living, was probably incapacitated by old age for teaching. The Johannine Gospel, though preached orally at Ephesus, was not yet published. Being probably (Lightf. *SR* 153) of Pagan origin, and (Eus. iii. 39 12) given to literalise Jewish metaphor, Papias may have been perplexed by a comparison of Hebrew with Greek 'interpretations' of Christian traditions. He found current the Commandments (Eus. iii. 39 3) 'given from the Lord to the Faith'; but he desired to add to these from the doctrine of the apostles, as repeated by the Elders whom they had appointed, and by the successors of those Elders. He also mentions (1) the teaching of the apostle Peter, first 'repeated,' and then 'written,' by his 'interpreter' Mark, including the Acts as well as the Words of Jesus, and making no attempt at classifying 'the Lord's Oracles';[2] (2) a compilation by the apostle Matthew, in Hebrew, of 'the Lord's Oracles' certainly including Christ's discourses and probably giving some account of Christ's life. But this, instead of being circulated in Greek (as Peter's teaching had been) by one authoritative 'interpreter,' had received many 'interpretations.'[3] About Lk. or Jn. (or any other Gospel) Papias is silent, and we conclude that he knew neither, or ranked neither with Mk. or Mt. But the date at which he was investigating and writing (about 115-130 A.D.) and his quotations from 1 Jn (which was certainly written by the same hand as the Gospel) combine to make it probable that Jn. must have been known to him, at least in parts, as a tradition. We are led to conclude that he was writing at the time when Jn. was attaining, but had not yet attained, recognition as an apostolic Gospel.[1]

There were also current (as Lk. tells us), 'many narratives' of Christ's life, and (as Papias says) many diffuse writings, possibly including Gnostic gospels, and so called Apostolic Acts, Revelations, and Epistles. These appear to have prejudiced Papias against 'books,' and to have inclined him to go back as near as possible to the fountain-head. His attitude is so well described by the following words of Irenaeus that we can imagine Papias himself using them: (Iren. v. 20 1 *f.*) 'All these (heretics) are of much later date than the *bishops to whom the apostles committed the churches* . . . Those who desert the teaching of the Church impugn the knowledge of *the holy Elders.*' To these '*bishops*,' then, or '*holy Elders*'—*i.e.*, to *the Elders appointed by the apostles*—Papias made it his first object to go. But we learn from Clement of Rome (ch. 44) that, as early as *95* A.D., some of '*the Elders appointed by the apostles*,' and even some of those '(appointed) in the next generation (μεταξύ) by men of note,' had died. It is improbable that John, during his last years of disability, appointed any Elders; and it is reasonable to suppose that by A.D. 125-35 most of the Johannine Elders would have passed away. Hence, though Papias did his best to obtain information from them, he was glad to glean what he could from the *next generation* ('those who had *followed* them'), his question to an Elder's pupil always being, 'What said John (or this or that Disciple of the Lord) by whom the Elder (whom you "followed") was appointed?' In particular, having regard to the apocryphal literature circulated in the names of Andrew, Peter, Thomas, to the traditions current in Hierapolis about Philip, and to the better attested but disputed literature circulated in the names of James and John, to the great diversity of the 'interpretations' of the Logia compiled by Matthew, and to the objections brought against Peter's teaching as recorded by Mark—he made these Disciples of the Lord the special object of his investigations. It is, of course, possible, that Jn may have been acknowledged as canonical in other churches before it was acknowledged

[1] *I.e.*, Polycarp and Ignatius have phrases that suggest the authority of antiquity. Papias has none. Several MSS, very naturally, interpolate a compliment to Papias's learning.

[2] If we may judge from the order of the extracts, Papias *placed Mk. before Mt.* This is slightly confirmed by the fact that in the former extract Papias uses the longer title κυριακὰ λόγια, in the latter, the shorter λόγια—a natural abbreviation when one repeats a title a second time.

[3] The 'interpreter' (*Hor. Hebr.* on Mt. 10 27, and Wetstein on 1 Cor. 14 27) was the recognised attendant of the reader and teacher in the Jewish schools. When a Jewish apostle (*e.g.*, the author of the Apocalypse, which is composed in most barbarous Greek) preached, or wrote, *to* Greek congregations, an 'interpreter' may often have been in request. We have seen that Mark was called the 'interpreter' of Peter. It was an early belief (Eus. iii. 38) that Luke or Clement of Rome 'interpreted' the Epistle to the Hebrews from Paul's Hebrew into Greek—a supposition that illustrates the early and familiar recognition of an 'interpreter' as a natural companion of an apostle. In the (Eus. iii. 39 3) 'interpretations' that Papias inserted in his *Exposition*, he may have included his own or other Greek versions as well as explanations, of the Logia. From *Acts* 8 31 (ὁδηγήσει) and from Ign. *Phil.* 6 (ἐὰν δέ τις ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἑρμηνεύῃ) we see how large a part of apostolic and presbyteric teaching would consist of 'interpretations' of OT in a Christian sense, and these might sometimes be 'interpreted' from the Hebrew. Soon, however, the word would he confined *to* 'interpreting'—*i.e.*, explaining, obscurities in the *Greek* Logia. For the word thus used, see Orig. *Cels.* iii. 58, and quotations from Irenaeus given above § 65 n.

[1] The hesitation of Papias to accept Jn. may have been all the greater because (if we accept the theory that Irenæus in his fifth book is quoting Papias in support of Millennianism) he appears *to* have accepted the Apocalypse as John's on the authority of (Iren. v. 30 1) 'those who saw John face to face,' and to have habitually appealed to John in support of (*ib.* 33 3 *f.*) very materialistic views of the Millennium. A historian who believed (with Irenæus) that the Apocalypse was written by the aged apostle about 96 A.D. might well hesitate *to* receive a work published, as coming from the same pen, a few years afterwards, yet differing from the former in language so completely as almost to he in another dialect, and also absolutely differing from Mk. and from the 'interpreters of Mt.' in its representation of the Words of the Lord.

The teaching (Iren. v. 33 3 *f.*) about the vines each with 10,000 branches, etc., ascribed to the Lord by the elders who saw John according to Papias, helps us to understand how even Papias (σφόδρα μικρὸς τὸν νοῦν, Eus.) might feel unable *to* believe that the expositor of this teaching was the author of the Fourth Gospel.

in Hierapolis;[1] but, so far as Papias guides us, we are led to the conclusion that, in 115-130 A.D., Lk. and Jn. were not yet acknowledged as on a level with Mk. and Mt., by the first Christian historian who gives us any account of the Gospels.

iii. JUSTIN MARTYR. — Justin Martyr (Lightfoot, *BE* 87, 145-49 A.D.), whilst quoting the Gospels under various titles, makes some incidental but very important statements about their composition.

75. Justin.

(*a*) **Justin's** *titles of the Gospels* are adapted to his readers. In the *Apology*, addressed to Gentiles, he generally uses the term, 'Memoirs of the Apostles';[2] but in the Dialogue with the Jew, Trypho he gradually subordinates 'Memoirs,' and at last resorts to the jewish authoritative form, 'it is written.'[3]

Like Lk. and Jn. (and perhaps Papias), though in a less degree, he avoids the term 'Gospels.' In the Dialogue, it is Trypho, not Justin, who first introduces it (*Tryph.* 10, 'the so-called *Gospel*, τῷ λεγομένῳ ε.).' Justin, replying, calls it (*ib.* 18) the '*teaching* given (διδαχθέντα) by our Saviour.' In 1 *Apol.* he does not use the word till toward the close, and then seemingly as a concession to popular language (66), 'Memoirs . . . which are [*commonly*] *called* (καλεῖται) *Gospels*.' The Memoirs (apart from 'Gospels') he generally quotes for the *facts* of Christ's life; but *sayings* are also quoted from them, twice from Mt., and twice from Lk. (One of the latter [*Tryph.* 103] agrees with **D.**) Christ's words, when introduced by 'he *said*, almost always agree with Mt.; they are called (*Tryph.* 100) λόγοι,[4] when Jesus is predicting his sufferings, but (*ib.* 18) λόγια[5] when denunciatory and when coupled with prophetic utterances. '*Teachings* (διδάγματα) from Christ himself' (1 *Apol.* 14) refer to chastity and Christian love, and are from Mt. and Lk.; 1 *Apol.* 53 speaks of Gentiles, 'men of everyrace, persuaded by the *Teaching* (διδαχῆς) tliat came from his apostles.' This quotation (as well as *Tryph.* 18 and 10, cp also 35) indicates *moral* precepts, such as are in the *Didaché* and the Logia of Behnesa. But 1 *Apol.* 33, quoting Lk. with a clause from Mt., and describing the authors of the Memoirs as having 'taught' the Annunciation, and 1 *Apol.* 66, stating that those who are to receive the Eucharist must first accept 'what is *taught* by us,' indicate a catechetical 'teaching' of facts, different from the *Didaché*. Moreover, in 2 *Apol.* 2 8 10, 'what Christ taught' or Christ's 'Teachings (διδάγματα)' refer partly to his predictions, partly to the punishment of the wicked in fire. Crescens is charged with (*ib.* 3) not having 'read' them, so that they must have been a hook, or part of one.

(*b*) *Indications of Lk. as a recent* Gospel. — In a few instances Justin appeals, as it 'were beyond the Memoirs, to those who composdd them; or else he introduces a personal quasi-protest of authenticity, 'I assert,' 'I have learned,' etc.

76. His Lk., recent.

(i.) 1 *Apol.* 33, '*As those who recorded* (ἀπομνημονεύσαντες) all things about our Saviour Jesus Christ have ***taught***,' introduces Lk.'s Annunciation to the Virgin (with a clause taken from Mt.); (ii.) 1 *Apol.* 66 'For *the apostles*, in the Memoirs made (γενομένοις) by them,' which are called Gospels, *delivered* (παρέδωκαν) that Jesus had thus ordained[6] to them,' introduces, in a condensed form, Lk.'s version of the Institution of the Eucharist, including the words, 'Do this in remembrance of me' not found in Mk. or Mt., and regarded by WH as an 'interpolation from 1 Cor. 11 25; (iii.) *Tryph.* 88, 'Both (καὶ) fire was kindled (ἀνήφθη)[7] in the Jordan. . ., and . . . that the Holy Spirit as a dove hovered on him *has been written by his apostles* (the apostles I mean), of this our Christ (ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν),' if the text were correct, would exhibit Justin stating a non-canonical event (the 'fire') as a fact on his own authority, and the canonical event as on the authority of the 'apostles';[1] (iv.) *Tryph.* 103, 'For in the Memoirs which *I assert to have been composed* (συντετάχθαι[2]) *by his apostles* and *by those who followed* (παρακολουθησάντων) *them*,' introduces 'it is written that sweat, as it were drops, streamed down from him while praying'—a passage found' in some MSS of Lk. 22 44, but bracketed by WH as not genuine[3] (and found in no other Gospel); (v.) *Tryph.* 105, 'As *we have learned* through the Memoirs,' accompanies the words 'becoming a man through the Virgin' (from Lk., combined with Mt.), and is followed by (vi.) *Tryph.* 105, 'as also from the Memoirs *we have learned this, too*,' introducing an utterance of Christ on the Cross peculiar to Lk. 23 46.

All these passages reveal Justin as quoting with a special emphasis Lk.[4]—or a later version of Lk., including interpolated passages — as though protesting that Lk. *is* on a level with the Memoirs, and *was composed by apostles*.

(*c*) *The origin of Justin's view of the Memoirs.* — We have seen (col. 1814, n. 1) that, in Papias, παρακολουθεῖν is the regular word for a 'pupil and successor.' Now Eusebius (iii. 4 6) misunderstands (Lk. 1 3) παρηκολουθηκότι πᾶσιν as meaning that Luke had been a 'pupil of *all* (*the apostles*),' and Justin might do the same. This enables us to answer the question, How (in Justin's opinion) was Luke taught the Miraculous Conception? Justin's view is that Christ (1 *Apol.* 67 and cp Acts 1 3), after his resurrection, 'appeared to his apostles and disciples and taught them' everything relating to himself (Acts 1 3 to 'the Kingdom of God').[5] This 'teaching' would, therefore, apply (1 *Apol.* 33) to the Nativity and other mysteries, as well as to moral precepts, and Luke, as being 'a pupil of all the apostles,' would receive it. As regards the form of transmission, Justin begins with an ambiguous expression (1 *Apol.* 33), ἀπεμνημόνευσαν, which may mean (1) 'remembered,' or (2) 'repeated from memory.' Adopting the latter meaning, he uses it, not (as Papias did) of the successors of the apostles, but of the apostles themselves. Then he gradually inclines, and finally commits himself, to the theory that this 'repetition' was not oral merely, but also in writing. Hence he allows himself to say 'the *apostles* wrote,'

77. His use of 'memoirs.'

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1 The *Shepherd* of Hermas is quoted once as 'Scripture' by Irenaens, and frequently as a divine revelation by Clem.Alex. Yet the Muratorian Fragment decides that it is not to be read in the churches. Now the *Shepherd* and the Muratorian Fragment probably both originate from Rome, and the Muratorian writer shows familiarity with the authorship and recent date of the book. The more distant Fathers, Irenaens and Clem.Alex., accept it; the author, who writes on the spot, rejects it. Similarly we shall find Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century making Ephesus the scene of a Dialogue —and speaking of John as (*Tryph.* 81) 'a man among us (*παρ' ἡμῖν*)'—yet abstaining in a marked nianner from quoting Jn., while freely quoting the Synoptists and occasionally using Johannine traditions.

2 These he regards, not as Memoirs *about* the apostles and their doctrine, hut as Memoirs about Christ composed *by* the apostles (1 *Apol.* 33, ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν). See note above, § 65.

3 Cp Mt. 11 27, quoted in 1 *Apol.* 63 ('Jesus . . . himself *said*') with Mt. 11 27 in *Tryph.* 100 ('*it is written* in the Gospel that he said'). *Whenever 'writing' is mentioned, the passage quoted is in Mt.* (which Justin may prefer to quote as being the Gospel best known to the Jew Trypho).

4 *Tryph.* 35, τῶν τῆς διδαχῆς λόγων, and 1 *Apol.* 66, 'the prayer of the *word* that was from Christ' over the Eucharist.

5 These *Logia* (*Tryph.* 17) are from Mt., supplemented by Lk. (as in D) in such a way as to suggest that Justin used a rough harmony of Mt. and Lk., or a correction of the former by the latter.

6 ἐντετάλθαι, middle; cp *Tryph.* 21 and 40, ἐντέταλται ὁ θεός.

7 The rhythm **demands** ἀνῆφθαι. Ephraem (43) comments on the 'fire' as part of the story. Both here and in *Tryph.* 103 Justin has, 'This day have I begotten thee' (as D in Lk. 3 22), indicating that he had a text differing from ours, which may very well have included, the 'fire' as 'written by the apostles,' equally with the 'dove. The reading, 'this day,' etc., is now found only in some versions of Lk., but in *Tryph.* 103 Justin follows Mt.'s (not Lk.'s) order in the Temptation.

1 Some have inferred that, in (iii.), *apostles* must include 'John,' because only by including Mt. and Jn. can the plural be justified. Such an argument ignores (ii.), a passage *also attributed by Justin to 'apostles,' yet neither in Mt. nor Jn.*

In (ii.) γενόμενα and παρέδωκαν left a loop-hole for supposing that the apostles might not have *written* ἀπομνημονεύματα, but simply *taught* them. But here Justin commits himself to the statement that they '*wrote*.'

2 συντετάχθαι (see that and kindred words used by Justin [1 *Apol.* 26 63, 2 *Apol.* 1 15] to mean 'the *composition of a book*') represents *the very act disclaimed by Papias for Peter and Mark* (οὐχ ὡς σύνταξιν). Remembering that this 'assertion' of Justin's is preceded (a few lines before) by 'the Memoirs *written by the apostles*' (mentioning the words, 'This day have I begotten thee,' found now only in a v.l. of Lk.), we are led to infer that he is protesting against the statement of Papias or against similar statements made by others. Justin says, in effect, 'The apostles *did* write *regular books*,' and then half corrects himself: 'Or, at all events, *they and their pupils* wrote them.'

3 The interpolated Lk. has 'drops *of blood*.'

4 'Lk.' of course means 'the third Gospel **as** *we have it*.' The author need not be, and probably is not, 'the beloved physician,' the companion of Paul. The author of the Preface of the Gospel may have revised, re-edited, or re-written it, and may he a different person from the Pauline Luke.

5 φανεὶς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα, ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδώκαμεν. These words come *at the conclusion of the Apology*, just before Justin's first appeal to the Romans to accept the Faith; and they show that ταῦτα means *the substance of the Christian Faith*, which Christ, after his resurrection, was supposed to have taught to the apostles, and which Justin has set before the Romans in his treatise. Clem.Alex. has it somewhat differently (Eus.

though he uses but *one* strictly apostolic Gospel (that of Mt.). Having these views about the apostolic *consensus* of the Memoirs, and having a preference for Lk.'s record of the Nativity and the Passion, Justin may naturally have recoiled from Jn., as being a new work, breaking this *consensus* both in style and thought, and especially nnfavourable to the authority of Lk.[1]

iv. MURATORIAN FRAGMENT. —The Muratorian Fragment (about 170 A.D.) begins thus—'. . . quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit. Tertium Evangelii librum secundum Lucan. . . .' The six words apparently referring to Mk. (on which supposition there is nothing extant about Mt.) appear to mean that Mark was present at only some of Peter's discourses.[2] Luke's disadvantages are dwelt on : it was not till 'after the Ascension' that Paul took him as a companion; he 'compiled in his own name, on [his own] judgment, *ex opinione*';[3] he 'had not seen the Lord in the flesh'; he [set down facts] 'as far as he could ascertain them.' On the other hand, the Fourth Gospel was written by John, '(one) of the disciples,'[4] at the exhortation of his 'fellow-disciplesand his bishops.' After a three days' fast 'it was revealed to Andrew, (one) of the apostles, that, whilst all **revised,**[1] John should write all things in his own name.'

78. Muratorian fragment.

The writer admits that 'different-catholic truths ***(varia principia)*** are taught' in the Four Gospels ; but he protests that there is 'one Catholic Spirit[2] ***(unus ac principalis spiritus)***' dictating the facts of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, intercourse of the Lord with the disciples, and the two Advents : 'What wonder then if John so persistently (*constanter*) sets forth each point in his Epistle,[3] saying with reference to himself, "What we have seen with our eyes and heard-with (our) ears and our hands have-handled, these things we have written?" For thus he professes himself to be not only a seer **but** also **a** hearer,[4] nay and a writer (too) of all the wonderful works of the Lord ***in order (per ordinem).'*** In these words the writer meets objections probably urged against the Fourth Gospel. Though differing in facts and style from the Synoptists, it was pervaded, he says, by the same 'one Catholic Spirit.' Though written 'in the name of' John, it had been revised and attested by the Disciples and Elders at Ephesus, and this ***in consequence of a special revelation,*** so that it might be said to come direct from Christ, and to represent, even better than the earliest Gospels, his exact teaching.

This theory of special inspiration was well calculated to facilitate the diffusion of a Gospel that seemed to supply just those things that were wanting in the Synoptists :—a certainty not to be found in the 'various interpretations' of Mt., a fulness of doctrine to which Mk. did not pretend, and—in contrast with Lk.—the authority of a disciple, an eye-witness, and ear-witness, who also wrote 'in order.'[5]

v. IRENÆUS (about 185 A.D.) emphasises the unity of the Gospel as coming (iii. **11**) from inspired apostles (who first preached it and then 'handed it down (*tradiderunt*) to us in Scriptures '), but touches also on thesubject of distinctive authorship. He omits the various 'interpretations' of Mt. mentioned by Papias, and the disadvantages of Lk. mentioned by the Muratorian writer. Mark is 'the disciple and interpreter of Peter'; Luke 'the companion (ἀκόλουθος) of Paul' : thus he implies that their gospels were, in effect, apostolic.

79. Irenæus.

He places Mt. before Mk. as the Muratorian Fragment appears to have done. Jn. is placed after Lk., thus : 'Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also lay on his breast, he too published the Gospel (καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ e.) while living in Ephesus of Asia.' Elsewhere (iii. 11 1) he says that John directed his Gospel against Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans. Matthew, he says (iii. 1 1). published his Gospel in Hebrew 'while Peter and Paul in Rome were preaching and founding the Church' : after their 'decease (or departure, ἔξοδον but Lat. *excessum*='death'),'Mark (is known to have) handed down (perf. παραδέδωκε) in writing what Peter was in the habit of preaching (κηρυσσόμενα); Luke 'set down (κατέθετο) in a book what Paul was in the habit of preaching (κηρυσσόμενον).'[6]

ii. 1 4): **'To *James the Just and John and Peter*** was the ***Gnosis*** delivered (**παρέδωκε**) by the Lord ***after the Resurrection.*** These delivered it **to** the rest of the apostles, and the rest to the Seventy.

1 Does Justin recognise Mk. as a distinct Gospel? see ***Tryph.*** *106,* καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφοὺς υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου ὄντας, μετωνομακέναι ὀνόματι τοῦ Βοανεργές (Mk. **3.17** alone). Here Qντοῖς ἀ. αὐτοῦ would mean (we set aside the interpretation Memoirs of Jesus ') ***'Peter's*** Memoirs,' indicating (1) either that Justin accepted Mk. **as**, in effect, written ***by*** Peter, or (2) that he here, inconsistently, would render the phrase, 'Memoirs ***about*** Peter.' (But ***αὐτοῦ*** (§ 70 [3] n.) is repeatedly confounded with ***αὐτῶν.***)

The passage is either tediously lengthy, or it distinguishes between what Christ ***said*** and what he ***did.*** 'He ***said*** that he changed Peter's name'; this is in Mt. 16 17-19 and nowhere else. 'It is ***written*** in the Memoirs [that he changed the name]' ; this is in the triple tradition (Mk. **3** 16 Mt. **10** 2 Lk. **6** 14). This distinction would indicate that Justin was here quoting the Memoirs of Peter (our Mk.) in support of the Logia of Mt. (a view somewhat confirmed by the fact that, when Justin introduces quotations with '(Jesus) says,' he quotes from Mt.).

2 This would indicate that Mark wrote after Peter's death. Otherwise Peter could have supplied him with the substance of the discourses at which the latter was not present. Papias also implies that Mark could not correct what he had written by reference to Peter. Irenæus says (iii. 1 1) that Mark wrote after the 'decease (**ἔξοδον**)' of Peter (but see **§ 79**).

3 'Nomine suo ***ex opinione*** conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne.' ***Ex opinione*** may express an original **ἐξ ἀκοῆς** 'from hearing,' not 'from sight.' (See Westc. *Canon*, 519-27 Lightf. *SR* 183 *f.*). But, in that case, should we not expect) 'enim' instead of 'tamen,'—'He wrote, not as an eye-witness, *for* he had not seen the Lord'? Writing a Gospel 'in one's own name' was an innovation. Luke did it 'on ***[his own]*** ***private judgment*** (ex ***opinione***)'—**Lk. 1 3** 'it seemed good to ***me.'*** How objectionable this may have seemed to some, is shown by the addition (Lk. **1 3** codex b), 'placuit et mihi ***et spirituo*** (sic) ***sancto.'*** The Muratorian writer contrasts this later with the origin of the Fourth Gospel, which the Evangelist 'wrote down' ('descripsit,' not 'conscripsit'—***i.e.,*** wrote from knowledge, not from compilation) 'in his own name' ***as the result of a divine revelation;*** 'revelatum . . . ut . . . Iohannes ***suo nomine*** cuncta describeret.' If this explanation is correct, 'sua' may have dropped after 'suo' ('Nomine suo sua ex opinione'), or 'opinio may be used absolutely meaning ***'private*** notion.' 'Tamen' would imply a contrast between the boldness of Luke's innovation and the limitations of his knowledge.

4 Andrew is hare called an 'apostle,' Jphn a 'disciple.' Papias calls 'Andrew, Peter,' etc., 'disciples. The ***Didaché***—identifying (11 3-5) 'apostles' with 'prophets,' and specifying rules for them, which, if broken, stamp an 'apostle' as a 'false prophet'—suggests a time and place in which an 'apostle' was little more than a 'missionary.' It became a tradition to call John '*the* disciple' (as Paul is peculiarly '***the*** apostle'). Polycrates of Ephesus, at the close of the 2nd cent., after mentioning (Eus. **3** 31) 'Philip (who was of the Twelve *apostles*),' goes on to speak of John, who lay on the bosom of the Lord,' without any mention of apostleship. This may he explained by (1) uncertainty whether John (like Nathanael) was one of the Twelve,, (2) a feeling that 'disciple' was a higher title than 'apostle, or **(3)** a desire to describe the author of the Gospel as he described himself; (2) and (3) are the most probable;

1 ***Recognoscentibus;*** Lightf. ***SR*** **189,** 'certify'; but the word probably represents ***ἀναγινώσκειν,*** 'read,' 'revise.' Had the original been ***βεβαιοῦν or ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν,*** we should expect ***confirmare*** or ***testari.***

2 Our writer has in view Ezek. **15-12,** the 'four living creatures' (***i.e.,*** the Gospels) dominated by **one** world-wide or catholic (*principalis*) **'spirit.'** Irenæus develops this, but hardly improves it ; as there are (Iren. iii. **118)** 'four zones' and '*four* world-wide ***winds*** (*principales* **spiritus, καθολικὰ πνεύματα,** capable of meaning "catholic spirits"),' so there ***must*** be *four* Gospels corresponding to the lion (John), ox (Luke), man (Matthew), eagle (Mark) in Rev. **47.** Irenreus seems to have felt bound to keep the order of Rev. and yet to place John first; but the result is so strained that Jerome carried posterity with him in assigning the eagle to John and the lion to Mark.

3 *Epistulis suis* used of a single letter (see Lightf. ***SR*** 190), a very free quotation from 1 Jn. 1 1-3.

4 ***I.e.,*** not merely one of the exoteric spectators of the mighty works of Jesus, hut one of those privileged to 'hear' or 'hear from (cp the Talmudic 'receive from') Jesus—*i.e.*, to be a disciple, and a transmitter of tradition. 'Seer' alone, might not imply admission to the inner circle which 'was taught by Christ, according to Mk., during his life, and, according to Justin and Clem. Alex. (see **§ 77 n.**), after his Resurrection.

5 Why does not the writer say that Luke, too, wrote 'in (chronological) order (**καθεξῆς**)'? Does he imply that Luke had failed?

6 There is no early testimony to any simultaneous presence of the two apostles in Rome except at the time of their martyrdom (see Eus. ii. 258, quoting Dionysius of Corinth, **εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν).** This

vi. CLEMENT.—Clement of Alexandria *(circa* 195 A.D.) gives (Eus. vi. 14 5-7) a tradition of the earliest elders (τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων) that 'those portions of the Gospels which contain the genealogies (τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας) were written first.'[1]

80. Clement.

Clement adds a tradition about Mk., apparently on the authority of the same Elders, viz., that after Peter had 'publicly preached the word in Rome and uttered (ἐξειπόντος) the Gospel in the spirit (πνεύματι),' his numerous hearers besought Mark to write out what the apostle had said; and that Peter, '*coming to the knowledge* (ἐπιγνόντα) . . . of this, neither hindered nor stimulated him'.

Eusebius, however, earlier in his history, gives two other traditions about Mk., and appears to connect one or both of them with Clement. First he states in his own person, as a fact (ii. 15 1), that (*a*) Mk. originated from the request (as above described) of Peter's hearers. Then he adds (*b*) (*ib.* 2), 'But *they* say (φασί) that the apostle, learning the accomplishment (γνόντα τὸ πραχθέν) from a revelation of the Spirit, was pleased with their zeal and sanctioned the work for reading in (lit. for) the churches:—Clement *in the sixth book of* **his** *Outlines* **has** *quoted* the [?*full*] history (τὴν ἱστορίαν), and his account is confirmed also by the Bishop of Hierapolis called Papias—and further, that Peter . . .' Now (*b*) is not in Clement's or Papias's account and differs from the spirit of both. Perhaps Eusebius, while distinguishing fact from doubtful tradition ('they say'), has inserted a parenthesis, corrective of the latter, *to* the effect that '*Clement* has *given* '*the* [*full and* true] history,' and that Clement's view (namely, that Peter **was** merely the origin, but not the suggester, supervisor, or authoriser of the work) was supported in substance by Papias. If so, Eusebius, instead of committing himself to the view that Peter 'ratified' Mk., prepares the reader for finding it contradicted later.[2]

Concerning Jn. Clement says that (Eus. vi. 15 7) 'John, last of all, reflecting that the earthly aspect (τὰ σωματικά) had been set forth in the Gospels, at the instigation of his pupils (γνωρίμων), *by a* special *impulse of the* spirit (πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα), composed a spiritual gospel.'[3]

vii. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE **AS** TO MK. AND MT.[4]—Papias apologises for Mark ('he was not *in fault*').[5] The Muratorian Fragment appears to be apologetic ('he was present only at some discourses').

81. Summary: Mk. and Mt.

Both imply that 'Peter was dead when Mark wrote, so that the latter could not have the apostle's supervision. Irenaeus, though stating 'that Mark wrote after Peter's 'departure' (which probably meant 'death'), gives no indication that he did not adequately represent the apostle; and it is doubtful whether he did not misinterpret the word 'departure.' Clement says that Peter lived to know what had been done by Mark, yet so far retains the apologetic as to add that Peter neither hindered nor incited the composition. Another tradition (apparently later) says that Peter was informed by the Spirit of the accomplishment of the book, and authorised it for public use. Lastly Origen, unsurpassed by early Christian writers for honesty and intellect, says (Eus. vi. 25 4-5) 'from tradition' that Mark wrote **as** Peter *suggested* (ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ).[1] The investigation may stop here. Later writers have no further evidence, and can but exemplify the tendency of tradition, even among honest and able men, to exaggerate or to minimise, in the supposed interests of a good cause.

viii. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE AS TO LK. AND JN.—(1) Papias (115-130 A.D.), recognising **Mk.** and Mt. as apostolic (but defective), did not thus recognise Lk. or Jn., though traditions bearing on Jn. were probably known to him. (2) Justin Martyr (150 A.D.), regarding the Synoptic Gospels as Memoirs written by the apostles from the teaching of Christ, and showing a preference for Lk. (in an interpolated form), affords no trace of a recognition of a Gospel like Jn. outside the stream of the Memoirs.[2] **(3)** The Muratorian fragment (? 170 A.D.), welcoming the Fourth Gospel as supplying the deficiencies of the Three, meets any objection that might be raised against its divergence from the Synoptists (*a*) by an account of a special revelation to Andrew, in accordance with which this Gospel was written in a kind of joint authorship, though in John's name, and (*b*) by a protest that the Four Gospels are animated by One Spirit. (4) Irenæus has no trace of the theory of revision or joint authorship of Jn. He compares the 'four Gospels' with the 'four winds' or the 'four living creatures' of prophecy, **as** being divinely ordained in number. (5) Clement makes no mention of a 'revelation' to Andrew or to any other of John's friends, but says that John himself received a 'divine impulse' to write the Gospel.[3] From the time of Irenaeus the Gospel met with almost universal acceptance.'

82. Summary: Lk. and Jn.

favours the rendering 'decease' for ἔξοδον, which has this meaning in Philo 2 388 Lk. 9 31 2 Pet. 1 15 Eus. v. 136 (Letter *of the Gallic Churches*).

Yet the inference from Acts 28 30 (referred to in Iren. iii. 14 1) would be that (Acts 1 1) 'the former treatise'—*i.e.*, Lk.—was composed while Paul was living. Perhaps Irenaeus may be setting down an old tradition correctly which he and subsequent writers—taking ἔξοδον to mean 'departure (from Rome)'—interpreted incorrectly.

1 περιέχειν, in its literary sense, means (not 'include' but) 'contain **as** *their substance*,' 'have as their contents': Diod. Sic. 1 4 τῶν γὰρ βίβλων ἡμῖν ἓξ αἱ πρῶται περιέχουσι τὰς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις καὶ μυθολογίας (*i.e.*, 'have as their *contents*); cp Eus. iii. 24 13. The common phrase περιέχειν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, οὕτως, etc. (1 Macc. 15 2 2 Macc. 11 16 22) means 'was *in substance* as follows.' Cp Hippol. 10 32 βίβλῳ περιεχούσῃ "Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας," '(my) book *having as* its *contents*, or *entitled*, "On, the essence of the All."' Hence, περιοχή meant a 'section'; and the meaning here is, 'the sections that *have* the genealogies **as** their contents.' To place Lk. before Mk. would be inconsistent with all early tradition. See § 22.

2 The tradition that Peter 'knew' of the composition of the Gospel 'through the Spirit (γνόντα πνεύματι)' probably arose from Clement's επιγνοντα, confused with πνιγνοντα—*i.e.*, πνεύματι γνόντα.

3 The Muratorian fragment describes a 'revelation' **to** those who urged John to write; Clement, a 'spiritual impulse' given *to* John himself.

4 As regards Mt. there is practically no evidence (under the head of 'Statements') beyond that which has been quoted above from Papias (§ 65).

5 See above, § 65.

1 This may have been **a** misunderstanding of some such expression as 'in accordance with Peter's teaching.' But Origen's words cannot mean the latter.

2 For alleged quotations of Justin from Jn. see §§ 101-104.

3 Traces of the tradition in this form are retained by Theophilus (2 22 πνευματοφόρων) and Tatian (see § 105 *f.*). Eusebius after recording (iii. 24 7-11) an anonymous tradition ('they say,' 'he says') that John supplemented the Synoptists by request of friends, says, expressly in his own person (cp iii. 24 14 and 16 'us' with *ib.* 16 τῶν ἀρχαίων), that John "began his theology from the beginning, since that had been *reserved for him by the divine* **Spirit** owing *to* his superiority [*to* the other evangelists].' This appears to be the Eusebian way of expressing θεοφορούμενος, a word that might seem to him to savour of Montanism.

4 An important exception has been recently brought to light. See Rendel Harris, *Hermas in Arcadia*. Cambridge, 1896, pp. 43-57. Eusebius gives extracts from a Dialogue against Proclus (a Montanist) written by Gaius (ii. 25 6 'an orthodox writer [ἀνὴρ ἐκκλησιαστικός],' vi. 20 3 of very great learning [λογιωτάτου]'), who wrote during the bishopric of Zephyrinus (211-217 A.D.), and whom passages from his writings indicate as resident in or near Rome. In one of these extracts, Gaius attacks (iii. 28 1-2) the notion of an earthly reign of Christ after the Resurrection, as well as the notion of 'pleasures' and 'wedding festivities' in Jerusalem, all of which he attributes *to* Cerinthus. Such an attack, even if it assailed the Johannine Apocalypse, would probably commend him to Eusebius. Now Ebed-Jesu, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, recorded that Hippolytus wrote a treatise called 'Heads against Gaius,' and Dionysius Bar Salibi quotes from this treatise (along with replies from Hippolytus) objections raised by Gaius not only to the Apocalypse, *but also to the Fourth Gospel.* An inscription on the chair of Hippolytus (222 A.D.) shows that this bishop had before that date written a treatise 'In defence of *the* Gospel according *to* John *and the Apocalypse*,' and it is argued with great force that this treatise, or an epitome of it, was the 'Heads against Gaius.'

Eusebius, when mentioning (*HE* vi. 22) the works of Hippolytus (seven or eight in number) that had come into his hands, does not include the 'Defence of the Gospel of John, and the Apocalypse'; and it is possible that his 'Heads against Gaius' attacked some other work of Gaius unknown *to* Eusebius, not the Dialogue against Proclus. But the fact seems proved—a fact so strange that learned critics have described it as 'impossible'—that *a writer of* the *Roman Church, described by* Eusebius **as** '*learned*' and 'orthodox,' attacked the *Fourth Gospel at* the beginning *of the* third century. The almost complete suppression of his book and of his literary existence—so complete that Bishop Lightfoot, till recently, maintained that he was a fictitious character in the Dialogue against Proclus, which (he affirmed) was written by Hippolytus—shows how difficult it is for modern critics to realise that at, and shortly

II. QUOTATIONS.

i. PAUL.—Paul quotes nothing that is found in our Gospels (Lk. 22, part of 19 and 20 being set aside as an interpolation) except the saying about (1 Tim. 5 18) the 'labourer worthy of his *hire*' (cp Mt. 10 10 'food,' Lk. 10 7 'hire'). But this is also found in the *Didaché*, 131 ('food').

83. Quotations in Paul.

Other sayings of Paul are akin to sayings in the *Didaché*: *(a)* Rom. 12 9-16 'Abhor that which is *evil* (τὸ πονηρόν), *cleave to* (κολλώμενοι) that which is *good* (τῷ ἀγαθῷ) . . . Minding not *lofty things* (ὑψηλά), suffering yourselves to be carried away with the *humble* (ταπεινοῖς)'; *Did.* 3 1-9 'Flee from all *evil* (πονηροῦ) and from all likeness of it.[1] . . . Thy soul shall not *cleave* (κολληθήσεται) to the *lofty* (ὑ.) but thou shalt be conversant with the just and *humble* (τ.),' where parts of the original might apparently refer either to *things* or to *persons*[2]: (6) 2 Thess. 3 10 'If any will not *work* neither let him *eat*,' *Did.* 12 3 '. . . let him *work* and [on these terms] let him *eat*.'

Paul and *Did.* probably used an antecedent tradition. Rom. 12 21 'Be not overcome by evil,' closely resembles Pseudo-Clement's (*Hom.* 13 12) 'Let not evil overcome us'; but the latter could not have borrowed from Paul, whom he bitterly attacks.

ii. JAMES.—The Epistle of James, which is of uncertain date, is permeated with doctrine similar to that of the Sermon on the Mount. It contains more and closer parallels, however, to the *Didaché* and Barnabas.[3]

84. In James.

The passage that is closest to Mt. is that which forbids swearing by earth, heaven, or any other oath (Mt. 5 34.37 James 5 12); but Mt. says 'Let your speech be "Yea, yea,".' James (RV) says 'Let your "yea" be "yea."' The meanings are quite different. The former means 'Say "yea" and nothing more than "yea,"' the latter, 'Let your "yea" of *speech* be also a "yea" of *action*. In the latter form it is (Wetst. and *Hor. Hebr. ad loc.*) a common Rabbinical precept (apparently alluded to in 2 Cor. 1 17). As it is also thus quoted by Justin and Clem. Alex., it was probably found in some versions of Mt., and therefore the Epistle may be quoting from Mt. But it cannot be regarded as proved. In its denunciations of 'the rich,' the Epistle resembles Lk. 6 24, but not so as to indicate borrowing.

iii. APPARENT QUOTATIONS.—Passages apparently quoted from the Gospels, in the Epistles of Paul and James, have been shown above (§ 83 *f.*) to be found in sources other, and probably earlier, than the Gospels.

85. Apparent quotations.

There were probably many manuals of Christ's moral teaching (of which the Sermon on the Mount is one) as well as of his predictions concerning the last day; probably, too, collections of OT prophecies bearing on the Messiah and perhaps accounts of the Passion showing how these prophecies were fulfilled. These, together with the 'narratives' of his life mentioned by Lk. 1 1, and the various interpretations of Mt.'s Logia mentioned by Papias, necessarily left their impress on the earliest Christian writers even after the Four Gospels were recognised as canonical, and still more before that time. Hence, it is unsafe to infer (without further consideration of circumstances) that 'Barnabas quoted Mt.,' or 'Clem. Alex. quoted Clem. Rom.,' or 'Justin quoted Jn. because of similarity, or even identity, in the quotations. For example, it has recently been inferred that the *Vision of Hermas* must be later than is usually supposed, because it (*Vis.* iv. 2 4) quoted Dan. 6 22 from the version of Theodot. (180 A.D.). But Heb. 11 33 appears to quote the same version. Moreover, Rev. 9 20 12 7 13 7, etc., resemble Theodot.'s version. It appears, therefore, that Theodot. incorporated in his version *an earlier one, used by the authors of Heb. and Rev.* (see *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, *s.v.* 'Theodotion,' and Rendel Harris's *Hermas in Arcadia*, 25).

iv. LOGIA OF OXYRHYNCHUS.—The Logia of Behnesa (Oxyrhynchus fragment) are an example of such a 'manual' as has been described above. They are a fragment of what seems to have been a very ancient edition of a 'Sermon on the Mount.' The extreme antiquity of the MS (probably not later than 200 A.D.) and the frequent allusions to it (or to doctrine similar to it) in Clem. Alex.[1] combine to show the antiquity of the subject matter. But a still stronger proof is found in the nature of two of the sayings. Justin, when using such a phrase as 'Sabbatise the sabbath,' avoids the danger of literalism by saying (*Tryph.* 12) 'the *true* sabbath,' 'the sabbath of God,' etc.; and Clem. Alex. is even more cautious. Ignatius (*Magn.* 9) bids his readers *not* 'sabbatise' but 'live in accordance with the Lords Day.' No one, therefore, but Jesus (who did not shrink from utterances seemingly inconsistent) appears likely to have originated such a saying. The same argument applies to the last words in the same Logion ('Unless . . ., ye shall not *see the Father*'). The phrase 'see God' is in Mt.'s Sermon; but 'see the Father' occurs only in Jn. 14 9, 'He that hath seen me hath *seen the Father*,' a rebuke to Philip's expectation of a materialistic and *future* 'seeing the Father.' These and many other considerations indicate that the Logia are genuine sayings of Jesus, ignored or suppressed because of the 'dangerous' tendency of some of them, and the obscurity of others.

86. Oxyrhynchus fragment.

The Logia testify to the antiquity of *(a)* passages in the Sermon on the Mount, (6) the proverb about 'a prophet in his own country' (favouring Lk.'s versions of these sayings). They also show traces of Johannine thought.[2] They use a Hebraism ('the sons of men') found only in Mk. 3 28, and apparently corrupted in the later Gospels. Another Hebraism is probably latent in the phrase 'fast (accus.) *the world* (τὸν κόσμον)'—*i.e.*, 'fast during the [present] *age*' (the Hebrew for 'world' and 'age' being the same). The meaning is, 'fast as to the six days of the flesh: sabbatise the sabbath of the spirit.'[3]

v. CLEMENT.—Clement of Rome (about 95 A.D.) has *(a)* (13) a passage (resembling Mk. 4 24 11 25 Mt. 5 7 6 14 7 2 12 Lk. 6 36-38 31) which, when compared with Polycarp (*Phil* 2) and Clem. Alex. (476), shows pretty conclusively that these writers had in mind some other tradition than that of the Synoptists.

87. Clem. Rom.

The subject is kindness and mercy. Clem. Rom., besides throwing the Synoptic tradition into a terse antithetical form, adds ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν. The word χρηστεύειν occurs nowhere in NT except in 1 Cor. 13 4. Here, and in the context (14), Clem. Rom. uses it thrice, and also (13; see Lightf.) misquotes under Pauline influence. This points to his use of *some Pauline tradition* of Christ's teaching about kindness and mercy. The *Didaché* explains the reason. It has misunderstood the word 'kindness' in the narrow Jewish sense of 'almsgiving,' so that, instead of 'Blessed are the *merciful* for they shall obtain mercy,' it has (1 5) 'Blessed is he that *giveth according to the commandment*, for he is exempt (from punishment at the Day of Judgment). Against such a Judaising version the broad Pauline χρηστεύειν would express a useful protest.[4] The saying is introduced with a preface ('Remembering

after, the first appearance of the Fourth Gospel, it may have been regarded with suspicion by orthodox, educated, and conservative Christians, such as Justin in the middle of the second century, and Gaius at the beginning of the third.

1 ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ, a saying found in the Talmud (Taylor, *Teaching of Twelve Apost.* 24). Cp 1 Thess. 5 22, ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε.

2 Clem. Rom. § 46, goes with the *Didaché*: 'It is written, *Cleave* (κολλᾶσθε) to them that are holy,' followed by a quotation from Ps. 18 25 *f.*, which he misunderstands, as if it described the influence of companionship for good or evil. So Clem. Alex. 677, only reversing the order, he also (*ib.*) quotes Barnabas 'One should *cleave with* (κολλᾶσθαι μετά) them that fear the Lord.'

3 *E.g.* the use of *(a)* δίψυχος, *(b)* ἔμφυτος, *(c)* προσωποληψία *(d)* Isaac 'offered on the *altar*'; cp with *(a) Did.* 4 4 7 5 1, Barn: 19 7 11, (6) Barn. 1 2 9 9, *(c) Did.* 4 3, *(d)* Barn. 7 3 (Heb. 11 17 om. 'altar').

1 Dr. J. B. Mayor pointed out that Clem. Alex. (556) has τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες (not alleged as yet from any other Greek author). For similarities of thought, cp Clem. Alex. 992, 876, 878, 810-811, 770, 323, 789-790, 214, 374, 466, 64-65, 883, 466.

2 It is characteristic of Jesus to use sayings that are *literally* inconsistent. Hence *(a)* 'seeing the Father' is Johannine, in spite of, or because of, Jn. 14 9. So also is (6) 'thirst,' used absolutely of spiritual thirst (see Jn. 4 13-15 6 35 7 37 19 28, and the beautiful saying imputed to Jesus [Resch *Agr.* 129] by Origen, 'I *thirsted* for them that *thirst*'). Add (c) Jesus, describing himself as (Jn. *passim*) 'coming to,' 'being in,' etc. the world (Log. 'I stood in the midst of *the world*'); *(d)* the impossibility that the true disciple can ever be 'alone' (Jn. 16 32); *(e)* the impediment presented by 'knowledge (γινώσκοντας)' to the art of spiritual healing (Jn. 7 27).

3 Log. *ll.* 27-29, 'raise the stone . . . cleave the tree,' appears to mean that any single disciple—while doing his Master's work by raising up stones' to be children of Abraham, and by cutting down and 'cleaving' the barren tree of Pharisæan conventional Law that 'cumbered the ground'—would have his Master with him (cp Jer. 1 8-10 'I am *with thee* . . . I have set . . . thee to *pluck up* and to *break down*, . . . and to *build* and to plant'). If so, it is parallel to the doctrine of the Baptist recorded by Mt. 3 10 Lk. 3 9 about the stones and the tree (see *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* vol. ii. no. 1 ['98]).

4 Cp Eph. 4 32, γίνεσθε δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοί. Rom. 11 22 (ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ χρηστότης θεοῦ, ἐὰν ἐπιμένῃς τῇ χρηστότητι) is equivalent to χρηστεύου καὶ χρηστευθήσεταί σοι. Clem. Alex. quotes this

the words of the Lord Jesus which he spake') similar to that in Acts 20 35, which is prefixed to a saying not found in any Gospel. This confirms the view that Clement is referring to a Pauline manual of the Words of the Lord.

(*b*) Elsewhere Clem.Rom. (46)—in the same chapter in which he quotes 'cleave to the holy,' and is followed by Clem.Alex., both apparently quoting from some version of the Lord's Words -combines Mk. **942 14**21 and parall. Mt. ; and again Clem. Alex. (561) agrees with him. Clem.Rom. has 'Remember the words of Jesus our Lord, how he said, Woe unto that man. It were well for him if he had not (οὐ) been born, rather than that he should cause to stumble one of my elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone were put round him and that he were sunk in the sea, than that he should pervert (διαστρέψαι) one of my elect.' Clem.Alex. (561) has the same, substituting *μή* for **οὐ**, and 'saith (**φησίν**) the Lord' for 'remember . . . saith.' The reduplication of statement has a Hebraic sound, and it is probable (both because of Clem.Rom.'s preface, and because of the apparent borrowing from Logia in the same chapter) that the two authors are here, as above, quoting independently, from an ancient tradition of the Words of the Lord.[1]

(*c*) Clem.Rom. 15 condenses Is. **29** 13 similarly to Mk. **76** Mt. **158**, omitting the bracketed words in the following quotation from the LXX : [**ἐγγίζει μοι**] ὁ **λαὸς οὗτος** [**ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν**] **τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσίν με** (Clem. *με τιμᾷ*, omitting **αὐτῶν**), **ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει** (Clem. *ἄπεστιν*) ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. The bracketed words interfere with the antithesis, and Justin omits them (allusively) in *Tryph.* 27 and *80* (**χείλεσιν ὁμολογοῦντας τὸν θεόν, ὡς αὐτὸς κέκραγεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν δὲ καρδίαν πόρρω ἔχειν** [sic] **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ**). Yet in *Tryph.* 78 he quotes the passage quite differently, omitting **ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν** with ℵAQ of 𝔊, but taking **ἐγγίζει μοι ὁ λ. οὐ.** *as a separate sentence*, so that the latter part preserves the antithesis. These facts, and the remarkable variations in the text of the LXX and in that of Mk.-Mt., indicate that Clem.Rom. may be here quoting from some Christian manual of prophecy used also by other authors. Clem.Alex., who frequently quotes it, is said by Lightf. (Clem.Rom. 15) to 'follow Clem.Rom. But this is not likely. For, in the only passage where he resembles Clem.Rom., Clem.Alex. (461) has **ἐστίν**, Clem.Rom. **ἄπεστιν**. Now **εστιν** is the reading of D in Mt. **158** (adopted by Clem.Alex. also in 143). Probably, therefore, Clem.Alex. is following Mt. *153* (or some ancient version of it). Clem.Alex. has elsewhere (206) **φιλοῦσι** for **τιμῶσι**, and similarly D has **ἀγαπᾷ** for **τιμᾷ** in Mk. 76. "Also Clem.Alex. has elsewhere (577) ὁ **ἕτερος λαός**. The facts are conclusive negatively. The passage does nol prove that Clem.Rom. is quoting frcm Mk.-Mt.

No further quotations of importance are alleged. The conclusion is, that (1) Clem.Rom. is certainly not proved to have quoted from our Gospels ; (2) in *(a)* and (6) he is probably quoting from Logia not now extant ; **(3)** in (c) he may be quoting from our Gospels, but quite as probably from a Manual (or some Oral Tradition) of prophecy in Christian use.

88. Didaché.

vi. DIDACHE.—The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (? 80-110 A.D.) is a composite document. The earlier part (1-6), consisting of the Doctrine of the Two Ways, inculcates precepts of the Lord, without appeal to his 'words,' or 'Gospel' ; the latter part appeals to both. The 'Gospel' meant is probably Mt. The addition of a doxology to the Lord's prayer, and the mention of (14 1) the Lord's Day,[2] indicate for the latter portion a date toward, or after, the close of the first century. There is no indication that Lk. was known to the writer, apart from supplements or corrections of Mt. in the Two Ways.[1] So far as this little book is concerned, the 'Gospel' to which it refers might consist of a version of the Sermon on the Mount and the Precepts to the Twelve. On the Second Advent, the writer mentions (166-8) 'the Signs of the Truth' with such apparent independence of Mt. as to make it doubtful whether, in the context, the resemblances to Mt. indicate quotations from Mt.

Of all the promises or blessings in Mt. **53-11**, the earlier part of the *Didaché* inserts *only two*. Did. 37, 'Be meek, since ***the meek shall inherit the earth***,' is based (as Mt. **55** is) on Ps. **37** 11. Did. 1 5, 'Blessed is he that giveth in accordance with the commandment,' refers to 'the commandment' which the writer has just quoted (Mt. **542** Lk. **6**30), 'Give to every one that asketh thee, and ask not again.' But the Hebrew for 'give alms' is often represented by ἐλεεῖν, and 'alms' by **ἐλεημοσύνη** (cp ALMS), **so** that 'blessed is he that giveth' might be, in NT Greek, **μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεοῦντες** (or **ἐλεήμονες** as in Mt. 57). It should be noted that Lk. omits both these passages.[2]

vii. BARNABAS.—The Epistle of Barnabas ; assigned by Lightfoot *(BE* 91) to 70-79 A.D., but by others placed later.

89. Barnabas and Synoptists.

(1) *Alleged* ***Synoptic*** *Quotations* ***in*** *Barnadas.*—*(a)* This Epistle is alleged to quote Mt. **2214** as Scripture (Barn. **4** 14) : 'Let us give heed lest, *as* ***it is written***, we be found "many called but few chosen."'

The application of the title 'Scripture' to NT before the end of the first century, if here intended, would be unique. But there are several reasons for doubting the intention. (1) In other allusions to Synoptic tradition, the author does not quote as from 'Scripture.' (2) He twice quotes Enoch, either as (16 5) 'Scripture, or with 'it is written '(4 3): 'The last stumbling-block hath drawn nigh concerning which ***it is written***, **as** *Enoch*[3] ***saith***, "For to this end hath the Lord cut short the times . . ."' Now **(3)** these two passages agree with the one under discussion in treating of the 'last days,' on which subject 'Enoch' was an authority. Also, **(4)** in the last-mentioned passage, whereas he might have quoted Mk. 13 20 Mt. **2422** (if known to him as canonical) about the 'cutting short of the times,' he not only ***quotes*** *Enoch* instead and treats it as 'Scripture,' but also (5) appears to add words not now extant in Enoch ('For to this end ' etc.). (6) The book of Enoch, as we have it, is a composite work, and is likely to have existed in many forms. (7) If it originated for NT (or, at all events, anticipated) the phrases 'Mammon of unrighteousness,' 'Gehenna,' 'the New Jerusalem,' 'the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory,' 'it had been good for him if he had not been born,'[4] it is a very natural supposition that it may have contained the saying in question.

These considerations make it *fairly* probable that the author is either quoting the words from a version of Enoch, or confusing some tradition of the Words of Christ with a version of Enoch, and make either of these suppositions *very much* ***more*** probable than that he is quoting from Mt. as 'Scripture.'

(6) and (c) In Barn. **59** Christ is said to have chosen as his apostles 'men exceeding in lawlessness (**ἀνομωτέρους**) beyond all sin, that he might show that ***he came not to call*** (*the*) ***righteous but sinners.'*** There is nothing to show quotation, but the words may come from Mk. 2 17 (or Mt. 9 13, Lk. inserts 'to repentance') or from some document, or tradition, used by Mk. (*c*) Among several quotations from unknown (**74 119 12**1) 'prophets'—Barn. refers to the New Creation of man thus **(613)**: 'The Lord saith,

passage twice : once (954), embodying in his own remarks (without indicating quotation) a free condensation of Mt. 7 1 *f.* Lk. **633** ; once (476), with the preface 'saith (**φησίν**) the Lord,' quoting almost exactly as Clem.Rom. The variation may indicate that, in the latter instance, he is borrowing from some earlier tradition from which Clem.Rom. also borrowed (as above, in the saying about 'cleaving to them that are holy '). Similarly Clem.Alex. when he asserts (377) that ***the Scripture says***, 'My son, be not a liar, for lying leadeth to theft,' is probably not giving the name of 'Scripture' to Hermas (*Mand.* **3**), 'They therefore who *lie* . . . have defiled the commandment of the Lord and become *defrauders* of him,' but is quoting (what Hermas is trying to spiritualise) *Did.* **3** 5, 'My child, be not a liar, since *lying* leadeth to ***theft,'*** or some book on which Did. **3** 5 is based.

[1] The words 'better . . . horn' occur only in our Lord's ***utterance about*** *Judas* at the Last Supper. It seems very unlikely that Clem.Rom., even though he combines OT passages in a very arbitrary way, would apply such words to quite a different matter, and that Clem.Alex. would follow him. The authority of some collection of the Logia seems needed to explain it, and to justify the two authors.

[2] 'The Lord's Day' occurs in the Apocalypse (1 10), which—at all events so far as concerns the passage including the term—was probably written (as Irenaeus asserted) in, or a little before, **96** A.D.

[1] Did. 16 1 though at first sight suggesting Lk. **12** 35, is probably an allusion to Mt. **25** 1 amplified by an allusion (to 'loins girt' in [Ex. 12 11] the first Passover) which became current in the Church (1 Pet. 1 13 Eph. **6** 14). The latter part is more like a blending of Mk. **13** 35 and Mt. 24 42 **44**, than like Lk. **12** 40.

[2] Lk.'s omission of all the blessings pronounced on positive virtue ('meekness,' 'peacemaking' 'purity,' and 'mercy' [or 'almsgiving']) is perhaps dictated by some doctrinal consideration. The same cause may explain why, in his parallel to Mt. 548, **τέλειοι** ('ye shall be perfect'), he preferred a tradition that gave (Lk. **6** 36) **οἰκτίρμονες**, 'pitiful' (possibly a synonym, for a poetic **ελειινοι** or **ελεῖοι**—MS form of **ελεεινοι**—a corruption of **τέλειοι**). **ἐλεεινός** (for which the Hatch-Redpath Concordance wrongly gives **ἐλεηνός**) occurs thrice in Dan. (𝔊).

[3] The Latin substitutes 'Daniel' for 'Enoch' and takes the words, 'for to this,' etc., **as** coming from Barnabas.

[4] See Charles (*Enoch*, pp. 47-49), who traces its influence in almost every book of NT, and conspicuously in Heb. **4** 13 (Enoch 9 **5**, '**All** things are naked and open in thy sight, and thou seest all things and nothing can hide itself from thee'), which some suppose to have been written by Barnabas. It has also Influenced Irenaeus, Justin, and other early writers. The tradition of Papias about the vine with 10,000 branches comes, directly or indirectly, from Enoch 10 19.

Behold I make the last as the first.' This may possibly he akin to the Synoptic (Mk. 10 31 and Mt.-Lk.) 'The last shall be first'; cp Mt. 20 14, 'I will give unto this last even as unto thee.'

(d) In 7 11 and 11 11 the author probably, but not certainly, assigns to Jesus words not in our Gospels. He (15 9) regards the Ascension as taking place on the day of the Resurrection.'

(2) *Anticipations of Jn. in* Barnadas.—The special points of interest in this epistle are that (1) it was written (Lightf. *BE* 91) 'before the Fourth Gospel'; (2) the latter resembles it in many points:—*(a)* (Barn. 11 11-12 5) the juxtaposition of 'baptism' and the 'brazen serpent,' and the parallel between the serpent and Christ; *(b)* (66) the application of Ps. 22 18 to the casting lots over Christ's vesture; (c) (7 9) the 'piercing (κατακεντήσαντες[2])' of Christ; *(d)* (11 1) the connection between the Cross and Water, followed by a connection between the Cross and Blood; *(e)* (11 11) '"Whosoever shall eat of *these shall live forever.*" This means, "Whosoever," saith he, "shall *hear* these things when they are spoken and shall *believe*, shall *live fur ever.*"'[3] It will be seen below (§ 101) that many of the so-called 'imitations of Jn. by Justin' might be called, less inaccurately, 'imitations of *Barnabas.*'

90. Barnabas and John.

viii. SIMON MAGUS.—The *Great 'Apophasis'* of Simon Magus (Lightf. *BE* 105, 'probably composed somewhere about the close of the first century, perhaps before the Gospel of John was written, or at least circulated') twice uses the phrase (Hippol. 6 12 14) 'remain alone in potentiality (μένειν τῇ δυνάμει μόνον),' and once (*ib.* 16) 'but if a tree abide alone (ἐὰν δὲ μείνῃ δένδρον μόνον)' to denote, as in Jn. 12 24, that which remsins barren and which will perish with the world because it is not made fruitful by being 'likened to the (divine) image' of the Spirit.[4] Simon's doctrine of three divine beings (*ib.* 17) 'there are three that stand,' his allegorising of the Pentateuch in connection with the regeneration of man, the general tone of his materialism, and the wide scope of his influence, make it probable that Jn. had Simon in view when he composed his Gospel.

91. Simon Magus.

ix. IGNATIUS.—Ignatius (before 110 A.D.) mentions a 'Gospel'—which he compares with 'the Law' and 'the Prophets' in such a way as to indicate that it was *written*—*Philad.* 5, 8, 9, *Smyrn.* 5, 7. He quotes short sentences found in Mt. (once [*Eph.* 16] a phrase peculiar to Mk. 943). He never quotes Lk.[5]

92. Ignatius.

1 Herein he appears to anticipate Jn. 20 17. See § 25 n., and § 31.

2 Jn. 19 37 Rev. 1 7 ἐξεκέντησαν.

3 Cp Jn. 5 24 *f.* 6 51 63, 'He that *heareth* my word (λόγον) and *believeth* in him that sent me hath eternal *life*,' 'If any man *shall* eat of this bread, he shall *live for ever*,' 'the *words* (ῥήματα) that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are *life*.'

The similarity is striking; still it would be a mistake to say 'Jn. borrowed from Barnabas.' Barnabas, borrowing from Ezekiel, has previously been alluding (11 9) to 'the prophet' who calls the land of Jacob (Ezek. *206*) 'praised' (𝔊 κηρίον, var. δυνατή, Hebr. 'glory'), continuing as follows (11 10). 'Next (εἶτα) what saith he? "and there was a river winding from the right, and there went up from it fair trees, and *whoso shall* eat *thereof shall live for mer.*"' The italicised words are not in Ezekiel; but they were (doubtless) in the writer's version of Ezekiel, or in some Christian Manual of prophecy containing Christianized extracts from Ezek. 47 1-12, from which also comes probably Rev. 22 1 *f.* ('a river of water of life,' etc.).

The tradition, then, was common to the Church at the close of the first century, and Jn. may be quite independent of Barnabas. The latter generally regards the Cross as a 'tree, and the crucified Jesus as the fruit of the tree (cp Lightf. on Ignat. Smym. 1) planted *by the* side of the baptismal stream. The former regards the 'fountain for sin and uncleanness' as flowing out of Jesus himself, but out of Jesus on the Cross, his 'throne' to which he is 'lifted up.'

4 Jn. applies the phrase to a grain of wheat, Simon to a tree. It looks as though Simon had misunderstood Christ's doctrine in such a way as to induce Jn. to emphasise it. The union of the 'grain' with the earth is intelligible; the union of a 'tree with fertilising influences affords a far less natural and forcible metaphor. The Logion of Behnesa indicates that Jesus may have taught a systematic doctrine about 'abiding alone.' Tatian' (13) ('If it [the soul] live alone (μόνη μὲν διαιτωμένη) it inclines downward to matter, dying with the flesh; but if it has obtained *union* (συζυγίαν) with the divine Spirit, it is no longer without an ally') is closer to Simon than to Jn.

5 Lightf.'s index contains several Ignatian 'resemblances' to Lk. One of these is *Rom.* 7 ('pleasures of this life') resembling Lk. 8 14 ('pleasures of life'). But the phrase had been made popular by Euripides (*Hippol.* 383) εἰσὶν ἡδοναὶ πολλαὶ βίου. Of the two marked as 'quotations,' one (*Eph.* 14 'the tree is manifest from its fruit') is more like Mt. 12 33 ('From the fruit the tree is known') than like Lk. 6 44 ('Each tree is known from *its own* fruit'); the other (*Smyrn.* 3 'Take, handle me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon') has been shown to be not from Lk. (see § 29 *f.*).

The Gospel (*Philad.* 9, *Smyrn.* 7) is said to contain the Passion or Resurrection and also (*Philad.* 5, 9) the 'flesh' and '(personal) presence (παρουσία)'[1] of Jesus—*i.e.*, it brings Christ before us as in the flesh. But when he speaks of the Incarnation, Ignatius does not appeal to the Gospel, but speaks in his own name: describing, for example, (*Eph.* 19) the 'star in the east' in language incompatible with any sober acceptance of Mt.'s account, and actually saying, almost in the language of Simon Magus, that the Logos (*Magn.* 8) 'came forth *from* Silence'—a dangerous expression, hardly possible for any one who devoutly accepted the Fourth Gospel.[2]

The Ignatia; passages commonly alleged to prove that Ignatius recognised Jn. as a Gospel simply prove that he knew the substance of some traditions incorporated in Jn. (a) *Philad.* 7, 'The Spirit . . . *knoweth whence* it *cometh* and whither it *goeth*, and *convicteth* the things that are secret,' is closer in thought (though not in word) to Jn. 8 14 than to Jn. 38. It is a tradition from Gen. 168, quoted by Philo 1576 (and *Quæst. Gen.*), 'Conviction therefore, speaking to the soul, saith unto her "*Whence comest thou and where goest thou?*"' Ignatius is dloser to Philo than to Jn. (*b*) *Philad.* 9, 'the *door* of the Father,' may be traced to Clem. Rom. 48 and back to Ps. 118 19 *f.*, it being a natural tradition that the 'gate of righteousness' is 'the gate in Christ,' and that this leads to 'life' and to 'the Father.'[3] Lastly, such variations as *(c) Rom.* 7 'bread of *God*' (only once in Jn.), *(d) Eph.* 17 19, etc. 'prince of *this* age,' and *(e)* Magn. 5 'His living (τὸ ζῆν) is not in us'—instead of the familiar 'bread of *life*,' 'prince of *this world*,' 'His *life* is not in us'—would be almost Impossible, if the Fourth Gospel were familiar to the author as a gospel, hut quite natural if he had a recent acquaintance with the substance of it as a recent doctrine.

The conclusions are that Ignatius (1) recognised Mt. and probably Mk. as a written gospel, but (2) did not recognise Lk. or Jn. The latter is confirmed by the fact that (§§ 29, 30) in order to demonstrate the reality of the Resurrection, he appeals, not to Lk. or Jn., but to an apocryphal tradition. The 'gospel' of Ignatins does not appear to have contained Mt.'s account of the Incarnation as we have it. The deficiency in Mt.'s account of the Resurrection he supplies from apocryphal sources.[4] Though he does not acknowledge Jn. as a gospel, he accepts a rudimentary Logos-doctrine, and has an acquaintance (but not a familiarity) with Johannine thought.

x. POLYCARP.—Polycarp (110 A.D.; see § 87) has sayings similar to those in the Sermon on the Mount *(Phil 2)*, and to the words of the Lord in Mk. 14 38 Mt. 26 41 (*Phil.* 7).

93. Polycarp.

The former may be from a version of the *Didaché*, but the latter indicates that, like Ignatius, he knew the 'gospel' of Mk. and Mt. *(a)* His omission (Phil. 2) of the words 'in the spirit,' in quoting Mt. 53, 'poor *in the spirit*,' resembles Lk. *620*, but may only indicate that Polycarp and Lk. herein agreed in adopting the same version or interpretation of the *Logia*. (6) (*Phil. 7*) 'Every one that confesseth not that *Jesus Christ* has *come in the flesh* is Antichrist,' resembles 1 Jn. 43, 'every spirit that confesseth not Jesus is not of God; and this is the [spirit] of the Antichrist'; but it much more resembles 2 Jn. 7 '. . . they that confess not that

1 Cp 2 Cor. 10 10, ἡ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος,' 'his bodily presence.'

2 The statement that (*Rom.* 2), as a martyr, he will be 'God's Logos,' but otherwise a mere 'sound,' is based on a distinction common from Aristotle downwards; Simon's *Apophasis* similarly distinguishes between (*Hippol.* 6 9) 'sound' and 'name.' Such a play on 'Logos' would be possible while the Logos doctrine was plastic; scarcely possible (because scarcely reverent) for one who had received as apostolic the Logos-doctrine of Jn.

3 See Hegesippus (Eus. ii. 23 8), 'What is the door of Jesus'? to which James replies apparently that 'the Saviour is the door (τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Σωτῆρα),' cp Eph. 2 18 Rev. 38 Hebr. 10 20.

4 *Smyrn.* 2 (saying that Christ 'raised *himself* up') seems incongruous with Mt.'s account of the descent of an angel to roll away the stone, but agrees better with Pseudo-Peter who says (9) that 'the stone rolled away of itself;' implying, perhaps, that Christ caused it to roll away and arose by his own power (so that the angels descended merely to carry *him up to* heaven). The more orthodox account is that of Paul, and 1 Pet. 1 21 quoted by Polycarp, Phil. 2 'believing on him who raised *our Lord Jesus Christ* from the head.'

Jesus Christ **cometh** *in the flesh.* This is the deceiver and the *Antichrist.'* Now 2 Jn. is a 'disputed' Epistle, so that if Eusebius believed it to be a quotation, he would be *bound to call attention to it.*[1] But he makes no mention of it, though he tells us that Polycarp (iv. 14 9) quoted 1 Pet. It is probable, therefore, that he regarded the words, not as a quotation, but as a mere use of Johannine traditions in vogue during the conflict against Docetism.[2]

The conclusion, so far as any can be drawn from so short a letter, is, that Polycarp knew Mk. and Mt. but not Lk. or Jn., though he used a Johannine tradition embodied in 'a disputed epistle.'

94. Papias. xi. PAPIAS.—Papias (120-30 A.D.) is probably (Lightf. *BE* 67) recorded by Irenaeus (v. 361 2) to have preserved a tradition of a saying of the Lord, 'In the region (ἐν τοῖς) of my Father there are many *abiding-places* (μονάς).' Cp Jn. 14 2 'In my Father's house (οἰκίᾳ) are many *abiding-places.*'

The context indicates that Papias had one meaning and Jn. another. Papias (taking the word as used by Pausanias x. 31 7 'encampment,' 'halting-place') means 'there are many *stages* on the *journey upwards*'—viz. the New Jerusalem Paradise and Heaven. This explains why Papias has 'in the region,' while Jn. has 'in the house.') μοναί means 'stages' in the Petrine Apocalypse and in Clem.Alex. (pp. 1000, 1003, 579 *f.*, 645, 794), who also (p. 797) speaks of the *three* μοναί 'hinted at (αἰνίσσονται)' by 'the three numbers in the Gospel.' The 'three numbers' are explained by Papias as the 'thirty,' 'sixty,' and 'hundred' of the Parable of the Sower.

The conclusion is that Papias is not quoting and misinterpreting Jn., but quoting, and interpreting in accordance with tradition, a Logion (illustrating the Synoptic Parable of the Sower) of which Jn. gives *a different version.*[4] And this leads to the inference that, if Papias had Jn. in his mind, *he did not recognise it as an apostolic gospel.*

95. Epistle to Diognetus. xii. DIOGNETUS.—The Epistle to Diognetus, in its former portion (Lightf. 117-47 A.D.), while accepting a Logos-doctrine, accepts it (ch. 7) in a non-Johannine form (see Lightf. on Col. 1 16): hut phrases in ch. 6 *f.* 10 indicate a familiarity, if not with Jn. as a gospel, at all events with Johannine doctrine and method of expression.

The latter portion (Lightf. 180-210 A.D.), short though it is, yet contains (ch. 11) an apparent allusion to Jn. 16 29 ('Now speakest thou clearly [παρρησίᾳ]'), which makes it highly probable that the author had read Jn. The late date, however, makes this testimony of little importance.

96. Hermas. xiii. HERMAS.—The Shepherd of Hermas (114-156 A.D.) contains no traces of recognised authoritative Johannine thought. The alleged similarities of language may generally be traced to common tradition based on OT—*e.g.*, (*Sim.* 9 12) the Rock and the Gate, (*ib.*) the Son a Fellow-counsellor with the Father in creation (cp Ecclus. 24 9 with Is. 96); (*Sim.* 56) 'showed them the paths of life' (cp Ps 16 11). *Mand.* 3 has no connection with 1 Jn. 2 27. The Logos-doctrine (cp *Sim.* 9 1 'That Spirit is the Son of God,' and see *Sim.* 56) is so strikingly unlike that of Jn. that the writer would seem either *not to know Jn.*, or *to reject it as non-authoritative.*[5]

[1] See § 66 above. Eusebius's omission here is the more noteworthy because (though not bound to do it) he tells us that *Papias and Irenæus quoted 1 Jn.* Much more would he feel bound to tell us that Polycarp, earlier than either of them, quoted *Goth* 1 Jn. and 2 Jn. Nor could it have escaped him in so short an epistle, Polycarp's only extant work.

[2] Besides the instances above-mentioned, Lightf.'s Index mentions, as a 'resemblance' to Jn., *Phil.* 12 'that your fruit may be manifest among all. Jn. 15 16 has 'that *your fruit* may remain,' but 1 Tim. 4 15 has 'that thy progress may be *manifest to all,*' and the notions of 'fruit' and 'progress' are both Pauline (cp Rom. 6 22 'your fruit').

[3] Clem.Alex. has (69) ἐν τοῖς to describe a saint's citizenship in *the region* of the Father. The primary meaning of ἐν τοῖς is 'at a man's *place, property*, or *estate*'; 'at his home' is only a secondary meaning:

[4] Cp the Slavonic Enoch (Charles 61 2) 'For in the world to come . . . there are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, evil for the evil, many without number.' This may be one of several instances where the language of Enoch appears in the doctrine of Jesus.

[5] No doubt many early authors (such as Tatian and Theophilus), though accepting Jn., may have retained for a long time traces of an older Logos-doctrine—sometimes more like that of Philo. But Hermas goes beyond any bounds consistent with acceptance of Jn. in *Sim.* v. 6 'The Holy Spirit which pre-existed, which created all the creation, was caused by God to dwell in flesh [in] which he desired [it to dwell]. That [flesh] therefore . . . along with the Holy Spirit, he chose as a partner.'

97. Basilides. xiv. BASILIDES.—Basilides (117-138 A.D.) is frequently alleged to have quoted from Jn.; but (owing to the difficulty of distinguishing between quotations from Basilides and quotations from his followers, and the fact that Hippolytus and Clem.Alex. differ from Irenæus in their expositions of his doctrine) the only ground for the allegations is in an extract (Clem.Alex. 599 *f.*, expressly quoting the 23rd book of his *Exegetica*) which teaches that all suffering proves the sufferer to have sinned: . Against this doctrine—not by any means peculiar to Basilides—Jn. protests when it states that (9 3) the man who was born blind was not born *so* because he had sinned. With that protest before him, Basilides could hardly have accepted Jn., in its entirety, as authoritative.

So far as it goes, then, the evidence indicates that Basilides did not accept Jn. as an authoritative gospel.

98. Marcion. xv. MARCION.—Marcion is mentioned by Justin Martyr (150 A.D.), after the two very early heretics Simon Magus and Menander, as 'even now teaching' and as having gained followers 'in every race.'

This implies that Marcionism had been flourishing for several years, and points to 125-135 A.D. as the date for Marcion's gospel. Rejecting the OT and the God therein assumed, he was forced, if he adopted any of the four gospels, to make many changes and omissions—*e.g.*, in 'I have not come to *destroy* the law but to *fulfil*' he transposes 'fulfil' and 'destroy.' His gospel is shown by extracts to agree largely with Lk. but to omit many passages peculiar to Lk. He did not call it by Lk.'s name, and may have regarded it as but one of many 'interpretations' of the Logia of Mt. more authoritative than most, and better adapted than our Mt. to express his anti-Jewish views. The omissions and alterations that he would have had to make in Jn. are trifling as compared with those which he was forced to introduce into Lk., and Marcion's alleged Pauline predilections hardly afford a satisfactory reason for his not selecting Jn.

The conclusion is that, in 125-135 A.D., Lk. had come into prominence as a recognised gospel in Marcion's region, but that Jn. was not yet equally prominent.

99. Valentinus. xvi. VALENTINUS.—Valentinus (141-156 A.D.) is assumed by Tertullian (*De Præscr.* 38) to use our gospels. Irenæus says that his followers freely used the Fourth. Hippolytus (635) gives, as from Valentinus himself, a quotation from Jn. 10 8 'All that are come before me are thieves and robbers.' But Tatian has thrice a somewhat similar allusion (calling it on one occasion a saying of 'the most excellent Justin')(chaps. 12 14 18), referring to 'demons' who have been 'robbers of deity' and have 'taken men captive.' As has been shown above (§ 57 n.), it is probably the Synoptic tradition about the contrast between the ideal ruler and the ruler of this world, thrown into a Johannine form, which found its way into Christian tradition before Jn. was generally recognised as authoritative.

100. Summary. xvii. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE BEFORE JUSTIN. —Thus, up to the middle of the second century, though there are traces of Johannine thought and tradition, and immature approximations to the Johannine Logos-doctrine, yet in some writers (*e.g.*, Barnabas and Simon) we find rather what Jn. develops, or what Jn. attacks, than anything that imitates Jn., and in others (*e.g.*, Polycarp, Ignatius, and Papias) mere war-cries of the time, or phrases of a Logos-doctrine still in flux, or apocalyptic traditions of which Jn. gives a more spiritual and perhaps a truer version. There is nothing to prove, or even suggest, that Jn. was 'recognised as a gospel.' Many of these writers, however, are known to us by extracts so short and slight that inference from them is very unsafe; it is otherwise with the writer next to be considered.

101. Justin. xviii. JUSTIN.—Justin Martyr (145-9 A.D.) has been found above (§ 75 *ff.*) (1) quoting freely from Mt. and Lk.; (2) sometimes appearing to use a harmony of the two; (3) adopting **Lk.** by preference as to the Miraculous Conception and the Passion; (4) quoting (apparent) interpolations in Lk.; and (5) showing a disposition to maintain the claims of Lk. as a new but authoritative version of the Memoirs of the apostles. The instances given (§§ 75-77) to prove these conclusions will suffice to show Justin's attitude toward the Synoptists. It remains to consider his attitude toward Jn. as deducible from alleged quotations, or types, borrowed from it; abstentions from quotation; agreements, or disagreements, with Jn.'s doctrine or statement.

(1) *Minor apparent Johannine potations.*

(a) Tryph. 123, 'We are *called* and *are* the true children of God,' is alleged (Lightf. *BE* 88) to be from Jn. 1 12, and 1 Jn. 3 1 *f.* 'that we should he *called* the children of God, and *(so)* we *are*.' Both Justin and Jn. are alluding, partly (1) to Jewish tradition ahout God's 'calling' Isaac to birth and thereby causing him to '*be*' (Gen. 21 12 'In Isaac shall thy *seed* be *called*,' Rom. 4 17 '*calleth* the things that are not [τὰ μὴ ὄντα] as though they *were* [ὡς ὄντα]'); partly (2) to the tradition that Isaac was 'called' from the dead (Heb. 11 19 'that God was able to raise [him] from the dead,' to be compared with Josephus's comment on the sacrifice of Isaac *[Ant.* i. 13 2] 'that God was able to bring men into abundance of the things that *are not* [τῶν οὐκ ὄντων], and to take away the things that *are'*); partly (3) to Philonian traditions ahout God's creative 'call' (Philo 2 367 'He calleth the things that *are not* [τὰ μὴ ὄντα] so that they *are* [εἰς τὸ εἶναι]' : cp Philo 2 176); and partly (4) to a Stoic phrase '*I am* and I *am called'* (Philo 1 337), Epict. *Ench.* 15 'they both *were* (ἦσαν) and *were called* (ἐλέγοντο) divine' (cp *ib.* ii. 16 44 'Heracles was *believed* to he the son of Zeus and he *was* [so]'). So, here, Justin first shows that God was to (Jer. 31 27 and Is. 19 24 *f.*) 'raise up a seed' to Israel ; then asserts that he '*called*' this people Israel and declared it his inheritance: lastly, in answer to Trypho's 'Are *you* (ὑμεῖς) Israel?' he replies, 'We both are *called* and *are* the children of God.'[1] (6) *Apol. 6* '*reason* and *truth*' is an allusion not to Jn. 4 24, 'spirit and truth,' but to what Justin has just said about the temper of Socrates 'in *true reason, i.e.,* reasonableness,' and is a play on the word Logos. (c) *Tryph.* 17, 'the only spotless and righteous [one], *sent [as] light* from God to man,' implies *a* recognition of Christ as (Is. 42 6 49 6 Lk. 2 32; Enoch 48 4) a 'light to lighten,' not only 'the Gentiles,' but the world ; and an allusion to Jewish traditions (Schöttg. 2 113 226) based on Ps. 43 3 '*Send out thy light* and thy truth.'[2] *(d)* 1 *Apol.* 60 ('If ye . . . *believe,* ye *shall be saved'),* treating of the brazen serpent, differs so much from Num. 21 7-9 ('that every one that is bitten, when he *seeth* it, *shall live'*) that it is urged (Lightf. *BE* 87) that the writer had in his mind Jn. 3 14 *f.* ('that whosoever *believeth* may in him have *eternal life').* But Barn. (12 7 'let him hope and *believe* . . . and immediately he *shall be saved') differs even more* from Num. Justin is closer to Barnabas than to Jn., and appears to be condensing the former or some kindred tradition.[3] *(e)* Justin accuses the Jews of cancelling *(Tryph.* 73) 'He shall reign from the tree' in Ps. 96 10; and some might infer that he borrowed this thought from Jn., who regards the Cross as a throne on which Jesus is 'lifted up' or 'exalted.' But see Barn. 8 5: 'the *reign* of Jesus *on the tree.'*

The close and numerous resemblances between Barnabas and Justin in respect of prophecies and types prove that Justin followed either Barnabas or some tradition used by Barnabas, and *go* some way towards proving that, if he knew Jn., he preferred Barnabas.

(2) '*Except ye be begotten again.*' [4]—1 *Apol. 61,* 'For in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the Universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, they then receive the washing with water. For indeed Christ said, ***Except ye be begotten again ye shall not* (οὐ μὴ) *enter into the kingdom of the heavens.*** Now that it is absolutely impossible for those once born to re-enter the wombs of those that bare them is evident to all.' Cp Jn. 3 3 *f.* ***'Except a man be begotten from** above,*[5] ***he cannot** see the* **kingdom of God.** Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man be begotten when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be begotten? Jesus answered . . . ***Except a man be begotten of water and (the) Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'***

[1] The antithesis was naturally common after the persecutions of Nero. It may he illustrated by Mt. 22 14 'Many are *called* but few *chosen,'* hut also by Epict. ii. 9 20 'When we see a man trimming, we are wont to say, "He is not a Jew, but pretends." But when he takes on himself the condition of the imbued and chosen (& τοῦ βεβαμμένου καὶ ᾑρημένου—*i.e.,* the "elect"), then he *is indeed, besides being* **called** (καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι καὶ καλεῖται) a Jew' : where 'is . . . and is called' seems parallel to Justin's; 'is called and is.'

[2] Justin *(Tryph.* 17) calls Christ 'the only spotless and righteous man (ἄνθρωπον),' and then, repeating the phrase without 'man' says that he was *'sent* [*as*] *light* into the world.' Cp Wisd. 9 10 *'Send her* forth from the holy heavens, and *send her* from the throne of thy glory,' where 'her' refers to Wisdom, (*ib.* 7 25) 'the pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty, the *shining* (ἀπαύγασμα) of the *eternal Light.'* Both Jn. and Justin adapt Jewish tradition to the Incarnation ; hut Jn. (12 46 'I am *come a light* into the world,' 3 19 [?] 1 9) speaks of the Light as 'coming' into 'the World' : Justin speaks of it as 'sent.'—(The rendering 'spotless light' is an error ; nor is there a play on the double meaning of φωτός 'man' and 'light.') For the construction ('sent [as]') cp 1 Jn. 4 10 ἀπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἱλασμόν.

[3] For other passages in Justin and Barnabas resembling one another, and found also in Jn., see the connection of the Cross or 'tree' *(Tryph.* 86) with water (mentioned above, § 90) and the application of Ps. 22 18 to the M[illegible]s a (though here Justi[illegible] [*Tryph.* 97] an[illegible] Jn. [1[illegible]:4] go a step farther than Barn. 6 6).

[4] Ἀ[illegible]θ[illegible]: th[illegible] ve[illegible]b does not occur in NT except in 1 Pet. 1 23 (RV) 'begat again.'

[5] Γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν. The evidence from Jn.'s use of the word (3 31 19 11) and from Philo 1 482 263 443 498 (and cp Menander in Eus. 3 26 and Simon Magus in Hippol. 6 18), and from Epict. i. 13 3 (τῆς αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν καταβολῆς [σπέρματος]), is irresistibly in favour of the rendering 'from above.' Ἄνωθεν may mean 'again,' but *only where the context clearly points to that meaning,* as it does in Artemidorus (see Grimm's *Lexicon),* who says that a man who dreams of being born *over again* (ἄνωθεν) will have a son, because having a son is, as it were, *a second birth.*

Justin himself *never uses the word to mean 'again,'* hut (1) 'from ahove,' of the Incarnation, (*Tryph.* 64) ἄνωθεν προελθόντα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον, and also probably (against Maranus) *Tryph.* 63 ἄνωθεν καὶ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀνθρωπείας ὁ θεὸς . . . γεννᾶσθαι (?) αὐτὸν ἔμελλεν: (2) with κηρύσσειν or προειπεῖν, *Tryph.* 24, 99 'from of old.' If Justin were here quoting Jn., he would he *altering a phrase that he himself uses.*

Justin is here meeting heathen misrepresentations of the two sacraments, hy showing that they are based on Christ's command and on reason and that the heathen themselves have imitated them. As to the Eucharist, he gives (1) Christ's Words of Institution, (2) the Pagan imitation. As to baptism, since he gives the Pagan imitation later (62 64), he is (presumably) giving here what he regards as the words of Institution (for he gives no others).' That they are derived from Jn. is improbable for many reasons. (1) Justin's tradition is thrown into the form of an indirect precept ('thou shalt be baptized or thou shalt not enter'); Jn.'s is a statement of a law. (2) Justin omits the two elements mentioned in the full form of the Johannine utterance—viz., 'water' and 'spirit.' (3) Justin, though familiar with the use of ἄνωθεν to mean 'from above,' and though he once actually uses ἄνωθεν γεννᾶσθαι, here has ἀναγεννᾶσθαι.[2] (4) That Justin agrees with Jn. in connecting the doctrine of regeneration with words about the impossibility of re-entering the womb, is not indeed an accidental coincidence, any more than the somewhat similar connection in an utterance of Simon Magus (Hippol. 6 14), 'How, then, and in what manner, doth God *shape men (in the new birth)?'* to which Simon replies, 'Admit that *Paradise is the womb,* and that this is true the Scripture will teach thee,' afterwards entering into minute materialistic details about 'the womb.' It is a connection so natural in controversy that it is easy to understand that it became a commonplace in Christian doctrine.[3]

***(3) Other alleged quotations.—(a) Tryph.* 105, '*That this [man] was* [*the*]** only-hegotten of the Father of the Universe (μονογενὴς γὰρ ὅτι ἦν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων οὗτος), having become from him in a special way Word and Power (ἰδίως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λόγος καὶ δύναμις γεγενημένος[4]), *and afterwards becoming man through the Virgin* (καὶ ὕστερον ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου γενόμενος), as we have learned from the Memoirs, I have shown above.' Lightfoot (*BE* 88), omitting the italicised words, infers that Justin *refers to Jn.* as *a part of the Memoirs* for the proof of the 'special' antemundane birth. But the words he omits indicate that Justin refers to *Tryph.* 100, where he *'shows' this from the Memoirs,* as an inference from Peter's confession. This resort to the Memoirs to prove what they *cannot* prove, hut Jn. *could* prove, indicates that Justin *did not regard Jn. as authoritative;* *(6)* Justin, against Marcion, is said[5] *to* have

[1] Justin's words, 'In the name of the Father,' etc., show that he recognised the formulary of Mt. 28 19 as binding *in practice.* So the *Didaché* (7 1) recognises (but does not quote) it. Justin *nowhere quotes Mt. for the facts of Christ's Resurrection, but only Lk.* And Lk. *omits the command to baptize.*

[2] If it be urged that Jn. states the doctrine in two forms, and that Justin may have preferred the *first* ('begotten from above'), then, besides altering 'from above' into 'again,' he has altered 'see' into 'enter,' which occurs only in Jn.'s *second* form.

[3] It may be worth noting that Barnabas (16 8), as well as Simon Magus, introduces his explanation of regeneration (which he bases on the metaphor of a temple) with a 'How?' (Cp Jn. 3 9 '*How* can these things be?') In these two authors 'how' is rhetorical, in Jn. it is not; hut the usage perhaps indicates a traditional way of stating and answering a perplexing question. Barnabas (like 1 Pet. 1 23) regards the 'begetting' as 'again' (not 'from above'), κτιζόμενοι πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Space does not permit of showing *the important difference of the Johannine doctrine,* which tacitly protests that '*second* birth' is not the question. The question is, 'Is it from *above'* or (like some of the second births of heathen mysteries) 'from *below'*?

[4] Γεγενημένος: cp 1 *Apol. 22,* ἰδιώς . . . γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λέγομεν λόγον θεοῦ. Jn. would not apply the verb γίνεσθαι to the Logos except in Connection with (1 14) 'flesh'. He frequently draws a marked distinction between the εἶναι of the Logos and the γίνεσθαι of man or matter (1 1 3 *f.* 6 8 58).

[5] The words, 'But the only-hegotten,' etc., may be those of *Irenæus,* commenting on what he has quoted from Justin. (1) Eusebius (4 18), quoting, from Justin, this extract, stops

written (Iren. iv. 6 2), 'I should not have believed . . . *but the only-begotten Son* came to **us. . .**' This Lightfoot (*BE* 89) asserts to be based on Jn. 1 18. But, besides the objection that many authorities, as W & H, read in Jn. 1:18 'God' for 'Son,' this assertion assumes that Jn. must have ***invented*** this application of 'only-begotten,' whereas in fact it followed ***naturally from the Logos-passage in Wisd.*** 7 22 describing the Wisdom of God as containing a Spirit 'only-begotten,' and might be suggested by Ps. 22 20, 'Deliver my soul from the sword, mine ***only-begotten*** from the power of the dog.' Now in the ***Apologies*** and ***Dialogue*** Justin (so far as Otto's Index shows) never uses the word 'only-hegotten' except in *Tryph.* 105, referred to above (*a*), where he supported it by Ps. 22, and professed to have 'previously shown' it, the 'showing' being really a futile inference from the Memoirs. All this, so far from indicating a borrowing from Jn., proves that, ***if Justin knew Jn., he refused to base any statement*** on it; (*c*) ***Tryjh.*** 88 has simply the Synoptic tradition of the Baptist, developed as in Acts 13 25 [1] (with a tradition of Justin's own, **καθεζόμενος**, twice repeated in connection with the Baptist elsewhere, and with **ἐβόα** adaptrd from Is.); and *Tryph.* 57, as to the Manna, instead of alluding to Jn. 6 31, is a ,quotation from Ps. 78 25 with an allusion to Ps. 78 19 (cp 1 Cor. 10 3 and also Wisd. 16 20), representing a stage of tradition earlier than Jn. ; (*d*) *Tryph.* 69, 'those who were from birth and according to the flesh ***defective [in vision]*** (**πηρούς**),' is alleged by some [2] to refer to the healing of the man 'blind ***from birth***,' mentioned only by Jn. (9 1-34). But Justin speaks of these people ***in the plural***, Jn. 9 32 states that the healing was ***unique, unheard of 'from the beginning of the world.'*** Justin was probably quoting from some tradition earlier than Jn. ; hut in any case this instance tends to show that, if he knew Jn., he did ***not*** regard it as authoritative.[3]

Other alleged quotations, if examined, might be shown, even more conspicuously than those treated above, to fail to prove that Justin recognised Jn. as an authoritative gospel.

(4) *Abstentions from Quotation.*—*It* is generally recognised that the Synoptists do not teach, whereas Jn.

102. Justin's ignoring Jn.

and Justin do teach, Christ's pre-existence, the feeding on Christ's 'flesh and blood' (as expressed in those precise words), the application of the term 'only-begotten' to Christ, and the Logos-doctrine. When, therefore, we find Justin either not appealing to any authority in behalf of these doctrines, or appealing to pointless passages in the Synoptists instead of pointed .passages in Jn.. it is a legitimate inference that Justin did not recognise Jn. as on a level with the Synoptists.[4]

(*a*) 1 *Apol.* 66, 'We have been taught that the food . . . is both the flesh and the blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.' In support of this, instead of quoting Jn. 6 54 along with the Synoptic words of Institution, Justin quotes 'the interpolated Lk. 22 19 ; (*b*) *Tryph.* 105, 'only-begotten' (see § 101 3 [a]); (*c*) *Tryph.* 48, the belief in Christ's pre-existence is based on what is

short before 'but the only-begotten'; (2) the part omitted by Eusebius contains words common in Irenaeus hut not in Justin, and (3) ***has two allusions*** *to* ***Paul's Epistle: (to which Justin never alludes)*** ; (4) elsewhere Justin never uses 'only-begotten' apart from prophecy that justifies it. On the other hand, Justin might quote, to a Christian, authorities that he would not quote to a Jew, to whom everything needed to be proved. (In the words omitted by Eusebius ['. . . ***nos*** plasmavit . . . venit ad ***nos*** . . . firma est ***mea*** ad eum fides . . . utraque Deo ***nobis*** praebente'] the intrusion of the sing. ['mea'] would be strange, whether Justin or Irenaeus were the writer; but **ἡμῶ πιστις** may have been misread as **ἡ μου πιστις**). **On** the whole, the words are probably not Justin's.

1 Acts **ὑπονοεῖτε**, Justin **ὑπελάμβανον**: *Acts* **οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ**, Justin **οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός.**

2 Not, however, by Lightfoot ***BE.***

3 After quoting Is. 35 5 *f.*, 'the *blind* (**τυφλοί**), deaf, lame, dumb,' Justin asserts the healing of **τοὺς ἐκ γενετῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα πηροὺς καὶ κωφοὺς καὶ χωλοὺς . . . τὸν δὲ καὶ ὁρᾶν ποιήσας.** Clearly **πηρός** includes, if it is not restricted to, those who are made 'to see'—*i.e.*, 'the blind.' In his earlier work Justin (or a scribe ?) appears to have corrected **πηρους** into **πονηρους** (1 ***Apol.*** 22 **χωλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικοὺς καὶ ἐκ γενετῆς πονηρούς**). It **looks** as though Justin interpreted spiritually in the '***Apology***, but literally in the ***Dialogue***, some old tradition about Christ: acts of healing. Hence the strange addition 'in the flesh. He seems to ,mean 'not, as some say, ***spiritually***, but ***physically*** defective.

4 On this point 1 ***Apol.*** 46 is a key-passage, 'We were ***taught*** that Christ is the ***First-born of God***, and we ***indicated above*** that he is the Word wherein every race of men participated.' The doctrine of the First-born is ***authoritative 'teaching,'*** the Logos doctrine is the '***indication' of the writer.*** On the rare occasions when Justin asserts ***(Tryph.*** 105) that he has 'shown' that Johannine doctrine is in the Memoirs, his 'showing,' when analysed, amounts to (*Tryph.* 100) 'we have ***inferred*** (**νενοήκαμεν**),' supported by references to OT

'proclaimed ***by the blessed prophets*** and ***taught by him*** (Christ). On this Westcott (Ju. *Introd.* lxxxiv) says that the Synoptists 'do not anywhere declare his pre-existence,' apparently inferring that Justin must have Jn. in mind, though he never quotes Jn. But the italicised words (cp 2 *Apol.* 8 10) simply indicate the ***general continuity between what Christ taught*** **as** ***the Logos, through the prophets***, and what he taught as Jesus ***in the flesh.*** When Justin 'shows' the pre-existence of Christ from a ***particular*** passage, it is from the Memoirs, but in a most unsatisfactory manner (see last footnote). (*d*) ***Tryph.*** 86 says that 'the rod' in OT is a type of the Cross, and that Moses, 'by means of this, ***saw water that gushed from the rock'—i.e., from Christ***—and (*ib.* 103) applies to Christ Ps. 22 14, '***poured out like water.***' These words seem absolutely to demand some reference to that stream (if he knew of it) which the author of the Fourth Gospel alone records himself to have 'seen' flowing from Christ on the Cross. Yet Justin (*ib.* 103), instead of quoting Jn., quotes the interpolated Lk. 22 44, omitting Lk.'s mention of '*blood*,'[1] so that the quotation accords with the Psalmist's 'poured out like ***water.***' (*e*) *Tryph.* 97 follows Barnabas (6 6) in applying part of Ps. 22 18 to the 'casting of lots' for Christ's garments. But ustin goes farther, by quoting the ***whole verse***, which mentions 'dividing' as well. Jn. also quotes the whole verse, but goes farther still, seeing in it ***two distinct and symbolical acts.*** It is highly improbable that, if Justin had known, as apostolic, this warrant for a *twofold* fulfilment of prophecy, he would have omitted to refer to it. But he neither refers to it, nor even recognises two acts.[2] (*f*) *Tryph.* 110 says that the Vine is God's people, planted and pruned for its good by Christ, without reference to Jn. 15 1 *f.*, where Christ describes himself as pruning the Church that the fruitful branches may bring forth more fruit. (*g*) 1 ***Apol.*** 63, 'The Jews are justly ***charged*** . . . by, Christ himself, with ***Knowing neither the Father nor the Son.*** This ought to refer to such 'charges' as Jn. 8 19, 'Ye ***neither Know me nor my Father.***' Yet Justin quotes for it nothing but an ancient version of Mt. 11 27 Lk. 10 22 ('No one knoweth [ἔγνω, but **γινώσκει** or **ἐπιγιν.** in Mt. and Lk.] the Father, save the Son ; [3] nor the Son, save the Father, and those to whom the Son will reveal [him]'), which is merely a general statement of the conditions of revelation. (*h*) *Tryph.* 40, 'The well-known lamb (**πρόβατον**) that was, commanded to be roasted ***whole*** (ὅλον) was a type of the Cross. Jn. alone describes the providential interposition by which 'not a bone was broken' of Christ, the Paschal lamb. Yet Justin, instead of referring to this, refers to 'the roasting of the two lambs on two spits, one across the other, which typified the Cross !

(5) ***Inconsistencies with Jn.*** mostly concern Justin's

103. Justin at variance with Jn.

views of the origin of Christ, and the Logos-doctrine ; but they also affect his views of God, and of theology generally.

Justin's view is that (2 *Apol.* 6) God has ***no*** 'name'; Jn.'s is that the Son came to declare the Father's 'name' and to keep them in that 'name.' The notion of a Trinity in a Unity of will, or love, is absent from Justin. Generally Justin shrinks from the phrase 'begotten of God.' According to him it is the Logos, or the Son, who '***begets***' (*Tryph.* 138) 'the new race' or (26. 63) the Church, his '*daughter*' (cp *Tryph.* 138, also 135, **ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ λατομηθέντες**).[4] Elsewhere he allows himself to say that God has begotten from himself (*Tryph.* 61) a kind of Logos-power (**λογικήν τινα δύναμιν**).[5] Yet when he speaks of the Father as begetting the Son, he always inserts (*ib.*) 'by ***his will***,'[6] or (*ib.* 100) 'coming forth by ***the power and counsel'*** of God, or, speaking of the birth of Jesus (*ib.* 63), he uses the middle **γεννᾶσθαι**, '***cause*** to be begotten.' In his

1 Justin's may be the earlier form, to which Lk.'s 'of blood' may be a later addition. But in any case the argument remains that whereas Jn. fulfils Justin's requirements exactly, and the interpolated Lk. does not, Justin quotes the latter and not the former.

2 It may be replied that Justin understanding the nature of Hebrew poetry, perceived that ohly ***one*** action was intended ; but *Tryph.* 53 ***accepts the 'coit' and 'ass' of*** Mt. 21 2 ***though rejected by the other Evangelists.*** The real explanation is that Jn. represents a later and more developed tradition than that adopted by Justin.

3 RV, 'No one knoweth the Son save the Father,' but quoted as above by Justin again (*Tryph.* 100), and by Clem.Alex., Origen, and Tertullian.

4 Thus, according to Justin, the Church (Ecclesia) and Man (Anthropos) are both begotten by Logos. So the Valentinians taught that Anthropos and Ecclesia were the children of Logos and Zoe.

5 If **λογική** means 'containing Logos,' δύναμις **λογική** means 'a Power containing Logos.' What is this 'Power'? Surely 'Thought (**Ἔννοια**).' Hence Justin implies that the Father begot 'Thought (**Ἔννοια**)' as the Arché, or Beginning, and that in this Arché, or Beginning, there was Logos. But this is formal Valentinianism. If Justin had recognised Jn.'s Logos doctrine as inspired, would it not have protected him from thus laying himself open to the charge of adopting what he himself considered heretical-doctrine ?

6 Cp Jn. 1 13, 'were begotten of God,' where Irenaens and other authorities insert '*ex voluntate Dei*' and apply it ***not to believers but to Christ.*** Tertullian ***(De Carn. Chr.*** 19) ***accuses***

anxiety to emphasise the supremacy and ineffability of the Father, he speaks of one (meaning the Logos) who is (Tryph. 56) 'a *different* (ἕτερος, not ἄλλος) God and Lord, *under* the Maker of the universe'; (1 *Apol.* 32, and similarly 2 *Apol.* 13) 'The first Power, *next to* the Father of all.' This conveys the notion that the Logos is hut one of many subordinate Powers. Also, the multiplicity of names given to the Logos (*Tryph.* 56 61 100, etc.)—Son, Wisdom, Angel, Day, East, Sword, etc.—suggests Philo's (1 427) 'many-named' Logos rather than that of Jn.; and when Justin quotes Dan. 7 13, to lay stress on the 'as' in '*as* Son of Man,' and tells us that Christ was only (*Tryph.* 76) φαινόμενον καὶ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον, the word φαινόμενον seems anti-Johanniue, and bordering on Docetism.

(6) *Summary of the evidence about Justin.*—It appears, then, that (1) when Justin seems to be alluding to Jn.,

104. Justin: summary. he is really alluding to OT or Barnabas, or some Christian tradition different from Jn. and often earlier than Jn.; (2) when Justin teaches what is practically the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel, he supports it, not by what can easily be found in the Fourth, but by what can hardly, with any show of reason, be found in the Three; (3) as regards Logos-doctrine, his views are alien from Jn. These three distinct lines of evidence converge to the conclusion that Justin either did not know Jn., or, as is more probable, knew it but regarded it with suspicion, partly because it contradicted Lk., his favourite Gospel, partly because it was beginning to be freely used by his enemies the Valentinians. (4) It may also he fairly added that literary evidence may have weighed with him. *He seldom or never quotes* (as many early Christian writers do) *from* apocryphal *works.*[1] The title he gives to the Gospels ('Memoirs of the Apostles') shows the value he set on what seemed to him the very words of Christ noted down by the apostles. Accepting the Apocalypse as the work of (*Tryph.* 81) the apostle John, he may naturally have rejected the claim of the Gospel to proceed from the same author. This may account for a good many otherwise strange phenomena in Justin's writings. He could not help accepting much of the Johannine doctrine, but he expressed it, as far as possible, in non-Johannine language; and, where he could, he went back to earlier tradition for it, such as he found, for example, in the Epistle of Barnabas.

xix. TATIAN.—Tatian gives evidence (150-80 A.D.) of special value because, being a pupil of the recently de-

105. Tatian. ceased Justin who does *not* quote Jn., he wrote an *Apology* which apparently *does* quote Jn., or Johannine tradition; and, later, after he had become an Encratite heretic, he composed a Harmony of the Four Gospels, thereby accepting the Fourth as on a level with the Three. His *Apology* may throw light on the date, and perhaps on the reasons, of acceptance.

The alleged (Lightf. *BE* 90) quotations in the *Apology* are the following: (a) (*Apol.* 4) 'God is a spirit, not one that inter-

106. His Apology. penetrates matter (οὐ διήκον διὰ τῆς ὕλης).' This is simply a negation of the Stoical dictum (Clem. Alex. 699) that God is 'a spirit,' but 'one that interpenetrates all being (διήκειν διὰ πάσης τῆς οὐσίας)' (and cp Orig. *Cels.* 6 17); (*b*) (*Apol.* 13) 'And this, you see, is the meaning of the saying (τὸ εἰρημένον) "The darkness *comprehendeth* (καταλαμβάνει) *not the light*"; for the soul did not itself preserve (ἔσωσεν) the spirit, but was preserved (ἐσώθη) by it, and the *light comprehended* (κατέλαβεν) *the darkness.*' It is doubtful whether Jn.—who says that (1 Jn. 15) 'God is light and in him is no darkness'—would accept the latter half of this antithesis. Paul's saying that Christ (Phil. 3 12) 'comprehends,' or 'catches (for its good),' the human soul is very different from saying that the light 'comprehends' the darkness.[1] Also the use of εἰρημένον[2]—which applies to any saying, and not specially to Scripture—combines with the naturalness of such a 'saying' in Christian controversy to make it probable that Tatian is quoting a common tradition, and not Jn.; (*c*) (*Apol.* 19) 'Renounce demons and follow the only God. All things [are] by him (πάντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *i.e.* the Father), and without him hath *not been* made (γέγονεν) anything; cp Jn. (1 3), 'All things were *made* (ἐγένετο) *through* him (*i.e.* the Logos), and without him was not made (ἐγένετο) anything.' The two sayings are quite distinct in meaning; but the verbal likeness makes it certain that Tatian must have known Jn., though he has either misinterpreted it or altered it (possibly to avoid polytheistic inferences).

(*a*) *Traces of Jn. as a recent 'interpretation.'* Though the *Apology* teems with subtleties (alien from Jn.) about matter and the Logos, and shows no recognition of the Johanniue view of the spiritual unity of the Father and the Son, yet the above-mentioned allusions or quotations—occurring as they do in a very short treatise that contains hardly a single allusion to the Synoptists—indicate that Tatian attached considerable importance to *a new method of stating* the Christian *case*, such as he found in Johannine tradition or writing. Such passages as (*Apol.* 5) 'God was in the beginning: but the beginning, *we* have *received by tradition* (παρειλήφαμεν), is a Logos-*power* (λόγου δύναμιν),' indicate what may almost be called an attempt to *improve* on Jn.'s 'the Word was in the beginning,' so that we can hardly call them recognitions of Jn. as an authoritative gospel. And the following passage points perhaps in the same direction. Supporting his theory that evil springs from the inferior of 'two kinds of spirits,' Tatian says (*Apol.* 12), 'These things it is possible to understand in detail for, one who does not in empty conceit reject (ἀποσκορακίζοντι) *those most divine* interpretations which, in *course of time*, having *been published in writing* (read διὰ γραφῆς ἐξενηνεγμένας for δ. γ. ἐξεληλεγμένας), have made those who give heed to them acceptable to God (θεοφιλεῖς).' Now the only passage in NT that definitely and fully recognises Tatian's 'two kinds of spirits'—bidding the reader 'not believe every spirit,' giving him a test by which he may 'know the spirit of God' and discern 'the spirit of truth and the spirit of error'—is 1 Jn. 4 1-6. It seems probable, then, that Tatian is here referring to the Johannine Epistle and Gospel, which are obviously connected and are generally supposed to have been published together.

This would fit in with a good many facts. The word 'interpretations' was applied by Papias to the various 'versions' of Matthew's Logia. Mark was called Peter's 'interpreter,' so that Mk. itself might be called an 'interpretation' of apostolic tradition. There is evidence to show that the Johannine Gospel was long preached orally before being published; and Tatian's words seem to hint at a deferred publication ('*in course of* time *having been published in writing*'). If it was 'interpreted' by an Elder of Ephesus, such as John the Elder, it might be known to Tatian as an 'interpretation. Also, the clause about 'rejecting' implies that some *had* rejected, or were disposed to reject, the work in question—and this with contempt. Justin may not have gone so far as this. Tatian's respect for (18) 'the admirable Justin' is quite consistent with the hypothesis that he already dissented from his former master's cautious avoidance of Jn., especially if Tatian himself did not as yet rank it with the Synoptists.

(6) The *Diatessaron* gives us little help beyond the assurance that, when it was composed, Tatian ranked

107. Diatessaron. Jn. with the Synoptists. As handed down in Arabic, it differs, both in text and in arrangement, from the text commented on by Ephraem; and both of these differ from the text commented on by Aphraates.[3]

the *Valentinians of* substituting '*were begotten*' *for* '*was begotten.*'

The fact appears to be that, whereas preceding writers had laid stress on being 'born again,' Jn. laid stress on the *nature* of this second birth, describing it as (113) 'from *God*,' (3 3) 'from *above.*' Many took offence at this, as suggesting that *man's second birth* is of the same nature as Christ's incarnation (which indeed may have been Jn.'s meaning). Therefore, in the first passage where Jn. states the doctrine (re-stated in the Epistle too often to be changed), some ventured to change it. Cp Ja. 1 18, 'By an act *of will* (βουληθείς) he brought us forth.' This explains the general mistranslation of (3 3) 'from *above*,' as though it must mean 'again.'

1 He uses, it is true, a corrupt text of the LXX, and refers to the Acts *of Pilate*; but he never quotes Enoch (as Barnabas does), the Gospels of the Hebrews, Egyptians, etc. Eusebius, who never bestows such praise on Irenæus, praises Justin's (iv. 18 1) 'cultivated intellect.'

1 Cp perhaps Philo 2 415, 'If some were unable to *comprehend* (καταλαβεῖν) God,' yet Israel received a revelation, 'having been comprehended' (read καταληφθείς for καταβληθείς)—*i.e.*, grasped and drawn towards God, because God 'wished to reveal his own essential being.

2 In NT εἰρημένον is not used to introduce Scripture, except when (Lk. 2 24 Acts 2 16 13 40) accompanied *by some qualifying phrase*—*e.g.*, 'in the Law' 'in the Prophets!' etc. When not thus qualified, it must be) rendered 'said, spoken,' etc. (cp Rom. 4 18 [RV], 'according to that which had been *spoken*'—*i.e.*, to Abraham—not 'according to that which hath been said' in Scripture).

3 A complete collation of Aphraates, Ephraem, and the Latin version of the Arabic shows that there are not more than three or four passages—and these of little importance—where these three alleged representatives of Tatian's work agree against the modern text (as represented by WH): Mk. 9 23 Mt. 6 21 16 25.

This indicates—what of itself is highly probable—that at a very early period the *Diatessaron* was revised in the interests of orthodoxy, so as to leave few traces of the author's Encratite and other heretical tendencies.[1] What may be the correct inferences from Theodoret's account of Tatian's excisions and of 'the mischief of the composition,' and what ought to be inferred from Eusebius's (*HE* iv. 29 6) (probably) contemptuous statement about the work, are questions that do not affect Tatian's recognition of Jn. All agree that before the end of his life—*i.e.* about 170-180 A.D.—he recognised the Four Gospels as being of special authority, although his notions of authority may not have prevented him from handling them with considerable freedom.

As regards the date of recognition, Tatian's *Diatessaron* adds little to our knowledge, for by the time of its composition (about 180 A.D.), Irenæus regarded 'four gospels' as no less essentially four than the 'four zones of the earth,' so that in Gaul the Fourth Gospel must have been recognised much earlier. But the importance of Tatian's testimony, following on Justin's, is that the two appear to fix the turning-point in sceptical criticism—the teacher favouring Lk. but rejecting Jn whilst his pupil at first apparently took up Jn. as a 'divine interpretation' specially adapted for a philosophic appeal to the Greeks, and before long placed it in a Harmony of the Four Gospels.

From this date investigation is rendered needless by the practically unanimous acceptance of the canonical Gospels. E. A. A.

B.—HISTORICAL AND SYNTHETICAL.

What remains of the present article will be devoted to a brief statement and discussion of the principal hypotheses which have been at various times put forward as tentative solutions of the Synoptical problem. On the fourth gospel see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE.

I. TENDENCY IN THE SYNOPTISTS.

The question of tendency deserves the first place, for the more tendency can be seen to have been at work in the composition of the Synoptic gospels, the less room is left for the action of merely literary influences and the like. Now, tendencies of one kind or another in the Synoptists are conceded even by the most conservative scholars. Thus they find that Mt. wrote for Jewish Christians, or for Jews,[2] to prove to them from the OT the Messiahship of Jesus; this appears from Mt.'s numerous OT quotations, often even prefaced with the words, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken' (ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν: 1 22 etc.). Jerusalem is spoken of as simply 'the holy city' (4 5 27 53). Much space is given to the polemic against the Pharisees and Scribes. The contrast to Mt. presented by Lk. is striking. Here many speeches, which according to Mt. were directed against the Pharisees, are addressed to the nation in general (Lk. 11 15 *f.* 29 639 43 as against Mt. 12 24 38 15 12-14 7 15-20). In Lk. 3 7 (contrast with Mt. 3 7) we have the (surely impossible) story that the Baptist addressed the masses who desired to receive his baptism as a generation of vipers (§ 127 *a, a*). The fact, too, that Lk. 3 34-38 carries the genealogy of Jesus back to Adam points to the conclusion that, in writing, he has Gentile Christians, or Gentiles, in his mind. The same inference can be made for Mk., who is at pains to explain Jewish words or customs (7 3 *f.* 11 34 3 17 5 41 15 42) and by frequently using Latin words (5 9 6 27 7 4 15 39) and forms of expression (3 6 5 23 14 65 15 15) and even explaining Greek by Latin phrases (12 42 15 16) shows that he was addressing readers who spoke Latin. Again, from the relatively small number of discourses of Jesus reported by Mk. we may perhaps conclude that he attaches less importance to the teaching than to the person of Jesus. It is the person that he desires to glorify.

108. Tendency in general in the Synoptists.

Further, each evangelist in his own way is influenced by, and seeks by his narrative to serve, the apologetic interest. To meet particular objections, such as those preserved by Celsus (cp Mt. 28 15 *b*), we find, for example, an assertion so questionable as that of Mt. 27 62-66 (the watching and sealing of the tomb, of which the other evangelists know nothing), or that of the bribing of the watchers (Mt. 28 11-15—a charge which, if actually made and believed, would certainly have involved their death; cp Acts 12 19). Once more, tendency appears also in another direction, the political—in the desire to make the Roman authority as little responsible as possible for the death of Jesus (Mk. 15 1-14 Mt. 27 1-23 and very specially Mt. 27 24; most strongly of all in Lk. 23 1-23, where Pilate even invokes the judgment of Herod, *vv.* 6-16—certainly an unhistorical touch of which there is no hint in Mk. or Mt. (cp § 43; ACTS, § 5, 1).

The very widely accepted view, that Lk. is of a specifically Pauline character, can be maintained only in a very limited sense.

109. Pauline character of Lk.

(*a*) The mission to the Gentiles is brought into very distinct prominence by the evangelist (2 31 *f.*), not only in his own narrative but also in reporting the words of Jesus.

By Jesus, partly in express utterances (24 47), partly in the choosing and sending forth of the seventy (10 1), whose number corresponds to that of the heathen nations enumerated in Gen. 10, partly in his interest in the Samaritans who were not regarded by the Jews as compatriots and who in the Third Gospel are, to all appearance, the representatives of the Gentiles. The word 'stranger' (RVmg. 'alien'; ἀλλογενής), used to designate the cleansed Samaritan leper (Lk. 17 18), is the *terminus technicus* used for all Gentiles in the well-known inscription marking the limits in the temple precincts which non-Jews were prohibited from passing, under penalty of death.[1] Lk. has no parallels to Mt. 7 6 (pearls before swine), 10 5 *f.* ('Go not into any way of the Gentiles'), 10 23 15 24 ('not sent but unto . . . house of Israel'). In Lk. 6 32 ('even sinners love those that love them') the persons spoken of with depreciation are not, as in ‖ Mt. 5 46 *f.*, publicans and heathens, but sinners. In Lk. 5 1-11 (call of Peter) the mission to the Gentiles is hardly mistakable (§ 32, last footnote): the other boat which is summoned (5 7) to aid Peter in landing the multitude of fish, is that of Paul and his companions, whilst James and John (according to 5 10) figure as the comrades of Peter, and the astonishment and apprehension they share with him (5 8 *f.*), signify that until now they had not grasped the divine command of an extended mission. That they nevertheless took part in the mission to the Gentiles at the divine command (5 5, 'at thy word'; cp 24 47 'repentance . . . in his name unto all the nations') is in entire agreement with the representation in Acts 10 (see Acts, § 4).

(*b*) The reverse side is seen in the rejection of the Jewish nation, in great measure, or indeed, if the words be taken literally, altogether.

Cp 13 23-30 ('few saved? . . . Strive to enter . . . last . . . first and first . . . last'), 13 6-9 ('cut it down'), where the Jewish nation is intended by the fig-tree (see § 43), 4 16-30 (Nazareth synagogue).[2] The rejection of Jesus in his native *city* means that he met with no recognition in his native *land*, the word 'native place' (πατρίς) being ambiguous. The mention of mighty works wrought in Capernaum (4 23), where, according to Lk., Jesus had not yet been (he reaches it for the first time in 4 31), makes it evident that the narrative has purposely been given the earlier place by the narrator, though not in agreement with his sources, as a sort of programme expressive of the relation of Jesus to the Jews as a whole (§§ 39, 127 *a, γ*).

In an entire group of parables the whole point lies in the rejection of the Jews and the call of the Gentiles to salvation.

Thus the Gentiles are indicated by the third class of those invited to the royal supper—those compelled to come in from the highways and hedges (14 15-24; cp § 112 *b*). Again, Mt.'s (25

[1] Dr. Rendel Harris says (*Ephrem on the Gospel*, 19), 'Bar Salibi seems to intimate that Tatian gave no harmonised account of the Resurrection. Every reader of Ephrem's text, as current in the Armenian will have been struck by the poverty of the Commentary at this part of the Gospel.' But there is no corresponding 'poverty' now in the Arabic *Diatessaron*.

[2] In particular (see § 130 *a*), for Greek-speaking Jews. It ought to be added, however, that Gentile Christians also were interested, or at least capable of being interested, in the evidences of Christianity derived from the OT prophecies.

[1] See TEMPLE.

[2] Exceptions such as 1 8 16 1 99 ('daughter' or 'son' of Abraham), 1 33 ('reign over house of Jacob for ever'), 54 ('holpen Israel his servant'), 77 ('salvation unto his people'), 2 32 *f.* ('glory of thy people Israel'), 38 ('redemption of Jerusalem'), which doubtless come from the author's sources, do not invalidate the above observation—all the less because they agree with what has already been observed under ACTS, § 4.

14-30) purely ethical parable of the talents receives, in Lk. 19 12 ('far country,' 'receive kingdom'), 14 ('citizens hated him'), 27 ('these mine enemies,' 'slay them'), additions which give it a wholly different complexion. Here, the nobleman who goes into a far country and whose people, for declining his rule, are in the end put to death, was suggested by the well-known story of Archelaus, son of Herod the Great (see HEROD, § 8); but in the intended application of the parable the nobleman is Jesus him. self and the 'far' country into which he travels is the region of the Gentiles; cp the similar use of 'far' (μακράν) in 15 13 (:prodigal'), Acts 2 39 ('promise to all . . . afar off'), 22 21 ('send thee [Paul] far hence unto Gentiles'), Eph. 2 13 ('once were far off'), 17 (same). Even Lazarus, who in Lk. 16 19-26 comes into consideration only as poor and as suffering, must, in the addition in *vv.* 27-31, be regarded as representing the Gentiles the rich man and his brethren being characterised in the word: 'They have Moses and the prophets' as representing the Jews. Cp also § 114.

(*c*) Against the work-righteousness of the Mosaic law we have the saying about the unprofitable servant (17 7-10), and the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (18 9-14), with regard to which, however, there is no reason to doubt that it was spoken by Jesus.

(*d*) In 18 14 we have a specifically Pauline expression —the designation of the Publican as 'justified' (δεδικαιωμένος); another in 8 12 'lest they believe and be saved' (ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν: cp 1 Cor. 1 21 'to save them that believe'); also 18 8 the claim that when Christ should return he would be entitled to find faith (τὴν πίστιν) on the earth; lastly the formula, 'thy faith has saved thee' (ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε): 7 50 (woman in Simon's house), 17 19 (Samaritan leper), 8 48 (woman with issue), 18 42 (blind beggar).[1] The same formula, however, occurs also in Mk. 5 34 (woman with issue), 10 52 (Bartimæus), Mt. 9 22 (woman with issue). It is therefore not specifically peculiar to Lk.; and moreover a careful survey of all the passages cited does not show that Lk. has appropriated any specific doctrine of Paul, but only that he has made his own in all their generality the gains of the great apostle's lifework—freedom from the law, and the assurance that salvation is open to all.

The same conclusion is reached by examination of another parable—which also certainly was spoken by Jesus—that of the Prodigal Son who is taken back into favour by the father without anything being said of any sacrifice on his behalf such as Paul would certainly have regarded as necessary. The woman who was a sinner (Lk. 7 47 50) is saved not by reason of her faith alone but quite as much by reason of her love—just as Abraham and Rahab are in 1 Clem. Rom. 10 7, 12 1.

Over against what has just been pointed out we must set those ideas which Lk. has in common with what is usually called the Ebionitic side of primitive Christianity.[2]

110. Ebionitic passages in Lk.

(*a*) The poor are blessed because of their poverty, the rich condemned because of their riches (Lk. 6 20-25 'Blessed . . ., Woe unto . . .'; 16 25 *f.*, rich man and Lazarus; cp Jas. 1 9, let brother of low degree glory, 2 5 God . . . choose poor, 5 6 ye have killed . . . the righteous one; Clem. Hom. 15 9 'possessions are in all cases sin; loss of them in any way is a taking away of sins'; πᾶσι τὰ κτήματα ἁμαρτήματα· ἡ τούτων ὅπως ποτὲ στέρησις ἁμαρτιῶν ἐστιν ἀφαίρεσις). (*b*) Beneficence wins salvation (Lk. 11 41, give for alms . . . all things are clean [but see § 130*d*]; 6 35, do good and lend; 16 9, make friends by mammon; cp Ecclus. 3 30, alms an atonement; Tob. 12 8 *f.*, 2 Clem. Rom. 16 4, Clem. *Ep. ad Jacobum*, 9; beneficence the ground of salvation, εὐποιΐα τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτία). (*c*) God is to be stormed by earnest importunate prayer (11 8, 'because of importunity'; 18 1-8, judge and widow). Such thoughts, however, do not run through the entire texture of Lk.; they are confined to definite portions, among which the parable of the Unjust Steward, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Importunate Friend and the Unjust Judge, may be specially mentioned (§ 40, end). Indeed, the writer does not seem to have accepted them in their full extent, for by his appendix to the Rich Man and Lazarus (16 27-31 question of sending warning) he has given the parable quite another meaning (§ 109 *b*); similarly in the case of the Unjust Steward by the appendix 16 10-14 (little and much, one's own and another's) (§ 128 *d*); and even in the last parable mentioned above, attention is directed from the Judge's unrighteousness by the addition of 18 8 *b* ('faith on earth?').[1]

111. Postponement of end of world in Lk.

In Lk. great care is taken to warn readers against expecting the coming of the kingdom as imminent (21 9, end not immediately; 12, 'before all these things'; 24 *f.*, until times of Gentiles fulfilled; 17 20 *f.*, 'not with observation'; 19 11, 'parable because supposed kingdom immediately'). The 'straightway' (εὐθέως) preserved in Mt. 24 29 has disappeared in Lk. (21 25); so also (21 23 *f.*) the statement in Mt. 24 22 that the days preceding the end shall be shortened for the elect's sake, and (22 69) the announcement of the speedy (ἀπ' ἄρτι) appearance of the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven (Mt. 26 64). The idea in Lk. (21 24 *f.*) that the premonitory signs of the end cannot appear 'until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled' rests upon the belief of Paul that before Christ's parusia the gospel must first be preached to all nations (Rom. 11 11 25 31). See, more fully, § 153.

112. Special tendencies in Mt.

(*a*) Just as in Lk. Ebionitic and Pauline ideas are found in juxtaposition and contrast, so in Mt. are universalism and Jewish particularism (15 24, lost sheep of Israel; 19 28, twelve thrones; 10 5 *f.*, not into way of Gentiles; 23, cities of Israel, as against 8 11 *f.*, from east and west; 21 28-22 16, two sons; wicked husbandmen; royal marriage; 28 19, teach all nations; 24 14, preached in whole world [οἰκουμένη]; 26 13, wheresoever preached in whole world), legal conservatism[2] and freedom from the law (5 17-20, not destroy but fulfil; 23 2 *f.*, what they bid you do; 24 20, pray flight not on a Sabbath;—as against 5 32 19 8, divorce; 5 34, swear not; 39, resist not; 9 16 *f.*, new patch, new wine; 12 7 *f.*, Son of Man lord of Sabbath).

(*b*) On further investigation, it is manifest, in the case of two parables especially, that the rejection of the Jews and the call of the Gentiles to salvation was introduced only as an after-thought.

In the case of the royal supper, those first invited, after rejecting the invitation and slaying the messengers, are conquered in war and their city burnt (Mt. 22 6 *f.*); but in the original form of the parable their place was in the king's own city. After the military expedition the preparations for the supper remain just as they had been (22 4 8). 'The others' (οἱ λοιποί) too in 22 6 has a strange look coming after 22 5 ('they went their ways'). The insertion points unmistakably to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. as a punishment for the slaying of Jesus and his apostles, and serves to indicate the whole nation of the Jews as signified by those first invited. Had this been the original intention of the parable, it would not be easy to understand why Lk. (14 16-24) should have enumerated three classes of invited persons of whom of course only the third can signify the Gentiles. But conversely it would be equally incomprehensible how Mt. could have reduced the number of the classes to two had three classes been already mentioned in the original form of the parable as in Lk. Since there the heathen are the third class, if Mt. omitted that class he was obliged to transfer the explanation to the second class, which he could do only by inserting

[1] Other coincidences are seen also in 10 8 ('eat such things as are set before you'), 11 46 ('yourselves touch not the burdens'), 20 38 *b* ('all live unto him'), when compared with 1 Cor. 10 27 ('whatsoever is set before you, eat'), Gal. 6 5 ('each bear own burden'), Rom. 14 8 ('whether live or die, the Lord's'). Cp Hawkins, 160 *f.*, also (but with caution), Evans, *St. Paul the author of the Acts and of the Third Gospel*, 1884.

[2] It is necessary here to give a note of warning against the usage of the Tübingen school, which simply made Ebionitism identical with uncompromising Judaism.

[1] These remarks do not in any way contradict the fact that in Acts community of goods is an ideal with the author; for the idea of COMMUNITY OF GOODS (*q.v.*, § 5) is indeed related to the Ebionitic ideas of the Third Gospel, but is not identical with them. Further, it must not be forgotten that, though with Lk. this community was indeed an ideal for the past, it is quite another question how far he wished to see it realised in his own time.

[2] The whole journey of Jesus into foreign territory (Mk. 7 24-31) is set aside by the statement of Mt. 15 21 *f.* that the Canaanitish woman came out from the borders of Tyre and Sidon to meet Jesus. Far-reaching consequences follow from this; see § 135.

226 *f.* The two forms of the parable are in no case independent of each other, for of the three excuses of the first invited two agree very closely in Mt. and Lk. We must therefore assume that the parable in its original form—in which we can, without any difficulty, attribute it to Jesus—distinguished only two classes of invited guests, as is now done in Mt., but that these were intended to denote, not the Jews as **a** whole and the Gentiles **as a** whole, as in Mt., hut the esteemed and despised classes respectively, among the Jews themselves, as in Lk. Each of the two evangelists, therefore, has judged it necessary to bring some reference to the Gentile world into the words of Jesus which, as originally uttered, did not look beyond the Jewish nation, but each has carried out his object in **a** quite independent manner (§ 19, end). With regard to the parable of the wicked husbandmen we are expressly told in Mt. **21 45**, as well **as** in Mk. **12** 12 and Lk. **20 19**, that the hearers understood it as referring to the chief priests and Pharisees. Clearly, therefore, it is **a** later addition when Mt. **(21 43)** tells **us** that the Kingdom of God shall he given to **a** *nation* bringing forth the fruits thereof—that is, to the Gentiles. Moreover, had it been genuine this verse would have found its appropriate place before, not After, 21 42 ('Did ye neverread. . . ?') On the other hand, Mt. **20** 1-16 has been left unchanged. The fact that here five classes of labourers in the vineyard are distinguished is enough to show that the reference cannot he to the Jews as **a** whole on the one side and to the Gentiles on the other. The distinction of two classes within the Jewish nation without any reference to the Gentiles, which has been shown above to have originally underlain the parable of the royal wedding, has heen expressly preserved in the parable of the Two Brothers (Mt. **21** 28-32), as also in that of the Pharisee and the Publican in Lk. (18 9-14).

(*c*) In two places in Mt. some critics have even detected a polemic against the apostle Paul.

(a) In 5 19, Whosoever shall break . . . and teach . . . shall be called the least (Paul having called himself in 1 Cor. 15 9 the least of the apostles, ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων); (*β*) in 13 28 (the 'enemy,' ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος, who sows tares among the wheat).

'Enemy' (ἐχθρός, with or without **ἄνθρωπος**) is, in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions and Homilíes, **a** constant designation for Simon Magus, by whom is meant Paul (see SIMON MAGUS). Perhaps Paul himself in Gal. **4** 16 ('am **I** become your enemy?') is already alluding to the term 'enemy' (**ἐχθρός**) as having been applied to him by his Judaistic opponents. At the same time, however, it must not he overlooked that the First Evangelist himself does not share this view of the 'enemy' (ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος): according to him (13 39) the enemy is the devil; it is only the author of the evangelist's source, therefore, that can have been following an anti-Pauline tendency here (cp § 128 *c*). As for Mt. 5 18 *f.* ('till heaven and earth pass . . . shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven') it is almost universally recognised that these verses interrupt the connection,' and it therefore remains **a** possibility that they were not written by the author of the gospel **but** placed on the margin by a later hand (see **§** 128 *e*).

(*d*) **As** regards the remaining legal and Jewish particularist passages in Mt. (see above, ***a***, *∂*), on the other hand, it is not probable that they were first introduced after those of a universalistic character.

They are neither so few as to admit of being regarded merely **as** isolated and mutually independent interpolations, nor yet so numerous as to compel us to regard them as arising from a systematic redaction. True, it must be conceded that 10 *f.* (not into way of Gentiles), 23 ('cities of Israel'), also 23 2 3*a* (. . . Moses' seat, **all** . . . yon, do), and (with special facility) 'neither on a Sabbath' (μηδὲ σαββάτῳ) in 24 20 admit of removal without injury to the connection; hut not **15 24** ('unto lost sheep'), **26** (children's bread), or 19 28 (twelve thrones). But precisely the 'neither on **a** Sabbath' (μηδὲ σαββάτῳ) is quite certainly original if it comes from the 'little Apocalypse' (**§** 124 *b*). **As** for the substance, we can more easily refer back *to* Jesus those utterances in which salvation is restricted to Israel. So far as the principles of Jesus are concerned, they most assuredly contain within themselves no such limitation. Purity of heart, compassionateness, the childlike spirit, can he shown by the Gentile as by the Jew. The outlook of Jesus, however, seems still to have directed itself but little towards the Gentiles. He felt himself to be primarily a child of his own people, and even as regards these the task he had in band was **a** gigantic one. Mt. 15 24 (lost sheep) **26** (children's bread) **as** his first word to the Canaanitish woman (not as his last) is by no means incredible. He may very well have actually bidden his disciples restrict their preaching to the Jews (**10** *5f:* 23) on account of the nearness of the end of the world. Mt. **19** 28 (twelve thrones) also is perhaps only **a** somewhat modified form of one of his own utterances, even if assuredly it was not spoken by way of answer to so mercenary a question as that of **19** 27 ('what shall we have?'). In the mouth of Jesus perhaps the most difficult saying to understand will be the expression of friendliness to the Pharisees in Mt. **23** 2 3*a* (Moses' seat), to which the words of **16** 12 ('beware of the doctrine of the Pharisees'), **23 4** (heavy burdens), **11** 29 *f.* ('my yoke is easy') are so directly contrary.

1 5 20 ('For **I** say . . . **except** your righteousness') would serve **as** giving the grounds (γάρ) for 5 18 *f.* (one jot or one tittle) only if the Pharisees were open to the charge of denying validity to the minor precepts of the law. On the other hand, 5 20 would serve admirably as a ground for **5 17** (not to destroy but to fulfil) if by the word 'fulfil' (**πληρῶσαι**) Jesus wished to give *to* the law a fuller and more perfect meaning, far beyond the mere letter. Were **5** 18 *f.* actually the ground **(γάρ)** for 5 17, the meaning of 'fulfil' (**πληρῶσαι**) could only be that Jesus desired in his actions to follow the law down to its minutest details, and enjoined the same in others also. But this disagrees not only with **5** 20 but also with 5 **21-48** ('Ye have heard'); Mk. **2** 27 *f.* ('Sabbath for man'); 7 **1-23** (washing, corban); 10 1-12 (divorce), etc.—in **a** word, contradicts the whole attitude of Jesus towards the Mosaic law.

See, however, in general, § 129 *e*. At all events **it** is necessary to assume that the last redactor (who was friendly to the Gentiles)—in other words, the canonical Mt.—dealt much more gently with his particularistic source than Lk. did with his.

(*e*) In spite of the 'straightway' (εὐθέως) of 24 29 Mt. is not altogether exempt from the tendency we have already seen in **Lk.** to postpone the date of the parusia; cp 24 48 (my lord tarrieth), **25 5** (the bridegroom tarries), **25** 19 (after a long time).

Of the three Synoptics Mk. is characterised 'least by definite tendencies. The traces of Paulinism which some

113. Special tendencies in Mk.

critics have found in Mk. are of the slightest. For example, 1 15 ('time is fulfilled' . . . 'believe in gospel': Gal. **4** 4, 'fulness of time'; 3 26, 'sons through faith'), 9 39 6 (1 Cor. 12 3), 10 44 (1 Cor. 9 19) are reminiscences of Paul; but they are not Pauline ideas. The mission to the Gentiles finds its place in **13** 10 ('gospel. . . unto all nations'), 14 9 ('wheresoever the gospel'); cp also 'all the nations' (πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι) in **11** 17 (house of prayer for all the nations), unless indeed this be merely a filling out of the citation from the LXX. Some aversion to Jewish particularism may be seen in the toning down of the answer of Jesus to the woman of Canaan (7 27, 'children first' inserted) as compared with the form in Mt. 15 26. Mk. also, like the others, seeks to postpone the date of the parusia. Instead of the 'straightway' (εὐθέως) of Mt. (24 29) he has (13 24) 'in those days,' and in **9** 1 he does not, like Mt. (16 28), say there be some standing here that shall 'see the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom,' but only that they shall 'see the Kingdom of God come with power.'

On the whole, then, it would seem that such tendencies **as** have been spoken of manifest themselves only in a

114. Conclusion as to tendency.

few parts of the three gospels. **A** special warning must be given against seeking to find too confidently any such tendencies in the way in which the original apostles are mentioned whether as implying praise or blame.

It would be in accordance with the general character of Lk. if some aversion to the original apostles were held to underlie the censure of James and John for their proposal to call down fire from heaven upon the inhospitable Samaritan village (Lk. **9** 54 *f.*); and it would he in accordance with the opposite character of Mt. if it made no mention of the hardness of heart with which the original apostles are charged in Mk. **6** 52 8 17 *f.* But Mt. is precisely the one gospel which chronicles Peter's faintheartedness on the water, and Mt. as well as Mk. has the speech in which Jesus addresses him as 'Satan' (Mt. **14** 28-31 **16** 22 *f.* Mk. 8 32 *f.*). On the other side, it is precisely in Lk. (**22 32**) that we find the passage which, along with Mt. 16 18 *f.*, could be inscribed in golden letters on the Church of St. Peter in Rome.

In another matter (should we be inclined to see here any 'tendency' at all)—the enhancement of the miracles of Jesus in number and character—all the evangelists have a share (§ 137). Thus, most of the tendencies we have discussed are followed, not in the interest of a party, but in that of the church which was ever more and more approximating catholicism in character. But, further, the tendencies affect only **a** limited portion of the gospel material, and by far the larger part of this material does not admit of explanation by their means. In the sections referred to there are but two instances in which **it** has been claimed by the present writer that ideas have been clothed in narrative dress—those of Peter's draught

of fishes and of the tares among the wheat; the other places in which this can be alleged are but few (§ 142, and CLEOPAS), and even in these cases the symbolical meaning borne by the narrative arises almost always from an originally figurative manner of speaking being mistakenlynnderstood as literal expression of a fact, not from deliberate and conscious invention for purposes of edification.

II. ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE SYNOPTICAL PROBLEM BY LITERARY CRITICISM.

In considering the attempts to solve the Synoptical problem by literary criticism we begin most conveniently with what, in appearance at least, is the simplest hypothesis: that of a primitive gospel handed down solely by oral tradition. By continual narrating of the gospel history, it is held, there came at last to be formed a fixed type of narrative, in Aramaic. Upon this each evangelist drew directly without any acquaintance with the written work of any other.

115. Oral tradition hypothesis.

(a) This hypothesis is an *asylum ignorantiæ*. It spares the critic all necessity for an answer to the question wherefore it was that one evangelist wrote in this manner and another in that — although the question presses for, and very often admits, a solution. If the Synoptical oral narrative was really so firmly fixed as to secure *verbatim* repetition of entire verses in three authors writing independently of one another, then the variations between the three become all the more mysterious, or else all the more manifestly due to tendency. Think only of the variations in the Lord's Prayer, in the words of institution of the Eucharist, in the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus. The coincidence appears, however, not only in the discourses of Jesus, where it would, comparatively speaking, be intelligible, but also in narrative, in quite indifferent turns of expression in which the same writers often also diverge very widely.

.The doubly augmented form of the verb (ἀπεκατεστάθη) in Mt. 12 13 = Mk. 3 5 = Lk. 6 10 cannot indeed be adduced as an example, for the double augment is met with also not only in Mk. 8 25 (ἀπεκατέστη) but often elsewhere outside the NT in the case of this verb (Winer(8), § 12, 7). But compare, for example, how Mt. 27 12, in the hearing before Pilate, and Lk. 23 9 (who here has no parallel), in the hearing before Herod, uses the middle aorist—met with in Mk. 14 61 in the hearing before the Synedrium hut very rarely elsewhere in the NT — 'he answered nothing' (οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο), though immediately afterwards (Mt. 27 14) we have the passive ([οὐκ] ἀπεκρίθη), Mk. also in the parallel passage (15 5) having this form; or the 'Lord, Lord' (κύριε κύριε) in the vocative of Lk. 6 46, retained from Mt. 7 21 (or his source), though in Lk.'s modified form of the sentence 'why call ye me' (τί δέ με καλεῖτε) only the accusative (κύριον) would be appropriate. In one pair of parallels (Mt. 26 61 = Mk. 14 58) the words of Jesus are reported as being *to* the effect that lie would build the (new) temple 'in the course of three days (διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν); in another (Mt. 27 40 = Mk. 15 29) '*in* three days' (ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις or τρισὶν ἡμέραις). Mk. 11 15 (cleansing the temple) coincides in the first half word for word with Lk 19 45, in the second, almost word for word with Mt. 21 12. Further examples are given abundantly in Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, 42-52 ('99), or Wilke, ***Der Urevangelist***, 483-505 ('38). How far this agreement goes, in the discourses of Jesns, can be observed, for example, in Mt. 3 9 *f.* = Lk. 3 8 *f.*; Mt. 6 24 = Lk. 16 13; Mt. 7 3 5 7 = Lk. 6 41 *f.* 11 9; Mt. 8 20 = Lk. 9 58; Mt. 9 37 = Lk. 10 2; Mt. 11 4-6 = Lk. 7 22 *f.*; Mt. 11 21-23*a* 25 *f.* = Lk. 10 13-15 21 *f.*; Mt. 12 41 *f.* = Lk. 11 31 *f.*;[1] or, for instances of coincidence between all three evangelists, Mt. 23 6 7*a* = Mk. 12 38*b* 39 = Lk. 11 43 20 46; Mt. 24 19 = Mk. 13 17 = Lk. 21 23; Mt. 24 34 *f.* = Mk. 13 30 *f.* = Lk. 21 32 *f.* Between Mt. and Mk. this close agreement is met with elsewhere mainly in the OT quotations (*e.g.*, Mt. 15 8 *f.* 4 = Mk. 7 6 *f.* 10, Mt. 19 4-6 = Mk. 10 6-9) and in the narrative of the Passion (*e.g.*, Mt. 26 24 30 32 = Mk. 14 21 26 28); of agreement between Mk. and Lk. Mk. 1 24 *f.* = Lk. 4 34 *f.* may he taken as examples. Instances of deliberate divergence in the midst of the closest verbal agreement can he pointed *to* in Lk. 11 20 (cast out devils) as against Mt. 12 28, or in Lk. 11 13 (to give good gifts) as against Mt. 7 11 (§ 120 *c*). The artificiality and improbability which are seen *to* be necessarily inherent in the hypothesis under discussion as soon as one tries to apply it in detail, come very clearly *to* light in Arthur Wright's *The Composition of the Four Gospels* ('90), *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek* ('96), *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (1900). Veit, the most recent German advocate of the hypothesis (*Die Synoptischen Parallelen*, '97), has even found himself driven to the assumption that Jesus communicated his teaching *to* his disciples catechetically, in the form of continually repeated questionand answer, as was the custom with the Rahhis.

(*b*) To many this hypothesis commends itself as an *asylum orthodoxiæ*. It dispenses with the necessity of assuming that original documents from which our gospels had been drawn — writings of eye-witnesses — have perished; also with the necessity of supposing that evangelists had deliberately — in other words, with tendency — altered the written text of their predecessors that lay before them. But such advantages are only apparent, not real; the variations are present, and they do not admit of explanation as due to mere accident.

(*c*) Nevertheless, inadequate though the unaided hypothesis be as a complete explanation of the phenomena displayed by our present gospels — and of course we have been here dealing with it in its purity and as unassisted by any other assumption — it is at the same time equally certain that it contains an essential element of truth. Unquestionably the formation of a gospel narrative was oral in its beginning. The opposite theory that a creative writer freely composed the entire material without any previous oral currency (Rruuo Bauer, Volkmar) may be regarded as no longer in the field. But, further, the propagation of the gospel story by oral tradition continued to be carried on for a considerable time even after the first written documents had taken shape, and thus was capable of exerting an influence even upon gospels of a comparatively late date (§ 119*b*, end).

The next hypothesis to rely upon very simple means is that the evangelist who wrote second in order made use of the work of the first, and the third used the work of one or both of his predecessors. To grasp this hypothesis in its purity we must put aside all idea of any other written sources than the canonical, and must keep out of account as far as possible the idea of any oral sources.[1]

116. Borrowing hypothesis.

Of the six imaginable orders, two—viz., Lk., Mt., Mk., and Lk., Mk., Mt.—have long been abandoned. A third—Mt., Lk., Mk.[2]—may also he regarded as no longer in the field. It relied specially on the observation that Mk. often makes use of two expressions for the same thing, for which in the parallel passages only one is found in Mt. and the other in Lk. But this phenomenon admits equally well of another possible explanation—that the diffuseness observable in Mk. ($ 4) gave Mt. and Lk. opportunity for condensation.[3] (Cp Hawkins, 110-113, also 100-105; Wernle, 23 *f.* 151-154; Woods in *Stud. Bibl. at Eccles.* 2 66 *f.*).

Three orders still continue to be seriously argued for: Mt. Mk. Lk.; Mk. Mt. Lk.; Mk. Lk. Mt. In spite of the fact that every assertion, no matter how evident, as to the priority of one evangelist and the posteriority of another in any given passage will be found to have been turned the other way round by quite a number of scholars of repute,[4] we nevertheless hope to gain a large measure of assent for the following propositions :—

1 Consult further, Wernle, ***Die Synoptische Frage***, 81 ('99).

1 At the same time, even when these are assumed as subsidiary to the hypothesis, the remarks we have *to* make will still apply of course at all points where borrowing as between the three evangelists comes into the question.

2 The hypothesis of Griesbach,—also called the combination-hypothesis, hut not happily, for evidently Mk. or Lk., if either had been the third *to* write, could also have combined the data snpplied by his *two* predecessors.

3 In the passage most frequently cited (Mk. 1 32) it was even necessary, after 'at even,' to add, 'when the sun did set,' for according *to* Mk. it was the Sabbath day and before sunset it would have been unlawful *to* bring any sick. Yet Lk. (4 40) could omit the first of the two clauses without loss, and Mt. (8 16), as with him the events did not occur on the Sabbath, could drop the second.

4 Probably the most conspicuous example in point here is 'the carpenter' (ὁ τέκτων) of Mk. 6 3 as against 'the carpenter's son' (ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός) of Mt. 13 55, or 'son of Joseph' (υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ) of Lk. 4 22. On the one side it is held that Mt. and Lk. are here secondary, because they shrink from calling Jesus an artizan; on the other, the secondary place is given *to* Mk. because he shrinks from calling Jesus the son of Joseph.

(a) A very strong argument for the priority of Mk. is the fact that, with the exception of some thirty verses, his entire material reappears both in Mt. and in Lk., or at least in one or other of them, and that too—what is even more important—in both, or at least in one, in the same order as in Mk. The absence of the thirty verses admits of a satisfactory explanation (§ 118, n.), whilst on the other hand the absence from Mk. of so much matter contained in Mt. and Lk. would be unaccountable. For details as to this, and especially also for the explanation of the marked divergencies in the order of Mt. 8-12, we refer the reader to Woods, **63-78** and Wernle, 127-130.

For one example, see § 128 *g*:—Mt. 13 34 *f.* (speaking in parables) comes before Mt. 13 44-52 (treasure, pearls, etc.) instead of after it.

To Mk. 6 45-8 26 there is no parallel in Lk. In **§ 15** above this section of Mk. is derived from a separate tradition 'which he did not wish to include in his gospel.' Reasons for the omission in Lk. are in fact conceivable; for example, the discussion of the ceremonial law in **7 1-23** (washing, corban, etc.), it may have been thought, had little interest for Gentile Christian readers, or in the narrative of the Canaanitish woman Jesus may have seemed too Jewish; in other sections the omission is less easily explained. Others have accordingly conjectured that in the copy of Mk. which lay before Lk., **6 45-8 26** were accidentally wanting. This suggestion cannot be set aside by showing that in Lk. **11 38** (Jesus not first washed) **12 1** (beware of leaven) we have echoes of Mk. 7 2 (disciples' unwashed hands) 8 15 (beware of leaven) for Lk. may have derived these from other sources. The most important point is that at Lk. 9 18 (Whom do the multitude say that I am?), where after omission of Mk. 6 45-8 26, Lk. again begins to follow Mk., he gives an introduction which embodies distinct reminiscences of the beginning of the portion omitted, **6 45-47** (praying alone, etc.: *καί, αὐτόν, προσευχόμενον, κατὰ μόνας*). If, therefore, the section of Mk. was wanting in Lk.'s copy, that copy must at least have contained Mk.'s three first verses or the single words just cited must at least have been still legible in it. Through the immediate sequence of Peter's confession (Mk. 8 27-30 = Lk. 9 18-21) on the feeding of the five thousand (Mk. 6 31-44 = Lk. 9 10-17) it has also come about that Lk. transfers the scene of the confession to the locality of the feeding, that is, to Bethsaida (so according to Lk. 9 10; somewhat otherwise, Mk. 6 45), instead of placing it at Cæsarea Philippi (Mk. 8 27; cp § 135).

(b) Mt. is secondary to Mk.

In Mt. **14 5** Herod wishes to put the Baptist to death, and is restrained only by fear of the people, in Mk. 6 19 *f.*, on the contrary, it is Herodias who wishes the death of John, whilst Herod hears him gladly. With this it agrees that in Mk. **6 26** Herod is sorry because he is bound by his oath to order the execution. But the same sorrow is ascribed to him also in **Mt. 14 9.** In Mk. 6 29 the Baptist is buried by his disciples; in **Mk. 6** 30 the disciples of Jesus return from their missionary journey and report the miracles they have wrought. The connection of the two verses is quite casual the account of the Baptist's end being episodical. But in Mt. **14 12** it is the disciples of John who not only bury their master but also bring their report to Jesus—the report, namely, of this burial. The report by the disciples of Jesus of their own return would, in fact, come in too late here, as they were sent out as early as **10 5** and their presence with Jesus again has been already presupposed in **12 1**; but in **14 12** Mt. would not have had the least occasion to mention a report by the disciples of John to Jesus had it not been that the report of Jesus' own disciples had been mentioned in Mk. **6 30.** In Mk. 10 17 *f.* the answer of Jesus to the question, 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' is 'Why callest thou me good? None is good, save God only.' In Mt. **19 16 *f.*** the question runs: 'Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?' and the first part of the answer corresponds: 'Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? Very inappropriate, then, is the second part: 'One (masc.) there is who is the good (ὁ ἀγαθός).' Had not Mt. here had before him such a text as that of Mk. and Lk. he would certainly, following his own line of thought, have proceeded 'one (neut.) is the good (τὸ ἀγαθόν), all the more because the immediate continuation also (*vv.* 17-19), the exhortation to keep the commandments, would have suited so admirably. The question of Mt. **19 3** contains the words 'for every cause' (*κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*) merely because Mt. wishes to introduce 'fornication' (*πορνεία*) as an exception (*v.* 9). But in this form the question would have had no 'temptation' in it, for an authority so great as Rabbi Schammai had already laid down restrictions on the freedom of divorce. On the 'were amazed' (*ἐξίσταντο*) of Mt. **12 23** as coming from the 'is beside himself' (*ἐξέστη*) of Mk. **3 21** see **§ 8**, middle, and ACTS, § 17 *i*. On the first journey of Jesus into foreign parts, see § 112 a, n.; cp further § 137 *a*, § 140 *a b*, and § 145 *e h*; also Wernle, 130-178.

(c) Lk.'s secondary character in relation to Mk. is shown with extraordinary frequency, especially in the stylistic changes he makes while retaining individual words. Let a single example suffice.

According to Mk. 4 19 'the lusts of other things' enter into the man and choke the word of God. This 'entering in' (*εἰσπορευόμεναι*) does not suit the figure for the explanation of which it is used—the figure, namely, of thorns choking the good seed. Lk. (8 14) accordingly avoids the expression 'entering *in*,' yet does not fail to bring in the word ('going,' *πορευόμενοι*), using it now, however, of men who in their walk (RV 'as they go on their way') are choked by cares and riches and lusts as if by thorns. The participle had in fact laid such hold on his memory as he read his model, that it came at once to his pen though in a new connection. Many other examples will be found in Wernle, 3-40; Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, **35-49** ('94). One can also make use of the collections in Hawkins, **53-61**, though he himself prefers to infer from them 'oral transmission.' But in order *to* furnish also from Lk. an instance of a materially important and clearly intended, if not quite deliberate, distortion of an expression in his source into a very different meaning, as has already been done in the case of Mt. (**19 16 *f.* 12 23**; see above, *b*), and will be done in that of Mk. (**3 28 *f.***, see below, *d*), we point to his procedure with the word 'Galilee' (Lk. **24 6** 'when he was yet in Galilee' as compared with Mk. **16 7** 'goeth before you into Galilee'; Mt. **28 7**; see § 9, beginning).

(d) While the preceding paragraphs seem to speak for the order Mk. Mt. Lk. (or Mk. Lk. Mt.) we must nevertheless go on also to say that Mk. is secondary to Mt. On Mk. 7 27*a* (children first), 13 24 ('in those days after that tribulation'), 9 1 (some not taste of death), see above, **§ 113.**

In the parable of the wicked husbandmen Mk. mentions, on each occasion, only one messenger as having been sent, but finally, 12 5, in a quite unnecessary and even disturbing manner says that there were yet many others (in agreement with Mt. **21 35**). Mt. says (**12 32**) that blasphemy against the son of man shall be forgiven, and only that against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven, and, immediately before (*v.* **31**), that every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to men, but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven. In place of these two sentences Mk. has only one (3 28 *f.*); all their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies; only not those against the Holy Spirit. Thus he has retained the word 'Son of Man,' but made it plural and thereby set aside the sense which seemed offensive from the point of view of a worshipper of Jesus, viz., that blasphemy against Jesus can be forgiven.[1] Cp, further, the examples in § 119.

If what has just been advanced is correct, it shows that the borrowing-hypothesis, unless with the assistance of other assumptions, is unworkable, if only for the

[1] The attempt has often been made to invert the relationship of the two passages and make out that Mt. 12 **31** is taken from Mk. **3** 28 *f.*, and that Mt. **12 32** says the same thing and comes from Lk. 12 10, or rather from Lk.'s source. It is argued that the Aramaic expression 'Son of Man,' meaning any man whatever, as in Ps. 8 **5**, is rendered with justice **ad** *sensum* in Mk. by the plural, but in Lk.'s source was erroneously applied to Jesus. But since 'Son of Man' is the only, or almost the only, Aramaic expression for the idea 'man,' it is impossible that the first writers of Greek in primitive Christendom should not have had occasion, a thousand times over, to render it by 'man' (*ἄνθρωπος*). All the more inconceivable is it that precisely here they should have understood Jesus alone to be meant by it, if such an interpretation had not been absolutely certain. In their worship of Jesus it must have appeared to them in itself the greatest possible blasphemy to say that blasphemy against Jesus could be forgiven (§ 131). It is precisely Mk. who has allowed himself to be influenced by this consideration. He alone it is, further, who in 3 30 adds the remark that the reason why Jesus spoke of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit was because they had spoken of himself as possessed by an unclean spirit (**3 22**). But the accusation in 3 22 is not, as Mk. makes it appear, a blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, but rather a blasphemy against the person of Jesus. Thus the saying to the effect that one blasphemy can be forgiven, another not, does not at all fit the context in the form it receives in Mk., and **3 30** is only an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Mk. to justify his addition. Mk. in so doing presupposes that Jesus had identified himself with the Holy Spirit. But the opposite view, that of Mt. and Lk., that he distinguished between himself and the Holy Spirit can have come only from Jesus himself. Moreover, it is to be observed that in Lk. this saying of Jesus stands in quite a different place (12 10) from that of the accusation (11 15, by Beelzebub, etc.), which according to Mk. (3 22-30) and Mt. (**12 24-32**) furnished the occasion for it. Now, precisely here (11 18*b*-20 23) Lk. is drawing from the same source as Mt. (12 27 *f.* 30). In that common source, therefore, the two portions referred to were not yet in connection with each other; for in that case Lk. would certainly not have separated them here. We can attach all the less importance to their connection in Mk. if even their connection in Mt., though so much more suitable, is not original.

reason that it is compelled in one and the same breath to say contrary things as to the relative priority of Mt. and Mk. Nevertheless it is impossible to doubt that the evangelists did borrow from one another ; the only question is whether here it is only our present gospels, or not also other written sources, that have been made use of. For this reason we have hitherto refrained from expressing ourselves to the effect that Mt. (or Lk.) was ***dependent*** on Mk. (or ***vice versa***), contenting ourselves with saying that the one was *secondary* to the other ; we are thus led to consideration of the hypothesis of a written source or sources.

(e) Before passing from the borrowing-hypothesis, however, it will be well to illustrate by a definite example the various linguistic changes to which reference has been made in the preceding paragraphs (*a* to *d*). We select for this purpose the parable of the Sower and the interpretation it receives. The circumstantiality and diffuseness of Mk. appear in *41* (the thrice repeated 'sea' [θάλασσα], and the pleonasm 'by the sea, on the land'), in 42 ('he taught them . . . and said unto them in his teaching'), 4 5 *f.* (the repeated 'and' [καί]—four times—and 'because it had not'—twice), 47 ('and it yielded no fruit'), 4 18 ('others are they that are sown among thorns ; these are they that . . .') ; an infelicitous manner of expression is in *v.* 15 'these are they where.' It is Lk. who has done most to smooth Mk. and turn it into idiomatic Greek.

For Mk.'s paratactic sentences Lk. substitutes participial constructions (Lk. 8 6-8 = Mk. 4 6-8) or a gen. abs. (Lk. 8 4 = Mk. 4 1); also he substitutes better Greek words (Lk. 8 8 ἀγαθήν, ἑκατονταπλασίονα instead of Mk. **4 8** καλήν, ἐν ἑκατόν ; Lk. 8 12 διάβολος for σατανᾶς of Mk. **4 15**; Lk. 8 13*a* δέχονται for λαμβάνουσιν of Mk. 4 16 ; Lk. 8 13*b* ἀφίστανται for σκανδαλίζονται of **Mk. 4 17**; Lk. *8* 14 οὐ τελεσφοροῦσιν for ἄκαρπος γίνεται of Mk. 4 19; Lk. 8 15 καρδία καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθή is additional). In Lk. 8 *14* he drops the Hebraism [cares] 'of the world' (τοῦ αἰῶνος) ; he uses prepositional phrases in Lk. 8 4 'of every city' (οἱ κατὰ πόλιν) and 'by a parable' (διὰ παραβολῆς), and in Lk. 8 13 inserts the relative clause 'which, when they have heard' (οἳ ὅταν . . .) immediately after the antecedent 'Those upon the rock' (οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν) instead of at the end of its sentence as in Mk. *4* 16. Lk.'s dependence upon Mk. is shown by the 'good ground' (καλὴ γῆ) of Lk. 8 15 = Mk. 4 20 notwithstanding the substitution of a different adjective (ἀγαθή) in Lk. 8 8 = Mk. 4 8 (καλή), similarly by his 'into' (εἰς) = Mk. 4 7 (*4 18* 'on to,' ἐπί), and his 'are choked' (συμπνίγονται) in Lk. 8 14 = Mk. 4 19 'choke' (συνπνίγουσιν) in spite of the 'amid' (ἐν μέσῳ) for Mk.'s 'into' (εἰς) and substitution of a different verb for 'choke' (ἀπέπνιξαν for Mk.'s συνέπνιξαν) in Lk. 8 7 = Mk. 4 7. In *v.* 12*b* Lk. reverts to the construction of **Mk.** (4 15*b*) which he had avoided in 12*a* (= Mk. 4 15*a*). He is not felicitous in his substitution of 'rock' (8 6) for 'stony ground' (Mk. 4 5), for on the hare rock nothing can grow at **all.**

Mt. (13 1-23) also smooths and Græcizes.

Mt. (*v.* 2) omits the second 'sea' (θάλασσα) of Mk. 4 1 and in place of the third adopts a turn of expression with 'beach' (αἰγιαλός). In *v.* 6 he makes use of the gen. abs., in *v.* 21 substitutes other connectives (δέ for καί and for εἶτα). The Hebraistic 'make fruit' (καρπὸν ποιεῖν ; cp Gen. 1 11) he alters to 'give fruit' (καρπὸν διδόναι). At the same time Mt. 13 *23* shows his dependence on Mk. by retaining 'make' (ποιεῖν) alongside of 'produce fruit', (καρποφορεῖν) and in 13 22 (just **as** Lk. 8 14) two of Mk.'s turns of expression (εἰς of Mk. 4 7 and συμπνίγειν as in Mk. *4 7* 19) or in *v.* 26 the sing. 'crowd' (ὄχλος, cp Mk. 4 1), although immediately before **he** has used his favourite form 'crowds' (ὄχλοι). That Jesus was sitting Mt. has already presupposed (*v.* 1), and he has therefore to repeat the expression in *v.* 2 from Mk. *4* 1 after Jesus has entered the boat. In *v.* 19 Mt. has an infelicitous alteration to the effect that by the **first** sowing are intended those who do not understand the word, whereas we should think rather of those who easily allow themselves to be again robbed of it.

Though, from what has been said, Mk. appears to have lain before both Mt. and Lk. it is not possible to assign to him the priority at all points.

Mk.'s 'hearken' before 'behold' in *4 3* is superfluous and disturbing; in 4 5 Mk. (and with him Mt. 13 5) introduces **an** amplification of the description which has the effect of preparing for the explanation of the parable ; it *is* absent in Lk. (8 6). The OT expression 'birds of the heaven' which all three evangelists give in the parable of the mustard seed (Mk. *4 32* Mt. 13 *32* Lk. **13** 19) has in the present case been preserved only by Lk. (8 5) **as** also the 'make fruit' (ποιεῖν καρπόν) of *8 8.*

(*f*) On the relation of dependence as between Mt. and Lk. see § 127. If the contention at the close of § 120 is correct, the borrowing-hypothesis when taken without regard to the limitations demanded by Simons (§ 127 6) leads to insuperable contradictions here also as in the question of the interdependence of Mk. and Mt.

117. The original written Gospel.

The hypothesis—especially associated with the name of Eichhorn (from 1794)—of ***one*** Aramaic gospel, in which Lessing as far back as 1778 conjecturally recognised the 'Gospel of the Hebrews,' is in many points open to the same objections as that of an oral original, only with the difference that it explains the agreements in our gospels better, their divergences in the same proportion worse. Even the further assumption of various translations into Greek with addition of new material at each translation is far from supplying the needed explanation of the divergences, for it is not by any means the literary form alone that differs ; the matter also, even the representation of the same matter, varies widely. The same thing has to be said of the hypothesis recently put forth anew by Resch (*Die Logia Jesu*, '98), who has even sought to restore to their presumed original Hebrew (not Aramaic) form the sayings of Jesus, along with a great number of narratives, including a history of the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Jesus (thus even going beyond B. Weiss, see § 126*c*, end), and moreover maintains that this original gospel was already known to Paul. The hypothesis of an original written gospel contains a kernel of truth, only in so far as it is certainly undeniable that some one writer must have gone before the others in committing to writing the gospel tradition. But the fact of his having been first did not by any means necessarily secure for him exclusive, or even preponderating, influence over those who came after him ; his production may have been promptly followed by equally important writings from other pens.

A special form of the hypothesis of an original written gospel is that set forth above in §§ 3-14, according to which the Triple Tradition was written in very curt and often ambiguous form, somewhat after the manner of a discussion on the Mishna or of a modern telegram, and was variously expanded and supplemented by the several evangelists.

The agreement of Mt. and Lk. against Mk., if the two former were not acquainted with each other, leads to the hypothesis that each of them had before him a **Mk.** in one and the same form though different from that which we now possess ; this was used both by Mt. and Lk. whilst the canonical Mk. diverges from it. The superior age of the form of Mk. postulated by this hypothesis would gain in probability if the canonical Mk. were found to be secondary to Mt. and Lk. (see §§ 116 *d*, *e*, 119 ; for the other view see § 3, and, with reference to it, what is said in § 126 *a*). Hawkins (*Hor. Syn.* App. B) reckons some 240 instances of agreement of Mt. and Lk. against Mk. Each individual case may be unimportant and might in other circumstances admit of the explanation that Lk. of his own proper motion chose the same alteration of the canonical text of Mk. as Mt. had ; but their large number forbids such an explanation here.

118. Original Mk.

As for the extent of the original Mk. now conjectured, the difficulty with which the hypothesis can be made to work is increased if with Beyschlag we suppose it to have been nearly equal to the canonical Mk. ; in particular, it then becomes difficult to understand why a new book differing so little from the old should have been produced at all. If, again, the original book is held (so Holtzmann) to have been longer than the canonical Mk. it becomes possible to assign to it a considerable number of paragraphs (now preserved to us only in Mt. and Lk.) not so easily explained as derived from Mt.'s and Lk.'s other sources (§ 122). If finally we think of the original **Mk.** (so Weizsacker) as shorter, then the additions of canonical Mk. that can be pointed to are merely the verses (some thirty or so) peculiar to him, together with such individual expressions as have no parallels either in Mt. or in Lk.

These individual expressions are partly for the sake of more graphic description (17 bowing down, *κύψας*; 14 3 'she brake the cruse'; see also 1 41 2 3*f.* 10 23*f.* 15 43; and the like), partly they give greater precision by giving names (2 14 3 17 10 46 15 21 40 16 1) or numbers (5 13 6 37 14 5; cp on the whole of this head Hawkins, 93-103; Wernle, 45-47, 215*f.*). They do not give one the impression, however, of being interpolations of later date than the rest of the work, and they can more easily be supposed to have been dropped by the writers who came after Mk. as hardly interesting enough (Wernle, 23*f.*, 157*f.*) or fitted to cause offence (so for example 6 4 3 20*f.*—that Jesus had no honour among his own kin and in his own house, and that they even said, 'He is beside himself,' see § 131). The entire verses, or narratives, on the other hand, which are peculiar to Mk. are much too inconsiderable to make it likely that a new book should have been judged necessary for their incorporation; here too their omission by Mt. and Lk. admits of some explanation—or it is possible to find traces of them in Mt. and Lk.[1]

If the original Mk. is conceived of as having been materially shorter than the canonical Mk., the point at which this comes into consideration is when the origin of the latter rather than when that of Mt. and Lk. is being discussed, for we have no means of determining with precision the extent of the supposed original Mk. Particularly unpromising of any useful result must be any attempt (such as that made, for example, by Scholten) to construct an original Mk. that shall be devoid of miracle. If Jesus did anything that seemed to men wonderful it would naturally be reported as in the fullest sense miraculous on the very day on which it occurred. In Acts 20 7-12 the eye-witness—that he was an eye-witness is not doubted—relates that Eutychus was taken up dead, though he also knows and tells us that Paul had said the young man's life was still in him.

119. Secondary character of canonical Mk.

If Lk. was acquainted with Mt., or Mt. with Lk., the need for postulating an original Mk. which has been spoken of in the preceding section seems to disappear; and in point of fact Holtzmann when he accepted Lk.'s acquaintance with Mt. (*Jahrbb. PT*, '78 553*f.*; *Theol. Lt.-Zg.*, '78 553) seemed for a time to abandon the hypothesis of an original Mk.

(*a*) The hypothesis nevertheless continues to be recommended by a number of secondary traits in canonical Mk. which do not indeed, like those mentioned in § 116*d*, prove dependence of Mk. on Mt. or on Lk. but still render it inconceivable that the canonical Mk. could have been the work which served Mt. or Lk. as a source. Of course there come into consideration here those places also in which Mt. and Lk. show no agreement against Mk.

To this category belong such additions as 'made with hands (χειροποίητος) and 'made without hands' (ἀχειροποίητος) (Mk. 14 58 ‖ Mt. 26 61; not in Lk.), as also the sense-disturbing parenthesis (Mk. 9 12 ‖ Mt. 17 11; not in Lk.), 'And how is it written . . . set at nought?' (*καὶ πῶς γέγραπται . . . ἐξουθενωθῇ*), the remark, based on Roman Law (Mk. 10 12 after *v.* 11 = Mt. 19 9; Lk. omit), that the woman also can put away her husband, and (1 2 ‖ Mt. 3 3 Lk. 3 4) the quotation from Malachi wrongly attributed to Isaiah. Conversely in 14 62 the 'henceforth' (ἀπ' ἄρτι), which Mt. (26 64) has, is omitted. 7 27*a* (children first); 9 1 (some standing by); 13 24 (in those days after that tribulation, see 5 113) have been recast; and in 14 62 'I am' (ἐγώ εἰμι) is an elucidation of the obscure 'thou sayest' (σὺ εἶπας) of Mt. 26 64. In 4 21*f.* the sayings about the lamp and about the hidden thing which must he brought to light are, by the introduction of 'in order that' (ἵνα), adapted to the object for which they are here intended,—namely, to say that if one happens to have found out the meaning of any parable he is not to keep his discovery a secret, but this application of the two sayings is certainly not the original one (*see*, § 134). In Mk. 3 16, when the statement that Jesus appointed the twelve is repeated, the designation of Simon as the first apostle is omitted, only his being surnamed Peter is mentioned. In 10 42 the expression 'they which are accounted to rule' (οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν)—instead of the simple 'rulers' (οἱ ἄρχοντες) of Mt. 20 25—is a mitigating reflection of the same kind as is frequently met with also in Lk. (the closest parallel in Lk. 8 18, 'that which he *thinketh* he hath'). In Mk. 12 34 the statement that 'no man after that durst ask him any question' is introduced at a quite inappropriate point (namely, immediately after the commendation of the discreet scribe); it is met with in its right place in Mt. 22 46 immediately after the discomfiture of the Pharisees by the telling answers of Jesus to their 'tempting' questions. In Mk. 11 25, we find 'the father who is in heaven' (ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς), the only instance in Mk. of an expression which is characteristic in Mt. Cp also 9 50 (§ 3).

(*b*) It is open to us, no doubt, to try to account for these secondary passages by assuming that after the canonical Mk. had been used by Mt. and Lk. it was altered by copyists.

The additions in Mk. 14 58 ('made with[out] hands') do not, in point of fact, reappear in 15 29 ('railed at him, saying'); Mk. 9 12*b* ('how is it written, etc.') falls into place after 9 13 ('Elijah is come') and perhaps was originally a marginal note on this verse by an early reader. 1 2 (quot. from Mal.) or even 1 2*f.* (*v.* 3 from Is.) have often before now been thought to have been prefixed at a later date—especially 1 2, since only *v.* 3 comes from Isaiah while *v.* 2 on the contrary comes from Mal. 3 1 and moreover coincides *verbatim*, in spite of original Heb. and LXX, with Mt. 11 10 = Lk. 7 27 (5 4, n. 1). Should we be prepared to go further and agree to treat as the work of a later hand everything that could by any possibility be so explained, we should regard also the end of Mk. 12 5 ('and many others, beating some, and killing some.' discussed in § 116 *d*), and the mention of the sisters of Jesus in 3 32 (against *vv.* 31, 33), as having been introduced by an old reader (3 32, in anticipation of *v.* 35 'whosoever shall do', etc.); so also 11 2 ('whereon no man ever yet sat') and even 11 13 ('for it was not the season of figs'; see § 137 *b*, β). 'And the gospel's' in 8 35 10 29 may also he an addition; the words 'for my sake' make it superfluous. On the other hand, after 'prophesy' (προφήτευσον) in Mk. 14 65, the words which Mt. (26 68) and Lk. (22 64) agree in giving, 'who is he that smote thee,' may have dropped out (§ 3, n. 2); so perhaps also 'to know' (γνῶναι) after 'is given' in Mk. 4 11; it is found both in Mt. (13 11) and in Lk. (8 10). Cp Hawkins, 122. 'Henceforth' (ἀπ' ἄρτι), on the other hand, can have come into Mt. 26 64 from divergent oral tradition, the existence of which alongside of written sources must always be taken into account, especially when dealing with such important utterances of Jesus (§ 115 *c*).

(*c*) On the other hand, there are many places to which this explanation (later alteration of canonical Mk.) does not admit of being applied.

7 27*a* ('children first'), 9 1 (some standing by), 13 24 (in those days after that tribulation), 4 21*f.* (lamp), 10 42 (accounted to rule) are much too well conceived to allow of our resolving them into marginal glosses; so also Mk. 3 30 ('because they said') (§ 116 *d*, n.) and the weakening of the statement in 14 4 as compared with Mt. 26 8 (that 'some,' but not 'the disciples,' complained of the waste of the ointment). That the cock crowed twice at Peter's denial of Jesus is stated not only in 14 30 but also in *vv.* 68 and 72; and even if the statement must be traced to a misunderstanding (as in 5 14), the misunderstanding must be imputed to the author not to a glossator who would hardly be so very careful as to insert his note in three separate places. We should not be justified in setting down Mk. 9 48-50 (fire not quenched; salted with fire; salt is good) as a later addition simply because in this passage sayings are strung together without any inward connection with each other; for the same phenomenon can he observed elsewhere in the gospels (§ 133 *c*).

(*d*) It avails little to seek to find in Codex D and the allied MSS an older text of Mk. as compared with which the present Mk. has been corrupted by transcribers.

In the first place, D but rarely presents different readings in those places where Mt. and Lk. offer a better text than canonical Mk. Moreover, when, for example, in Mk. 4 11 D has the 'to know' (γνῶναι), the absence of which was noted above, this may be due quite as well to insertion from Mt. or Lk., or even to anticipation of the 'how shall ye know?' (γνώσεσθε) of 4 13. In D there are manifold traces of a very independent mind. For this reason we cannot be perfectly confident that D's reading in 1 6, 'John was clothed in a camel's skin' (δέρριν καμήλου), is the original one, although the expression in canonical Mk. is difficult: 'John was clothed with camel's hair.' The 'camel's skin' may be a deliberate rectification of the text quite as well as that adopted in Mt. 3 4, 'he had his raiment of camel's hair.' For the same reason it would not he safe to lay stress on the fact that for Mk. 2 27*f.* D has only these words: 'But I say unto you, the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath,' or that Mk. 9 35 *b* (if any man would he first) is altogether absent (cp 5 128 [*f*]).

[1] Mk. 4 26-29 (stages of growth) finds its parallel in Mt. 13 24-30 (tares) (see 5 128 *c*), Mk. 7 31-37 (deaf and dumb), in Mt. 15 29-31 (multitudes diseased), Mk. 10 24 (answereth again and saith . . . how hard), in Mt. 19 24 (and again I say . . ., easier for camel); the 'were amazed' (ἐξίσταντο) of Mt. 12 23 arises from the 'is beside himself' (ἐξέστη) of Mk. 3 21 (see 5 8 middle, and ACTS, § 17 *i*), the touching of the eyes of the blind (Mt. 20 34 9 29) from Mk. 8 23 (spat on his eyes, etc.).

(a) From the statement of Papias given above in § 65, Schleiermacher in 1832 first drew the inference that the apostle Matthew had made in Aramaic a collection only of the sayings of Jesus. Whether this is what Papias really meant is questionable, for undoubtedly he was acquainted with the canonical Mt. and had every occasion to express himself with regard to this hook as well as with regard to Mk. If he was speaking of Mt., then he was as much in error as to its original language as he was as to its author (see § 149); this, however, is conceivable enough. That by his logia Papias intended the whole gospel of Mt., although this contains not discourses merely but narratives as well, is not by any means impossible (see § 65, n. 3). In Greek, logia, it is true, means only things said (Acts 7 38, the angel which spake; Rom. 32 'oracles,' etc.); but if Papias took fhe word as a translation of Heb. *dibhrē* (דִּבְרֵי)—which he may readily have done, on his assumption of a Semitic original—then for him it meant 'events' in general.'

120. The Logia as a source for Mt. and Lk.

(b) The actual state of the case in Mt. and Lk., however, furnishes justification for the hypothesis to which scholars have been led by the words of Papias, even though perhaps only by a false interpretation of them. A great number, especially of the sayings of Jesus which are absent from Mk., are found in Mt. and Lk. in such a way that they must be assumed to have come from a common source. If these passages were found in absolute agreement in both gospels it would be possible to believe that Lk. had taken them over from Mt., or Mt. from Lk.; but in addition to close general agreement the passages exhibit quite characteristic divergences.

(c) In point of fact the controverted question as to whether it is Mt. or Lk. who has preserved them in their more original form must be answered by saying that in many cases it is the one, in many other cases the other.

Secondary in Lk., for example, are: 124 as against Mt. 10 28 (be not afraid of them which kill the body), 11 13 as against Mt. 7 11 (prayer for the Holy Spirit), Lk. 11 42 as against Mt. 23 23 (the generalisation 'every herb,' πᾶν λάχανον) or, 11 44, the misunderstanding that the Pharisees are like 'sepulchres because they 'appear not,' and not because, as in Mt. 23 27 *f.*, they are outwardly beautiful but inwardly noisome. In Lk. 6 27-36 = Mt. 5 38-48 Lk. makes love of one's enemy the chief consideration and introduces it accordingly at the beginning in *v.* 27. He betrays his dependence, however, by repeating it in *v.* 35 because in the parallel passage, Mt. 5 44 (or in Mt.'s source), it is met with in that position. Cp further, § 127 *a*. On the other hand Lk.'s representation in 13 26 (we did eat and drink) fits better with the Jewish conditions in which Jesus lived than does Mt. 7 22 (Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy?). In Lk. 20 21 the Hebraistic expression 'respect the person' (λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον: lit. 'accept the face') is retained, whilst in Mk. 12 14 = Mt. 22 16 the phrase is changed. On Lk. 8 6 (other fell on the rock) see § 116 *e*, end, on 11 30, § 140 *a*. In the Lord's Prayer the text of Mt. where Lk. has parallels is distinctly the more original; on the other hand, the clauses which are not found in Lk. may have been introduced afterwards (see § 18 and the maxim in § 145 *c*; also LORD'S PRAYER).

A similar conclusion—the existence of a source used in common by Mt. and Lk. but different from Mk.—is indicated by the doublets, that is to say the utterances which either Mt. or Lk., or both, give, in two separate places.[2]

121. Doublets and theory of two sources.

(a) In the majority of cases it can be observed that in Mt. the one doublet has a parallel in Mk. and the other in Lk. In these cases it is almost invariably found that in the parallel with Mk. not only the occasion but also the text is in agreement with Mk., and in the parallel with Lk. occasion and text are in agreement with Lk. Similarly, Lk., wherever there is a doublet, is found to agree in the one case with Mk. and in the other with Mt. If it must be conceded that in many cases the agreement of text is not very manifest, this is easily accounted for by the consideration that the evangelist (Mt. or Lk.) in writing the text the second time would naturally recall the previous occasion on which it had been given.[1] The passages, however, in which the observation made above holds good are many enough.[2] To account for them without the theory of two sources would, even apart from these special agreements, be extraordinarily difficult,—indeed possible only where an epigrammatic saying fits not only the place assigned to it in what is assumed to be the one and only source, but also the other situation into which the evangelist without following any source will have placed it.

In some places indeed this would seem to be what we must suppose to have actually happened, as we are unable to point to two different sources. So Lk. 14 11 = 18 14 ('he who exalteth himself shall be abased'); or the quotation from Hos. 6 6 (mercy not sacrifice) in Mt. 9 13 = 12 7 (which, moreover, is not very appropriate in either case). It must be with deliberate intention that the preaching with which, according to Mk. 1 15 (the time; repent) = Mt. 4 17, Jesus began his ministry is in Mt. 3 2 already assigned to the Baptist; or the binding and loosing (§ 136) to Peter. On the other hand, the answer 'I know you not' which follows the invocation 'Lord, Lord' in Mt. 7 22 *f.* (many will say) and 25 11 *f.* (five virgins) is associated with a different narrative in the two cases and cannot therefore, properly, he regarded as an independent doublet; so also with the threatening with fire (3 12 = 13 30).

But, in other cases, such a repetition of a saying, on the part of an evangelist, without authority for it in some source in each case, is all the more improbable because Lk. often, and frequently also Mt. (see, *e.g.*, § 128 [*f*, *g*], or the omission of Mk. 8 38 = Lk. 9 26 after Mt. 16 26 on account of Mt. 10 33). avoids introducing for the second time a saying previously given, even when the parallel has it, and thus a doublet might have been expected as in the cases adduced at the beginning of this section.

Were this not so, we should expect that Lk., having before him *ex hypothesi* the same sources as Mt., would in every case, or nearly every case, have had a doublet wherever Mt. had one; and *vice versa*. As a matter of fact only three or four sayings are doublets in Mt. as well as in Lk.; on the other hand, although the derivation of a passage from the logia is not always free from doubt, we are entitled to reckon that Lk. has seven doublets peculiar to himself, and Mt. twice as many.

(6) We are led to the same inference—that two sources were employed—by those passages common to the three Gospels in which Mt. and Lk. have in common certain little insertions not to be found in Mk.; as, for example, Mt. 18 6 *f.* (millstone) = Lk. 17 1 *f.* as compared with Mk. 9 42, or Mt. 3 11 *f.* (baptize with water) = Lk. 3 16 *f.* as compared with Mk. 1 7 *f.*, at the close of which passage both even have in common the words 'and with fire' (καὶ πυρί). Another very manifest transition from one source to another is seen in the parable of the mustard seed. This is given in the form of a narrative only in Lk. 13 18 *f.*; in Mk. 4 30-32, on the other hand, in the form of a general statement. Now, Mt. 13 31 *f.* has in

1 In what follows, we use the word 'logia' (because it has become conventional) in both senses ('sayings' alone, and 'sayings and narratives') throughout, even if the authors to whom we have occasion to refer, prefer another word. This is specially desirable when they simply say 'the source,' for we must allow for the possibility of several sources for the synoptic gospels.

2 In Mk. there are only two passages that can be called doublets—9 35 ('if any man would be first') and 10 43 *f.* ('whosoever would become great') on which see § 128 [*f*]; for 9 1 ('there be some here') and 13 10 ('gospel first preached') can hardly be so classed. For doublets cp Hawkins 64.87, Wernle 111-113 (in neither is the enumeration complete).

1 For example Lk. 11 33 (lamp under bushel) agrees much more closely with 8 16 (under bed) than with its proper parallel in Mt. 5 15; but Lk. 8 16 agrees just as closely with its proper parallel in Mk. 4 21 as it does with Lk. 11 33. Cp further, especially, Mk. 8 35 (save life, lose it) = Mt. 16 25 = Lk. 9 24, from which the other two parallels, Mt. 10 39 = Lk. 17 33, are distinguised *in common* only by the use of καί instead of δέ.

2 *E.g.* Mt. 13 12 (whosoever hath) = Mk. 4 25 (with Lk. 8 18 *b*); Mt. 25 29 (unto everyone that hath) = Lk. 19 26, or Mt. 19 9 = Mk. 10 11; Mt. 5 32 (divorce) = Lk. 16 18 or Mt. 19 30 = Mk. 10 31; Mk. 20 16 (last, first) = Lk. 13 30, or Mt. 21 21 = Mk. 11 23; Mt. 17 20 (faith as mustard seed) = Lk. 17 6, or Mt. 21 22 = Mk. 11 24; Mt. 7 7 *f.* (ask) = Lk. 11 9 *f.*, or Lk. 8 17 = Mk. 4 22; Lk. 12 2 (covered up, revealed) = Mt. 10 26, or Lk. 9 26 = Mk. 8 38; Lk. 12 9 (denieth, denied) = Mt. 10 33, or Lk. 9 23 = Mk. 8 34 = Mt. 16 24; Lk. 14 27 (bear cross) = Mt. 10 38.

the one half narrative, in the other general statement.

In short, the so-called theory of two sources,—that is of the employment by Mt. and Lk. of Mk. (or original Mk.) on the one hand, and of the logia on the other—ranks among those results of gospel criticism which have met with most general acceptance.

If the original Mk. was more extensive than the canonical, possibly it contained things which, on another assumption, Mt. and Lk. might be supposed to have taken from the logia. In particular has this been asserted of the centurion of Capernaum (Mt. 8 5-13 = Lk. 7 1-10), of the detailed account of the temptation (Mt. 4 1-11 = Lk. 4 1-13), and also of the Baptist's message (Mt. 11 2-19 = Lk. 7 18-35), the logia being held to have been merely a collection of discourses. At present it is almost universally conceded that in any such collection the occasions of the discourses included must also have been stated in narrative form. This once granted, it is no longer possible to deny that, in certain circumstances, even narratives of some length may have been admitted, if only they led up to some definite utterance of Jesus. B. Weiss (§§ 125 *d*, 126 *c*), and, after him, Resch (§ 117), have even carried this thesis so far as to maintain that the logia formed a complete gospel with approximately as many narratives as discourses.

122. Limits of material from logia.

A definite separation of the portions derived from the logia might be expected to result from linguistic investigation. B. Weiss has in point of fact sought with great care to determine the linguistic character of the logia; but his argument is exposed to an unavoidable source of error, namely this, that the vocabulary of the logia can be held to have been definitely determined only when we have already, conjecturally, assigned certain definite passages to this source. In so far as this provisional assignment has been at fault, the resultant vocabulary will also have to be modified. Such a vocabulary can never be accepted otherwise than conditionally—for this reason, besides the reasons indicated above, that it would be necessary first to determine whether it is Mt. or Lk. that has preserved the logia most faithfully. The task, moreover, is rendered doubly difficult, by the fact that Mt. and Lk. by no means adopt their sources without modification; they alter freely and follow their own manner of speaking instead of that of their source, or allow themselves to be influenced by Mk. even in pieces borrowed from the logia; and *vice versa*.

It is specially interesting to notice that Titius, a disciple of B. Weiss, expressly acknowledges the unprovableness of his master's hypothesis as a whole. He calls it 'an equation with many unknown quantities.' Nevertheless he thinks he can prove it 'quite irrefragably' if it he restricted to the discourses. This has the appearance of sounder method, for greater unanimity prevails as to the extent of the discourses which belonged to the logia (Wernle, 91 187). At the same time, even when this restriction has been made, the difficulties that hare been urged hold good, and all the more so since Titius at the outset assigns too large an extent to the logia and also, what is more serious, in his verbal statistics makes a number of assumptions of a kind that are quite usual but also quite unjustifiable. It was therefore an exceedingly hold step when (amongst others) B. Weiss (*Das Marcus-evangelium*, 1872), Wendt (*Die Lehre Jesu*, First Part, 1886), Resch (*Die Logia Jesu*, 1898) and Blair (*Apostolic Gospel*, 1896) printed the logia, or a source similar to them, *verbatim*. Hawkins (88-92) came to the conclusion that by linguistic methods no trustworthy separation of the logia-portions could he made. See further § 126 *c*.

(*a*) The divergences between Mt. and Lk. in the passages common to the two but not shared by Mk. (§ 120 *a*) are often so great that it becomes a question whether both have been drawing from one and the same source. If it be assumed that they were, then one or other of them, or both, must have treated the source with a drastic freedom that does not accord well with the verbal fidelity to their source elsewhere shown by them (§ 115 *a*). It is the Ebionitic passages, chiefly, that come into consideration here. According to § 110, Lk. derived them from some source. Now, this source must have had many matters in common with the logia; *e.g.*, pre-eminently, the beatitudes,[1] as also Lk. 6 35 *b* (lend, hoping for nothing again); 11 41 ('give for alms'); 12 33 ('sell . . . and give alms'). In § 110 it has further been shown to he probable that it was not Lk. himself who was enamoured of Ebionitic ideas. All the more must they already have found a place in the edition of the logia which he had before him.

123. Special source for Lk.

(*b*) The hypothesis of a special source for Lk. must not, however, be stretched to the extent of assuming that everything Lk. has from the logia had come to him only in Ebionitic form. Much of his logia material is free from all Ebionitic tendency, yet it is not likely that the Ebionitic editor who often imported his ideas into the text so strongly would have left other passages wholly untouched. Slight traces of an Ebionitic colouring perhaps can be detected in Lk. 14 33 *a* ('whosoever renounceth not all'), 21 *f.* (bring in the poor) (cp 13; bid the poor), 6 36 ('merciful,' οἰκτίρμονες); 18 22 ('sell all,' πάντα); 19 8 (half of my goods). But that Lk. had access to, and made use of, the unrevised logia also can hardly be denied.

(*c*) All the more pressingly are we confronted with the question whether the Ebionitic source of Lk. contained also those passages which are peculiar to Lk. This is at once probable as regards the parables enumerated in § 110. In fact, for the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, at least in its Ebionitic shape (*i.e.*, 16 19-26 without the appendix *vv.* 27-31; see § 109 *b*), it is possible to conjecture an original form of a purely ethical nature which characterised the Rich Man as godless and Lazarus as pious, and thus had a place (along with the beatitudes) among the logia, and may have come from the mouth of Jesus. On the other hand, such pieces as the parable of the Prodigal Son (15 11-32), of the Pharisee and the Publican (18 9-14), of the unprofitable servants (17 7-10), on account of their wholly different theological complexion, cannot possibly be attributed to the same Ebionitic source. For this reason alone, if for no other, it becomes impossible to suppose that Lk. had a special source for his account of the journey of Jesus through Samaria (9 51-18 14); this narrative, too, has some things in common with Mk., others with Mt. We are thus led to the conclusion, so far as Lk. is concerned, that he had various other sources besides Mk. (or original Mk.)—a conclusion that is, moreover, in harmony with his own preface.

124. Minor Sources.

(*a*) *Short Narratives*.—Going much beyond the results embodied in the foregoing section (§ 123), Schleiermacher, as early as 1817, assumed a series of quite short notes on detailed events which, founding (incorrectly) on Lk. 1 1 (see § 153, n. 2), he called 'narratives' (διηγήσεις). On the analogy of OT criticism this might be called the 'fragment-hypothesis.'[2] That our present gospels should have been directly compiled from such fragmentary sources, as Schleiermacher supposed, is not conceivable, when the degree in which they coincide in matter and arrangement is considered (§ 116 *a*). As subsidiary sources, however, or as steps in the transition from merely oral tradition to consecutive written narrative,

1 The two forms in which these are found admit of explanation most easily if we assume that 'in spirit' (τῷ πνεύματι; Mt. 5 3) and 'righteousness' (τὴν δικαιοσύνην; Mt. 5 6) were originally absent. The Ebionitic source—and, with it, Lk.—has in this case preserved the tenor of the words with the greater fidelity; hut Mt., by his insertions, has better preserved the religious and ethical meaning in which unquestionably Jesus spoke the words—perhaps also by the addition of unambiguously moral utterances such as 5 8 *f.* (pure in heart, peacemakers) which with equal certainty can be attributed to Jesus, and 5 4 7 (mourn, merciful). Both these are wanting in Lk., although they are capable of being used in an Ebionitic sense if he had chosen to take 'meek' (πραεῖς) in the sense of Ps. 37 9 11 22 29, and 'merciful' (ἐλεήμονες) in that of Lk. 11 41.

2 [Cp HEXATEUCH, § 3.]

the possibility of such brief notes can by no means be disregarded (see § 129 *d*). Still, to show that they existed is by no means easy.

(6) ***The* '*little Apocalypse*.'**—Nevertheless, the belief is continually gaining ground that into Mt. **24,** into Mk. **13,** and (only with greater alterations) into Lk. **21** a work often called the 'Little Apocalypse' has been introduced.

The evidence of this is found in the first instance in the want of connection.

'These things' (ταῦτα) in Mt. 24 33 (=Mk. 13 29=Lk. **21** 31), coming as the phrase does after *vv.* 31, must refer to the end of the world; yet originally it must have meant the premonitory signs of the approaching end, for it is said that when the beholders see all 'these things,' then they are to know that the end is 'nigh.' Therefore Mt. 24 32 *f.* (=Mk. 13 28 *f.*= Lk. 21 29-31) is not in its proper place here. On the other hand, Mt. 24 34 comes appropriately enough after 24 31. Mt. 24 29 (=Mk. **13** 24), speaking as it does of a 'tribulation,' does not come in well after the discourse about false Messiahs and false prophets in Mt. 24 23-28 (=Mk. **13** 21-23)—the parallel to which in Lk. is actually found in another chapter (17 23 *f.*)—but would be appropriate after Mt. 24 15-22 (=Mk. 13 14-20=Lk. 21 20-24), where the connection is excellent. Mt. 24 9-14 (=Mk. 13 9*b*-13=Lk. **21** 12-19) occurs also in Mt. 10 17-22, in a form which, as suiting Jewish circumstances better (10 17, 'in their synagogues they will scourge you'), must be regarded as the more original; it is to be regarded as out of place in chap. 24. On the other hand, 'the abomination of desolation,' Mt. 24 15 (=Mk. 13 14), comes fittingly after *vv.* 6-8 (=Mk. 13 7-9*a*=Lk. 21 9-11). As for *v.* **5** (=Mk. 13 6=Lk. 21 8*b*), it belongs, so far as its substance at least is concerned, to the passage, *vv.* 23-28, which we have already seen is out of place here. *Vv.* 1 *f.* (=Mk. 13 1 *f.*=Lk. 21 5 *f.*) do not fit well with *v.* **15** (=Mk. 13 14) where only a desecration, not a destruction, of the temple is thought of (otherwise in Lk. 21 20—'when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed'—on which see § 153). Regarded as a unity, accordingly, the passage would consist of Mt. 24 6-8 **15-22** 29-31 34=Mk. 13 7-9*a* **14-20** 24-27 30. As a discourse of Jesus it is prefaced by *v.* 3*b* (=Mk. 13 4=Lk. **21** 7)—an introduction which anticipates *v.* 30—and if you will by *v.* 4 (=Mk. 13 5=Lk. 21 8*a*), and it is brought to a close in *v.* 35 (=Mk. 13 31=Lk. **21** 33).

In contents, however, the passage is quite alien from Jesus' teaching as recorded elsewhere, whilst on the other hand it is closely related to other apocalypses. It will, accordingly, not be unsafe to assume that an apocalypse which originally had a separate existence has here been put into the mouth of Jesus and mixed up with utterances that actually came from him. The most appropriate occasion for a prophecy concerning an abomination about to be set up in the temple (**24** 15) would be the expressed intention of the emperor Caligula—which in 40 A.D. threw the whole Jewish world into the greatest excitement—to cause a statue of himself to be erected there.[1] The origin of this apocalypse will best be placed somewhere between this date and the destruction of Jerusalem, which is not yet presupposed in Mt. **24** 15. Whether it was composed by a Jew or by a Christian is an unimportant question (see, however, § 145 [*f*]).

(*c*) *Anonymous Gospels.*—Of other minor sources that have been conjectured mention may here be made of the so-called anonymous gospel found by Scholten[2] in Mt. 3 7-10 12 4 3-11*a* 8 5-10 13 19-22 9 27-34 11 2-19,—in other words, in the main, the passages mentioned at the beginning of § 122,—and of the book which is held to be cited by **Lk.** (11 49) under the title of 'Wisdom' (σοφία, §§ 19 150).

(*d*) *Buddhistic sources.*—Seydel (*Evangelium von Jesu*, 1882; *Buddhalegende*, '84; (2), '97) has not actually attempted to draw up a gospel derived from Buddhistic material; but the parallels he has adduced from the life of Buddha are in many places very striking, at least so far as the story of the childhood of Jesus is concerned,[3] and his proof that the Buddhistic sources are

1 Tac. *Hist.* 59; Philo, *Leg.* 30-43; Jos. *BJ* ii. 10; *Ant.* xviii. 8 2-9. See ISRAEL, § 96.

2 *Das älteste Evangelium*, I. end, p. 50 *f.*

3 To the virgin-birth (Mt. 1 18), the annunciation to Mary (1 20 *f.*), the star (**2** 1-10), the gifts (**2** 11), Simeon (Lk. 2 25-39), the incident at twelve years of age (Lk. 2 41-50), must be added **also** the presentation **in** the temple; and here it is worthy of remark that such a presentation was not actually required either by the passage (**Ex.** 13 2 12 15) cited in Lk. (**2** 22-24) *or* yet by the other passages Nu. **3 46** 18 15 **Ex.** 22 29.

older than the Christian must be regarded as irrefragable.[1]

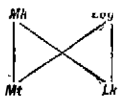
12. Combinations of hypotheses. The Synoptical Problem is so complicated that but few students, if any, will now be found who believe a solution possible by means of any one of the hypotheses described above without other aids. The need for combining several of them is felt more and more. Most frequently, we find the borrowing-hypothesis combined with the sources-hypothesis in one form or another, and, over and above, an oral tradition prior to all written sources assumed. Instead of attempted detailed accounts, we subjoin graphic representations of some combinations which are not too complicated and which bring into characteristic prominence the variety that exists among the leading hypotheses.

(*a*) Hilgenfeld combines with the borrowing-hypothesis the further assumption of a written original gospel in two successive stages, Hebrew and Greek (so also Holsten, only with omission of the first stage),



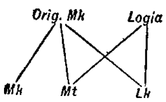
a. Hilgenfeld.

(6) The simplest form of the two-source-hypothesis was argued for by Weisse in 1838; in 1856, however, he assumed an original **Mk.** along with the logia.



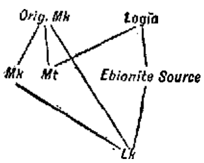
b. Weisse (in 1838).

(*c*) An original **Mk.** alongside of the logia was postulated as a source (α) in simple form by Holtzmann down to 1878. The borrowing-hypothesis in its purest state—the theory, namely, that one canonical gospel had been used in the preparation of the other—was thus superseded (§ 118).



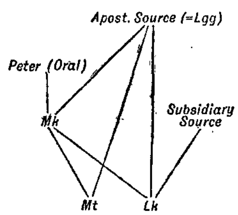
c *(a).* Holtzmann (before 1878).

(β) **As** a more complicated form we single out that of Lipsius (as described by Feine, *JPT*, '85, p. 1 *f.*). In addition to Holtzmann's scheme he assumed a borrowing from canonical **Mk.** by Lk., and also an Ebionitic redaction of the logia (§ 123).

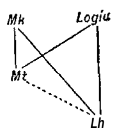


c (β). Lipsius.

(*d*) B. Weiss reverts almost to the hypothesis of an original gospel. He postulates for the logia (which he therefore prefers to call the 'Apostolical source'), as many narratives as discourses (§§ 122, *126* c).



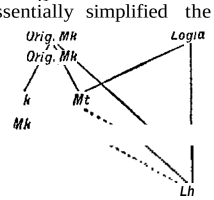
d. B. Weiss.



e. Simons.

(*e*) Simons essentially simplified the theory of two sources by postulating (what all the hypotheses hitherto enumerated had avoided doing) a borrowing by **Lk.** from Mt. (§ 127).

(*f*) Holtzmann from 1878 combined this last with the hypothesis of an original **Mk.** (§ 119 *a*).

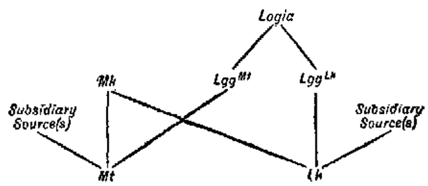


f. Holtzmann (1878).

(*g*) The latest form of the two-source-theory is that propounded by Wernle. Whether Mt. and Lk. severally

1 Only the parable of the Wicked Servant (Mt. 24 45-51) and, indirectly, the narrative of the end of the betrayer (Mt. **27** 3-10) are affected by the resemblance to the story of Aḥiḳar; cp J. R. Harris, *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, 60 *f.*, 'Did Judas really commit suicide?' in *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1900, pp. 490-513; **and** see ACHIACHARUS, 1.

used one or more subsidiary sources he leaves an open question. With regard to the logia he assumes that before they were used by Mt. and Lk. they had undergone additions, transpositions, and alterations—yet not to too great an extent—at the hands of a transcriber or possessor. The copy which Mt. used had been worked over in a Judaistic spirit (§ 129 *e*), that used by Lk. was somewhat shorter. Mk. was acquainted with the logia, but did not use them; he merely took them for granted as already known and on that account introduced all the fewer discourses (against this see



g. Wernle.

§ 148). Our present Mk. is different from that used by Mt. and Lk. but only by corruption of the text, not by editing.

It is the agreement between Mt. and Lk. as compared with Mk. that tries any hypothesis most severely, and it is with reference to this point that all the most important modifications in the various theories have been made. We proceed to test the leading hypotheses by its means—always on the presupposition that neither Mt. was acquainted with Lk., nor Lk. with Mt.

126. Confrontation of hypotheses.

(a) The hypothesis of an original Mk. is in a general way very well fitted to explain the agreement in question in so far as canonical Mk. is secondary to Mt. and Lk. But if, on the other hand, our Mk. **has** elements of greater originality, as we have seen to be the case with many of his exact details, then one will feel inclined, in accordance with **§ 3,** to suppose that it was a younger copy of Mk. that Mt. and Lk. had access to. In actual fact, however, sometimes the one condition holds good, sometimes the other. It is in this textual question, over and above the question already (§ **118)** spoken of as to its extent, that the difficulty of the original-Mk.-hypothesis in its present form lies.

(*b*) If certain passages which are found in Mk. occurred also in the logia, then Mt. and Lk. may have derived their representation, in so far as it differs from Mk., from the logia, provided that the logia was unknown to Mk. That there were passages common to Mk. (an original Mk. is not required when we approach the question as we do here) and the logia is at least shown by the doublets, and is by no means excluded even where there are no doublets (see **§ 121** 6 and Wernle, 208 *f.*). One, however, can hardly help thinking that the great degree of verbal coincidence which nevertheless is seen between Mk. on the one hand and Mt. and Lk. on the other comes from oral tradition. Thus a very high degree of confidence in the fixity of the oral narrative type (§ 115) is required, and this marks one of the extreme limits to which such hypotheses can be carried without losing themselves in what wholly eludes investigation. But, moreover, the logia must be conceived of as a complete gospel if we are to suppose that it contained all the sections in which Mt. and Lk. are in agreement against Mk. Hawkins (pp. 172-176) reckons that out of 58 sections which almost in their whole extent are common to the three evangelists there are only 7 where Mt. and Lk. are not in agreement against Mk., and in 21 of the remaining 51 he finds agreements which are particularly marked and by no possibility admit of explanation as being due to chance.

(c) According to B. Weiss not only Mt. and Lk. **but** also Mk. made use of the logia; Mk., over and above, drew upon the oral communications of Peter and was again in his turn used by Mt. and Lk. This hypothesis has the advantage of accounting for the secondary passages of Mk. as due to a more faithful reproduction of the logia by Mt. and Lk., and the fresher colours of Mk. as due to the reminiscences of Peter. It still remains surprising, doubtless, that Mt. and Lk. should have omitted so many of these vivid touches if they lay before them in Mk. The supposition that they did not regard Mk. as of equal importance with the logia is not in itself inherently impossible; but it does not carry us far, for they elsewhere take a great deal from Mk. Still more remarkable is it that Mk. should have omitted so much from the logia. The suggested explanation that in writing down the reminiscences of Peter he regarded the logia as only of secondary value is, in view of the number of passages which according to Weiss he took from them, still more improbable almost than that already mentioned.

As regards the coincidences between Mt. and Lk. against Mk., a very simple explanation seems to be found for them in the hypothesis of Weiss, viz. that Mt. and Lk. drew upon the logia with greater fidelity than Mk. did. This, however, can of course be claimed by Weiss only for those sections which he actually derives from the logia. Yet for one portion of the sections in which such coincidences occur (see above, 6) he finds himself compelled by his principles to regard Mk., not the logia, as the source of Mt. and Lk. In this way, of the **240** coincidences enumerated by Hawkins, some 50—no inconsiderable number—remain unaccounted for. Nor can we overlook the improbability that the logia, as conceived of by Weiss, should have contained, as he himself confesses, no account of the passion.

In so far as the various hypotheses referred to in the preceding section are found to be insufficient, in the same degree are we compelled to admit that Lk. must have been acquainted with Mt. (or *vice versa*).

127. Borrowing by Lk. from Mt. (or *vice versa*).

(a) Each of the two assumptions—partly without any thorough investigation and partly under the influence of a 'tendency' criticism—long found support; but the second (§ 157, **Ai. c**) has at present few to uphold it. The other has for the first time been taken up in a thoroughgoing manner with use of literary critical methods by Simons **($125e).**

We begin with arguments of minor weight.

(a) Out of the selection of specially strong evidences in support of it given in Hawkins **(174 *f.*)** we have already (# 119 *b*) pointed out that Mt. **13** 11 Lk. 8 10 **(as** against Mk. **4** 11**)** and Mt. 2668 Lk. 2264 (as against Mk. 1465) admit of another explanation. Similarly, the 'Bethphage and Bethany' of Lk. 19 29 may be sufficiently explained by assuming that originally only the first word stood in the text (as in Mt. **21** 1) or only the second (as in Mk. **11** 1), and that it was **a** copyist who, of his own proper motion, introduced the name he found lacking. Possibly we ought to trace to the source of Mt., rather than to the canonical Mt., such material divergences **as** we find in Mt. **21** 17 Lk. **21** 37 (that Jesus ***spent the night*** outside of Jerusalem, **a** statement not found in Mk. **11** 19) ; in Mt. 21 23 Lk. **20** 1 (that Jesus taught in the temple, as against Mk. **11** 27 'he was walking in the temple'); in Mt. 2650 Lk. 2248 (that Jesus spoke to the betrayer in the garden—a statement not found in Mk. 1445); in Mt. 288 Lk. 24 9 (that the women reported to the disciples the angel'smessage, whereas according to Mk. 168 they said nothing to any one ; on this last point, however, see **§** 138 ***e*)**. Similarly, the representation, the impossibility of which has already been referred to in **§** 108 (by which the Baptist is made to address the penitent crowds flocking to his baptism as **a** generation of vipers) is either due to an infelicitous juxtaposition of Mt. **3 5** (where it is said that the multitudes went out to him) and Mt. 3 **7** (where the words in question are addressed to the Pharisees and Sadducees); or it may be due to use of Mt.'s source. Lk. appears to be dependent at once on Mk. and on Mt. (or Mt.'s source) when, in **4** 2-13, he represents the temptation in the wilderness both as happening during the forty days (as in Mk. 1 13), and also **as** happening after their expiry **(as** in Mt. **42-11)**.

(*β*) Greater importance belongs to the verbal agreements. **In** Mt. 9 17 Lk. 5 37 'spilled' **(ἐκχεῖσθαι)** is used of the wine 'perish' **(ἀπόλλυσθαι)** only of the bottles; in **Mk.** 2 22 'perish'

(ἀπόλλυσθαι) is used of both. In Mt. 9 20 Lk. 8 **44** the woman touches the hem of the garment of Jesus, in Mk. 5 27 simply the garment. In Mt. **14 1** Lk. **9 7** Herod Antipas is correctly called tetrarch, in Mk. **6 14** 22 25-27 and also in **Mt. 14 9** inexactly 'king' (βασιλεύς). Mt. 19 29 Lk. **18 30** have 'manyfold' **(πολλαπλασίονα),** Mk. 10 **30 'a** hundredfold' **(ἑκατονταπλασίονα).** In Mt. 26 75 Lk. **22** 62 it is said of Peter 'he went out and wept bitterly' **(ἐξελθὼν ἔξω ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς)**; in Mk. 14 72 'he began to weep' (ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν). In Mt. 27 59 *f.* Lk. **23 53** it is said of Joseph of Arimathæa 'he wrapped it in **a** linen cloth . . . and laid' **(ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ σινδόνι . . . καὶ ἔθηκεν),** in Mk. 15 **46** 'he wound him in **a** linen cloth . . . and laid' **(ἐνείλησεν τῇ σινδόνι καὶ κατέθηκεν; ?** WH **ἔθηκεν).** Mt. **28 1** Lk. **23 54** have, as against Mk. 16 2, 'it began to dawn' **(ἐπιφώσκειν)**—though, indeed, in **a** different connection. In **Mt. 28 3** Lk. **24 4,** as against Mk. **16 5,** the countenance of the angel, or the apparel of the two angels, is compared to lightning. In Mt. 14 13 Lk. 9 10 *f.*, as against Mk. 6 32 *f.*, we find not only 'he departed' (ἀνεχώρησεν or ὑπεχώρησεν) instead of 'they went away' (ἀπῆλθον), but also 'the multitudes accompanied him' (οἱ ὄχλοι . . . ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ instead of 'many outwent them' (πολλοὶ . . . προῆλθον αὐτούς).

A material divergence from Mk., but at the same time an approach to coincidence of expression, is seen in Lk. 22 70, where the answer of Jesus to the high priest is given in this form: 'Ye say that I am.' The first two words are a paraphrase of the 'thou hast said' (**σὺ εἶπας**) of Mt. 26 64; the remainder of the sentence is **a** repetition of the paraphrase in Mk. (§ 119 *a*). For another material divergence from Mk. see Lk. 11 17=Mt. **12 25 as** against Mk. **3 23** (Jesus knowing the thoughts of his enemies).

(γ) Specially important are cases in which a casual expression of Mt. is laid hold of. So, for example, in Lk. **9 34** ('while he said these things') **as** compared with Mt. 17 5 ('while be was yet speaking'), and as against Mk. 9 7. Similarly, Lk. (**4** 16-30) was able to find a justification for his erroneous statement, that Jesus had come forward in the synagogue at Nazareth at the very beginning of his public activity (cp **§§ 39, 109 *b***), in Mt. **4 13**, where it is said that Jesus before coming to Capernaum left Nazareth (in Lk. **4 31** he comes to Capernaum from Nazareth). The scribe's question as to the greatest of the commandments is described not by Mk. (12 28) but only by Mt. (22 **35**) as having been asked for the purpose of 'tempting' Jesus. According to Lk. **10 25** the questioner asks what he must do to inherit eternal life. Nevertheless he too is represented as having sought to 'tempt' Jesus. Lk. **16 17** would be specially convincing on the present point if here a sentence had been taken over from the latest hand of Mt. **(5** 18). But the original text of Lk. probably said the opposite (see **§ 128 *e*).** On the other hand, we really have **a** sentence by the latest hand in Mt. 7 28 with which Lk. **7 1** betrays connection, for with the formula, 'When Jesus had ended all these words,' Mt. concludes his great speech-compositions not only here, hut also in four other places (11 **1** **13** 53 **19 1** **26** 1). Moreover, Lk. also shares with Mt. the statement that the multitude heard the preceding discourse, though this is contradicted by the introduction to it in Lk. **6** 20 as well as in Mt. **5 1**. Mk. says in **12 18** correctly, 'There came unto him Sadducees, **οἵτινες λέγουσιν,** who [**as is** well known] say that there is no resurrection'; **Mt. 22 23** infelicitously reproduces this as 'there came unto him Sadducees saying (λέγοντες) that,' etc. Lk. 20 27 seeks to improve this: 'There came to him certain of the Sadducees, they which say **(οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες)** that there is no resurrection, and they asked him, saying.' The participle ought to have been in the genitive (**τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων**). In the nom. (**οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες**) we seem to have an echo of Mt.'s 'saying' **(λέγοντες).** Lk. rightly inserts the article missing in Mt. The reference, however, must he to the Sadducees, not to 'certain' **(τινές).** The formula, 'while he was saying these things' (see above, Lk. 9 34), is met with also in Lk. **11 37,** where Jacohsen would derive it from Mt. 12 **46** as also he would derive the statement in Lk. 12 1, 'When the myriads of the multitude were gathered together insomuch that they trode one upon another' (which indeed does not fit well with what immediately follows: 'he began to say to his disciples') from Mt. 13 2. Jacobsen[1] considers that when he wrote these passages Lk. had reached, in taking what he has taken from Mt., exactly the neighbourhood of the two Mt. passages just cited **(12 46 13 2).** This, however, cannot he made evident.

(6) On general grounds, on the other hand, the dependence of Lk. on Mt. (and, equally so, the converse) is very improbable. In each of the two evangelists much material is absent which the other has, while yet no possible reason can be assigned for the omission. Nay, more, the representations given in the two are often in violent contradiction. Even agreements in the order, in so far as not coming from Mk., almost always can be accounted for as derived from a second source—the logia. Simons has, therefore, in agreement with Holtzmann, put forward his hypothesis only in the form that Lk. regarded Mt. as a subsidiary source merely, perhaps, in fact, only knew it by frequent hearing, without giving to it any commanding importance. This is in very deed quite conceivable, if only he knew the logia, and was in a position to observe how freely Mt. had dealt with that material.

(c) Soltau sought to improve the hypothesis of Lk.'s dependence on Mt. by the assumption that it was with the penultimate form of Mt. that Lk. was acquainted. That Mt. 1 *f.* was still absent from Mt. when Lk. used it is an old conjecture. The pieces from the middle of the gospel which Soltau reserves for the canonical Mt. are of very opposite character (to it he reckons even the highly legalistic saying in 5 18 *f.* and the strongly anti-Judaistic one in 22 6 *f.*) and are attributed by him to very various motives. This indicates a great difficulty in his hypothesis. Nevertheless the suggestion is always worth considering that OT citations of the latest hand which are adduced to prove the Messiahship of Jesus (§ 108), and perhaps some other portions besides, did not yet lie before Lk. That there is no reason to shrink from a hypothesis of this kind, see § 129.

128. Sources of sources.

Let us now proceed to consider whether the possible origin from still earlier written sources of those consecutive books which were the last to precede our present gospels can be raised above the level of mere conjecture. This of course can be done, if at all, only at a few points. To show that it has not unfrequently been affirmed, even though no very thoroughgoing consequences were drawn from the affirmation, we shall begin by giving three examples well known in the literature of the subject.

(a) Johannes Weiss (on Lk. **5 17,** in Meyer's *Commentar*) **says** that the exemplar of Mk. used by Lk. underwent, after it had been ***so*** made use of, another revision, which we have in our Mk., and that it had been previously made use of by Mt. before passing into the hands of Lk. Here and in the following paragraphs (*a-g*) let **A,** B, and ***C*** he necessarily different hands, and ***Aa***, A*b*, **Ac,** on the other hand, be such portions as ***may*** perhaps he due to one and the same hand but perhaps also proceed from different hands; similarly also with *Ba*, B*b*, **Bc,** etc.; tben the view of Weiss can be stated as follows. **A** is **a** written source on the healing of the paralytic without mention of the circumstance that he was let down through the roof. This source was drawn upon, on the one hand by Mt., on the other by B who introduced the new circumstance just mentioned. **B** was drawn upon, on the one hand, by Lk., on the other by Mk. It is in this way that at the same time Johannes Weiss explains also how Mt. and Lk. coincide in many details as against Mk. **B** thus takes the position which original Mk. has in the usual nomenclature not however—and this is the important point—being the oldbst writing, but being itself in turn dependent on a source. For our own part we cannot regard this view as being sufficiently firmly based, since it has been shown in § 116 *b* that it is Mt. who has greatly curtailed the narrative of the death of Herod; it is therefore conceivable also that in the passage before us he should have left out the detail about the roof also his interest being merely in the miracle itself as proving the Messiahship of Jesus, not in any special detail of it such **as** this (cp Hawkins 127-129; and also Wernle, 156 *f.* for similar passages).

(6) Woods, 86-88, assumes for the narrative of the Mission of the disciples two sources—one (which we shall call A) relating to that of the twelve, the bther (B) to that of the seventy.[1] Mk. **6 7-11** and Lk. 9 1-5 drew only from A. A and **B** were both drawn upon by a third document (C) which was used in Lk. **10 1-12** as the sole source, hut in Mt. 10 **1-16** along with A. It will create no difficulties if we recognise in **A** an original Mk. (according to Woods the Marcan tradition), in B the logia. **Whilst,** however, such critics as Bernard Weiss and Holtzmann **are agreed that Mt. and Lk. 10** were drawn direct from the logia (as Lk. **9** was from Mk., or original Mk.), Woods has found it necessary to interpolate an intermediate stage ***(C)*** in which both these sources were already fused. One might even feel inclined to go a step further. Lk. in 10 7 *f.* would certainly not have given the injunction to 'eat such things as are set before you,' first in speaking of **a** house, and then in speaking of a city, unless the one form had come from one source, the other from another. It happens, however, that neither of the **two** forms is found either in Mk. or in Lk. **9.** Lk. 10 therefore, apart from the Mk. source **(A),** which is made use df, for example, in 10 1 (ἀνὰ δύο, 'two and two'), would seem to have had two other sources. In any case Woods' observation in correct, that Mt. has fused together all the sources that can be discovered in Mk. or in Lk. Whilst passing over the rest of Lk. 10 8, Mt. introduces the 'city' into 10 11 at the place where Mk. **6** 10

1 *Untersuch. ü. d. synopt. Evang.*, 1883, 51 *f.*

1 The main point is not affected if it **be** assumed that B also dealt with the mission of the twelve, and that the seventy were first introduced by Lk. **(§ 109 *a*).**

and Lk. 94 speak of the 'house'; the 'house' he introduces into 10:2 in the parallel to Lk. 105 which is absent from Mk. and **Lk.** 9. In 109 Mt. has 'silver' (ἄργυρον) with Lk. 93 (ἀργύριον), and also 'brass' (χαλκόν) as well (with Mk. 68). Similarly, with Mk. and Lk. 9 he has 'twelve' in 101, though he had not hitherto given the number of the twelve and has to enumerate them for the first time in 102-4. The injunction laid on the missionaries in **10**9 to 'acquire' (κτήσησθε) no money is to he explained from **108** as meaning that they are forbidden to take any reward for their teaching or healing on their journey ('freely ye have received, freely give'), whereas in **10**10 ('no scrip for the way,' μὴ πήραν εἰς ὁδόν) we are to interpret it as a prohibition against taking anything with them when they set out from home (as in Mk. 68 = Lk. 93).

(c) Loman (*Th.T*, '69, pp. 577-585) traces back to one original parable those of the Tares in the Wheat in Mt. 1324-30 and of the Seed growing secretly in Mk. 426-29. However different they may he apparently, he urges, and however possible it might he to show that even such words in which they agree as 'man,' 'spring up,' 'fruit,' 'blade,' 'corn,' 'harvest' (ἄνθρωπος, βλαστᾶν, καρπός, χόρτος, σῖτος, θερισμός) belonged to two quite distinct parables, a common original form is betrayed by the word 'sleep' (καθεύδειν). Mk. would never have introduced any touch so self-evident as that of the man sleeping and rising night and day had there not lain before him something in which the sleep was spoken of. By the addition that the man awoke again daily the original meaning of the sleep is obscured.

If the two parables cannot he supposed to be of independent origin, it is at the same time only with great violence that we could derive Mk.'s from Mt. or Mt.'s from Mk. Mt.'s lacks the quality of a trne original in *so* far as it is not an incident of ordinary life that any one should sow tares in another's field—and the other parables of Jesus are conspicuously taken from affairs of every day. Mk.'s lacks the character of an original in so far as its fundamental idea—that the kingdom of God comes to its realization without the intervention of God or of the Messiah (in other words, the precept of *laisser aller, laisser faire*) is quite a modern one, directly inconsistent with the conceptions of Jesus as disclosed elsewhere in the gospels.

Loman therefore supposes that Mt. **13 24 26 27** alone stood in *a* source A: after the seed had been sown, the tares grew up with it and the servants asked their master whence these came. The answer he takes from Mk. **4**28, hut in the form: 'the earth brings forth the tares of itself,' With this the parable ended. That such a saying would be eminently appropriate in the mouth of Jesus he proves very aptly by Mt. **15** 19 (out of the heart proceed evil thoughts). An anti-Pauline form of the parable, however, ***Ba***, took Paul as the sower of the false doctrine which was supposed to he denoted by the tares. It therefore introduced Mt. **13**25 saying that the enemy (on this designation **for** Paul see § 112*c*) had sown the tares, and it also, for the conclusion of the parable in A, substituted Mt. **13** 28*a*—the master's answer that the tares were sown by the enemy. *Bb* then added Mt. **13**28*b*-30—signifying that nevertheless no attempt should be made to extirpate the false doctrine of Paulinism, that it should be left to the Final Judgment. The polemic against Paul here is thus milder than that **of** Paul against his Judaistic adversaries in 2 Cor. 1113'15; Gal. 18*f.*, **5**12. Canonical Mk., further, was acquainted with A and ***Ba***. In order to avoid the anti-Pauline meaning of B*a* he left out the whole figure of the enemy (ἐχθρός) and consequently also the tares. He had therefore to take the answer of the master from **A,** not however of course in the form that the tares sprang **up** of themselves, hut in the form that it was the good seed that did *so.* This last very modern idea accordingly did not find expression here out of the independent conviction of an ancient author hut arose from the difficulty in which **Mk.** found himself. The sleep of the master lost its original significance when the daily waking was added. From **42**9 it is clear that Mk. had also B6 before him, for he speaks of the harvest. Canonical Mt. expressly says in the interpretation of the parable attributed to Jesus **(13 39)** that the enemy is the devil. Either, therefore, he no longer perceives the anti-Pauline tendency of B*a*, or like **Mk.** he deliberately seeks to avoid it, though he takes **a** quite different way to do so. There remains **a** possibility that he may have understood the Pauline doctrine to he meant by the false teaching introduced by the devil; but it is equally possible that he was thinking of some form of heresy.

This hypothesis of Loman combines with a literary criticism which has far its object the elucidation of the mutual relations of the various texts, also a tendency-criticism which postulates an anti-Pauline tendency in ***Ba***. Even should one he unable to adopt the latter criticism, it is not necessary on that account to reject the former; it is open to any one to suppose that the 'enemy' (ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος) may have been at the outset some form (as already indicated) of heresy.

(d) To the three examples given above we purpose to add a few others which, so far as we are aware, have not been previously employed in this connection.

In Lk. 16 1-9 the Unjust Steward is commended. He accordingly must be intended in the commendatory clause (*v.* 10*a*) which follows—'He that is faithful in **a** very little is faithful also in much'—not in the words of censure (*v.* 106) 'he that is unrighteous in a very little is unrighteous also in much.' And yet in 168 he is called 'the unrighteous steward.' In 1611 we read further 'If ye *then* (οὖν) have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon' and so forth. By the 'very little' in which one is to show fidelity we must accordingly understand Mammon. Where then are we to look for the steward's fidelity as regards Mammon? According to the parable, in this—that he gave it away. Unfaithfulness accordingly would manifest itself if one were to keep Mammon to oneself. The steward, however, did not keep Mammon to himself and yet was called 'unrighteous' (which of course is not to be distinguished from 'unfaithful'). We see accordingly that the terminology in 1610-12 is in direct opposition to that of the parable itself. Further, the contrast in the parable is not in the least between fidelity and its opposite. What the steward is commended for is his cleverness; the opposite to this would be want of cleverness. Thus *vv.* 10-12 are an appendix to the parable by another hand. Taken by themselves their meaning would be simply an exhortation to fidelity in money matters. Here, however, they are brought into connection with the parable of the steward, whose relation to Mammon is represented as one of fidelity. Their fundamental idea accordingly is just as exactly Ebionitic as that of the parable itself. Thus two Ebionitic hands can be distinguished, and distinct from both is that of **Lk.** himself who has added yet another transformation of the meaning,—in *v.* 14*f.*, where he declares the parable to have been directed against the Pharisees and their covetousness.

(e) According to § 112 *b d* we may tale it that the final redaction of Mt. was made in a sense that was friendly to the Gentiles and thus attached no value to compliance with the precepts of the Mosaic law. Unless then Mt. **5** 18*f.* be a marginal gloss (see § 112 *c*), it must have been introduced not by the last, but by the pennltimate hand, and its context comes from a source of an antepenultimate hand.

5* 18** itself rests upon, Mt. 2434*f.* or the source in which this originally stood. The close of **5** 18, 'till all things he accomplished,' does not amalgamate easily with the beginning of the verse, 'Till heaven and earth pass away [one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away].' Moreover, it is difficult to see why the law should cease to have validity the moment it is fulfilled in its entirety. But the closing sentence in 2434 is perfectly intelligible: 'This generation shall not pass away till all these things he accomplished.' 'All these things' means here the premonitory signs of the end. **24**35 proceeds: 'Heaven and earth shall pass away; hut my words shall not pass away.' Marcion has the same thought in his redaction of Lk. 16**17**: 'It is easier that heaven and earth should pass away than that one tittle should fall from my words.' For this, canonical Lk. has 'than for one tittle of the law to fall.' **But** this can hardly have been what Lk. intended to say, for this verse stands between two verses which accentuate with the greatest possible emphasis the abolition of the law. The conjecture of Lipsius therefore is very attractive—that Lk. wrote 'than for one tittle of my law to fall' (ἢ τοῦ νόμου μου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν). Here on account of his antipathy to the idea of law, Marcion subdtituted (hut without altering the sense) 'words' for 'law' (ἢ τῶν λόγων μου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν). But a very old transcriber of **Lk.** took the word 'my' (μου) for a wrong repetition of the second syllable of 'law' (νόμου); he therefore omitted it and thereby changed the meaning of the sentence to its opposite. This nomistic meaning is reproduced in Mt. ***5 18*f.*

One sees how many the intermediate steps must have been before these two verses could have received their present form. Still, as already said, 518*f.* may possibly be a marginal gloss.

(f) In Mk. 933-42 and parallels (Mt. 181-6 Lk. 946-50), very diverse things are brought into combination. First, the account of the disciples disputing with one another as to precedence (933*f.*), then the story of Jesus placing a little child in their midst with the exhortation to receive such in his name (936*f.*); next, the exhortation (938-40) not to forbid other miracle-workers; further, the promise (941) that even a cup of water given to a follower of Christ shall by no means lose its reward; and lastly (942), the threatening against those who cause any of the little ones that believe in Christ to stumble.

The dispute about precedence is answered according to Mk. (*v.* 35) by the saying of Jesus, 'If any man would be first, he shall be last of all, and minister of all.' This is not found in Lk. except in the place (22 26) where it occurs as a parallel to Mk. 10 43 *f.* Besides giving it in the same parallel to Mk. 10 43 *f.* (Mt. 20 26 *f.*), Mt. has it again, only in a quite different place (23 11); and yet neither Mt. nor Lk. would have omitted it in the parallel to our present passage, Mk. 9 35, had they found it there. For indeed it is very appropriate to the matter, whilst the mention of the child by no means serves to settle the dispute, for the child is not brought forward as an example of humility hut as a person to he 'received,' and not for the sake of his attributes as a child but for the sake of the 'Name of Christ.' Mt. felt this want of connection, and in order to represent the child as an example he says in *v.* 1 that the disciples did not discuss the question among themselves hut referred it to Jesus who answered by placing the little child in their midst. Between this act and the exhortation based upon it he inserts further his third verse, 'Except ye be converted and become as little children ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven.' This he borrows from Mk. 10 15, as is made unmistakably clear by the fact that in the parallel to this passage, viz., in Mt. 19 13-15, he omits it, so as to avoid a doublet. Mt. 18 3 is also in substance a very fitting settlement of the dispute between the disciples, and would not have been passed over by Lk. had it lain before him. The exhortation to receive such a child is in Mt. 18 5 in the same degree inappropriate to the context. Mt. therefore interpolates between the two distinct thoughts his fourth verse: 'Whosoever shall humble himself like this little child, the same shall he greatest in the kingdom of heaven.' But even this insertion does not fill the hiatus between *v.* 3 and *v.* 5.

The exhortation in Mt. 18 5 to receive the little child is immediately followed (*v.* 6) by the antithesis, 'But whoso shall cause one of these little ones to stumble.' This fits well enough, on the assumption that children are intended by the 'little ones.' In Mk. and Lk., however, the two thoughts are separated very unnaturally by the account of the miracle-worker 'who followeth not with us,' and in Mk., too (9 41), by the promise of a reward for the cup of cold water—a promise which Mt. (10 42) gives in a quite different connection, and there, moreover, using the expression 'these little ones,' by whom, however, he understands (differently from 18 6) grown-up persons of low estate. To this promise there is appended in Mk. 9 42 the threatening against him who shall cause one of these little ones to stumble, quite fittingly—only, however, on the assumption that by 'these little ones' we are to understand grown-up people of low estate, not children, as in Mt.

Let us now endeavour to trace, genetically, the origin and growth of this remarkably complicated passage. In a source **A** were combined only those two parts which are common to all three gospels—to wit, the statement of the dispute among the disciples and of the placing of a child in the midst with the exhortation to receive him. But no connection between them had been as yet established. This (primitive) form is found with least alteration in Lk. 9 46-48*a*; in Mk. it is represented by 9 33 *f.* 36 *f.*, in Mt. by 18 1 *f.* 5. B*a* added to it the promise of reward for the cup of water to a disciple (Mk. 9 41). Bb further added the threatening against him who shall cause a little one to stumble (Mk. 9 42).[1] *C* interpolated the story of the miracle-worker who followed not with the disciples. Its distinctive character forbids the obvious course of assigning it to Bc. Now, in Mk., only 9 38 39*a* 40 answers to the form of the story in Lk. 9 49 *f.* The form of the whole pericope which arose through addition of this piece (without Mk. 9 39*b*), thus takes the place which in the usual nomenclature is given to original Mk. Bot on this occasion 'original Mk.' has had not one literary predecessor merely, but two, or, should B*a* be separated from Bb, three; and these write not, it is to be noted, independently of each other; the one was continually making use of the other.

Canonical Mt. rests upon **A** + B (or at least B*b*, but surely also B*a*: see last footnote). Mt. then, as stated above, changed the introduction in *v.* 1, and added his own *v.* 3 *f.*, so as to bring into mutual connection the dispute about precedence and the precept about receiving the child. Mt.'s *v.* 6, through its direct contiguity with *v.* 5 (instead of with 10 42 which here ought to have been repeated as parallel to **Mk.** 9 41), underwent a change of meaning, to the effect that children, not grown-up persons, were meant. Lk. rests on **A** + C. He added 9 48*b*, 'he that is least among you all, the same is great.' This does not, indeed, come in appropriately after the precept about receiving a child; it would have found a place with greater fitness before this precept and after the statement of the disciples' dispute, in other words between *v.* 47*a* and *v.* 47*b*—*i.e.*, at the very point where Mk. *v.* 35 introduces the same thought. Mk. rests upon A + B*a* + B*b* + C. He adds on the one hand his *v.* 39*b*, which Lk. would certainly not have passed over had he known it, and on the other hand his *v.* 35, containing so excellent a settlement of the precedence-dispute. Neither Mt. nor Lk. was acquainted with the verse or (as already said) they would not have omitted it or introduced something like it at a later place, as in Lk. *v.* 48*b*.

It is certainly worthy of notice that Mk., by the insertion of *v.* 35, has produced the only doublet which he has (§ 121 *a*, n. 1). The circumstance that Jesus calls the disciples to him in *v.* 35 whilst in *v.* 33 *f.* he has already been questioning them, points also to the conclusion that the passage is composed from various pieces.

(*g*) The successive contents of **Mk.** 4 1-34 and parallels (Mt. 13 1-35; Lk. 8 4-18) cannot possibly have been set down in any one gospel in their present order at one writing. Let us examine them. After the parable of the Sower, Jesus is alone with his disciples (Mk. 4 10 = Mt. 13 10 = Lk. 8 9); so also when he explains the parable (*vv.* 13-20 = Mt. 13 18-23 = Lk. 8 11-15). Nor is any hint given of his again addressing himself to the people; yet we read in Mk. 4 33 *f.* that he spoke openly to the people in parables (so also Mt. 13 34), and that he gave his explanations to the disciples in private. There is ground, therefore, for supposing that in one source, **A**, there stood an uninterrupted series of parables, viz., all those which have parallels in Mt. (Mk. 4 1-9 26-29 30-32—in an older form as regards 26-29; see above, *c*); also the conclusion *v.* 33 *f.* Bn, on the strength of the concluding statement that when they were alone Jesus expounded all things to his disciples, introduced Mk. 4 10 13 14-20;[1] Bb the verses 21-25 to the effect that one ought not to keep hack knowledge once gained of the meaning of a parable, but ought to spread it freely. C introduced 4 11 *f.* These verses to the effect that the parables were interded to conceal the meaning they contained from the people are in contradiction alike to *v.* 33 *f.* and to *vv.* 21-25, and are, moreover, impossible in the mouth of Jesus. What pleasure could he have had in his teaching if he had to believe his God-given task to be that of hiding from the people the truths of salvation? It is, therefore, utterly futile to make out forced connection between Mk. 4 10 and Mk. 4 11 *f.*, by interpreting to the effect that Jesus, when asked as to the meaning of the parables, in the first place, said, by way of introduction to his answer, that to the disciples it was given to apprehend the meaning, and then went on to tell them what it was. Moreover, Mk. 4 13 does not fit in with this connection. The verse is clearly a question in which Jesus expresses his astonishment at the small understanding of the disciples: 'How? you

[1] Since Mt. 18 offers parallels only to what we have attributed to A + B*b*, one might be inclined rather to attribute to B*a* the addition of Mk. 9 42 and to B*b* that of Mk. 9 41. If this were done it would have to be presupposed (what was left open, above, under *a*) that B*a* and B*b* mean two different authors. We should then have the advantage of being able to suppose that Mt. was acquainted with B*a*, hut not with B*b*. At the same time, however, we should have to attribute Mk. 9 41 in that case rather to **C**, for on the previously mentioned presupposition it must remain equally possible that B*a* and B*b* together mean only one author. The hypothesis would, therefore, only become more complicated. Further, it is not probable that Mk. 9 42 should have been introduced earlier than 9 41. It is simpler, therefore, to suppose that Mt. knew B*a* + B*b*—in other words, Mk. 9 41 as well as Mk. 9 42, but that he dropped 9 41 because he had himself already reproduced the same thought in 10 42 (cp § 121 *a*).

[1] In Mk. 4 10 the disciples ask concerning 'the parables.' The plural carries us back to what is said in Mk. 4 2 that Jesus spoke several. The sense, therefore, can very well he that which Lk. (8 9) expresses more clearly though with reference to one parable only: they asked about the *meaning* of these parables. Were it the intention of Mk. to say like Mt. (13 10) that they asked about the *purpose* of the parables, then we must suppose that only Lk. has rightly preserved the thought of the source B*a*.

do not understand this parable; how then shall you know all the parables?' This astonishment again is out of place if Jesus in *v.* 11 *f.* has found nothing to be surprised at in the circumstance that the disciples needed to have the meaning first of all imparted to them. The question is appropriate, therefore, only as a direct reply to *v.* 10, and furnishes a aery good occasion for Jesus to decide to give them the interpretation (cp, further, § 129*b*, n.). Here also, as under (*f*), C takes the position which elsewhere is appropriate to original Mk., and here also there are two or three antecedent literary stages. D inserted the parable of the leaven (Mt. 13 33 = Lk. 13 20 *f.*).

Each of the three canonical gospels then rests upon A + B*a* + B*b* + C;[1] Mt., too, upon D. Mk. did not change the extent of *vv.* 10-13 (perhaps it was he who left out the γνῶναι from *v.* 11; cp RV with **AV**), on the other hand he gave to *vv.* 21 *f.* a form which suits the application here made of the saying better than does that of Mt. and Lk. (see § 119 *u*). Mt. and Lk., on the other hand, in order to be able to retain from C, Mk. 4 11 *f.*, deleted the surprised question of Jesus in Mk. 4 13 (from *Ba*), because it was inappropriate after this insertion.

Moreover, Mt. has also so altered the question of the disciples (who in Mk. 4 10 and Lk. 8 9 ask as to the meaning of the parable) as to make it suit the answer which was first brought in from C : 'to you it is given to understand the parables, but to the multitude it is not given.' It now runs in Mt. (13 10) : 'Why speakest thou to them in parables?' But such a form of the question cannot have been the original one—for this reason, if for no other, that according to it, Jesus would have had no occasion to expound the parable to the disciples. Further, Mt. has in 13 12 introduced a saying which in B*b* at first came after the interpretation of the first parable. We further see that he must have found difficulty in the assertion that the purpose (ἵνα, Mk. 4 12) of the parables was to conceal the meaning they contained. He substitutes therefore : 'For this cause do I speak to them in parables *because* (ὅτι) they see not and hear not.' He thus puts in the foreground the defective understanding **of** the multitude as a fact with which Jesus must reckon. By what follows, however (*v.* 14 *f.*), taken from Isaiah, he gives it clearly to be seen that he had before him an exemplar in which their not being understood was alleged as the *purpose* of the parables (see the 'lest perchance,' μή ποτε, in 13 15). Finally perhaps it was Mt. himself who added the interpretation **of** the parable of the Tares (not immediately after the parable, but at the end of the whole section that is parallel to Mk. 4 1-34; cp § 116 *a*), and also the other parables 13 36-52; possibly also *v.* 35.

Still it is also permissible **to** suppose that only Mk. 4 1-9 33 *f.* stood in **A** but this makes little change in our construction as a whole ; it bnly becomes necessary in that case to postulate that Bc added Mk. 4 26-32.

On the other hand, the mutual relation of sources can become still somewhat more complicated if Loman's hypothesis regarding *vv.* 26-29 (see above, *c*) be combined with what has just been elahorated about Mk. 4 1-34. Yet it is possible to do this without multiplying the number of sources. We therefore refrain from introducing the hypothesis in question, all the more because it might, as being of the nature of tendency-criticism, call forth special objections.

(h) Finally, it has to be pointed out that even the doublets might be used to give probability to the composite character of the logia. In § 121 *a* they have heen employed to show that Mt. and Lk. alike draw from two sources. For the most part these were, on the one hand Mk. (or original Mk.), and on the other the logia. Only, it happens by no means infrequently that both places in which Mt. has the same saying are generally traced to the logia. What would seem to follow for this would be that the writer of the logia himself made use of two sources. Now, we are not inclined to carry back Mt. 7 16 = 20 to two sources from which the logia drew, but prefer to regard the repetition as an express and deliberate accentuation of the statement upon which stress is here laid. But we do in all seriousness adduce Mt. 10 15 = 11 24 ('more tolerable for Sodom'), 7 17 = 12 33 (the tree and its fruits), as well as the utterances of John which are also afterwards put into the mouth of Jesus (3 7 = 23 33, 'ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape'; 3 10 = 7 19, 'every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire').

What has been said above as to sources of sources has far-reaching consequences.

129. Inferences for gospel-criticism.

(a) If it holds good even partially, then most of the hypotheses hitherto put forward as to the origin of the gospels can no longer be maintained. For, in that case, in original Mk., or the logia, or whatever be the name given to the sources immediately preceding our canonical gospels, we are no longer dealing with the earliest written compositions each produced by a writer working independently without written sources, and the canonical authors were not dependent (as used to be supposed) on these writers alone, but had at their disposal also the sources of these sources. It is no longer possible to control them in every detail. to ask what exemplar they had and why they made this, that, or the other change. On the other hand, the thesis that an ancient-seeming saying if it occurs in a writing that can be shown to be relatively young can have no claim to an early origin, must be wholly given up.

(6) The first impression one derives from the new situation thns created is, that by it the solution of the synoptical problem which appeared after so much toil to have been brought so near, seems suddenly removed again to an immeasurable distance. For science, however, it is not altogether amiss if from time to time it is compelled to dispense with the lights it had previously considered clear enough, and to accustom itself to a new investigation of its objects in the dark. Possibly it may then find that it has got rid of certain false appearances under which things had formerly been viewed. In this particular instance, it finds itself no longer under compulsion to assign a given passage to no other source than either to the logia, or to original Mk., or to some other of the few sources with which it had hitherto been accustomed to deal. The great danger of any hypothesis lies in this, that it sets up a number of quite general propositions on the basis of a limited number of observations, and then has to find these propositions justified, come what may.'

(c) On the other hand, signs have for some considerable time not been wanting that scholars were on the way to recognition of the new situation just described. It is not only Scholten and Wittichen who have postulated a tolerably complicated genealogy for the gospels, with Proto-, Deutero-, Trito-Mk., and the like; even those critics also who are confident in the adequacy of the usual hypotheses are often found reckoning with the possibility—or even probability—that writings like original Mk., or the logia, whether in the course of transcription, or at the hands of individual owners, may have received additions or alterations whenever any **one** believed himself to be acquainted with a better tradition upon any point. The possibility is taken into account, in like manner, that canonical Mk. in particular does not lie before us in the form in which it lay before those who came immediately after him ; possible corruptions

[1] As regards B*b*—*i.e.*, Mk. 4 21-25—it is possible tosupposethat Lk. (8 18) may have omitted *v.* 24*b* because he already had it in 6 38, and that Mt. may have omitted all these verses hecause he also had them all elsewhere in one place or another (5 15 10 26 7 2 6 33)—the last, in particular, **in** the very pericope with which we are now dealing (13 12).

[1] Let one example suffice. Mk. 4 13—the verse which was found so helpful in § 128 *g*—is regarded by Feine and others as an addition by canonical Mk., because it is in point of fact inconsistent with 4 11 *f.*, and these two verses, since they occur in all three gospels, must he ascribed to the 'source'—that is to say, to the only source with which one allows oneself to reckon, whether we call it with Feine, 'original Mk.,' or, with B. Weiss, 'logia.' If one could only tell how it was that canonical Mk. came to add this verse !

of the text,[1] glosses and the like, have to be considered. Another element in the reckoning is that already our oldest MSS of the gospels have latent in them many examples of transference from the text of one gospel into that of another, examples similar to those which we can quite distinctly observe in many instances when the TR is confronted with these same witnesses.

It may be that an older form of Mk., or of original Mk., or of the logia, whose differences from our present gospels are so limited in range and so little intended, can hardly, strictly speaking, deserve the name of a special source, the general contents and arrangement being so much alike; yet the effect, in its bearing on the character of the text in its details, is precisely the same as if we actually were to assume such a source. For in particular cases it is not possible for us to rely upon a text as lying before us or as capable of being more or less easily reconstructed, and so to judge of the changes that have been made by the canonical evangelists; we have to reckon with an immense range of possibilities and thus security of judgment is lost.

Lastly, scholars are also beginning to remember that the evangelists did not need to draw their material from books alone, but that from youth up they were acquainted with it from oral narration and could easily commit it to writing precisely in this form in either case—whether they had it before them in no written form, or whether they had it in different written form. In this matter again we are beginning to be on our guard against the error of supposing that in the synoptical problem we have to reckon merely with given quantities, or with such as can he easily ascertained.

(*d*) From the point just reached to the recognition of sources of sources differing not only in text but also in extent, order, and tendency is always, it is true, a real step. Yet the distinction is after all but a fluid one. By mere additions it is possible to give a writing a tendency, which without these does not exist in it (§§ 109 6, 110, 112). It is essentially by the introduction of additional touches that, as we have seen in § 128 *a-g*, the highly-complicated production, the disentanglement of which now causes so much difficulty, was produced out of a simple combination of related, or at least not mutually inconsistent, pericopes. And each intermediate stage in the process at one time had currency as a gospel writing and served as a basis for further developments. But if this consideration is taken seriously, it becomes increasingly impossible to hold—what any one occupying the standpoint of *c* would wish to hold in spite of every concession to the actual state of the facts—namely, that the man to whom, whether by tradition or by the voice of some scholar, the authorship of the latest recognisable form of such a pre-canonical writing is ascribed, can also be regarded as the author of the earliest of these forms. Of the man who has made such manifest changes in the few places that still allow us to follow him in the process, it will be only safe to assume that he treated other passages also in the same way, only that we no longer have the means of detecting it. In that case, however, and still more certainly where there is individual 'tendency,' his writing must be regarded as a new work in so far as in this class of literature 'newness' can be spoken of at all; it cannot be treated as merely another form of its predecessor. From this point of view we shall be able to give its full force to Lk.'s prologue, according to which many authors had already undertaken in an independent way to draw up in writing (this is the force of the expression ἀνατάξασθαι, cp § 153, n. 2) an account of the life of Jesus. But Schleiermacher's view of the 'narratives' (διηγήσεις) (§ 124 *a*) also in this way comes to its rights; for doubtless there must have been quite short notes also as well as narratives of a more comprehensive character (§§ 37, 64, 85), and yet these also can have had their influence on the subsequent form of individual pericopes. The reconstruction of original Mk. and of the logia, of their arrangement and even of their very words—to which so much acuteness has been devoted—loses greatly in interest as soon as these writings are regarded, not as the earliest, but only as intermediate steps. In the same measure does one gain insight into the difficulty of the problem, and the lesson of caution in dealing with it. For further reasons for the view here taken of the situation see §§ 148 *f.*, 153.

[1] For example, that Lk., according to 9 7 ('it was said by some'), still read in Mt. 6 14 ἔλεγον instead of ἔλεγεν (the present reading), while Mt. already, on account of this last reading, regarded Mk. 6 16 as a mere repetition and therefore left it out.

(*e*) On the other hand, however, certain difficulties become easier to deal with. We can now, for example, offer an explanation of the passage in Mt. 23 2 3*a*, so friendly to the Pharisees, and of all the Jewish-particularistic passages in § 112 *a*, *d*, which it is impossible to ascribe to Jesus, and also even, whatever the intermediate stages may have been, of the legalistic Mt. 5 18 *f.* (§ 128 *e*); they are attributable to a Judaistic redaction which the logia underwent before they were made use of, and (according to § 112 *b*) altered to an opposite sense, by Mt. The character of the original logia becomes in this way more uniform and more in accordance with the free attitude of Jesus towards the law, and one can understand better how it was that this attitude of his was successfully transmitted, whereas all record of it might very easily have dropped out of sight had the first transmitter already been so Judaistically minded.

By way of appendix the question of late so keenly discussed—viz., as to the influence which the undeniable fact that Jesus spoke Aramaic may have had upon the formation of the gospels—may here be appropriately considered.

130. Semitic original.

(*a*) If Papias was right in his assertion regarding Mt. (see § 65), this influence would have been very great., But our gospels were from the first written in Greek—even the genealogy in Mt. 1 1-17,[1] as well as that in Lk. 3 23-38, which contains (*v.* 36) the name of CAINAN (*q.v.*, 2), met with only in the LXX. In fact, even in what we find reason for tracing back to the logia, the quotations are, at least in a quite preponderating number of cases, taken from the LXX (cp especially 4 4 where the original in Dt. 8 3 supplies no basis for ῥήματι). It is precisely the author of canonical Mt. who oftenest gives the quotations from the Hebrew (Hawkins, 123-127), and who could not have given such quotations as, *e.g.*, 2 15 23 8 17 27 9 *f.* after the LXX at all; but the allegation that his book is a translation from a Semitic original breaks down on the fact that it also nevertheless follows the LXX, and that, too, exactly in passages which would not have been available had the Hebrew original been followed.

Only the mistranslation 'virgin' (παρθένος, cp MARY [MOTHER OF JESUS]) made it possible to adduce (in Mt. 1 22 *f.*) Is. 7 14; only the omission of the second member to 'in the desert' (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ) in the Hebrew parallelism in Is. 40 3 (@) made it possible to bring these words, in Mt. 3 3, into relation with what precedes instead of with what follows, and thus to find in the words a prediction of one crying in the wilderness, though in Isaiah the crier is of course not in the wilderness, where no one could have heard him, but in the midst of the exiled Israelites in Babylon. In Ps. 8 3 it is only the LXX that speaks of 'praise' in the sense in which Mt. 21 16 finds it here. Further 'Hosanna' (ὡσαννά) in 21 9 with the dative is regarded as a cry of devotion—'Praise.' 'Vivat'—which is not reconcilable with the true understanding of the original passage (see HOSANNA; cp Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1 180-182).

(*b*) The language of Mk. Hebraizes still more strongly than does that of Mt. Nevertheless, the combinations of Allen (*Expos.*, 1900, 1436-443) do not prove that the evangelist wrote Aramaic, but only that he wrote a kind of Jewish Greek that he had derived from a reading of the LXX. Lk. also has Hebraisms, not only in chaps. 1 *f.* but elsewhere as well, and not only where he is dependent on Mk. or Mt. but also where he had no exemplar before him (as, for example, often 'and it came to pass,' καὶ ἐγένετο; see Hawkins, 30), and yet no one holds Lk.'s writing to be a translation of a Semitic original. Is. 40 3 (Mk. 1 3) could not possibly be cited in an Aramaic writing (see above, *a*).

[1] See Allen, *Exp. T*, '99, pp. 135-137. Against his further assertion that the genealogy was constructed by the author of the entire Gospel, see, however, MARY (MOTHER OF JESUS).

Just as little can the very small number of variants—partly Lucan in character—in D and old Latin translations, which Blass (*Phil. of Gospels*, '98. pp. 190-218) does not regard as traceable to transcribers, he held to show that the entire gospel of Mk. was written in Aramaic and translated into Greek in different ways, or even—as Blass formulates the hypothesis—that Luke the companion of Paul, himself before he wrote the third gospel, revised and published a bad Greek translation of the Aramaic Mk., on which account it was that afterwards he omitted much of it from his own book, not wishing to exceed the ordinary limits of a papyrus roll. Elsewhere (see ACTS, § 17) it has been shown with what independence the text has been dealt with in D and its allied MSS. Least of all can Blass's hypothesis seek support in the contention that Lk. shows little verbal coincidence with Mk. This fact (so far as it is a fact) can of course he sufficiently explained by the linguistic character of Mk., which Lk. regarded as admitting of improvement. Whether Mk.'s linguistic imperfections are due to translation from the Aramaic is a quite separate question. Finally, there are no grounds for the conjecture of Blass that the Aramaic original document dealing with the earliest history of the church in Jerusalem, which is held to have heeu used by Lk. in Acts 1-12 (on this point, see ACTS, § 17 [*n.*], col. 56) was written hy Mark, and that he will on this account have written the gospel also in Aramaic—notwithstanding that, according to Papias, he was Peter's interpreter and that he has so many Latin words (§ 108).

(c) A written source still older than the logia or Mk. (or original Mk. : see § 148, end) may have been written in Aramaic. A writing in Hebrew (§ 117) is not wholly impossible but certainly quite improbable. There seems to have been a Hebrew original in the case of the Psalms of Solomon (see APOCALYPTIC, § 83). But here the ruling pattern may have been that of the OT psalms, and perhaps also in Pompey's time Hebrew was somewhat more generally in use than it came to be 100 years afterwards. It is not very helpful to suggest that people would have been naturally inclined to treat of the sacred subjects of the gospel history in the sacred language. The masses did not understand Hebrew (see ARAMAIC, § 5), and yet gospel writings, unless they were to miss the purpose for which they were written, had to be adapted to the intelligence even of the least instructed.

(d) The gain from recourse to the theory of such an original is in the first place this, that certain Greek expressions will then admit of explanation as being errors of translation. Once made, such errors could very well pass on without change from one Greek writing to a second and to a third. But it will be at once obvious that such an explanation can have importance only in regard to particular passages, not in regard to the origin of the gospels as complete books.

Nor even for this purpose is it necessary to aim at retranslation of whole sentences a process which will always offer room for new error; all hat will be required will he that we should discover the individual words or expressions from which the error can possibly have arisen.[1] As an instance we may point to Wellhausen's זַכּוּ (Lk. 11 41), which may equally as well mean 'purify' as 'give alms,' δότε ἐλεημοσύνην; the sense will then he the same as in Lk. 11 39, and in the parallel Mt. 23 25 *f.*, and thus the character given to the passage in § 110 will be changed.

(e) Another advantage will be that the consideration of an Aramaic or Hebrew original will aid in determining as to the meaning and use of important or difficult words and ideas in the NT. A very familiar example occurs in the מחר which Jerome found in the gospel of the Hebrews for ἐπιούσιος in Mt. 6 11, and which is assuredly right (see Winer(8), § 16, 3 6; and cp LORD'S PRAYER). But it must be said that the recent recourse had to Aramaic in this field of research has already had some very infelicitous results.

Thus Lietzmann[2] Wellhansen,[3] and others assert that Jesus used the word 'sob of Man' only in the sense of 'man' generally (cp § 116 *d*, n.), hut did not apply it to himself in that of 'Messiah'; in this last sense, they maintain, it was only taken by the evangelists from the Apocalyptic literature, and so came to be introduced into the gospel history.[1] But Dalman in his turn (p. 159) disputes the genuineness of the words 'not the son but only the Father' (Mk. 13 32; cp Mt. 24 36), on the ground that in the time of Jesus these expressions were not customary without additions such as 'my [son],' 'of God,' 'my [Father]. As if the meaning they express could not possibly, nevertheless, have come from Jesus, and only the form of expression be due to the later use assumed by Dalman (cp § 139).

111. CREDIBILITY OF THE SYNOPTICS.

131. Fundamental considerations.

The investigation of the mutual relationships between the synoptic gospels has in itself a scientific interest and can therefore be carried on with interest even by the student for whom the credibility of the gospels is a matter of comparative indifference. Still, in the end the answer to this question is the goal of every research in this field. The question is often, however, still handled quite unscientifically. Thus, many still think themselves entitled to accept as historically true everything written in the gospels which cannot be shown by explicit testimony to be false. Others pay deference at least to the opinion that a narrative gains in credibility if found in all three gospels (as if in such a case all were not drawing from one source); and with very few exceptions all critics fall into the very grave error of immediately accepting a thing as true as soon as they have found themselves able to trace it to a 'source.'

Once we have freed ourselves from the dominion of such fallacies it cannot but seem unfortunate that the decision as to the credibility of the gospel narratives should be made to depend upon the determination of a problem so difficult and perhaps insoluble as the synaptical is. It would accordingly be a very important gain if we could find some means of making it in some measure at least independent of this. Such means have already been hinted at above (§§ 27, n. 1, and 34, n. 2).

The examination of the credibility must from the beginning be set about from two opposite points of view. On the one hand, we must set on one side everything which for any reason arising either from the substance or from considerations of literary criticism has to be regarded as doubtful or as wrong; on the other hand, one must make search for all such data, as from the nature of their contents cannot possibly on any account be regarded as inventions.

When a profane historian finds before him a historical document which testifies to the worship of a hero unknown to other sources, he attaches first and foremost importance to those features which cannot be deduced merely from the fact of this worship, and he does so on the simple and sufficient ground that they woiild not be found in this source unless the author had met with them as fixed data of tradition. The same fundamental principle may safely be applied in the case of the gospels, for they also are all of them written by worshippers of Jesus. We now have accordingly the advantage—which cannot be appreciated too highly—of being in a position to recognise something as being worthy of belief even without being able to say, or even being called on to inquire, whether it comes from original Mk., from logia, from oral tradition, or from any other quarter that may be alleged. The relative priority becomes a matter of indifference, because the absolute priority—that is, the origin in real tradition—is certain. In such points the question as to credibility becomes independent of the synoptical question. Here the clearest cases are those in which only one evangelist, or two, have data of this class, and the second, or third, or both, are found to have taken occasion to alter these in the interests of the reverence due to Jesus.

If we discover any such points—even if only a few—

[1] Cp Wellh. in *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, '95, pp. 11 *f.*; Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, '96; Nestle, *Philologica Sacra*, '96.

[2] *Der Menschensohn*, '96; also *Theol. Arbeiten aus dem Rheinischen wissensch. Predigerverein*, neue Folge, Hft. 2, '99.

[3] *IJG*(3) 381; and *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 6, '99, pp. 194-215.

[1] See on the other side Schmiedel, *Prot. Monatshefte*, '98, pp. 252-267 291-308; Muirhead, *Exp. T*, Nov. '99, pp. 62-65; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1 191-219.

they guarantee not only their own contents, but also much more. For in that case one may also hold as credible all else which agrees in character with these, and is in other respects not open to suspicion. Indeed the thoroughly disinterested historian must recognise it as his duty to investigate the grounds for this so great reverence for himself which Jesus was able to call forth; and he will then, first and foremost, find himself led to recognise as true the two great facts that Jesus had compassion for the multitude and that he preached with power, not as the scribes (Mt. 9 36 7 29). Let us, then, proceed to test in the two ways indicated some of the leading points in the synoptic gospels.

132. Chronological framework. The chronological framework must be classed among the most untrustworthy elemerits in the gospels. Not only are the data often quite vague—a defect for which we conld not blame the evangelists if they had no precise information; often also it is impossible to have any confidence, when Mt. so frequently says 'then' (τότε), 'on that day' (ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ), or the like, or when Mk. says 'straightway' (εὐθύς), that the event really followed on what immediately precedes it in the narrative. Were we to take the evangelists literally, an enormous number of events would have to be compressed within the limits of certain days (*e.g.*, Mt. 12 15-13 52), and there would be only a very moderate number of days of the public ministry of Jesus with regard to which any events are recorded at all. Of the six time-determinations in Lk. 3 1 *f.*—manifestly brought together with great care—only the first three can be regarded as free from exception. Philip ruled over Trachonitis and other territories, but only over *a* small portion of Ituræa. The office of high priest was never filled by two persons at the same time; it is Caiaphas who ought to have been named, whilst Annas held the office from **6** to **15 A.D.** On LYSANIAS see that article. The statement about the census of Quirinius in **2** 1 *f.* is quite erroneous (see CHRONOLOGY, § 59 *f.*, QUIRINIUS, also above, § *22*, last footnote). But the data are often even in direct contradiction to each other. In Mt. 8-12 especially, matters stand in a quite different chronological connection from that which they have in Mk. and Lk. (§ **116** *a*). Or the mother and brethren of Jesus come, in Mk. **331** and Mt. 1246, after the discourse about Beelzebub, in Lk. 8 19 after the great parable-discourse (see further $ 18, begin.).

133. Order of the narrative. The case is no better with the order of the narratives. (*a*) **A** large number of sayings of Jesus have been placed together by Mt. in five longer discourses which on each occasion he closes with the formula referred to in § **127** (*a*, γ). Among these are included, for example, **a** series **of** seven woes upon the Pharisees, 23 13-36, a series of seven parables, 13 1-52, and *a* series of six theses in correction of the law (5 21-48; § **34, n. 1**; Hawkins, **131-135**). **Lk.** has arranged in two similar large groups—the so-called small and large interpolations, 6 20-8 3 and 951-1814—material partly the same **as,** and partly different from, that of Mt.

The greater interpolation—the narrative of what is known as the Samaritanjourney—can make no claim to historicity. In the midst of it we find (10 1 and 17) the mission of the seventy and their return, (13 31) the warning against the plots of Herod Antipas, who ruled over Galilee only, not Samaria,(14 1) a feast in the house of a Pharisee, who can hardly have lived in Samaria, and (17 11) the statement that Jesus was on the borders of Galilee and Samaria, which yet he had already passed (9 51) in his journey to Jerusalem.

(*b*) But even outside of these compiled discourses the order of narration is often such as to suggest the suspicion that it has been determined by the nature of the contents. The rubbing of the ears of corn and the healing of the man with the withered hand (Mk. 223-36) are related the one immediately after the other, only because both occurrences showed Jesus in conflict with the law of the Sabbath. Or are we to believe that the two or three men—the whole number recorded in the gospels (Mt. 8 19-22 Lk. 9 57-62)—who asked of Jesus to be admitted to the number of his disciples, all presented themselves at one and the same moment—viz., when he was about to take ship across the Sea of Galilee, or, according to Lk., at one and the same point in the journey through Samaria? Compare, further, the wholly different order in which the events in Mt. 8-12 (§ **116** *a*) are given as compared with Mk. and Lk., with the result that (*e.g.*) the choice of the apostles comes to be placed immediately before their sending-out (10 2-4), and the series of miracles before the arrival of the messengers from the Baptist (§ **137 a).**

(c) In many cases it is not so much for the sake of the order, but simply for the sake of a word, that certain sayings of Jesus are brought into contiguity with others; thus, Mk. 9 42-48 are brought together only by the idea of 'stumbling-block' (σκανδαλίζειν), *vv.* 48 and 49*a* only by that of fire, *vv.* 496 and 50 only by that of salt, Lk. 11 33-36 only by that of light, 13 24 *f.* only by that of the door. But what is said with regard to these things is in each case quite different, and he does no honour to Jesus who believes himself in duty bound to prove that the Master gave forth in one breath utterances so utterly disconnected.

(*d*) In other places there is manifest lack of clear appreciation of the situation. The prohibition—which certainly comes from Jesus himself and is no mere invention of the evangelists—against making known a deed of healing wrought by him, a prohibition still found in Mt. 84 930, wbuld be utterly futile if, previously (4 23 *f.*) and simultaneously (9 35), Jesus had healed whole crowds of sick persons. In 12 16 the prohibition is laid even upon **a** great multitude of persons healed at one and the same time. But we find the same thing also in the parallel Mk. 3 12 and even in 134= Lk. 4 41; and here also follows the same prohibition laid upon individuals (Mk. 1 44 = Lk. 5 14 Mk.826).

(*e*) In **Mk.** one is very willingly disposed to recognise an appropriate arrangement of the events of the public ministry of Jesus as a whole. It is certainly the fact that his first chapter gives the impression that the public activity of Jesus may actually have begun in the manner here related. But so far as the rest of the gospel is concerned, little confidence can be placed even in Mk.'s order. In saying this, we lay no stress on the assertion of Papias (see § **65**) that he set down the deeds and words of Jesus without order; for Papias may very well have been judging of that order with Mt. as his standard. Nor can we accept the view of B. Weiss, that Mk. intended by his frequent use of the imperfect to convey that he is narrating not individual deeds of Jesus but only the sort of things that he was in the habit of doing, as for example in 4 2.[1] The whole sum, however, of separate events in Galilee (miracles, discourses, and the like) has so comparatively little that is characteristic, and their order—for a writer who wrote only for the glorification of Jesus and not for a laboriously exact account of his biography—was of so comparatively little importance, that it would not be safe for us to rely on them with any confidence whatever. In one point **Mk.** has a superiority over Mt. and Lk.; in 7 24 31 he records **a** journey of Jesus to Tyre and Sidon, in other words, a long distance abroad. So also the journey to Cæsarea Philippi recorded by him (**827**) in common with Mt. (16 13) signifies for him *a* noteworthy epoch in the public life of Jesus (§ **135**). See further § 145 *g*.

134. Occasions of utterances of Jesus. The alleged situations in which the recorded utterances of Jesus were spoken can by no means be implicitly accepted. Was the Lord's Prayer given in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 69-13), or at the special request of the disciples (Lk. 11 1-4)? Did Jesus deliver the Sermon on the Mount to his disciples (Mt. 5 1

[1] As against this view of B. Weiss see Feine, *JPT*, '87, pp. 45-57, 77; '88, pp. 405 *f.*; Holtzmann, *ibid.*, '78, pp. 168-171, with Weiss's reply, pp. 583-585.

Lk. 6 20), or was it heard by the multitudes (Mt. 7 28 Lk. 7 1)? For a whole series of utterances of Jesus Lk. has assigned occasions of which Mk. and Mt. know nothing (*e.g.*, 918 11 29 37 *f.* 12 41 13 23 14 15 25 15 1 *f.* 17 5 37 19 11). Even where an utterance of Jesus recurs more than once in the gospels—and we may be certain that he repeated himself much oftener than is recorded (§ 145a)—they yet afford us not the slightest guarantee that the repetition took place precisely at the point at which they place it.

The saying about the light under a bushel is found in three different connections. In Mk. 4 21 and Lk. 8 16 the light is the interpretation of the parables Jesus had spoken (see § 119 *a*)—manifestly a very special application of a thought of very much wider scope. In Lk. 11 33 the saying comes after the sentence which affirms that in the person of Jesus a greater than Jonah is present; here, then, the light can only be Jesus himself. In this connection, however, it is impossible to carry through the most obvious meaning of the saying that one *ought* not to put the light under a bushel. Moreover we find in 11 34 a saying added only on account of the verbal suggestion (§ 133 *c*)—that the light of the body is the eye. Once more, then, it is not likely that the saying belongs to this place. In Mt. 5 14-16 two different representations are combined; the disciples are *exhorted* to let their light shine, the city set on the hill on the other hand shines of itself. By the light the disciples are here meant, hut the opening words, 'ye are the light of the world,' can easily have been framed on the model of the preceding sentence, 'ye are the salt of the earth,' and that, too, for the first time by Mt., for the two sentences can hardly have stood together in one source since in Mk. and in Lk. they are given in two quite distinct places. Thus in no one passage have we any security that we are in possession of the original connection of the saying, and it would be just as conceivable that it may have been spoken by Jesus when one of his followers, concerned about his safety, had besought him, as Peter on one occasion (Mt. 16 22) did, to spare himself and not expose himself to danger—in fact very much as in Jn. 9 4 *f.*, only without the specifically Johannine meaning of the word. See, further, Hawkins, 129-131; Wernle, 210 *f.*

In the case of an eye-witness the recollection of an event associates itself readily with that of a definite place, but for those who are not eye-witnesses this has much less interest. In Lk. 9 18 Peter's confession is not made at Cæsarea Philippi; indeed, the evangelist knows nothing about a journey thither at all (§ 116 *a*, end). The leper was cleansed according to Mt. 8 1 *f.* after Jesus had finished his Sermon on the Mount, but according to Lk. (5 12) a considerable time before that, when Jesus was 'in one of the cities,' similarly as in Mk. 140.

135. Places and persons.

On the return from his first journey abroad (to Tyre and Sidon) Jesus, according to Mk. 7 31, arrives at the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee according to Mt. 15 29 (if we are to take the most obvious meaning of the words), at the western. After the feeding of the 4000 both evangelists agree in saying that he crossed the lake; hut according to Mk. 8 10 the crossing is to the west shore, according to Mt. 15 39 it is to the east. Then follows a new crossing, after which the apprehension about want of bread arises in Mk. 8 13 *f.* on the eastern shore, in Mt. 16 5 on the western. The two routes coalesce according to Mk. 827 Mt. 16 13 only when Cæsarea is reached—unless we are to assume that Mt., in what precedes, means the same localities as Mk. and has only expressed himself misleadingly (cp § 112 *a*).

As for persons—neither the names of the women at the cross (see CLOPAS, § 2) nor even the names of the twelve disciples (Mt. 10 2-4 Mk. 3 16-19 Lk. 6 14-16) are given in two places alike (see APOSTLE). On the divergence between Mt. 9 9 on the one hand and Mk. 2 14 and Lk. 5 27 on the other, see LEVI and MATTHEW.

Several of the reported sayings of Jesus clearly bear the impress of a time which he did not live to see. The precept ahout taking up one's cross and following Jesus (Mt. 10 38 1624) is certainly not to be explained by pointing out that the sight of condemned persons carrying their crosses to the place of execution was a familiar one; for in that spectacle the most important element of all was wanting—that of innocence. The words in question cannot have taken their present shape till after the death of Jesus. Exhortations as to how to behave in times of persecution (Mk. 13 9-13) he can hardly have found it necessary to give so early, for, however numerous his followers may have been, he formed in his lifetime no definite community outside the bonds of the Jewish religion, and still less a church. It was therefore also in the lifetime of Jesus hardly possible that his followers should be expelled from the synagogue in the manner spoken of in Lk. 6 22, and still less so that they should be expelled on account of the name of 'Christian' (see CHRISTIAN, § 1). The graduated order of procedure against an erring brother (Mt. 18 15-17) is much more easily explained when transplanted to a later time. In the mouth of Jesus it is, at all events, intelligible only if by *ecclesia* (ἐκκλησία) we understand not the Christian but the Jewish local community. But also the authority conferred in the verse immediately following (18 18), 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,' could never have been given by Jesus either to the apostles or, what the context leaves open, to his followers in general, still less to Peter to whom it is limited in 16 19 (cp BINDING AND LOOSING). Still more 1618 is open to serious question, quite apart from other reasons, on account of the word *ecclesia*, and because the verse is wanting in Tatian's *Diatessaron.* Into the discourse on the occasion of the mission of the disciples special precepts have been introduced, of a sort which canonly owe their origin to later missionary practice taught by painful experience (*e.g.*, Mt. 10 11 13). The baptismal precept to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (Mt. 28 19) is questionable, not only because, according to the older accounts, the risen Jesus was only seen, not heard (§ 138 *d*), but also because, according to the NT throughout, baptism was only in the name of Jesus (Rom. 6 3 Gal. 327 Acts 238 816 1048 19 5 1 Cor. 6 11 1 13; even in Hermas also; *Vis.* iii. 7 3). The Trinitarian formula is met with first in Justin (*Apol.* 1 61) and in the *Didachè* (7 1). So also, if Jesus had enjoined the mission to the Gentiles on the original apostles, as is stated in Mt. 28 19, it would be a practical impossibility to understand, how they, or their followers, could have withstood Paul so hotly upon this very point.

136. Conditions belonging to a later time.

It would clearly be wrong, in an investigation such as the present, to start from any such postulate or axiom as that 'miracles' are impossible. At the same time, on the other hand, some doubt as to the accuracy of the accounts cannot fail to arise in the mind even of the stoutest believer in miracles when he observes snch points as the following:—(a) How contradictory they are. In Mk. 13234 *all* the sick were brought to Jesus and he healed *some;* in ‖ Mt. 8 16 they brought many and he healed *all;* in ‖ Lk. 4 40 they brought *all* and he healed *all*, as also in Mt. 4 24. In Mk. 3 7 *f.* 10 a ***great*** multi-***tude*** followed him and he healed many; in ‖ Mt. 12 15 many followed and he healed *all.* According to this the view of the evangelist must have been that he was followed exclusively by sick persons. According to what is said in § 133 *d* not only the early date but the historicity altogether of those healings ***en masse*** must be held to be doubtful. Before the feeding of the 5000, in Mk. (634) Jesus teaches the multitude; in Mt. (14 14) he heals their sick; in Lk. (9 11) he does both. At the beginning of his journey to Jerusalem, according to Mk. (10 1), Jesus teaches the multitude; according to Mt. (19 2) he *heals* them. According to Lk. (7 21) Jesus heals a number of sick—possessed and blind—in the presence of the messengers of the Baptist, and immediately before this he raises the widow's son at Nain (7 11-17); Mt. knows nothing of this, and Mk. as little (the message of the Baptist is wholly wanting in Mk.). But on the other hand Mt. records as before this date not only the healing of a leper (8 1-4) and of a paralytic (9 1-8), as does Mk. 1 40-2 12 = Lk. 5 12-26, but also the raising of the daughter of Jairus (9 18-26), and the healing of two blind men (9 27-31), and of a dumb man possessed with a devil (κωφός: 9 32-34)—healings which in Lk. are all brought in as having been wrought after the message of the Baptist

137. The miracle-narratives.

(8 40-56 18 35-43 11 14-16). Thus each of the two evangelists secured that the messengers of the Baptist should be able to hear of miracles of most various kinds as wrought by Jesus (Mt. 11 5 = Lk. 7 22);[1] but each has done so in a different way. After the cleansing of the temple, Jesus, according to Mt. (21 14), heals blind and lame there; of this Mk. and Lk. know nothing. Similarly in 28 52 *f.* he alone reports the resurrection of many dead persons on the death of Jesus. On the other hand, Mt. (26 17-20) describes the preparation of the Passover meal without presupposing any supernatural knowledge on the part of Jesus as is done in Mk. (14 12-17) and Lk. (22 7-14). Lk. alone knows not only of the miracles reported in 7 11-17 21, but also of the healing of the woman with the spirit of infirmity, of the man with the dropsy, of the ten lepers, and of the high priest's servant's ear, as also of the fact of Peter's miraculous draft (13 10-17 14 1-6 17 11-19 22 50 *f.* 5 1-11). In the last two cases the silence of Mt. and Mk. is all the more significant as they give a quite precise account of the very occurrences in the midst of which a miracle, according to Lk., was wrought, and in Gethsemane all the apostles, and at the call of Peter at least he and some others, were present (Mk. 14 47 = Mt. 26 51-54; Mk. 1 16-20 = Mt. 4 18-22; cp **§ 32**, n. 5, **§ 42**). Only Mk., again, knows of the healing of a blind man in two successive stages, by application of spittle and by laying on of hands (8 22-26). Instead of the one man, deaf and with an impediment in his speech, who is healed by Jesus in Mk. (7 32-37) by the same means, in ‖ Mt. 15 30 *f.* a whole multitude of lame, blind, and dumb are healed. At Gerasa Mk. (5 2) and Lk. (8 27) make mention of one demoniac, Mt. (8 28) of two, and that too (*v.* 29) with clear divergence from ‖ Mk. 5 7 = Lk. 8 28, and dependence on the words of the demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum (Mk. 1 24 = Lk. 4 34), all mention of which has been wholly omitted by Mt. At Jericho Mk. (10 46) mentions one blind man as Jesus was leaving the city, Lk. 18 35 one as he was entering, Mt. 20 29 *f.* two as he was leaving. The man who in Lk. 11 14 is dumb is also blind in Mt. 12 22.[2] According to Mk. 5 23 the daughter of Jairus is at the point of death, according to Lk. 8 42 she is a-dying; in Mt. 9 18 the father's statement runs, 'my daughter is even now dead,' whilst in Mk. 5 35 and Lk. 8 49 this announcement is brought to Jesus only after the healing of the woman with the issue of blood which has been wrought in the interval. To the number 5000 as well as to the 4000 of those who were miraculously fed Mt. adds in each case (14 21 15 38) 'besides women and children.' In Mk. 11 20 the fig tree is found to be withered away on the morning after the curse has been pronounced; according to Mt. 21 19 it withered away immediately. Whilst in Mk. 1 10 *f.* it is Jesus who sees the heaven opened and the spirit descending and hears the voice, so that one is able, if so disposed, to take the whole passage as describing an inward mental experience, with regard to which the disciples had derived their knowledge from himself alone, Mt. 3 16 *f.* represents the opening of the heavens as an objective occurrence and gives the voice in the third person and thus not as for the hearing of Jesus alone, whilst according to Lk. 3 22 *f.* the Spirit even descends 'in bodily shape.' As for the narratives of the nativity and childhood see MARY (MOTHER OF JESUS) and NATIVITY. We pass over the numerous other minor differences in the accounts of miracles in the gospels, in order to touch upon :—

(*b*) Two cases in which even one strongly predisposed to believe in miracles would find it difficult to accept a narrative of this kind on account of the time to which it is assigned. (*a*) Lk. 23 44 *f.* expressly, and Mk. 15 33 Mt. 27 45 also to all appearance, allege an eclipse of the sun, a celestial phenomenon which, however, is possible only at the period of New Moon—i.e., shortly before the 1st of Nisan—and cannot happen on the 15th or 14th of a month. To save for the narrative some relic of credibility the suggestion has even been made that it is in fact an eclipse of the moon that is recorded. But in offering this explanation it was forgotten, not only that at midday such an occurrence would not produce darkness, but also that the shadow of the earth falling upon the moon is visible only from the side of the earth that is turned away from the sun, in other words, during the night, not in the middle of the day from 12 to 3.

(*β*) As for the fig tree (Mk. 11 12-14 20-25 Mt. 21 18-22), it is certainly the fact that its fruits begin to form before the leaves unfold—approximately about Easter-tide. But at this early stage they are still exceedingly small and quite uneatable. The first ripe figs are gathered in the end of June, most of the rest in August, and some not till so late as February. Some do not reach their development at all in the year of their formation, but only in the following spring. Fruits of this last-named class might therefore have been found by Jesus on the tree; but they are in no sense a characteristic mark of a good tree; the characteristic of such a tree is its young freshly-produced figs. But with figs of this last kind Jesus could not have satisfied his hunger; the narrative would have been possible at any time from June to February; but, placed at Easter, it is not so; and yet it belongs so definitely to the Easter season that it would be indeed a bold thing to say that it is true in itself but wrongly dated. The only really pertinent remark is that of Mk. (11 13): it was not the season of figs. This is so contrary, however, to the whole of the rest of the narrative that Scholten thought himself justified in setting it down as a marginal note by a foreign hand (**§ 119 *b***). Thus, even where there is not the slightest shadow of aversion to miracles as such, there is nothing to surprise us when these two narratives are declared to be unhistorical. See FIG TREE.

(*c*) Taken as a whole the facts brought forward in the immediately preceding paragraphs show only too clearly with what lack of concern for historical precision the evangelists write. The conclusion is inevitable that even the one evangelist whose story in any particular case involves less of the supernatural than that of the others, is still very far from being entitled on that account to claim implicit acceptance of his narrative. Just in the same degree in which those who came after him have gone beyond him, it is easily conceivable that he himself may have gone beyond those who went before him.

138. The Resurrection of Jesus.

With reference to the resurrection of Jesus (*a*) the most credible statement in the Synoptics is that of Mt. (and Mk.) that the first appearances were in Galilee. The appearance in Jerusalem to the two women (Mt. 28 9 *f.*) is almost universally given up—not only because of the silence of all the other accounts, but also because in it Jesus only repeats the direction which the women had already received through the angel. If the disciples had seen Jesus in Jerusalem as Lk. states, it would be absolutely incomprehensible how Mk. and Mt. came to require them to repair to Galilee before they could receive a manifestation of Jesus. The converse on the other hand is very easy to understand; Lk. found it inconceivable that the disciples who, according to him, were still in Jerusalem, should have been unable to see Jesus until they went to Galilee. In actual fact the disciples had already dispersed at Gethsemane (Mk. 14 50 Mt. 26 56); this Lk. very significantly omits. Even Peter, after he had perceived,

[1] It must be granted that in Mt. 9 32-34 κωφός means a dumb, and in 11 5 a deaf, person. But the two infirmities so often go together that this difference of meaning cannot be held to invalidate the statement in the text, which in all other respects is absolutely exact.

[2] These two passages must be regarded as parallel because in each there follows this detailed examination of the criticism that Jesus cast out demons by Beelzebub (Mt. 12 24-32 = Lk. 11 15-23). A second parallel to Lk. 11 14 is Mt. 9 32-34, which agrees in its details with Lk. more exactly.

when he denied his Master, the dangers he incurred, will hardly have exposed himself to these, gratuitously, any longer. At the cross only women, not disciples, were present. Whither these last had betaken themselves we are not told. But it is not difficult to conjecture that they had gone to their native Galilee. The angelic command, therefore, that they should make this their rendezvous, may reasonably he taken as a veiled indication that they had already gone thither. The presupposition made both by Mk. and by Mt. that they were still in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection is accordingly erroneous. It was this error of theirs that led Lk. to his still more erroneous inversion of the actual state of the facts.

(*b*) The second element in the synoptics that may he accepted with confidence is the statement that it was Peter who received the first manifestation of his risen master. All the more surprising is it that it is only Lk. who tells us so, and that only in passing **(2434).** It is the chief point in the statement of Paul, 1 Cor. 15 1-11. This passage must be regarded as the earliest account of the appearances of the risen Jesus; unquestionably it goes back to the communications made by Peter during the fifteen days' visit of Paul, three years after the conversion of the latter (Gal. 1 18).

(c) Not only is it a mark of inadequacy in the gospels that they have nothing to say about the greater number of the manifestations here recorded; it also becomes necessary to withhold belief from what they actually do relate in addition. Paul would certainly not have left it out had he known it; the duty of bringing forward all the available evidence in support of the truth of the resurrection of Jesus as against the Corinthian doubters was of the most stringent kind.

(d) Thus, on the one hand, the statements that Jesus was touched, and that he ate (Lk. 24 39-43), are seen to be incredible. But these are precisely the statements which make it possible to understand why the evangelists should pass over the mere appearing of Jesus (ὤφθη) to which the statements of Paul are confined, inasmuch as they believed they could offer proofs of a more palpable character.

In criticism it was a great error to believe that by the expression 'was seen' (ὤφθη) Paul was characterizing the appearances as unreal. It is indeed true that in the NT this expression with one exception (Acts 7 26) is applied to visions; but, unless he be a thoroughly modern person well versed in philosophy and science, the visionary is under a psychological necessity to regard as real the things which he sees in vision even though he distinguishes between them and the objects of ordinary sight. The only thing that would prevent him from doing so would be if the vision offered that which according to his ideas was utterly impossible. But in the case before us this is far from being so. In the NT the resurrection of a man—*e.g.*, of the Baptist or of Elijah—is supposed to be thoroughly possible (Mk. 6 14-16 = Mt. 14 2 = Lk. 9 7 *f.* Mk. 9 11 Mt. 17 10 11 14).

What the expression 'was seen' (ὤφθη) proves is, accordingly, rather this—that in no description of any appearances of the risen Lord did Paul perceive anything by which they were distinguished from his own, received at Damascus. With reference to this he uses the same expression; he therefore characterizes it as a 'vision' (ὀπτασία), and, as he still distinguishes from this the 'revelation' (ἀποκάλυψις) in 2 Cor. 12 1, we shall have to take the word literally and interpret it as denoting seeing, not hearing.

(e) The statements as to the empty sepulchre are to be rejected; Paul is silent regarding them, and his silence is very strongly reinforced by Mk. 16 8 which says the women told no one anything of what they had seen. This failure to carry out the angel's bidding is quite unthinkable, and one readily understands why Mt. and Lk. should say the opposite, though this is probably the most violent change they have anywhere made on their exemplar. (The word 'fear,' φόβος, in Mt. 28 8 shows that he had before him the 'were afraid,' ἐφοβοῦντο, of Mk.) The statement of Mk. is intelligible only if we take him to mean that the whole statement as *to* the empty sepulchre is now being promulgated for the first time by the publication of his gospel. He cannot intend to say that the women held their peace for a short time only, for the general belief is that Jesus appeared very soon after his resurrection, and every delay on the part of the women would have put back the time at which the disciples could arrive in Galilee and behold the promised appearing of the Lord. If Mk. is understood in the sense we have indicated, then in him we have a virtual admission, veiled indeed, yet clear, that all statements as to the empty sepulchre were innovations of a later time.

(*f*) Nor, as against this, will it avail to urge the inherent likelihood that the sepulchre must without fail have been visited.

Here the assumption is that forthwith on the resurrection day the tidings of the empty sepulchre became known in Jerusalem. But this supposition has been shown to he groundless. Yet even had the tidings been brought forthwith *to* the Christians in Jerusalem, and even if they had thereupon at once visited the sepulchre, their evidence would not have proved more than did that of the women. Only an examination by opponents could have claimed greater weight. But it is hardly likely that the tidings reached their ears forthwith. Yet, even had this happened and the sepulchre been found empty, the fact would have been capable of heing explained by them as due to a removal of the body. The (unhistorical) statement of Mt. as to setting a watch over the sepulchre (§ 108) had in fact just this very purpose in view—to exclude the possibility of any such removal. But after the visit of the women the watch was not continued even in Mt. Further it has to be borne in mind that according to Jewish belief a body did not remain recognisable for more than three days (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 20 *a*). Had a body, therefore, really been found, it would no longer have been possible *to* identify it as the body of Jesus.

This comes yet more strongly into view if we picture to ourselves the order of events in the way in which, in all probability, they actually happened. The first belief in the resurrection of Jesus arose through the appearances in Galilee on the third day after his death, or later. The disciples believed in them and therefore felt themselves under no necessity to assure themselves by examination of the sepulchre. Even if the tidings of the Galilæan appearances had been brought to Jerusalem forthwith, not even so would they have given occasion for such an examination. It was unnecessary: the followers of Jesus believed them without further evidence; his enemies laughed them to scorn. One knew that the emptiness of the sepulchre after so long a time could prove anything just as little as could the production of a no longer identifiable body. It is unnecessary to enter more fully into the almost incredible variations in the accounts of what happened at the sepulchre, after what has already been said (see, for enumeration, § 27).

(g) The conclusion of Mk. (16 9-20) is admittedly not genuine (see W. and H., Appendix, and above, § *4*, n. 2). Still less can the shorter conclusion printed by W. and H. lay claim to genuineness. Should it he found that the longer, in accordance with an Armenian superscription found by Conybeare (*Expos.*, '93 *b*, pp. 241-254), was written by the presbyter Aristion—the name in the inscription is Ariston,—then a very unfavourable light would be shed upon this 'disciple of the Lord,' as Papias calls him. Almost the entire section is a compilation, partly even from the fourth gospel and Acts. At the same time the words 'for they were afraid' (ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, 16 8) cannot have been the close intended by the author, especially seeing that appearances in Galilee are announced **(16 7).** The suggestion that the author was interrupted as he was finishing is a mere makeshift. It cannot be urged in support of it that in Mt. and Lk. no traces of the conjectured genuine conclusion of Mk. are to he found. We could not be sure whether at least Mt. has not drawn from it, especially as he coincides entirely with Mk. 16 6 *f.* But deliberate divergence from the (supposed) conclusion of Mk. would also be very intelligible, for Mt. and Lk. have already, as against Mk. 16 8, said the opposite of what lay before them in their exemplar. The fact that the last leaf of a book is always the most

liable to get lost can suffice to explain how the close of Mk. should have disappeared without leaving any trace. Yet a deliberate removal of it is also conceivable,—if it did not answer the demands which had already come to be set up in the time of Mt. and Lk. Nothing can be conjectured with any certainty, except that it described an appearance of Jesus to the disciples. The fact that Peter is also individually named in 16 7 may perhaps be held to indicate that the conclusion contained also an appearance to Peter alone.

The foregoing sections may have sometimes seemed to raise a doubt whether any credible elements were to

139. Absolutely credible (a) passages: in general.

be found in the gospels at all; all the more emphatically therefore must stress be laid on the existence of passages of the kind indicated in § 131. Reference has already been made to Mk. 10 17 *f.* ('Why callest thou me good? none is good save God only'), as also to Mt. 12 31 *f.* (that blasphemy against the son of man can be forgiven),[1] and to Mk. 3 21 (that his relations held him to be beside himself; cp § 1166 *d*). To these, two others may now be added: Mk. 13 32 ('of that day and of that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son but the Father'; the words 'neither the Son' (οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός) are absent from Mt. in many MSS and the whole verse from Lk.; cp § 130 *e*); and Mk. 15 34 Mt. 27 46 ('My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'—an utterance which Lk. has wholly omitted).

These five passages, along with the four which will be spoken of in § 140, might be called the foundation-pillars for a truly scientific life of Jesus. Should the idea suggest itself that they have been sought out with partial intent, as proofs of the human as against the divine character of Jesus, the fact at all events cannot be set aside that they exist in the Bible and demand our attention. In reality, however, they prove not only that in the person of Jesus we have to do with a completely human being, and that the divine is to be sought in him only in the form in which it is capable of being found in a man; they also prove that he really did exist, and that the gospels contain at least some absolutely trustworthy facts concerning him. If passages of this kind were wholly wanting in them it would be impossible to prove to a sceptic that any historical value whatever was to be assigned to the gospels; he would be in a position to declare the picture of Jesus contained in them to be purely a work of phantasy, and could remove the person of Jesus from the field of history,—all the more when the meagreness of the historical testimony regarding him, whether in canonical writings outside of the gospels, or in profane writers snch as Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny, is considered.

(a) According to Mk. 8 12 Jesus emphatically declined to work a 'sign' (σημεῖον) before the eyes of his con-

140. (b) On the miracles of Jesus.

temporaries; 'there shall no sign be given unto this generation.' In Mt. 12 39 16 4 and Lk. 11 29 this saying is given in the enlarged form, 'there shall no sign be given to this generation but the sign of Jonah (the prophet).' Unless here the meaning intended be the exact contrary of what is said in Mk., the 'sign of Jonah' cannot be really a 'sign,' but rather the opposite of one.

To illustrate how, notwithstanding, it was possible for Jesus to express himself so, let us put an imaginary parallel case. A conqueror, without receiving any provocation, invades a country. Its inhabitants send an embassy to ask of him what justification he can show for his aggression. He gives the answer: You ask me what I can allege in justification? I shall give you no other justification than that which my sword gives. The situation in the gospel is quite similar.

The one thing which Jesus has hitherto done, and, if he refuses to work signs (σημεῖα), the one thing which he can continue to do, is to preach. The main activity of Jonah also in like manner consisted in preaching. By the sign of Jonah accordingly is meant the opposite of a sign—viz., preaching like that of Jonah. This is shown also by the immediate sequel: 'the men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonah.' Next follows the example of the Queen of Sheba who came to hear the preaching of Solomon (Mt. 12 41 *f.* = Lk. 11 31 *f.*).

It is only in Mt. (12 40) that this good connection is broken by the interpretation that the sign of Jonah means his three days' sojourn in the belly of the whale, and that by this is signified the three days' sojourn of Jesus in the heart of the earth. But even apart from its breaking the connection, this verse which rests only on misunderstanding of the ambiguous utterance in Lk. 11 30, is quite unsuitable; for a 'sign' of course makes its impression only when it can be seen. The people of Nineveh could not observe the emergence of Jonah from the place of his sojourn, nor indeed is it even stated that he told them of it; all that is said is that he preached to them.

(6) According to Mk. 6 5 *f.* Jesus was able to do no mighty work (save healing a few sick folk) in Nazareth and marvelled at the unbelief of its people. This then is the reason why he was unable. Mt. 13 58 is a manifest weakening of this: 'he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief.'

(c) In Mk. 8 14-21 the disciples, in the crossing of the Lake, which has been touched on in § 135, are represented as having forgotten to take bread with them. Jesus says: 'Take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod' (in Mt. 16 6: 'of the Pharisees and Sadducees'). This exhortation the disciples take as a reproach on them for their forgetfulness. But Jesus rebukes them for their little understanding, and reminds them of the feeding of the 5000 and of the 4000. The conclusion is given fully only by Mt. (16 11 *f.*), but unquestionably in the sense of Mk., 'How is it that ye do not perceive that I spake not to you concerning bread? . . . then understood they how that he bade them beware of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees.' Both evangelists have previously related the feeding of the 5000 and the 4000 as facts. If Jesus reminds them of this, the consequence must of course be that they should think of material loaves as being what they are to beware of. In reality, however, the deduction is quite the opposite. This is possible only on one assumption—if the feeding of the 5000 and the 4000 was not a historical occurrence, but a parable having this as its point that the bread with which one man in the wilderness was able to feed a vast multitude signifies the teaching with which he satisfied their souls. On this view the closing statement of the narrative first finds its full explanation; more bread remains over than was present at the beginning; truth is not consumed when it is communicated to others, but only serves to awaken in them ever new thoughts and an ever-growing power to satisfy in their turn the spiritual hunger of others. It is exceedingly surprising, yet at the same time evidence of a reproduction of earlier materials, that Mk. and Mt. should give the present narrative at all—a narrative which in their understanding of the miracle of the feeding is so meaningless.

Mt. has made some attempt, albeit a somewhat feeble one, to bring the two narratives into harmony. With him Jesus (16 8) reproaches the disciples for their little faith. Similarly Mk. at an earlier place (6 52), the wording of which recalls that of the present passage, alludes to the miracle of the loaves and implies that the disciples ought to have learned from it implicit faith in the supernatural power of Jesus even in the storm. All the more important is it to notice that in the passage of Mk. now before us (8 14-21) Jesus blames them, in the only fitting (and therefore the only original) way, for their little undersianding; and Mt. by taking up this reproach in 16 9 11 shows that the other, that of unbelief, is not the original one.

(*d*) In Mt. 11 5 Lk. 7 22 Jesus sends an answer to the Baptist that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. As has been shown above (§ 137 *a*), both evangelists have seen to it that all the miracles mentioned have taken place, either at an earlier date, or before the eyes of the

[1] Lk. also as well as Mk. has his share in the weakening of this sentence, the verse he gives immediately before it heing (12 9), 'he that denieth me in the presence of men shall he denied in the presence of the angels of God.'

Baptist's messengers. All the more remarkable therefore is it that the list should close with what is not a miracle at all. It would be impossible to counteract the preceding enumeration more effectually than by the simple insertion of this final clause. The evangelists therefore cannot have added it of their own proper motion. Neither could Jesus have neutralised the force of his own words—if we assume miracles to be intended—in such an extraordinary way. On the other hand the clause in question fits admirably, if Jesus was speaking not of the physically but of the spiritually blind, lame, leprous, deaf, dead. This is the meaning, too, which these words actually have in the OT passages, Is. 35 5 *f.* 611, which lie at the root of this, and it also fits very well the continuation in Mt. 116 Lk. 7 23, which reads, 'Blessed is he who is *not* offended in me' (*i.e.*, in my unpretentious simplicity). Here, therefore, we have a case, as remarkable as it is assured, in which a saying of Jesus, though completely misunderstood, has been—in its essence at least—incorporated with verbal accuracy in the gospels.

141. Inference as to 'signs.'

Jesus, then, declined to work signs (σημεῖα), and that, too, on principle. Mk. 8 12 (and parallels) is not a saying of a kind that he 'could have uttered one day and broken the next; moreover he expressly says that no sign should be given to 'this [whole] generation,' because as a whole it was wicked and rebellious against God. Now, the word *sēmeion* does not denote any kind of wonder, but only a wonder of the kind which serves the end of showing the power of him who works it—as, in the present case, the Messiahship of Jesus. But, so far as the reported miracles of Jesus have this end, they are, if this saying of his is to be accepted, no longer to be taken to be credible; either they never happened at all or (at least), if historical, they were not miraculous.

This applies very conspicuously to the withering of the fig-tree. Apart from the motive mentioned in § 137 6, β, this particular miracle is rejected by many theologians on the ground that such a deed having no manifest saving purpose, appears to them unworthy of his character. The same principle will apply also at least to the stilling of the storm and the walking upon the water, and likewise to the stater in the fish's mouth, even though, strangely enough, it is not expressly said anywhere that this miracle was actually carried *out.*

142. Origin of miraculous narratives in figurative speech.

(*a*) As for the feeding of the 5000 and the 4000, so also for the withering of the fig-tree, we still possess a clue to the way in which the narrative arose out of a parable. The narrative in question is not found in Lk., and this is, doubtless correctly, explained from the supposition that Lk. considered his parable (13 6-9) of the fig-tree—or rather the unspoken sequel to the parable, that the tree had at last to be cut down after all—as identical with the narrative. By the fig-tree, in this view, was meant the nation of Israel, and that which we have seen to be impossible if the story is taken as a relation of actual fact (§ 137 6, β) becomes very effective as soon as the symbolical interpretation is adopted. At the close of his ministry, at his last passover festival, Jesus utters his curse upon the nation that has borne no fruit. Figurative forms of expression, which could give rise to the story of the feeding, are also to be found in Mt. 56: 'blessed are they that hunger,' for they shall be filled,' and the verse which in Mk. (634) stands before the miraculous narrative, to the effect that Jesus *taught* the multitude, embodies in reality the substance of that narrative. For Peter's draught of fishes, cp Mk. 1 17 and Mt. 13 47-50. It is not difficult to conjecture expressions made use of by Jesus out of which the narrative of the walking on the water and the stilling of the tempest could be framed, somewhat after the analogy of Mk. 1122-24 and Lk. 176: 'if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, then shall ye be able to command the storm and it will obey, and ye shall be able to walk unharmed upon the troubled sea (of life).' Indeed even the words which actually stand in the passages last cited might have given occasion to the formation of miraculous narratives. 'If ye shall say in faith to this mountain, Re thou cast into the sea, or to the sycomore tree, Be thou transplanted into the sea, so shall it be done.' But literalism of this sort even in those days had its limits.

(6) The same explanation is capable of being applied also where deeds or words attributed to Jesus himself are not concerned. It is very easily conceivable that a preacher on the death of Jesus may have said, purely figuratively, that then was the veil of the temple rent in twain (Mk. 15 38 = Mt. 27 51 = Lk. 23 45). What he meant to say was that by the death of Jesus the ancient separation between God and his people was done away. By a misunderstanding, this saying could easily be taken up as statement of a literal physical fact. So also, if another preacher said, using figurative language, that at the death of Jesus the graves had opened (Mt. 27 52), or that darkness (of sorrow) had spread over all the earth (Mk. 15 33 = Mt. 27 45 = Lk. 23 44). Cp also § 26, n.

143. Influence of OT passages.

(*a*) In the present connection we need not do more than allude very briefly to what by Strauss was regarded as almost the only source of origin for such miraculous narratives as had no real foundation in fact—namely, passages of the OT. These may very well have contributed to the shaping of such narratives, even though we do not assume that they originated them. For the raisings of the dead cp 1 K. 17 17-24 2 K. 4 17-37; for the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, cp Ex. 16 1-18 Nu. 11 4-9 2 K. 4 42-44; for the walking upon the water Ps. 77 20 [19] Is. 43 16 Job 9 8; for the stilling of the storm, Ps. 107 23-32; for the healing of the withered hand 1 K. 136; for the healing of the dumb man, Wisd. 10 21.

(*b*) Apart from the miracles, there is one OT passage which has very clearly influenced the form of the gospel narrative in Mt. 21 7. It is impossible to deny Mt.'s representation here to be that Jesus rode into Jerusalem upon two asses. Even if one chooses to interpret the words as meaning that he sat upon the garments and not upon the animals the sense is substantially the same, for the garments were laid upon the asses. The misunderstanding rests only upon a too literal interpretation of the prophecy in Zech. 9 9, which is not shared by Mk. and Lk. So also the number thirty (unmentioned in Mk. 1411 Lk. 22 5) given to the sum received by Judas, as also the casting away of the money into the teniple (Mt. 2615 27 5), would seem to come not from tradition but from the passage in Zechariah (11 12 *f.*) expressly cited in Mt. 27 9 *f.* Upon Bethlehem, as the birthplace of Jesus, the virgin birth, the Magi, the flight into Egypt, the massacre of the innocents, see MARY [MOTHER OF JESUS] and NATIVITY.

144. Miracles of healing.

According to Mk. 6 5 *f.* (see § 140 *b*) we are to understand that Jesus healed where he found faith. This power is so strongly attested throughout the first and second centuries that, in view of the spiritual greatness of Jesus and the imposing character of his personality, it would be indeed difficult to deny it to him. Even the Pharisees do not deny his miracles of healing, though they trace them to a compact with Beelzebub (Mk. 3 22 Mt. 934 12 24 Lk. 11 15). According to Mt. 12 27 = Lk. 11 19 the disciples of the Pharisees also wrought such miracles; the man who followed not with the disciples of Jesus cast out devils (Mk. 9 38-40 = Lk. 9 49 *f.*); the same is said of those whom in Mt. 7 22 *f.* Jesus rejects in his final judgment. Paul asserts that a like power was possessed by himself (2 Cor. 12 12 Rom. 15 19), and by other Christians (1 Cor. 12 8-11 28); Justin mentions castings-out of devils (*Apol.* 26 *Dial.* 30, 35, 39, 76, 85); so also Tertullian

[1] On the earliest text see § 123 *a*, n.

(*Apol.* 23), Irenaeus (2 31 *f.* Eus. *HE* 5 7), and Quadratus (Eus. *HE* iv. 3 2).[1]

That Jesus demanded faith is frequently stated (Mk. 9 23 *f.* Mt. 9 28), as also that he was approached with faith (Mk. 2 5 = Mt. 9 2 = Lk. 5 20; Mt. 8 10 = Lk. 7 9; Mt. 15 27 *f.* = Mk. 7 28 *f.*; see § 109 *d*), and that he prayed.

Many of the accounts contain particulars that could hardly have been introduced at will merely for effect. Thus in Mk. 5 7-10 the devil does not leave the demoniac of Gerasa at the first adjuration; Jesus must first, just like a modern alienist, enter with the man into a conversation in which he elicits from him what his hallucinations are. In Mk. 9 14-29 all the symptoms shown by the boy, except the falling into the fire, can be paralleled from the descriptions of epilepsy in ancient medical writers (Krenkel, *Beitr. zur Aufhellung der Gesch. u. d. Briefe d. Paulus*, '90, pp. 50-63).

Of course we must endeavour to ascertain how many, and still more what sorts of cures were effected by Jesus. It is quite permissible for us to regard as historical only those of the class which even at the present day physicians are able to effect by psychical methods,—as, more especially, cures of mental maladies. It is highly significant that, in a discourse of Peter (Acts 10 38), the whole activity of Jesus is summed up in this that he went about doing good and healing all those that were oppressed of the devil. By this expression only demoniacs are intended. Cp also Lk. 13 32. It is not at all difficult to understand how the contemporaries of Jesus, after seeing some wonderful deed or deeds wrought by him which they regarded as miracles, should have credited him with every other kind of miraculous power without distinguishing, as the modern mind does, between those maladies which are amenable to psychical influences and those which are not. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the cure may often have been only temporary. If there was a relapse, people did not infer any deficiency in the miraculous efficacy of the healer; they accounted for it simply by the return of the demon who had been cast out. On this point Mt. 12 43-45 is very characteristic. Perhaps also Lk. 8 2 may be cited in this connection, if the seven devils were cast out of Mary Magdalene not simultaneously but on separate occasions.

Most obscure of all are the two accounts, found only in Mk. (7 32-35 8 22-26), according to which Jesus made use of saliva to effect a cure. Precisely in these two cases it is extraordinarily difficult to believe in a cure whether by this or by psychical methods.

145. Conclusion as to discourses of Jesus.

(*a*) Even if the public ministry of Jesus had lasted for a few months only, he must have uttered a thousandfold more than all that has been recorded in the gospels. His longest discourse would, if delivered in the form in which it has come down to us, not have taken more than some five minutes in the delivery. However self-evident, this has been constantly overlooked by the critics. They are constantly assuming that we possess the several words of Jesus that have been reported approximately in the same fulness with which they were spoken. For the parables perhaps (apart, of course, from the manipulations pointed out above, in §§ 109 *b*, 112 *b*, 128 *c d*) this may be to a certain extent true. Of other utterances, we have traced in Mt. 11 5 = Lk. 7 22 and Mk. 8 14-21 = Mt. 16 5-12 (§ 140 *c d*) one or two which must have been preserved almost *verbatim*. In what remains, however, it can hardly be sufficiently emphasised that we possess only an excessively meagre *précis* of what Jesus said, namely, only so much as not only made an immediate impression when first heard, but also continued to survive the ordeal of frequent repetition (for much of it possessed too little interest for those who had not been actual ear-witnesses). In this process not only was an extraordinary number of utterances completely lost; but a large number of the sayings of Jesus now received for the first time that consecutive and pointed form which made them seem worthy of further repetition. Without doubt Jesus must very often have repeated himself; but what he assuredly often repeated in many variations has been preserved to us only in a single form. One may perhaps venture to compare the process with that of a photographer who prints from many negatives of the same individual on the same paper. There is produced in this way an 'average' likeness which when viewed from some distance seems satisfactory enough, but when it is more closely viewed the vagueness of its contours is at once discovered.

(*b*) The context in which we now find the sayings of Jesus must never (from what has been said in § 134) be taken as a trustworthy guide in determining what the original meaning may have been. In every case the context tells us only what the evangelists, or their predecessors, found it to mean; indeed in many cases it is impossible to believe that even for them the place where they introduce the saying is intended to convey any hint as to the meaning. A source like the logia laid naturally very little stress upon this point. The greater number of the utterances of Jesus are like erratic blocks. All that one sees with perfect clearness is that they do not originally belong to the place where they are now found. What their original position was is unknown. The observer has to rest satisfied if in spite of its removal to a new site the real nature and quality of the stone can be made out; and this is happily very often the case.

On the other hand, a wholly mistaken line is taken when, for example, the attempt is niade to base consequences on any such assumption as that Jesus was apt to give forth parahles or sayings in pairs. The parable of the leaven which in Mt. 13 31-33 and Lk. 13 18-21 immediately follows on that of the mustard-seed is still wanting in Mk. 4 30-32. In Lk.'s source as well as in Mk.'s the sayings about the salt and about the light were still separate (not connected as we now see them in Mt. 5 13-16). Equally futile are discussions as to the order in which Jesus may have spoken the beatitudes. If any one were to try to repeat the beatitudes after hearing them once he would not he sure of retaining the original order. We cannot expect more of those who heard Jesus. In the Sermon on the Mount not only is it needless to ask whether it was heard by the disciples alone or by the multitude as well (§ 134); it is equally needless to ask whether it was intended for the one or for the other. It is a conglomerate. Little of what is found in Mt. 5-7 recurs in Lk. 6 20-49. On Mt. 5 13-16 see § 134, on 5 17-48 see § 145 *g*. In chap. 6 *f.* a really good connection is found only within each of the following groups:—6 1-6 with 16-18; 6 25-34; 7 1-5; 7 7-11; not between these groups reciprocally, nor yet between them and the other sayings contained in these chapters. Nay, there is not the least ground for supposing, because they are three in number, that Jesus enumerated immediately in succession those things in which according to Mt. 6 1-6 16-18 hypocrisy is to be avoided quite apart from the fact that the enumeration is disturbed and broken by *vv.* 7-15.

(*c*) Words of such pre-eminent importance as the Lord's Prayer or the words of institution of the Eucharist, or the description of a scene so unforgettable as that in which the sign is given by which the betrayer is made known (Mk. 14 18-20; Mt. 26 21-23; Lk. 22 21) are given in a very conflicting manner. Of the words uttered on the cross, Mk. and Mt. have only one, which in turn is omitted by Lk., who, however, gives three others. In this last case, however, one may be sure that Mk. and Mt. are in the right (§ 139); and to the three previous ones one may safely apply the maxim that additions are more likely than omissions; omissions would in fact be difficult to account for (§ 120 *c*). Mk. 14 22-24 accordingly, with omission of 'take' (λάβετε), may be regarded as the relatively (not absolutely) oldest form of the words of institution of the Eucharist. (Against the deletion of Lk. 22 19*b* 20 see Schmiedel in Hand-commentar on 1 Cor. 11 34.)

(*d*) While in the case of the Eucharistic words only Lk. is dependent on Paul, Mt. and still more Mk. avoiding his novelties, Paul in 1 Cor. 7 10 *f.*, as against all the synoptists, exhibits the earlier form of the prohibition of divorce. This we infer from the fact that it is he who gives the strictest form of the prohibition. Subsequent

[1] As for Josephus, cp *BJ* ii. 8 6 vii. 6 3, *Ant.* iii. 11 3 viii. 2 5 and *c. Ap.* 1 31; for Pliny, *NH* 30 2; for Lucian, *Philops.* 16 *f.* According to Tacitus (*Hist.* 4 81), Vespasian effected several wonderful cures (cp above, col. 1456).

relaxations in view of the difficulty in working the severer form, are intelligible, increases of stringency are not; especially would these be unintelligible in the case of Paul, who actually finds himself constrained (1 Cor. 7 15) on his own responsibility to introduce a relaxation of the law. Even the Epistle of James, although it already omits (5 12) Jerusalem as an object by which one can swear (§ 150), gives an older form of the precept against swearing than is found in Mt. 5 37; namely, Let your yea be a (simple) yea, and your nay a (simple) nay.

(e) As for the substance of the sayings of Jesus, it has already been pointed out in §§ 109 6, 111, 112 *b*, 136 how little credence we can attach to the historicity of the sayings attributed to Jesus about the call of the Gentiles, the baptismal formula, the later conditions of the primitive church, and the postponement of his parusia. Here it may be added that in Mk. 14 9 a saying which certainly was originally the closing remark of a preacher on the anointing at Bethany is given as a word of Jesus. In Mt. (26 63) it is still further altered by the addition: 'Wheresoever *this* gospel shall be preached, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of.' As regards a passage of such great importance as Mk. 10 45 = Mt. 20 28 ('to give his life a ransom for many'), judgment can be given only in accordance with the following considerations. It can be accepted as genuine if Jesus spoke of his life as a ransom in no other sense than that in which he did so at the last supper—*i.e.*, as an offering not for sin but for the immunity of his followers, after the manner of the Passover lamb in Egypt, or for ratification of their covenant with God as in Gen. 15 10 17 Jer. 34 18 Ex. 24 1-8, and if he did so at a date not too long before his death. Otherwise the doubt will have to be expressed, that the sentence comes from the Pauline theology. In any case it is noteworthy that it is absent from || Lk. 22 27.

That Jesus had in view the possibility of his death some considerable time before it came upon him is not unlikely. But the very precise predictions of it with their various details are open to the suspicion that they took shape at a later date in accordance with the facts of history, and least of all is it credible that Jesus should have put forth such a prediction directly after Peter's confession Mk. 8 31 Mt. 16 21 Lk. 16 22. This confession must have been one of the supreme moments in the joyous consciousness of Jesus—the discovery that he was finding recognition as the Messiah and was winning his battle. Suffering and death are the very opposite of all that is looked for in the Jewish Messiah, and of what Jesus at that moment could have looked forward to for himself.

(f) From the eschatological discourses disappears everything specifically apocalyptic concerning the signs of his parusia, if the separation of the 'little Apocalypse' as made in § 124 6 is correct. This does not, however, by any means imply the elimination of all eschatological utterances whatsoever. On the contrary, there still remain to be attributed to Jesus the words in Mt. 16 27 *f.* 26 29 64 (ultimately also 10 23 19 28 *f.*; see § 112 *d*) in which he prophesies his return with the clouds of heaven, and the like. This is in fact quite intelligible, and even necessary, if he held himself to be the Messiah; in such a case it would have been impossible for him to believe that God would allow him and his work to go to ruin through the persecutions of his enemies. The failure of these prophecies to come to fulfilment ought in no case to lead to any attempt to make out that they were not uttered by Jesus, or to interpret them in such a sense as causes their inconsistency with the facts to disappear. As has been shown in §§ 111, 112 e, 113, the evangelists found that much trouble was required in order to tone down this inconsistency; they had not the least occasion, therefore, to invent such predictions or to heighten them; the prophecies must have lain before them as quite fixed elements of tradition.

Another question is whether Jesus foretold the destruction of the temple as in Mk. 13 2 Mt. 24 2 Lk. 21 6. If the 'little Apocalypse' (Mk. 13 14 Mt. 24 15) or Rev. 11 1 *f.* 13 is from a Christian hand the answer can hardly be affirmative, for a Christian writer could hardly have presumed the continued existence of the temple in contradiction to Jesus' own prophecy. Both these pieces, however, may be Jewish; and Jesus could have foreseen the destruction of Jerusalem even without supernatural knowledge. In no case, however, ought we to lay weight on the circumstance that he connects it with the end of the world for this arises from the fusion of the (certainly vacillating) tradition regarding his own words with the 'little Apocalypse' (§ 124 *b*). Therefore, also, we must refuse to entertain the conjecture that in reality he prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem only, and that his alleged prediction of the end of the world rests on a misunderstanding of the disciples. According to the same mode of reasoning, he cannot have prophesied his resurrection alone without adding a prediction of his second coming from heaven; for this, according to the general and most ancient belief, which makes no mention of an ascension also (1 Cor. 15 4-12 Rom. 8 34 Eph. 1 20 2 5 *f.* Acts 2 32-35 Heb. 1 3 10 12 12 2 [13 20 Rev. 1 18] 1 Pet. 3 19 22 Eph. 4 9 *f.*), carried him direct to heaven; but there was quite as general a belief that as Messiah his work of setting up the kingdom of God upon earth required his presence here.

Of all these predictions it is possible to deny that they were uttered by him only if it be at the same time denied that he held himself to be the Messiah. But in that case it will be impossible to explain how the disciples, who had been thrown into the utmost depths of despondency by his death, nevertheless came to be able to believe in his resurrection. Those theologians who go so far as to remove all the utterances of Jesus to the effect that he was the Messiah, hardly continue to hold that the belief in his resurrection rests on anything more real than the visions of the disciples which arose out of their subjective mental condition. All psychology, however, affirms that visions arise only when that which is seen in the concrete has previously taken firm and living hold on the soul of the visionary. The belief is therefore inevitable that the disciples had already, in the lifetime of Jesus, held him to be the Messiah. They could not, however, have done so without acquainting him with this belief of theirs; and if he had denied it, it is impossible to understand how their respect for his authentic declaration should have permitted them to go on believing the opposite. As regards the date of his second coming, the statements in Mt. 16 28 (that it would be before the then living generation had passed away) and in 26 64 (that it would be immediately, ἀπ' ἄρτι) have a like claim to probability. Whatever he may have said as to this, it is most certain that he also declared that 'none knoweth of that day or of that hour' (Mk. 13 32 Mt. 24 36).

(g) It would be quite out of place to look in the gospels for direct statements as to any development in Jesus during the period of his public activity. The latest date at which reverence for him would have allowed a conception of anything of the kind to be assigned is that of his temptation (Mt. 4 1-11 Lk. 4 1-13) before his ministry began. It could only be from unconscious touches of theirs that we could be led to conjecture any development later than this. Yet such a conjecture we may venture to make, for example, as regards Jesus' freedom of attitude towards the Mosaic law. What he says in Mt. 5 21 *f.* about murder, or in 5 27 *f.* about adultery, may be easy enough to reconcile with his declaration that he is not come to destroy the law (5 17); but the case is otherwise with the sayings immediately following, upon divorce (5 31 *f.* 19 1-9), upon swearing (5 33-37), upon retaliation (5 38-42), upon love of one's enemy (5 43-48), as also upon the laws about foods (Mk. 7 1-23 = Mt. 15 1-20), and about the Sabbath (Mk. 2 23-3 6 and parallels). If the first-mentioned conservative saying (5 17) is to be held genuine, we must assign it to the first period of the public activity of Jesus. It is in fact quite credible that Jesus, who unquestionably was a pious Jew, at first saw in the Mosaic law the unalterable will of his Father, and regarded the errors of the Pharisees as consisting only in a too external apprehension of it. But it is equally intelligible that in the course of his controversy with them he should have become convinced how many precepts the law in point of fact embodied which were antagonistic to the spirit of religion as it had revealed itself to him. It was one of his greatest achievements that he sacrificed the letter of the law to this and not this to the letter of

the law; but we may be sure that it cost him many a hard struggle.

(h) Another point in regard to which we may venture to conjecture some development in Jesus during his public life is his Messiahship. As late as on the occasion of Peter's confession we find him commanding his disciples to keep this a secret (Mk. 8 30 Mt. 16 20 Lk. 9 21). With this it agrees that in Mk., before this date, he applies thd designation 'Son of Man' to himself only twice' (2 10 28). In Mt., on the contrary, he does so very often, and, besides, the significance of Peter's confession is completely destroyed by 14 33, where already all the apostles have been made to declare him to be the Son of God. In Mt., accordingly, this trace of development in Jesus' thinking is obliterated.

(i) It is when the purely religious-ethical utterances of Jesus come under consideration that we are most advantageously placed. Here especially applies the maxim laid down in § 131 (end) that we may accept as credible everything that harmonises with the idea of Jesus which has been derived from what we have called the 'foundation pillars' (§ 139 *f.*) and is not otherwise open to fatal objection. Even though such utterances may have been liable to Ebionitic heightening, and already, as showing traces of this, cannot lay claim to literal accuracy — even though they may have been unconsciously modified into accord with conditions of the Christian community that arose only at a later date — even though they may have undergone some distortion of their meaning through transference to a connection that does not belong to them — the spirit which speaks in them is quite unmistakable. Here we have a wide field of the wholly credible in which to expatiate, and it would be of unmixed advantage for theology were it to concentrate its strength upon the examination of these sayings, and not attach so much importance to the minute investigation of the other less important details of the gospel history.

IV. AUTHORS AND DATES OF THE GOSPELS AND THEIR MOST IMPORTANT SOURCES.

146. Title of the gospels.

Evangelion means originally (and still continues to do so in 2 S. 4 10) the reward given for a piece of good news. in late classical Greek the good news Itself, for which the LXX has the fem. (εὐαγγελία) in 2 S. 18 20 27. For religious. tidings we have the verb (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι) in Is. 61 1, cited in Lk. 4 18. The NT has the substantive also in this sense. It was a serious error on Origen's part when (ap. Eus. *HE* vi. 25 6) he took the Gospel of Lk. to be meant where Paul speaks of 'my Gospel' (Rom. 2 16 2 Tim. 2 8). In the *Didaché* 15 4 also, *evangelion* still signifies the substance of the gospel history without reference to the book in which it was written; so too in 8 2, 'the Lord says in his gospel'; so too in Irenaeus when he describes the gospel as fourfold (iii. 11 11 [8]); so too even in the Muratorian fragment (l. 2: *evangelii liber*). But here we already find also (l. 17) *evangelorum libri;* similarly Justin (§ 76) speaks of the '*memorabilia* of the apostles which are called gospels,' and Claudius Apollinaris says in the *Chron. Pasch.* στασιάζειν δοκεῖ τὰ εὐαγγέλια (cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 42, 54), 'the gospels seem to contradict one another.' Thus it was not till the middle of the second century that the nord came to signify a book, and, even after that, till the end of the second century, it continued to bear its original meaning as well. The titles 'Gospel according to Matthew,' 'to Mark,' etc., accordingly do not, linguistically considered, mean 'the written Gospel of Matthew,' etc.; still less, however, 'written Gospel based on communications by Matthew,' as if the very titles conveyed that Matthew, Mark, and the others were not the authors, but only the guarantors for the contents of the hooks. The inscription means simply 'Gospel history in the form in which Matthew put it into writing.' In Mk. 1 1 the expression 'the Gospel of Jesus Christ' seems already to designate a book; but at the same time it teaches us that the writer of these words cannot have set down as title to the whole book the words 'Gospel according to Mark' (εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον). Thus also in Mt. and Lk. etc. the titles (εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μ., κατὰ Λ.) do not come from the authors. In fact the writings bore no superscription at all.[1] Every one who possessed any book of this sort will have called it 'the gospel' (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), just as in the case of Marcion the gospel of Lk. which he caused to be used in his congregations was called simply 'gospel' (εὐαγγέλιον). The additions with 'according to' (κατά) became necessary at a later date when people began to possess several such books either separately or bound together in one volume. If, therefore, it should prove not to be the case that our gospels were severally written by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the statements that they were do not arise from falsification on the part of the actual authors, but only from error on the part of the church fathers, such as Papias or the person upon whom he relied.

147. Statements of the church fathers.

Besides the statements of Papias (§ 65), at most those only of the church fathers of the close of the second and the beginning of the third century referred to in §§ 75-82 can come into consideration here. How small, however. is the confidence that can be placed in the authors of these will at once be evident when it is remembered that Irenaeus (and similarly Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 4 2) declares Luke to have committed to writing the Gospel preached by Paul. The details of the life of Jesus had so little interest for Paul that, for example, in 2 Cor. 8 9 in order to induce the Corinthians to contribute liberally to the collection for the poor in Palestine he is able to adduce no other feature in Jesus as a pattern than the fact of his having become man. As his explicit declarations in 2 Cor. 5 16 1 Cor. 1 23 Gal. 3 1 tell us, he preached extremely little to his congregations about the earthly life of Jesus. The whole attribution to Paul of the gospel of Lk., which, according to Origen, the apostle even refers to in Rom. 2 16 as 'my Gospel' (§ 146), is only an expedient which the church fathers adopted to enable them to assign a quasi-apostolic origin to the work of one who was not himself an apostle.

For this reason suspicion attaches also to the statement that the gospel of Mk. rested upon communications of Peter (§ 148), especially as it is accompanied with an elaborate apology for Mark's undertaking.

The statements of the church fathers, moreover, are not in the least consistent among themselves. According to Irenaeus, Matthew wrote his gospel while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome — thus somewhere in the sixties, — while according to a tradition in Eusebius (*HE* iii. 24 6) he wrote it before his departure from Palestine into foreign parts, that is to say, much earlier. Again, according to Irenaeus, Mark wrote after the death of Peter and Paul, while according to Clement of Alexandria, Peter lived to see the completion of Mark's gospel. Nay, more, — the two statements as to Peter's attitude to this gospel which Eusebius (*HE* ii. 15 2 and vi. 14 6 *f.*) takes from Clement (§ 80) are in conflict with each other, quite apart from the question whether Clement did not also regard the Gospels that had genealogies as older than those which had not. In short, all that can be said to be certain is this, that it is vain to look to the church fathers for trustworthy information on the subject of the origin of the gospels.

1 We firmly hold that by this name he means to designate himself as the Messiah—and that too even in Mk. 2 10 28, although these are the two places in which there is most justification for the attempt to make it mean 'man' in general. Cp § 130 *e*; also SON OF MAN.

1 Βίβλος γενέσεως in Mt. 1 1 could, at a subsequent date, be regarded as such after the analogy of Gen. 2 4; after that of Gen. 5 1 it originally referred only to the genealogy of Jesus, Mt. 1 1-17.

According to Papias (see § 65), and also his authority, the second gospel was written by MARK (*q.v.*). Mark is known to us from Acts 12 12 13 5. There is also an inclination to identify him with the young man who left his garment in the hands of his pursuers in the garden of Gethsemane (**Mk.** 14 51 *f.*). This conjecture. however, has no value, of course, in the wdy of proof either that the young man was Mark, or that he was the author of the second gospel; he need only be one of the chief vouchers for its contents. In what Papias says the important point is not so much the statement that Mark wrote the gospel as the further statement that Peter supplied its contents orally. If the student interprets the narratives of the feeding of the five thousand and of the four thousand, of the stilling of the storm, of the walking upon the water, of the withering of the fig-tree, and so forth, in the manner that has been indicated in preceding sections of this article (§§ 137, 140-143), then the supposition that the gospel is essentially a repetition of oral communications by Peter, will at once fall to the ground. Rut even apart from this, the compass of the entire work is far too short.

148. Author of Mk.

It is hardly felicitous to say in reply to this that Mk. repeatsso few of the words of Jesus because he was aware that the others were already known through the logia (§ 125*g*). Why, in that case, then, does he fill some seven of his sixteen chapters with these? **As** for what Mk. tells us ahout Peter personally, it certainly is true that the statements concerning him in which Mt. is richer than Mk. (his walking upon the water, 14 28-33; the promise given him, 16 17-19; the stater in the fish's mouth, **17** 24-27) can make no claim to historicity. But the statements in which, *e.g.*, Wernle (p. 197) recognises the leading position of Peter (he finds it necessary to add also 'and of the sons of Zehedee'), are found with trifling exceptions in Mt. and Lk. also. Only Mk. **136 13**3 **16**7 are wanting in both the others; Mk. **3** 76 537 is wanting also in Mt. only, and Mk. 1433**37** in Lk. only. Peter's leading position in the gospel, in any case corresponds to the actuality. But precisely for this reason the statements regarding it are all the less conclusively shown to be derived from Peter personally.

Whether it was original Mk. that arose in the manner described by Papias will be differently judged according **to** the various opinions that are held regarding that writing. No answer to a question of this sort, however, can be of any real service to gospel criticism, for we no longer possess original Mk. Should Mark have written in Aramaic then he cannot be held to have been the author of canonical Mk., which is certainly not a translation (see § 130 *b*), nor yet, in view of the LXX quotations which have passed over into all three gospels; can he be held to have been the author of original Mk., but only to have been the author of the source from which the last-named writer drew.

149. Author of Mt. and the logia.

The employment of various sources (amongst others, of Mk., or original Mk.), the characteristic difference of the quotations from the LXX and the original (§ 130 *a*), the indefiniteness of the determinations of time and place (§§ 132, 135), the incredibilities of the contents (§§ **108,** 137), the introduction of later conditions (§ 136), as also the artificial arrangement (§ 133 *a*), and so forth, have long since led to the conclusion that for the authorship of the First Gospel the apostle Matthew must be given up.

All the more strenuously is the effort made to preserve for Matthew the anthorship of the logia. From the contents it is clear that one must assign to the logia many things which no ear-witness can have heard from the mouth of Jesus. This is the case even if only discourses (for examples, see § **136** and also § **150**) are sought in the logia, or if it is assumed that the legalistic and Jewish-particularistic passages were first introduced in the course of a revision (§ 129 *e*). If one derives most of the narratives also from the logia, the considerations against their apostolic origin already adduced in § **148** became still more cogent. That the apostle Matthew should liave been the author of a still older writing is not excluded. On this supposition the statement of Papias—that he wrote in Aramaic—becomes also possible, which cannot be said of the logia according to § 130 *a*. Rut there remains this difficulty, that according to the prologue of Lk. no eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus took pen in hand—none at least appear to have produced any writing which Lk. would have called a 'narrative' (διήγησις) (§ 153, n. 2).

150. Date of logia.

In Mt. 5 21 *f.* the Jewish judicial procedure is still presupposed; in 5 23 *f.* the sacrificial system; and in 535 Jerusalem is referred to as still a city while in Jas. 5 12 the swearing by Jerusalem is significantly omitted; it was certainly no longer in existence then. While it is not practicable to prove by means of these passages that Mt. was composed before **70 A.D.** (see § 151), they strongly tend to establish that earlier date for the logia.

Mt. **23 35** is in the highest degree remarkable. Zachariah the son of Berechiah is the well-known prophet of the OT, who did not suffer martyrdom. Hut, according to 2 Ch. 24 20 *f.*, Zechariah the son of Jehoiada did so suffer. This was about 750 B.C., so that he certainly cannot be called the last martyr, and least of all can he be *so* called merely because Chronicles is the last book in the OT. From Josephus (*BJ* iv. 5 4, § 343) we learn that in the year 68 A.D. Zechariah the son of Baruch (Niese: βαρεις, βαρουχου, βαρισκαιου) was put to death ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ. The conjecture is a very obvious one that the author had this event in his mind. If it be correct, the date of composition will have to be placed considerably later than 68 **A.D.**, as the writer could not, very shortly after this event, easily have confounded this Zechariah with some other who had lived before, or in, the time of Jesus. It must not he overlooked, however, that according to ∥ Lk. 11 49-51 the source of this narrative is the *Sophia* of God, that is to say, according to the most probable conjecture, **a** hook distinct from the logia which either bore on its title the words 'Wisdom of God' or introduced the Wisdom of God as speaking. It is doubtful therefore whether the passage is to be assigned to the logia.

151. Date of canonical Mt.

For the earliest instance in which a passage **is** quoted which now is to be found in our canonical Mt. (Epistle of Barnabas) see § **89.** It is not permissible to infer a date earlier than **70 A.D.** either from the 'straightway' (εὐθέως) which Mt. 24 29 has retained from the 'little Apocalypse' (see §§ 111, **1246**) or from the other indicia adduced in § 150. In Mt. 227 the. destruction of Jerusalem is clearly presupposed as already past (see § 112 *b*). The church-conditions also, as well as the postponement of the parusia (see §§ **136,** 112 *e*), point to a later date. It is not practicable to separate these passages as later interpolations, and thus gain for the Gospel as a whole the earlier date. They are much too numerous, and many of them—as, for example, precisely 22 6 *f.*—much too closely implicated with a tendency which pervades the entire work (§ 112 *ab*). On the other hand, it is quite open to us to regard some of them as interpolations: for example, 16 17-19, or the baptismal formula 28 19, or the appearance of Jesus to the women 28 9 *f.*, or also chaps. 1 *f.* Substantially, these are the leading passages on account of which many are disposed to bring down the date of the entire gospel as late as to **130 A.D.** The fact that it was used, as well as **Mk.** and Lk., by the author of the Fourth Gospel would not forbid this late date (see JOHN, SON OF **ZEBEDEE**, §§ 49-52). Probably, however, its main contents must have been in existence at an earlier period if they were known to Lk. (§§ **127,** 153), and even the most of chaps. 1 *f.* is presupposed to have been in existence if it can be shown that in **119 A.D.** a final addition was introduced into it. This has been suggested as regards the story of the Magi: a Syriac writing, ascribed to Eusebius of Cæsarea, which was published by William Wright in the *Journal of* ***Sacred Literature,*** **1866,** pp. 117 *ff.* and discussed by Nestle[1] and Hilgenfeld in *ZWT*, '93, 1, pp. 435-438, and '95, pp. 447-451, makes the statement, which can hardly have been invented, that this narrative, committed to writing in the interior of Persia, was in

[1] The heading of the whole tractate is, according to Nestle, ***Betreffend den Stern: zeigend, wie und durch was die Magier den Stern erkannten und dass Joseph Maria nicht als sein Weib nahm.***

119 A.D., during the episcopate of Xystus of Rome, made search for, discovered, andwritten in the languageof those who were interested in it (that is to say, in Greek).

As regards canonical Mk. we possess a datum for fixing its date only if we assume it to have been the book that was used by Mt. and Lk. If we find ourselves unable to do this it is open to us to suppose that it may have received its final form later than Mt. and Lk. It is not, however, justifiable to find a proof of this in the fact that in 1 1 it designates the public appearance of the Baptist as the beginning of the gospel of Jesus. Some scholars have detected here a silent polemic against those gospels which begin with the narratives relating to the nativity of Jesus. The significant avoidanceof the 'straightway' (εὐθέως) of Mt. 24 29 in Mk. 13 24 (§ 113) certainly points clearly to the period after the destruction of Jerusalem. On Mk. 16 9-20, see § 138 *g*.

152. Date of canonical Mk.

If Luke, the companion of Paul, cannot have been the author of Acts (see ACTS, §§ 9 15), neither can he have been the author of the Third Gospel. That both works are from the same pen may be regarded as quite certain.

153. Author and date of Lk.

The weightiest evidences of the employment of Josephus by Lk. are seen in Acts (see ACTS, § 16); yet tolerably many are found in the gospel also. In that case the year 100 A.D. will be the superior, and somewhere about 110 A.D. the inferior, limit of the date of its composition, since there must have been a considerable interval between the production of the gospel and that of Acts. The very precise description of the destruction of Jerusalem in Lk. 19 43 *f.* 21 11 20-24 is in full accord with history and, in language, with Josephus. It cannot exactly be pronounced absolutely impossible that it should nevertheless have been written before 70 A.D., for a lively imagination acquainted with the localities could hardly have presented them very differently. Only, the prediction of the 'little Apocalypse' (§ 124 *b*) which is still rightly interpreted in Mt. and Mk. in accordance with Daniel (see DANIEL, ii.) as referring to the setting up of a foreign image in the temple has been made by Lk., wrongly yet very skilfully, in accordance with the expression ἐρήμωσις,[1] to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem (21 20). Upon this event, he says, will follow (*v.* 24) the times of the Gentiles (§ 111) during which Jerusalem is to be trodden under foot. Not till after these times are the signs in heaven to appear and the Son of Man to come with clouds (*vv.* 25-27), and not till this point does he promise to the followers of Christ their redemption and the coming of the Kingdom of God (*vv.* 28 31). Had Lk. written before the destruction of Jerusalem we might have expected him to have thought of this event as connected with the second coming of Jesus. That instead of this he should represent the judgment day (*v.* 22) and the beginning of the kingdom of God as being separated by so long an interval is, ascomparedwith all prophecyand apocalyptic, something quite new and admits of only one explanation —that the destruction of Jerusalem could at the time of writing be no longer regarded as a recent event.

In his prologue Lk. distinguishes himself not only from the eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus but also from the many who before him had written comprehensive gospels,[2] and from the number of these, he again seems to exclude the eye-witnesses.

Lk. makes a quite clear division: the eye-witnesses have handed down (παρέδοσαν), and that by word of mouth, otherwise no purpose would have been served by adding to 'eye-witnesses' (αὐτόπται) the further predicate 'ministers of the word' (ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου); others have composed gospel writings; and Lk. seeks to excel these last by accurate research (or by taking up the narrative from an earlier point) and by correct arrangement. That he himself had direct intercourse with eye-witnesses is therefore not very probable, and it is not at all expressed by the word (1 2), 'they delivered them unto *us* which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word,' for immediately before he speaks of 'the things which have been fulfilled among us,' a phrase by which he obviously cannot mean himself and his contemporaries, hut only Christendom generally; similarly therefore in *v.* 2. Cp §§ 37 64.

The discussion of the dates of the gospel yields, it will be seen, but few definite results. We have deliberately refrained from making use of certain arguments which could be more or less easily applied otherwise. All the more would we emphasise the proposition, that our uncertainty on the chronological question by no means carries with it any uncertainty in the judgment we are to form of the gospels themselves. The chronological question is in this instance a very subordinate one. Indeed, even if our gospels could be shown to have been written from 50 A.D. onwards, or even earlier, we should not be under any necessity to withdraw our conclusions as to their contents; we should, on the contrary, only have to say that the indubitable transformation in the original tradition had taken place much more rapidly than one might have been ready to suppose. The credibility of the gospel history cannot be established by an earlier dating of the gospels themselves in any higher degree than that in which it has already been shown to exist, especially as we know that even in the lifetime of Jesus miracles of every sort were attributed to him in the most confident manner. But as the transformation has departed so far from the genuine tradition, it is only in the interest of a better understanding and of a more reasonable appreciation of the process that one should claim for its working out a considerable period of time.

154. Conclusion.

By way of appendix a few words must be said here on the question, postponed from APOCRYPHA (§ 26, 1) to this place, as to whether the gospel of the Hebrews is to be reckoned among the sources of the synoptics. According to the church fathers this gospel was the Hebrew or Aramaic form of canonical Mt. If this were correct, it would not have been necessary for Jerome to make a separate translation of it. According to Nicholson (*The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, '79) it was a later Hebrew edition of the gospel of Mt., issued after the Greek had already been published by Matthew himself. Since Lessing's time (§ 117) it has often been regarded—especially in the Tiibingen school —as one of the sources, or even as the most ancient, or even as the only, source of our synoptics. Handmann, again (*Hebräer-evangelium* in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 5 3, '88), identifies it with the logia. That it may have been, in some older form, one of the sources of the Synoptics cannot be contradicted; but neither can it be proved, for we no longer possess the older form. Among the fragments preserved to us there are only a few which are not open to challenge on the score of their late date. Many on the other hand are unquestionably late legends; *e.g.*, James, the brother of Jesus, swore at the last supper (where according to our evangelists he cannot even have been present) to eat nothing till he should have beheld Jesus after his resurrection; Jesus accordingly appeared in the first instance to him, brought bread, broke it, and gave it to him. Or, again, at the death of Jesus the superliminare or lintel of the temple was broken. Or, Jesus is reported to have said: 'even

155. The gospel of the Hebrews.

1 שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם in Dan. 12 11 (cp 9 27 11 31) is simply a veiled expression for בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם = 'Lord of heaven'—*i.e.*, Zeus, whose altar (or statue?) was erected upon the altar of burnt-offering in December 168 B.C. (1 Macc. 1 54 59). The Syriac Bible actually gives בעל שמין in 2 Macc. 6 2 in connection with this event as a rendering of the Greek word Ζευς. Thus Daniel had not desolation in his mind in the least. See ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION. Further information as to similar veiled designations of heathen deities is given in Winer(8), §5, n. 56.

2 The verb ἀνατάξασθαι (EV 'set forth in order') denotes (both in itself, and because, by the words 'also to me' [κἀμοί], Lk. applies it also to his own performance) the composition of a comprehensive work in accordance with literary aims. Διήγησις (AV 'declaration,' RV 'narrative') accordingly must also mean this, and not a mere statement about a particular occurrence, without pretension to literary art (cp §§ 124 *a* 129 *d*).

now has my mother, the Holy Spirit, seized me by one of my hairs and borne me to the great mountain Tabor' : and more of the like.

It is almost universally conceded that the fragments of the so-called gospel of the Ebionites can claim antiquity in a much less degree still than can the gospel of the Hebrews to which it is related.

(n) ***Other uncanonical gospel-fragments.***—The so-called logia of Jesus found at Oxyrhynchus, first published by Grenfell and Hunt.

156. Other uncanonical gospel fragments.

These contain, besides an (almost) verbatim repetition of Lk. 6 42, sentences which go far beyond the Johannine theology, and have absolutely nothing analogous to them in the canonical gospels. It would be a great error to see in them a portion of the logia of Mt. But the hypothesis also, that they are excerpts from the gospel of the Egyptians, has its strongest support only in the fact that according to accounts this gospel itself was of an equally mixed character. Moreover the identification cannot he made out, were it only for this realon—that we cannot know whether these seven or eight sayings were excerpted wholly from one hook, or whether they were compiled from a variety of sources. For, in fact, the principle on which such a heterogeneous variety of sayings has been brought together is quite obscure to us (cp § 86).

(6) Jacoby (*Ein neues Evangelienfragment*, 1900) has published a Coptic fragment which, amongst other things, touches upon the scene in Gethsemane.

In character this is the same mixture of Synoptic and Johannine or even supra-Jobannine ideas as has been observed in the Oxyrhynchus logia. Its derivation from the gospel of the Egyptians is just as questionable as is that of those logia. If then we read in it—what, according to the connection, it can hardly he doubted, notwithstanding the fragmentary character of the piece, we ought to read—that Jesus used the words 'The spirit is willing, hut the flesh is weak,' with reference' to himself and not with reference to the disciples, and if we should feel inclined to regard this as the more original application,[1] we must not do so merely on account of the source in which we find it.

(*c*) The case is quite similar with the gospel according to Peter (see PETER).

(*d*) The fragment, first published by Bickell in the *Ztschr. f. Kath.* ***Theol.***, 1885, pp. 498-504, which has been dealt with by (amongst others) Harnack (*Texte u. Untersuch.* **54, pp.** 481-497) and Resch (*ib.* 10 2 ; pp. 28-34, 322-327).

This fragment contains in a somewhat divergent form the prediction of Jesus that all his disciples would he offended in him and that Peter would deny him, mentioning also that the cock crowed twice ; it agrees most strongly with Mk. 14 26-30 but also with Mt. 26 31 by the words 'in this night,' since these words in Mk. do not occur in *v.* 27 hut only in *v.* 30. That we have here before us a pre-canonical form of the text cannot be proved with certainty from the divergences in individual words. A stronger argument is supplied hy the fact that in the present fragment *v.* 28 of Mk. (=*v.* 32 of Mt.) is wanting—a verse which has long been recognised as disturbing the connection : 'After I am risen again I will go before you into Galilee.' At the same time, we must not forget that it may have been omitted precisely for this reason, if we are dealing with a free excerpt. Neither does this fragment, then, supply us with an irrefragable proof for the existence of written sources for our gospels.

(e) The so-called ***dicta Jesu agrapha***, that is to say, sayings of his which are not met with in the gospels, have been collected with great care by Kesch in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 54, '89.

Resch's judgment of these, his readiness to recognise genuine sayings of Jesus preserved even in the latest church fathers, and his employment of these for his Hebrew original gospel (§ 117) have, however, met with very just criticism in the same series (142) at the hands of Ropes (*Die Sprüche Jesu, die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind*, '96). At the same time Ropes himself in accepting so many as fourteen sayings as probably genuine has perhaps gone too far. A somewhat richer selection, but without pronouncing any judgment as to their genuineness, is given by Nestle in *Novi Testamenti supplementum*, '96, pp. 89-92, where, besides a collation of Codex D, the extra-canonical fragments as a whole will he found very conveniently brought together.

Literature.—A. In German. —For facility of reference we group the present selection from the German literature on the Synoptical problem partly according to the methods they employ, and partly according to the views they maintain.

157. Literature.

i. Mainly tendency-criticism.—(a) Mt., Lk., Mk. : Baur, *Krit. Unters. über die kanon. Evang.*, '47; *Marcusevangelium*, '51. Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, i. 44-103 ('67) ; *Aus dem Urchristentum*, i. 28-45, 221-226 ('78).

(6) Mt., Mk., Lk. : Hilgenfeld, *Marcusevangelium*, '50 ; *Die Evangelien*, '54 ; *ZWT* from '58 onwards. Holsten, *Die drei ursprünglichen Evangelien*, '83 ; *Die synopt. Evangelien*, '85 ; cp § 125*a*.

(*c*) Mk., Lk., Mt. : Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der evang. Gesch. der Synoptiker*, '41 *f.*; *Kritik der Evangelien*, '50-'52. Volkmar, *Die Evangelien oder Marcus und die Synopsis*, '70; *Marcus und die Synopse der Evangelien*, '76 ; *Jesus Nazarenus*, '82. Schulze, *Evangelientafel*, '61, [2] '86.

ii. Mainly, or entirely, literary criticism.—(a) Mk., Lk., Mt. : Wilke, *der Urevangelist*, '38. Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, '87.

(6) Schleiermacher, *Über die Schriften des Lukas*, '17 ; *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1832, pp. 735-768 (=*Werke zur Theologie*, ii. 1-220, 361-392) ; cp §§ 120, 124 *a*.

(*c*) Theory of two sources (Mk. and the logia): Weisse, *Evangel. Gesch.*, '38 ; *Evangelienfrage*, '56 (but see § 125 *b*). Wernle, *Die synopt. Frage*, '99.

(*d*) Original gospel of Philip, with the logia: Ewald, *Die 3 ersten Evangelien*, '50, [2] '71 ; *JBW*, 1848-'65.

(e) Original Mk. with the logia: Holtzmann, *Die synopt. Evangelien*, '63 ; *JPT*, 1878, pp. 145-188, 328-382, 533-568 ; *Theol. Jahresbericht*, from '81. Cp § 125*c f.* Weizsäcker, *Unters. über die evangel. Gesch.*, '64 ; *Das apostol. Zeitalter*, '86, [2] '92. Johannes Weiss, *St. u. Kr.*, 1890, pp. 555-569 ('Beelzebulrede') ; 1891, pp. 289-321 ('Parabelrede') ; 1892, pp. 246-270 ('Wiederkunftsrede') ; in Meyer's *Komm. zu (Mk. und) Lk.*, [8] '92. Beyschlag, *St. u. Kr.*, 1881, pp. 565-636 ; 1883, 594-602 ; cp § 118. . Feine, *JPT*, '85-'88 ; *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lk.*, '91.

(*f*) Apostolic source=the logia : Bernhard Weiss, *St. u. Kr.*, 1861, pp. 29-100, 646-713 ; 1883, 571-594 ; *JDT*, 1864, pp. 49-140 ; 1865, 319-376. *JPT*, 1878, pp. 569-592 ; *Marcusevangelium*, '72 ; *Matthäusevangelium*, '76 ; in Meyer's *Komm. zu Mt.*, [7] '83, [9] '98 ; *zu Mk. und Lk.*, [7] '85, [8] (Mk. only), '92. Titius in *Theol. Stud. für Bernh. Weiss*, 284-331 ('97); *also* separately under the title, *Das Verhältniss der Herrenworte im Marcusevangelium zu den Logia des Matthäus.* Cp above, §§ 122, 125 *d*, 126 *c*.

(g) Theory of two sources with borrowing from Mt. by Lk. (§ 127) : Simon?, *Hat der dritte Evangelist den kanonischen Mt. benutzt?*, 80 ; Stockmeyer, 'Quellen des Lk.-Evang.' in *Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz*, 1884, pp. 117-149 ; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i., '86. Soltau, *Eine Lücke der synopt. Forschung*, '99 ; *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissensch.*, 1900, 219-248. Combined with hypothesis of an original Mk.: Jacohsen, *Unters. über die synopt. Evangelien*, '83; *ZWT*, 1886, pp. 152-179 ; 1888, pp. 129-158.

(*h*) More complicated hypotheses (§ 129 *c*) : Wittichen, *JDT*, 1866, pp. 427-482 ; *ZWT*, 1873, pp. 499-522 ; *JPT*, 1879, pp. 165-182 ; 1881, pp. 366-375, 713-720 ; 1891, pp. 481-519 ; *Leben Jesu*, '76. Scholten, *Het oudste evangelie*, '68 (Germ. transl., '69 : *das älteste Evangelium*); *Het paulinisch evangelie*, '70 ; *Is de derde evangelist de schrijver van het boek der handelingen*, '73 (German translation of both, '80 ; under title *das paulinische Evangelium).*

B. In English.—It may be well to notice that the efforts of recent English students have been mainly devoted to collecting and arranging the material for the solution of the critical problems under consideration, as a preliminary to the critical hypotheses which may, unforced, suggest themselves in the future.

(a) Books helpful to students :—Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* ('80), and Ahbott and Rushbrooke's *Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels* ('84); A. Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels* ('96) and *St. Luke's Gospel* ('00) ; Sir J. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ* ('99) ; F. H. Woods in *Studia Biblica*, 2 59 *ff.* ('90).

(*β*) Special treatises, etc. :—A. Wright, *The Composition of the Gospels* ('90), and *Some New Testament Problems* ('98) ; Badham, *The Formation of the Gospels* ('92, ed. 2) ; *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew ('97); E.* A. Abbott, *Clue : A Guide to Hebrew Scripture* (1900) and *The Corrections of Mark* (1900).

(γ) Important articles :—E. A. Abbott, art. 'Gospels' in *Ency. Brit.* [9] '79 ; W. Sanday in *Expositor* for '91, '92, '93, and art. 'Gospels' in Smith's *DB* [2], '93 ; V. H. Stanton, art. 'Gospels' in Hastings' *DB*, vol. 2, '99 ; Ll. J. M. Behb, art. 'Luke,' *ibid.* 1900 ; S. D. F. Salmond, art. 'Mark,' *ibid.* 1900 ; J. V. Bartlett, art. 'Matthew.' *ibid.* 1000. W. C. Allen in *Exp. T*, '99 and 1900 (vol. 11).

(δ) The following hooks hear upon the subject :—Westcott *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* ('60 ; [8] '94) ; Salmon, *Introd. to NT* ('85) ; Plummer, *Commentary on St. Luke* ('96).

P. W. S.

[1] It is so applied in the Roman Missal and Breviary (see Office for Palm Sunday).

SOME OF THE **PASSAGES** REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING ARTICLE.

The numbers to the right of the Gospel citations indicate the section (or footnote) and column respectively.

GOTHOLIAS (γοθολιου [BA], -ονιου [L]), 1 Esd. 8 33 = Ezra 8 7, ATHALIAH, 3.

GOTHONIEL (γοθονιηλ [Bℵ^{c.a} A], γοθονιου [ℵ*]), the father of CHABRIS (*q.v.*), Judith 6 15. The name is identical with OTHNIEL (עָתְנִיאֵל).

GOURD (קִיקָיוֹן; κολοκυνθα [BAQ^a]; Jon. 4 6, -νθη [AQ* *bis*]; 7, -νταν [A]; 9, -νθη [AQ^a]; 10, -νθης [AQ^a]†), rather, as AV^{mg.} 'palm-crist,' RV^{mg.} 'Palma Christi'—*i.e.* the castor-oil tree, *Ricinus communis*, L.

The rendering 'gourd' is that of 𝔊 and Pesh.; Sym. and Vg. render 'ivy'; but Jerome's remarks in his commentary (quoted Ges. *Thes.* 1214) point to the *ricinus*. Aq. and Theod. transliterate.

The Hebrew word (*ḳīḳāyōn*) seems to be identical with, or derived from *κίκι*, which, according to Herod. 2 94 Plin. 15 7, was the Egyptian name of the castor-oil plant, the *κροτών* or *κρότων* of the Greeks. This plant, which 'in France, Germany, and the south of England, is an annual herb of noble foliage, growing to a height of 4 or 5 feet,' becomes 'in the Azores, and the warmer Mediterranean countries, as Algeria, Egypt, Greece, and the Riviera, . . . a small tree, 10 to 15 feet high' (Flück. and Hanb.[(2)] 567). Its rapid growth (de C. *Orig.* 341) and the effective shade given by its large leaves, support its identification with the *Ḳīḳāyōn*.

On the other hand, in favour of the rendering 'gourd' or the like, a statement of Kazwini (2 309) may be noted (see also JONAH, BOOK OF, § 5).

Speaking of Mōṣul, Ḳazwini describes the custom of making tents of reeds (on the shores of the Tigris), in which the inhabitants pass the summer nights, when the water is becoming low. As soon as the earth, where the tents are, has become dry enough, they sow gourds, which quickly spring up and climb round the tents (G. Jacob, *Altarabische Parallelen*, 17 *f.*).

EV^{mg.} proposes 'gourds' for פְּקָעִים in 1 K. 6 18 (BL om.; *ἐπαναστάσεις* [A]); it should also stand for פ׳ in 7 24† (*ὑποστηρίγματα* [BAL], om. in clause *b*) (EV 'knops,' in the former verse they have mg. 'gourds'). The word is commonly explained 'gourd-shaped ornaments'; but though the form of the colocynth (see next article) would suggest a graceful decoration, there is too much uncertainty about the text (see Klo.) to permit us to acquiesce in this explanation. Cp TEMPLE and SEA (BRAZEN). N. M.

GOURDS, WILD (פַּקֻּעֹת שָׂדֶה; τολυπη αγρια [BL]; om. αγρια[1] [A]), 2 K. 4 39†. EV agrees with the ancient versions and tradition. The kindred Ar. *fuḳḳaʿ* denotes the 'colocynth'[2] (Dozy); and although the etymological connection with the root פקע, which has the sense of splitting or bursting, is not quite clear, it may be explained by the tendency of the ripe fruit to split when touched, or even of its own accord (see below).[3]

The fruit intended may be (1) the 'colocynth' or 'bitter apple'; the fruit of *Citrullus Colocynthis*, Schrad., 'a slender scabrous plant with a perennial root, native of warm and dry regions in the Old World, over which it has an extensive area.' Its fruit is 'a gourd of the size and shape of an orange, having a smooth, marbled-green surface.' The pulp of which it consists 'is nearly inodorous, but has an intensely bitter taste' (Flück. and Hanb.[(2)] 295). (2) The 'squirting cucumber,' yielded by *Ecballium elaterium*, A. Rich, a plant which is common throughout the Mediterranean region and was known to the ancients as the 'wild cucumber.'[4] It has a peculiarity which might be connected with the etymology of *paḳḳūʿāh*:—'the fruit when ripe separates suddenly from the stalk, and at the same moment the seeds and juice are forcibly expelled from the aperture left by the detached peduncle.' Tristram (Smith's *DB*[(2)], *s.v.*; *NHB*, 451) thinks that the details in 2 K. 4 39 point clearly to the colocynth. 'The squirting cucumber is not so bitter, nor does it bear the same resemblance to the good fruit.' It is also common everywhere and should have been at once recognised. One who came to Gilgal from another part, however, might mistake the colocynth for the wholesome globe cucumber, because it only grows on barren sands like those near Gilgal and round the Dead Sea. But was the Gilgal of the narrative the famous one near Jericho? Buhl thinks otherwise (see GILGAL, § 4).

At any rate, the fact that the plant on which the *paḳḳūʿōth* grew is described as a 'wild vine' is against the identification with (3) *Momordica elaterium*, which is 'a coarse, hispid, fleshy, decumbent plant without tendrils' (Flück. and Hanb.[(2)] 292).

Both (1) and (2) are extremely bitter; and the fact that the taste instantly suggested poison (2 K. 4 40) is another example of the close association of the ideas of bitterness and poison in the Hebrew mind (cp GALL). N. M.

[1] The *ἀγρίαν* is apparently a hexaplaric addition (see Field, *ad loc.*). Sym. had *βοτάνην ἀγρίαν*, and 'another' translator *κολοκυνθίδας*; so Vg. *colocynthidas agri*.

[2] Its more ordinary meaning, however, is 'mushrooms.'

[3] Others explain it by reference to medicinal effects. So Riehm, *HWB*[(2)].

[4] A kindred species was named by Linnæus *Cucumis prophetarum*.

GOVERNMENT

1. Israel's nomadic origin. Until the institution of the monarchy the B'ne Israel represented the stage of political organisation that we are wont to call tribal. This type of constitution is not peculiar to Israel. It is to be found amongst the most diverse peoples at a certain stage of civilisation. The OT records, however, belong for the most part to a much later age, and supply us only with an imperfect and even (in many points) misleading picture of the real nature of the old tribal life. Hence in trying to ascertain what the actual conditions really were, we are compelled to turn to what we know of such life amongst other peoples, especially the pre-Islamic Arabs and the modern Bedouins. We must suppose that similar conditions at one time prevailed amongst the Hebrews. The justification of this inference lies in the essential identity of the external conditions that called forth the tribal, organisation amongst the ancient Hebrews and Arabs and have held the Bedouins to this very day at this stage of political development, namely, the nomadic life of the steppes.

2. Theory of genealogists. Hebrew, like Arabic tradition, in the form it has reached us, has reduced the mutual relations of the tribes to a fixed system in genealogical form. Such systems rest on the theory, common to the Hebrews and the Arabs, that the tribe is an expanded family. See GENEALOGIES i., § 2.

This conception has a certain amount of foundation in fact. The bond that holds together the family or the clan is not any form of political organisation; it is the feeling of consanguinity. For the ancient Semite, blood-relationship was the only basis on which a stable society and absolutely binding duties could rest.

This appears most clearly in the fact that alliances with strangers, and obligations towards them, did not acquire inviolability till the lacking blood-relationship had been artificially produced (see KINSHIP, § 1).

3. Early idea of kinship. We must not, however, follow the old genealogists and at once infer from this feeling of blood-relationship, actual descent from a common ancestor. Not to speak of the numerous traces which indicate that amongst the Hebrews, as amongst the Arabs, descent was in the earliest times reckoned not from the father but from the mother (matriarchate; see KINSHIP, § 4), it is clear enough that the feeling of community of blood was not quite the same thing with the ancient Semites as sense of relationship is with us. The latter varies according to the degree of nearness; in the case of the Semite, on the other

hand, community of blood knew, theoretically *at* least, no such thing as degree. A man who belonged to a given kindred group was connected equally with all its members, irrespective of degree of relationship (see KINSHIP, § 2). Moreover, this blood-kinship can be artificially brought about by blood-covenant between persons belonging originally to alien groups.

This representation must not, however, be pressed too far. In practice, at least in historical times, it is the narrower circle of closer kindred that has been most intimately bound together by unity of blood.

Within the larger tribes the several families and **clans** frequently constituted closely united groups, carrying on blood-feuds amongst each other—a proof how naturally the feeling of unity of blood became weaker in the larger groups. Robertson Smith cites cases (*Kin.* 159) that show how the feeling of kinship bound together families of alien stock. We may adduce also the line in the *Ḥamāsa* (**367**): 'Ally thyself with whom thou wilt in peace, yet know : In war must every man be foe who is not kin.' Among the Hebrews, moreover, the blood-feud, as we meet it in the OT, was confined to the limits of the family—*i.e.* the nearest relatives.

In this emergence of relationship by descent, indeed, Robertson Smith sees the decay of the ancient tribal system (***Kin.* 52,** 57, **160).** He regards it as the first appearance of a new principle, quite foreign to the original tribal organisation.

We must leave this an open question.. We cannot here enter into the problem how the Semitic families and clans were constituted in the earliest times before the various Semitic peoples separated from each other. It is indeed **a** question that in our opinion cannot yet be answered with certainty.

Although kinship by descent through the father played in historical times a great part, the records show that even then there were also other factors in the formation of the tribes. The Hebrew tribes, like the larger Arabian tribes, were not simple but composite, comprising several kindred groups.

4. Aggregation of families, etc.

These groups are commonly called in the OT ***mišpāḥōth*** (מִשְׁפָּחוֹת) 'clans,' though an older designation, which at a later time fell into disuse, seems to have been *ḥai* (חַי), the commonest term in Arabic. (Cp *Kin.* 39 *f.* ; Nöld. *ZDMG* **40 176**; 1 S. 18 **18** according to We. *TBS* p. iii, and Dr. *TBS* 119 ; 2 S. 23 13 ; **also** preserved according to Nöld., *l.c.*, in חַוּוֹת יָאִיר ; see HAVVOTH-JAIR.)

We must indeed admit the possibility with Nöldeke (*ZDMG* 40 158 ['86]), that in the case of these 'clans' the families that formed the nucleus were often really descended from a common ancestor whose name they bore. Even in this case, however, it remains true that the family did not grow simply by the natural process of marriage and birth.

It grew also by accession from without. Slaves were acquired ; freedmen remained as clients of the family of their master ; individual strangers, cut loose for some reason or other from their own clan, sought refuge in the family; poor and weak families attached themselves for the same reason to the more powerful. These **all** reckoned themselves **as** belonging to the family of their adoption and bore its name.

In order to understand this process one must realise how, amid the endless feuds of the desert, it was only the man or the family supported by a powerful group of kinsmen, ready to avenge an injury, that was safe. This insecurity also made necessary a certain amount of cohesion. The individual was no doubt at liberty in time of peace to sever himself from his clan; but as he went farther away from it his security proportionally diminished, unless he obtained admission as a sojourner in some other clan. Thus it is the dwelling together and roaming together, rather than the common descent, that is the characteristic feature of these 'kindred groups.' 'The Ḥai is the community of people that live and travel together' (Nold. *ZDMG* **40** 176 ; WRS *Kin.* **38**).

The same process is repeated in the formation of tribes. The instinct of self-preservation drives the clans into closer association. It is plain that here also local contiguity must have been an important factor in forming tribes ; clans that were in the habit of meeting on adjoining pasture lands and at common wells were by that very circumstance bound together by a certain community of interests (cp ISRAEL, § 8).

5. New tribes.

It is not the case, **as** is frequently supposed, that the Bedouin tribes roam at large over the entire Arabian wilderness . on the contrary, now, just **as** in ancient times, each one has its own definite territory with the pasture lands and wells belonging to it, and the proprietary rights of the tribe over such territory are jealously guarded against the encroachments of other tribes.

Many other causes contribute to the formation of a tribe, and produce a constantly shifting result ; new tribes arise, old ones disappear. Mutual jealousy and feuds, migrations, the disuniting influences of war, and other circumstances, may result in the separation of a clan from the main body: This almost necessarily happens as soon as a tribe has become very strong or extended itself over a wide area. Should a subordinate tribe in these circumstances succeed in asserting itself without becoming incorporated with a foreign tribe,—should it, for example, have grown by attaching other clans to itself,—it then, in course of time, forms a new tribe which assumes a new tribal name (after that of a prominent family, one of its leaders, or the like). Legend next comes in, and soon gives **it** a patriarch, the original bearer of the name, and the connection of the new tribe with the old also finds some expression here, the ***heros eponymus*** of the tribe being brought into some sort of relationship (usually that of a son) with the patriarch of the older tribe.

In other cases tribes have arisen out of alliances that originally were only of a temporary character. In the tribal history of Arabia, such federations (called *ḥilf*) play a prominent part (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* 1 6 *ff.*). Sections of a larger tribe enter into closer relations with one another or with outside clans ; whole tribes form treaties with one another, and sometimes even these federated groups in turn form connections with other similar groups. Such alliances do not arise out of considerations of kinship ; they are determined by the daily exigencies of offence and defence, and, in particular, by the necessity felt by the weaker of seeking support from the stronger, the instinct of groups, weak in themselves, to attain the strength that comes of union.

6. Alliances.

In many **cases** the alliances are formed for particular and definite ends, **as** for example for the sake of a common blood-revenge. Their formation is often inaugurated in **a** very solemn way,—as with sacrifices, oaths, and the special ceremonies connected with blood-brotherhood (see KINSHIP, § .). Sometimes they are quickly dissolved again after their immediate object has been gained ; but sometimes also the temporary becomes a permanent relationship ; the component parts become completely fused, and the group naturally takes a new collective name by which the old and proper names of the individual elements are often driven completely into the background. Thus the formation of new tribes is **a** process that is related on the other side to the seeming or real decay of old ones.

Clearly, the process is capable of taking place in a very great variety of ways, and it would be quite a mistake to try to explain them all in accordance with a single scheme. In the continual process of modification it cannot surprise us to find in Hebrew (as we do in Arabic) tradition that the most contradictory statements are made as to the relation of the clans to the great tribes.

7. Terminology.

Finally, it results from what has been said that the words 'tribe' and 'clan' (subordinate tribe) are used only relatively ; they express nothing as to size.

A tribe may, if numbers be regarded, fall below the strength of **a** clan, and yet at the same time, if it remains independent, it will continue to bear the designation of tribe. Thus in the OT Dan is at one time spoken of as **a** tribe (שֵׁבֶט, *šēbhet*) at another **as a** clan (מִשְׁפָּחָה, *mišpāḥāh*); cp, *e.g.*, Josh. 19 40 Judg. 18 11 *ff.* In Arabic phraseology the change in the use of the words **is** much more strongly marked (cp Nöld. *ZDMG* **40** 175 *ff.*); in Hebrew tradition the relative persistency with which either word is used is a result of the arbitrary limitation of the application of the word שֵׁבֶט to twelve (or thirteen)[1] tribes.

For a full comprehension of the tribal system it **must**

[1] *See* JOSEPH i., § 1 n.

further be observed that these social unities (family, clan, tribe) are at the same time religious unities. Not only among the Semites, but also among the Greeks and Romans, it was their common worship that marked the clans and held them together. This is not the place to discuss the many (still disputed) questions as to the nature and character of the tribal gods among the Semites. However these questions may be decided, there remains the fact that 'the original religious society was the kindred group, and all the duties of kinship were part of religion' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 47). Community of blood between man and man derives its absolutely uniting character precisely from this, that it is at the same time a real community with the divinity.

8. Religious meaning of tribes.

The tribal god stands in just the same relationship of blood-community with his worshippers, the members of the clan. Every sacrifice seals anew this mystic oneness of the members with each other and with the deity.

Where a person of alien blood is received by blood-covenant (see above, §§ 2, 6, and cp KINSHIP, § 1) into clan-fellowship, he is at the same time by the covenant-sacrifice received into blood-fellowship with the deity. Every violation of the duties of blood-community thus becomes a crime against the deity.[1]

The tribal constitution is excellently adapted for the steppe and for nomads. Its importance here lies in this, that, on the one hand, it allows the necessary freedom of movement to the individual and the smaller aggregates (family and kindred), whilst at the same time it creates a certain natural social unity which satisfies the demands and necessities of the nomadic life. In the wilderness no great tasks present themselves, such as demand the strength of a whole people. What the individual, and the group of kinsmen, require, in this state of universal war, is some protection for life; and this is guaranteed by belonging to a clan. For blood-revenge and mutual help in war are the most sacred duties of those who are united by community of blood. Conversely, the individual who has been expelled from his tribe is a wanderer and a vagabond so long as he has failed to gain admission to some other clan. It is this that gives its power to tribal custom and law, a power from which none can shake himself free. On the other hand the freedom of the individual and of the separate clans is tolerably unrestricted in times of peace. The organisation of the tribe exists only for purposes of war and of migration; it is only in these conditions that the sheikh has any say and any command; in times of peace his authority is purely a moral one: it reaches just so far as the influence he has been able to acquire by his personal qualities can carry it. He can only advise, not command. In a dispute he can, doubtless, give a decision; but he has no power to execute his judgment if those affected by it refuse to submit to it; he can neither declare war nor conclude peace, neither pitch the camp nor break it up, until the leading men of the tribe have been consulted.[2] In a tribe of those related by blood all the individual members are 'brothers,' and thus on a footing of equality; there is no such thing as permanent authority or subjection, for even the Roman *patria potestas* was unknown among the Semites. The freedom of individuals and of clans reaches so far that in time of peace they can separate from the main camp without any ceremony and go their own way, if only they have strength enough to give the feeling of security. It is in this, as Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.* 168) and Wellhausen (*IJG* 24 *f.*) have rightly pointed out, that the moral importance of the tribal constitution lies. In proportion as the feeling of kinship becomes weaker when set against the wider tribal bonds, in the enjoyment of such freedom, its place is taken by that public spirit which acts freely and is capable of making sacrifices for the public good. Fidelity to covenant obligations extending beyond the narrow bounds of kin is reckoned by the Arabs among the higher virtues.

9. Flexibility.

It is in the way we have indicated that we must picture to ourselves the condition of the Israelite tribes before their migration into Palestine. With them, too, family and clan were originally a community of worship, held together by common ancestral cults. Many of the old and famous sanctuaries appear to have owed their position as such to their being regarded as the burial places of heroes. There was a sacred stone at the tomb of Rachel (Gen. 35 20); Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried at Hebron (Gen. 25 9 35 29 50 13), Joseph in Shechem (Josh. 24 32 Dt. 11 30). Miriam at Kadesh-barnea (Nu. 20 1), and Deborah under the sacred tree of Bethel, Gen. 35 8 (see the several articles).

10. Ancestor-worship.

Within historical times we have one recorded instance of clan worship—none the less convincing that it is the only one—in 1 S. 20 5 *ff.*, where David excuses his absence from Saul's table at new moon on the ground that his clan are celebrating their yearly festival at this season—an excuse which is regarded as perfectly adequate. In like manner we may take clan worship to be presupposed in the question with which the Danites seek to induce Micah the Levite to accompany them; 'is it better for thee to be priest unto the house of one man, or to be priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel?' (Judg. 18 19).

11. Traces of clan cults.

How far the tribes, which afterwards constituted the people Israel, had already been welded into one before the settlement is a more difficult question. That they were firmly knit together as a people and felt themselves to be so, as is assumed in the OT tradition, is refuted by the simple fact that even after the immigration, during the so-called period of the Judges, such a people, with an ordered government and the like, did not exist (cp ISRAEL, § 7).

12. Uniting of tribes.

It is now universally recognised that the Judges were not rulers of the whole people but only heroes of particular tribes. Neither does the manner in which the immigration took place—gradually, by tribes and clans—show any evidence of a unified organisation.

All this by no means excludes, however, as Winckler (*GI* 1 14 *ff.* 21 *ff.*) and others suppose, every sort of connection between the immigrating tribes. On the contrary, the analogy of the Arab tribal history makes it in every way possible and probable that those tribes which had a point of contact and common meeting-place at the oasis of Kadesh (see KADESH, 1) may, on one occasion or another, have entered into a solemn covenant, after the manner referred to above as practised by the Arabs (cp COVENANT, § 4). The covenant-sacrifice in Ex. 24 1 *ff.* exactly recalls the ceremonies elsewhere practised on such occasions. The adoption, by the tribes, of a common worship, the service of Yahwk, gave to the alliance an enduring character still more than solemn oath and sacrifice had done; and the common name, B'ne Israel, assumed by all (perhaps after the name of the strongest of the contracting tribes), was the outward expression of the firmness of the bond. Such a confederation was loose enough to allow of the independent advance of the individual tribes and clans, in the process of the settlement as we now read of it in the sources before us; but just on this account it was firm or elastic enough to snrvive the various changes within the separate tribes and the reconstructions and readjustments of their mutual relations, which were the inevitable results of the settlement in the territory to the W. of Jordan (see below). What was necessary for its continuance under the altered conditions was not a rigid unity or a strong executive authority, but something quite different, namely, that the common worship of Yahwk, as the god of the B'ne Israel, should already have taken a hold that was deep enough. The Song of Deborah plainly shows that their common worship was

[1] On this sacral character of sacrifice, see *e.g.*, WRS *Rel. Sem.* 269 *ff.* 312 *ff.*, We. *Arab. Heid.* 119 *ff.*

[2] Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen*, 94 *f.*

the sole bond of unity in those times, but also that it was sufficiently strong ; the war of the confederate tribes is a war of Yahwè, and whoever fails to come to their help, in so doing has failed to come to the help of Yahwè (Judg. 5 23). Winckler (CZ 134) will have it that the reference to Yahwè in the song ought to be deleted as a later addition. Even so, however, the song bears witness to the subsistence of a confederation of Israelite tribes, to which even the tribes eastward of Jordan belonged. Such a confederation cannot possibly have arisen for the first time *after* the settlement, for the territories E. and W. of Jordan have no common interests of such a kind as would lead to a junction ; on the contrary, the maintenance of intimate relations was always a matter of difficulty, owing to the nature of the respective territories, as is shown by their history. On the other hand, no bond between the eastern and the western tribes, entered into before the settlement, could have survived all the vicissitudes of such a time otherwise than by the intervention of some factor which stood supreme above the divergent political interests. Such a factor was supplied by the common religion. Even, therefore, if their common worship of Yahwè did not manifestly appear in our present sources as being the uniting bond of the confederation, we should still have to postulate such a community of religion in order to explain the continued Subsistence of the Israelite tribal union. Hebrew tradition is, therefore, justified in regarding (as it does) the union of the tribes with one another, and their acceptance of the religion of Yahwè as coincident facts, and as both of them having been accomplished by the instrumentality of one and the same person—MOSES (*q.v.*).

13. Individual tribes.

What were the tribes that originally joined in this covenant can only be matter of conjecture. No historical validity can be claimed for the conventional statement of the genealogists, according to which Israel was, from the first, composed of twelve tribes, a number which never afterwards varied (cp GENEALOGIES i., § 5, ISRAEL, § 2). It is possible that, originally, different genealogies may have been kept at different sanctuaries ; the present form apparently being, as Stade has pointed out (*GI* 1 145 *f.*), the result of compromise. An ancient tribal list has come down to us in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5), where Ephraim, Machir, Zebulun, Issachar, Reuben, Gilead, Dan, Asher, Naphtali are enumerated. To this list may be added Simeon and Levi (see below). The Kenites also seem to have been an old tribe that had disappeared at an early period (Judg. 1 16 5 24 ; see KENITES) ; on the other hand, Judah (and Benjamin), also absent from the Song of Deborah, may have come into existence at a later date. It seems very doubtful whether, from the circumstance that Naphtali, Gad, and Asher figure in the genealogy as sons of concubines, we are entitled to infer that these tribes did not come into the confederation till after the sons of Leah and Benjamin (We. *IJG* 16). With regard to the tribe of Joseph a further conjecture may perhaps be permissible; if the view that the ark (see ARK, § 10) was originally the sanctuary of Joseph-Ephraim be correct, we may venture to infer that in the federation this tribe, from the first, had in some sense a leading part.

14. Their diverse fortunes.

The settlement in Palestine at once brought with it, as a necessary consequence, a series of far-reaching changes in the condition of the tribes.

Simeon and Levi disappeared from their number; it is probable that they became disintegrated in the course of the struggles of the occupation, and that the fragments that remained were received into other tribes (cp Gen. 49 5 *ff.*, and see SIMEON, LEVI, DINAH). The case of REUBEN seems to have been similar ; in ancient times one of the most powerful of all the tribes (cp Gen. 49 3 *f.*), it seems to have steadily lost ground. At an early date Eglon of Moab figures as ruler of the Reubenite territory (Judg. 3 12 *f.*); the list of towns in Nu. 32 34 *ff.* exhibits this same territory largely curtailed, and entirely surrounded by the tribe of Gad, and in the inscription of Mesha the Gadites alone are spoken of as having been masters in these regions.

On the other hand, new formations have to be noted. Perhaps it was only after the settlement that Joseph split up into the two branches of Ephraim and Manasseh (cp Josh. 17 14 *ff.*; but see also above). The case of Gilead may also have been similar (Judg. 5 17 2 5 *ff.*); its place is subsequently taken invariably by Gad and Eastern Manasseh. Judah, which has not yet come into prominence in the Song of Deborah, first became a great tribe in the reign of David—in all probability, as the result of the coalescence of several minor tribes in the south, such as the Calebites (Nu. 32 12 Josh. 14 6 14), the Kenites (1 S. 27 10; cp Nu. 10 29 *f.* Judg. 1 16), the Jerahmeelites (1 S. 27 10), and the absorption of the sedentary Canaanite population (Gen. 38). Doubtless, also, the transference of individual clans from one tribe to another, must have been of frequent occurrence. This has already been suggested above, with reference to the surviving portions of Simeon and Levi, and another example is presented by the Kenite clan of Jael, which figures in the Song of Deborah as an isolated fragment in the north (Judg. 5 24; cp 4 17). See the articles on the tribes and clans named.

15. Tribal displaced by local ties.

The most important consequence of the settlement, though it did not manifest itself so immediately, was the complete dissolution of the entire tribal constitution. The form under which the unions of tribes and clans were maintained—the fiction, namely, of a common descent—was kept up, it is true, for a long time, one might almost say, indeed, permanently ; but its contents and its significance underwent essential change ; once settled on the soil of Palestine the clans and tribes became metamorphosed into local communities. and territorial unions (cp ISRAEL, § 8).

It is an inevitable process wherever nomad tribes take to a settled life. Nöldeke adduces instructive examples from the Arabian tribal history (*ZDMG* 40 183); Caliph Omar found it needful to exhort his Arabs to hold by their genealogies and not to do like the peasants of 'Irāk, whose answer to the question, 'From whom comest thou?' was 'From such and such a village.' In like manner it was said of the people of Khorāsān : 'Their villages are their genealogies.' What happened in the case of the Israelites was precisely similar.

Families living together in the same place united to form a clan, held together by community of interests. Thus it is that in so many instances place-names and clan-names are identical. Here little question was made as to descent ; Canaanite clans were quite readily received into Hebrew clans and genealogies (cp Gen. 38 Judg. 1 27 *ff.* etc.).

With this may be compared the observation of Burckhardt (Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 183) that all Arabs of the Nejd, settled in Baghdād, belonged to the tribe of 'Okail, whatever their descent might have been. Under such circumstances, even if the old formulas applicable to the clan and the family were transferred to the new local communities, in other words, if the families living in the same locality continued to express the fact of their belonging to one another by alleging descent from a common ancestor, this none the less meant, substantially, the transition from a tribal to a civil constitution.

16. Organisation.

In the Canaanite communities which had formed themselves around a city as the central point, we already find a species of nobility who were designated by the peasants as *marna*, 'our lords' (Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phön.* 198). In the towns, which in process of time peacefully threw open their gates to the Israelites, we may suppose these nobles to have retained their rank and to have shared it with the more prominent Israelite families. The heads of these leading families (not, as under the tribal constitution, the heads of all the clans) constituted the 'lords' or 'elders' of the city (*śārīm, bĕʿālīm, zĕkēnīm*; Judg. 8 14). It would seem also that, from the first, the villages adjoining the cities stood to these in a relation of subordination. In the old sources frequent mention is made of 'the cities and their villages,' or of 'the cities and their daughters' (Nu. 21 25 32 Josh. 17 11); similarly, a city is occasionally spoken of as a 'mother in Israel' (2 S. 20 19). Even if we must not think of these 'elders' as having, from the first, constituted an organised magistracy, yet the development advanced naturally in that direction ; it was necessarily involved in the settlement that the rule of the heads of the communities should tend more and more to organise itself on an assumed basis of legal authority (Ex. 22 28 [27]). In respect of jurisdiction, in particular, the local community had a direct interest in seeing that the judicial findings of its heads were given effect to.

The tribes also gradually came to acquire mainly a territorial significance, just as the clans had done. After its union with Caleb and the other tribes of the S. (see above, § 14), Judah was no longer a tribe to be placed in the same category with one of the large Bedouin tribes; it was also a geographical idea—a primitive state, capable of embracing elements of the most diverse kind as long as they were geographically connected.

17. Territorial divisions: Tyranni.

For an interesting proof of this, see the parenthetic note in 2 S. 4 2*b f.* on the words 'a Beerothite of the children of Benjamin.'[1] Cp also the Deuteronomic phrase 'in all thy gates' (Dt. 16 18), which is parallel to 'throughout thy tribes,' and the use of tribal names as geographical terms—Ephraim, Gilead (in Judg. 10 *f.* the two are interchanged), Judah, Gad (2 S. 24 5), etc.

In this process the tribes lost the character they had possessed as communities of blood involving strict obligations. When the separate clans of a tribe settled in separate localities and became amalgamated with the native population, they lost their mutual interdependence. Each had its own interests and went its own way, regardless of the weal or woe of the other. The nature of the country facilitated this parting; and it was further assisted by the circumstance that, even in the time of the monarchy, Canaanite settlements still maintained themselves sporadically throughout Israelite territory. Henceforth it required unusual firmness and energy to stir even a single tribe, and still more a number of tribes, to concerted movement. The territorial character which the 'tribes' had now assumed shows that the patriarchal leadership of the elders was no longer sufficient; the new circumstances demanded the *tyrannis* (so to speak) of petty 'kings' such as there had already been among the Canaanites. The so-called 'judges' mark the transition stage. These were, in the first instance, clan chiefs; but some of them (among whom JEPHTHAH and GIDEON [*qq.v.*] still live in the fragments of tradition) succeeded in becoming tribal kings. Israel was now, perhaps, in a fair way to fall asunder into petty 'kingdoms.'

How this fate was averted and from what causes the transitional period issued in a united kingdom and a united people, is told elsewhere (see ISRAEL, § 10 *ff.*). The practical transformation of the tribes into unions of communities, linked together by identity of local interests, however, did not remove the danger arising from excessive tribal feeling and consequent tribal rivalry. The proof of this is found in grave internal complications in the early regal period. David had good cause for devising some means of neutralizing this danger, and such a means he found in the creation of a very small permanent force (see DAVID, § 11 *[a]*). Hence, whilst Saul in time of peace was little more than a tribal chief, David, with the aid of his body-guard (*gibbōrīm*), retained his supremacy even when no danger threatened the land. Saul's simple way of life gave place to an imposing establishment at Jerusalem, and a series of officials supported the king. With a view to regulating the military service and the collection of the revenue, a census of the citizens was taken even in David's time (2 S. 24 1 *ff.*), whilst Solomon, as a further step in advance, divided the whole land into administrative districts, over each of which he set an officer called *niṣṣāb* (נִצָּב; 1 K. 4 7 *ff.*). A division of the northern kingdom into *mᵉdīnōth* (מְדִינוֹת, 'administrative circuits') is mentioned also in the time of Ahab (1 K. 20 14 *ff.*). It is a noteworthy fact that in the arrangement of his districts Solomon purposely ignored the ancient tribal distinctions (see § 19 and Benzinger on 1 K. 4 7 *ff.*).

18. The monarchy.

The most essential duty of the ruler was then, and ever continued to be, the administration of justice; David, the pattern king, was pre-eminent in this (see DAVID, § 11 *f.*). In fact, in that age, it was self-evident that the king must be supreme judge. A case was naturally decided by the man who had the power to enforce his decision. Thus the second main element of the power of the old *zᵉḳēnīm* (זקנים) of the clans was taken from them, when every one could go directly or appeal against them to the king (2 S. 15 2 1 K. 3 16 Dt. 17 9, where שפט, *šōphēṭ* = 'ruler'—*i.e.* 'king'). What these lost the officers of the king gained, for they also obtained a share in his jurisdiction and dispensed justice in his name.

19. Royal prerogatives.

[1] See BEEROTH, ISHBAAL, 1, and cp Nöld. *ZDMG* ('86) 40 183.

According to the notions of the age, it was also self-evident that the king was the priest of highest rank, who represented his people before their God.

Saul and David sacrificed in person (1 S. 14 33 *ff.* 2 S. 6 13), as indeed at that time every Israelite was at liberty to do. David wore the *ephod bad*, the priest's gown; it was as priests that David and Solomon blessed the people at great festal gatherings (2 S. 6 18 1 K. 8 14), and it was as Pontifex Maximus that the king was anointed.

Still, on the whole, the priestly character was not as prominent in Israelite kings as, *e.g.*, in Babylonian and Egyptian; they discharged their priestly functions for the most part through the intervention of their officers, the ordinary priests; for such were the priests at the royal sanctuaries (2 S. 20 23 *ff.*).

These priests were appointed and removed by the king at pleasure (2 S. 8 17 1 K. 2 26, etc.); they held office by royal appointment, not by hereditary right. For the royal citadel it was an indispensable requisite that it should contain a sanctuary. It was as such that Solomon built the temple; and, even as late as Ahaz, the king made free with it as private property.

20. Fiscal institutions.

Any other information that we have regarding administrative affairs has to do for the most part with the collection of the revenue, the most important work of oriental princes.

Nothing is told us of Saul in this connection; for the maintenance of his simple establishment on his paternal estate there was needed, in addition to the produce of his own land and the customary share of any war booty, nothing but the voluntary gifts of his subjects who came to do homage or to seek justice and protection (cp 1 S. 16 20).

Under David the forced labour became the special care of an officer of rank, and probably taxation in general was then regulated (2 S. 20 24).

We can hardly be mistaken in connecting the census of 2 S. 24 1 *ff.* with this control of the public works, which is explicitly said to have been the chief object of Solomon's division of the land into districts (1 K. 4 7 3, cp 4 27 [5 7]. If Judah was really exempted from this burden, this was a very significant concession; but the text is corrupt, and Stade (*GVI* 1 309) conjectures) that Judah was perhaps mentioned as a thirteenth district (but see Benz. on 1 K. 4 7 *ff.*).

These taxes and forced labours were felt by the people to be an oppressive innovation (1 K. 12 4). As they were the occasion of the secession of the Northern Kingdom, we must suppose that they were there dispensed with at first. For the same reason we can hardly assign a much earlier date to the institution of the king's tithe mentioned in 1 S. 8 15 17 (to which 1 S. 17 25 may also refer) than that of the document, the 'law of the king,' in which it is mentioned. Unfortunately we are told practically nothing of regular taxes, although such were doubtless exacted.

A land tax seems to have been unknown, as Wellhausen rightly concludes from the mention of the introduction of such a tax in Egypt (*IJG* 86). A property tax is mentioned only once, and then as an exceptional imposition (2 K. 23 35). In such cases of extremity the kings of Judah had recourse to the temple treasures, which they always regarded as lying at their disposal. They also drew an income from crown lands, which they probably rented to trusty subjects (1 S. 8 12). What is thus attested for Judah (Ezek. 45 7 *f.*), we may assume for Israel as well. 'The king's mowings' (Am. 7 1) probably refer to a contribution in kind from the first mowings in spring intended for the war horses, for the support of which the king was responsible (1 K. 18 5; cp *Syr. Röm. Rechtsbuch*, ed. Bruns u. Sachau, 121). Certain commodities were, in Solomon's time, a royal monopoly (chariots and horses 1 K. 10 28 *ff.*), and a duty was levied on passing caravans (1 K. 10 15); in certain cases the property of an executed man seems to have been confiscated by the king (1 K. 21 1 *ff.*).

21. Officers. Not much fuller is our information about the royal officers (*śārīm*, שָׂרִים). The commander-in-chief of the army (*śar ʿal haṣṣābā*,

(שַׂר עַל הַצָּבָא) and the captain of the royal bodyguard, the *gibbōrīm*, occupied probably the most influential positions. The *mazkīr* (מוכיר; EV RECORDER) stands first amongst holders of adniinistrative offices. He is not, as has often been supposed, a state historian, but, as the title shows (מזכיר = one who brings to mind), a kind of chief counsellor and state orator, the Grand Vizier of modern oriental states. By his side was the Secretary of State (*sōphēr*, סֹפֵר), charged with the duty of conducting the king's correspondence with foreign princes (see SCRIBE). The chief superintendent of works (at least in Judah; see above) and the priest of highest rank, as already stated, were also high officials in attendance on the king (2 S. 20 23 *ff.*). Later we hear occasionally of a master of the palace (or of the household, אֲשֶׁר עַל הַבַּיִת, *ăšer 'al habbáyith*, 1 K. 46 2 K. 18 18 Is. 22 15), who, from Is. *l.c.*, appears to have been also called סֹכֵן (*sōkhēn*, see MINISTER [CHIEF]). Finally we come upon the designation king's servant (עֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ) as the title of a high dignitary (2 K. 22 12, also on seals), most plausibly explained by Stade (G *VI* 1650) as the principal eunuch. Strange to say this official, so high in rank in modern oriental courts, is nowhere mentioned (unless this be he), although in a harem like Solomon's he can hardly have been lacking.

Of other officers of inferior rank, the prefects of the provinces have been mentioned already. Of court officials proper we meet with a cup-bearer (*mašḳeh*, מַשְׁקֶה, 1 K. 10 5), a master of the robes (2 K. 10 22), and others. Chronicles speaks of twelve stewards of the royal treasury under David (1 Ch. 27 25 *ff.*). Probably among the court servants were also the chamberlains (*sārīsīm*, סָרִיסִים, 1 K. 22 9 2 K. 8 6 9 32, etc.), an expression which we find later as the designation of the overseer of the harem at the Persian court (Esth. 2 3 14 4 4 3). As such a *sārīs* is elsewhere called a captain (2 K. 25 19, cp Gen. 37 36 39 1) we can hardly regard the *sārīsīm* in the earlier times as eunuchs. See EUNUCH.

The stage of civilization that had been reached placed great power in the hands of these officers; for in the still quite undeveloped political relations of the time, no attempt was made, except in the case of the chief ministers mentioned above, to define the spheres of the several departments.

In particular there does not yet appear to have been any distinction drawn between administrative and judicial functions, or military and civil authority. The resident officer of state, wherever there was such, combined in his own person, in proportion to the authority committed to him, the functions of commander of the forces, administrator of the province, collector of taxes, and also, and above all, judge (see above, § 18).

The impression left by the description of this bureaucracy given us by the prophets is by no means flattering. It exhibits all through the radical vices characteristic of the oriental official in all ages; towards superiors, the unscrupulous tool of the royal pleasure (cp *e.g.*, 1 K. 12 10 *ff.* 2 S. 11 14 *ff.*); towards inferiors, the overbearing, reckless tyrant.

No longer bound to their subjects by the ties of clanship, the governors took advantage of them for their own interests. Venality and partiality in particular characterised high and low alike; all that distinguished the former, the Abners, Joabs, and Jehus, from officers of lower grade, was that their intrigues and violence were on a grander scale.

It was the will of the people that gave Saul and David their authority. Still this does not warrant us

22. The throne. in calling the monarchy, either in Judah or in Israel, elective. Its hereditary character was really bound up, so to speak, with the royal dignity.

Thus even a Jerubbaal could secure his authority sufficiently to bequeath it to his sons. That Saul never dreamed of any successor but his son Jonathan, may he the kernel of truth in 1 S. 20 30 *ff.* When the men of Judah set up David against Ishbaal, the rest of Israel regarded it as a revolt against the legitimate heir—a revolt to be suppressed by force of arms (cp *e.g.*, 2 S. 2 10 *ff.*). Two sons of David, Absalom and Adonijah, successively posed as his successors (2 S. 15 1 *ff.* 1 K. 1 5 *ff.*). Solomon, too, reached the throne simply by the will of his father, the people having no say in the plot to set him on the throne. Accordingly the election of Jeroboam by the northern tribes was virtually a fresh revolt against the legitimate dynasty, though it must he admitted that Ephraim and Benjamin had never thoroughly accepted the line of David as legitimate; 'we have no part in David, no inheritance in the son of Jesse'—such had been the rallying cry also on an earlier occasion (2 S. 20 1 *ff.*); see BENJAMIN, § 7. In the many later revolutions, of which North Israel was the scene, the people had no voice; on the contrary, they retained throughout a passive, not to say an apathetic attitude.

Still, there lay in the popular will an important limitation of the power of the sovereign. One might imagine on reading the so-called 'law of the kingdom' (1 S. 8 10 *ff.*) that the kings of Israel as a whole were the greatest despots,—men whose power was at the service of every whim and fancy. This picture, however, conformably to the whole tendency of the narrator, who had little fondness for the monarchy, is overdrawn and painted in colours too dark. In reality the state of affairs was quite otherwise. If there is one impression that remains with ns more than another it is that the power of the kings lay rather in their personality, and depended on their success in war and their personal weight. Powerful men like David, Solomon, or Jeroboam could allow themselves many liberties that men

23. Popular voice. like Rehoboam could not venture on. Law or constitution defining the mutual rights of king and people there was none (the 'law of the kingdom,' Dt. 17 14-20 is a later growth). Thus in the forms of government in the kingdom of Israel we meet with a singular blending of despotism with elements of democracy.

Saul could massacre the priests of Nob, David could appropriate the wife of Uriah, Solomon could drain the very blood of the nation, Ahab could bring about the judicial murder of Naboth, Jehu and Athaliah could make havoc amongst dangerous adherents of the reigning house; yet these kings had themselves to learn that their caprices were limited by the popular will.

The people did not, like other oriental nations, put up with the atrocities of their rulers as something inevitable. Jehu's massacre was long regarded with universal detestation. The imperiousness with which the public conscience could speak is seen in Nathan's famous reproof of David, and in the action of men like Elijah and Elisha, who spoke for the people as well as for Yahwè (see ISRAEL, § 33 *ff.*, and cp PROPHET).

Disregard for this on the part of Solomon, Ahab, and Athaliah cost them their throne. Nor must we fail to observe how it was that the Deuteronomic Code was rendered a universally binding law-book; not by royal decree, but by a compact between king and people, did a law come into existence. In all else law and right, even for the king, was determined by custom and usage.

In such circumstances local authority must have been to a great extent left to itself. Outside of the royal city,

24. Local authority. over which was set a royal governor (1 K. 22 26), the village communities were probably independent of the government, so far as their own affairs were concerned. In the Northern Kingdom the revolutionary changes of dynasty hindered the sovereign from becoming dangerously predominant over the local authorities and the ancient nobility, as was somewhat the case in the smaller kingdom of Judah. See 1 K. 21.

This local independence is still acknowledged by the Deuteronomic code (Dt. 16 18), although it tries to restrict it (Dt. 17 8 *ff.* 19 17; cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 8 *f.*). Even in affairs of state, though probably only in exceptional cases, the 'elders of the people'—*i.e.* the local magistrates—had their voice (1 K. 20 7 2 K. 23 1).

In the Persian period the Jewish territory became a district (*mĕdīnāh*, מְדִינָה, Neh. 7 6 Ezra 2 1) of the trans-

25. Persian period: governors. Euphratic province (Ezra 5 3 1 Macc. 3 32, etc.), which was the province westward of the Euphrates. For a time it had a governor of its own (פחה, *péḥā* [see GOVERNOR, 1]; תרשתא [see TIRSHATHA]), who was placed under the ruler of his province (see ISRAEL, §§ 50 *ff.*, 64). This arrangement, however, seems to have been terminated comparatively soon.

Nehemiah, it is true, ranks himself with former governors (Neh. 5 15 *ff.*); but the narrative of his doings, taken as a whole, rather suggests that he was sent as a high commissioner with dictatorial powers. Thus we do not hear of a substitute or successor being appointed when he leaves Jerusalem (cp We. *IJG* (2) 164, (3) 168). This is confirmed by the letter of Rehum to Artaxerxes in Ezra 4 8-23 (see *v.* 12 *f.*).

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For the rest, the central Persian authority seems to have left the Jews a considerable amount of freedom with respect to their internal affairs. That it should concern itself about such matters as the building of the temple or of the walls was a matter of course; but apart from these instances we hear next to nothing *about* any intervention of theirs. Of course, the payment of the tribute and the enrichment of the officials had to be seen after; but on the whole there was much internal liberty, which, indeed, was involved in the freedom of worship granted to the Jews. In the time of Ezra we find law and police in the hands of the national authority (cp Ezra 10 14).

The history of ZERUBBABEL (*q.v.*) is obscure. He is represented as the secular head of the community with Joshua (see JESHUA, 5) as spiritual head by his side. Yet strangely enough we find in Ezra 2 2 = Neh. 7 7 (= 1 Esd. 5 8, προηγούμενοι) a list of twelve 'heads' as the chiefs of the community, at whose head stand Zerubbabel and Joshua, presumably as *primi inter pares*. We also hear of the 'elders of the Jews' (Ezra 5 5 6 7 10 8, etc.), of certain 'rulers' or 'deputies' (so RV, סגנים) in Neh. 2 16 4 8 [14], etc., and of 'princes of the people' who dwelt at Jerusalem (Neh. 11 1). Are these names then perhaps synonymous? If not, what are the mutual relations of the officers whom they severally denote?[1]

26. Local organisation.

We shall not go far wrong if we recognise in the twelve 'heads' the chiefs of the leading families (cp Ezra 4 3), a proof of the tenacious life of the tribal organisation.[2] At the head of the clans were the *rāšē hā-ābōth* (ראשי האבות, Ezra 1 5 2 68 Neh. 7 70, etc.); over all were the twelve men already mentioned. The number twelve was of course suggested by that of the tribes; indeed the Priestly Writer speaks of twelve 'princes of the tribes' (Num. 7). It is not necessary, however, that this number should have been permanent. We may plausibly suppose that the 'princes' (including the 'heads') were the beginning of the later *gerusia* (below, § 27). From Neh. 5 7 we may infer that the plutocratic principle had much to do with their appointment. Most important of all, the priests did not yet belong to the *gerusia*; they are always sharply distinguished from the ruling magistrates, the heads of the people (cp *e.g.*, Neh. 9 38-10 27 [10 1-28]).

This was soon changed, and not least in consequence of the measures of Ezra and Nehemiah, little as they themselves left for Eliashib or any other high priest to do (cp Neh. 13 4 *ff.*). The tendency of the law brought by Ezra from Babylon was to exalt the spiritual over the secular power. In this law, which corresponded in the main with the so-called Priestly Code (on this point cp LAW LITERATURE; ISRAEL, § 59; CANON, § 23 *f.*; EZRA i., § 8); the community was provided with a constitution. It is true, Ezra and his adherents had considerable difficulty in getting their theory of the law accepted. The theory was briefly this. The high priest was supreme head, alike in the spiritual and in the secular sphere. To him were transferred all the powers of the king, in so far as they were at all compatible with the Law. Not even such an unassuming place as Ezekiel assigned to a king remained. Far below the high priest in rank stood the 'princes,' the chiefs of the twelve tribes—*i.e.*, in reality, the men who had had in their hands the administration of affairs. The numerous priestly families constituted a sort of spiritual nobility surrounding the high priest. What the law required was probably not after all very new. That the influence of the priests, even if they had not a seat in the *gerusia*, was really great, appears from Zech. 6 10 *ff.*

27. Priestly Code.

How long it was before the theories of the Priestly Code were translated into practice we do not know. Our information regarding the internal development and the foreign relations of the community in the second half of the Persian period is unfortunately very meagre.

That the abolition of the provincial governorship (see above, § 24) meant a great increase of power for the high priest, is rightly emphasized by Wellhausen; Nehemiah's provision for the regular payment of the taxes to the priests furnished the needful material basis for their claim to power. The quarrel of the brothers Johanan and Joshua about the high-priesthood and the interference of the Persian governor Bagoses (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 1) presuppose an important position for the high priest.

By the beginning of the Grecian period, at latest, the law had become a reality. Neither the Ptolemies nor the Seleucids had a governor of their own in Jerusalem, and generally speaking these Hellenistic sovereigns left a large amount of freedom to the communes. Thus in the Jewish capital, as elsewhere, the national assembly seems to have enjoyed fairly extensive powers. Its organisation had probably undergone no essential change from what it had formerly been; the *gerusia* continued as before an aristocratic senate. This of itself is sufficient proof that we have not here to do with a new institution, a creation of the Grecian period; for the new communities of Hellenistic times had, as a rule, democratic institutions. There is no good ground for doubting the connection between this senate and the genuine Semitic institution of a 'council of the elders' which survived in the Persian period. It is merely a casual circumstance that the *gerusia*—under this name—does not happen to be mentioned until the reign of Antiochus the Great (223-187 B.C.). Whether or how far Grecian influences may have co-operated in the development of this *gerusia* out of the college of elders (so Schürer, *GJV* 2 144 *f.*) we have no means of deciding, as we possess no sufficient information as to the manner in which the assembly of elders as a ruling body was organised towards the end of the Persian period. The ordinary traditional designation of 'elders,' πρεσβύτεροι, is applied also without qualification during this period to the *gerusia* (cp 1 Macc. 12 6 with 14 20, etc.). Long before this, of course, the word had ceased to mean the heads of clans; by elders were intended simply the more distinguished men, the *élite* of the people. Alongside of the secular nobility, the priesthood also seems from an early date to have obtained a place in this assembly (cp 2 Ch. 19 8).

28. Greek period.

During the Greek period it is the high priest who is at the head of the *gerusia* and thus of the entire community. The Ptolemies first, and afterwards the Seleucids, recognised him as ethnarch. On him lay the duty of seeing that the tribute for the community was paid to the court at Alexandria; and in order to do this he had the right of levying a tax in Judaea (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 1 *ff.*). We have an evidence of the importance of the position of high priest in the internecine strife with reference to the office which was the prelude to the Maccabean revolt (2 Macc. 4 1 *ff.* Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5 1 *ff.*). On account of its importance Ptolemies and Seleucids alike claimed the right of appointment to it and removal from it.

The rise of the Hasmonæans meant, strictly, no constitutional change, only a change of persons. During the continuance of the war strictly so-called the commanders, the Maccabees, exercised, of course, a sort of dictatorship. In 2 Macc., it is true, mention is made of the ***gerusia*** also, alongside

29. Hasmonæans.

1 See ISRAEL, § 64, and Benzinger's article 'Älteste' in *PRE*(3) 1 226 *f.* [Guthe (see 'Ezra and Neh.,' *SBOT*) regards Ezra 2 2 = Neh. 7 7 (from הבאים down to בענה, with the addition of ראשיהם (see ‖ 1 Esd. 5 8) as an addition of the chronicler. He thinks that the existence of the twelve 'heads' presupposes the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah. The 'heads' are not identical with the 'elders,' who come before us at the close of the rebuilding of the temple, when Zerubbabel seems to have disappeared. Perhaps they were supplanted by the twelve 'heads.' The 'rulers' (סגנים) of Nehemiah are regarded by Guthe as officials: the term may be equivalent to the 'princes' (~ T U) of Neh. (12 32).]

2 Even during the Exile the 'elders' or heads of clans directed the affairs of the settlements; we find them seeking oracular advice of Ezekiel (Ezek. 8 1 14 1 20 1 *ff.*; cp Jer. 29 1).

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of Judas (1 10 4 44 11 27); but on internal grounds more reliance must be placed on the representation given in 1 Macc., where besides Judas no governing body is mentioned save the people themselves (459 516 8 20 10 2546 11 30 33 42). On the other hand, in the period of peace after the victory at Beth-Zacharias, Demetrius at once restored the old order of things—Alcimus being high priest, with 'elders'—(1 Macc. 6 33), and in like manner after the definitive peace had been negotiated it was again rehabilitated in its entirety, with the' single exception that the office was now bestowed not on the legitimate heir but on Jonathan, who legally was disqualified for it (1 Macc. 1127). This, of course, meant for the priests of Jerusalem a great diminution of power and influence, especially since the old aristocratic party which had been friendly to the Greeks had now to retire into the background altogether; and, in the *gerusia* also, had to make room for the partisans of the Hasmonaeans. The institution of the *gerusia*, as such, however, continued alongside of the Hasmonaean high-priests and princes (Jonathan I. : see 1 Macc. 11 23 12 6 35; Simon I. : see 1 Macc. 1336 14 20 28).

The Jews became entirely independent of Syria under John Hyrcanus (135-105). Hyrcanus himself, however, remained as before, the people's high priest. On the other hand, of course, he was not unconscious of his dignity as prince, and he put his name upon the coinage. His son and successor Aristobiilus (105-104) actually took the royal title, continuing, however, to retain that of high priest on the coinage. Alexander Jannaeus (104-78) was the first to call himself king on the coinage. Here again, however, the assumption of the kingly title meant no constitutional change; it was only the fitting expression of the fact that from the first the Hasmonzeans had subordinated the spiritual side of their office—their high priesthood—to the exercise of their political authority as ethnnrchs.

The *gerusia*, therefore, continued, at least in form, under the kings. At how early a date the name of synedrium—which subsequently seems to have been the usual one—arose, is unknown. Possibly the expression *ḥěber* (חבר) upon the Hasmonaean coins refers to this body. At this period it would of course be out of the question to look for any sharply defined jurisdiction as possessed by such a court. Under strong rulers like Hyrcanus and Jannaeus its power can, hardly have been great; of Alexandra, on the other hand, who on account of her sex had to hand over the high-priesthood and the presidency of the council to her son Hyrcanus, Josephus remarks that 'she held the kingship in name, but the Pharisees had the power' (*Ant.* xiii. 16 2). It is probable that it was through her that the Pharísees had gained admission to the *gerusia* alongside of the Sadducean nobles and the priests.

Pompey brought the Hasmonaean rule to an end in 63 B.C. In other respects he found no change necessary in the forms of the internal administration of the country. He appointed Hyrcanus II. to the high-priesthood, and at the same time invested him with 'the government of the nation' (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10 3 : τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους). The proconsul Gabinius (57-55) on the other hand, withdrew this political dignity from the high priest, dividing the Jewish territory into five jurisdictions—Jerusalem, Jericho, Gazara, Amathus, Sepphoris. By the expressions used by Josephus (σύνοδοι, συνέδρια) we are doubtless to understand independent districts each under the synedrium of the chief city (Jos. *BJ* i. 85). By this measure the political importance of the Jerusalem authorities was virtually destroyed.

30. Romans.

This condition of things, however, was of brief duration. Caesar (in 47 B.C.) again made the high priest ethnarch; nominally and constitutionally the *gerusia* shared the government with him. The jurisdiction of the *gerusia* appears to have included even Galilee; at least we read that Herod was summoned before the synedrium on account of misdeeds committed there (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 93-5). In point of fact, however, as is shown by the course of this very prosecution against Herod, the synedrium had come to be a helpless tool in the hand of the ruler, who at this time was Antipater. Herod accordingly began his own reign by purging the synedrium of his own opponents, forty-fiveof its members being executed at his command (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9 4, compared with xv. 1 2). Though doubtless replenished with nominees of his own, the council henceforward played no part of importance during his reign (cp *e.g.*, *Ant.* xv. 62). The high priests also, whom he appointed and deposed at pleasure, were entirely his creatures.

The territory of Herod was divided at his death. Archelaus received Judzea, Samaria, and Idumæa, with the title of ethnarch; but after a short term of years he was deposed (6 A.D.) and his ethnarchy made a Roman province under a procurator (ἐπίτροπος; in NT ἡγεμών, Mt. 27 2 etc.) of equestrian rank. The procurator of Judaea was subordinate in rank to the governor of Syria, and the latter could in special cases of need interfere with him (see Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, 5 509, n.). In all other respects the procurator of Judæa had military command and jurisdiction; in other words, was independent in his province.

In other matters the Romans allowed the Jews a considerable degree of internal freedom and self-government.

31. Internal affairs: synedrium.

Josephus is not very wide of the truth when he describes the new constitution as aristocratic, as distinguished from the monarchical despotical rule of a Herod (*Ant.* xx. 10 1). The synedrium enjoyed greater power than ever before. The Roman procurator was the court of review; the synedrium was the governing body, and, more particularly, no longer had to share its powers as formerly with its president, the high priest.

After the high-priestly office ceased to be held for life, and hereditary high priests had come to be appointed and deposed in rapid succession, first by Herod and then by the Romans, their political power diminished greatly, and they no longer held a paramount position even within the priestly college, although formerly the high priest could still be regarded as holding 'the government of the nation' (*Ant.* 20 10). Next in rank to the reigning high priest stood those who had previously held the office. In the NT and in Josephns these 'high priests' figure as properly speaking the leaders of the high council (cp *e.g.*, Mt. 2659 27 41 and parallels).

As a second class within the same body we find the 'scribes' or professional 'lawyers' (Mt. 20 18 21 15 27 41 and parallels; see SCRIBES, § 2).

The other members, belonging to neither of these two groups, are called simply 'elders' (πρεσβύτεροι : see passages already cited); or the word 'councillor' (βουλευτής) is occasionally employed (Mk. 1543; but cp JOSEPH OF ARIMATHÆA, § 4). To this body as a whole, besides synedrium, we find the names *presbyterium* (Lk. 22 66 Acts 22 5), *gerusia* (Acts 5 21), and *boulē* (Jos. *BJ* ii. 156 xi. 16 2) applied. In the Mishna the supreme court is called *bēth dīn hag-gādōl*, or by the Hehraised Greek name of סַנְהֶדְרִין (Sanhedrin). See ISRAEL, § 81.

The number of members of the supreme court of Jerusalem is in the Mishna (*Sanh.* 16) given at 71—a tradition that is not inherently improbable. As for the mode of replenishing its numbers—popular election is excluded alike by the history of its origin, and by its aristocratic character.

Whether the original custom which gave the right of membership to particular families was retained also during the Grecian period is unknown; for the Roman it is at least very questionable. During this last period we find the political authorities (*e.g.*, Alexandra, Herod, the Romans) introducing into the supreme court persons acceptable to themselves at their pleasure. The Mishna knows only of co-optation (*Sank.* 44).

The jurisdiction of the synedrium, so far as its moral influence was concerned, extended over all Jewish communities everywhere; its decrees were regarded as binding by all orthodox Jews even beyond the con-

fines of Judæa (cp Acts 9 2). Regarded as a high court of the state, however, its jurisdiction and authority, after the division of the land on the death of Herod, were confined to Judæa proper, the province ruled by the procurator. In point of fact its range was very wide. It was at once the supreme administrative council and the supreme court of justice. As administrative council, its functions included in particular that of levying taxes. The Roman practice was to cause the taxes to be levied by the senates of the towns. In accordance with this, the synedrium of Jerusalem also (see Jos. *BJ* ii. 17 1) was responsible for the taxes of the whole of Judæa. The actual collection, on the other hand, was farmed out to private speculators. As a court of justice the synedrium had civil as well as criminal jurisdiction, in which it was governed by the Jewish law (cp Acts 4 5 *ff.* 5 21 *ff.*); it had its own police, and could make arrests of its own accord (Mt. 26 47 *ff.*, etc.). Its full freedom was restricted in one point only: it was not allowed to carry out capital sentences; these required the confirmation of the procurator and had also to be carried out by him, as is clearly shown by the whole narrative of the trial and death of Jesus (note in particular, the express declaration in Jn. 18 31). The stoning of Stephen must therefore be held to have been illegal. Roman citizens were of course exempt from Jewish jurisdiction (Acts 25 10 *ff.*). In like manner the procurator had the right to intervene at any moment or to transfer a process to his own judgment seat; but these were exceptions from the stated order of things.

The division of Judæa into toparchies—eleven, according to Josephus (*BJ* iii. 3 5), ten, according to Pliny (*HN* 5 70)—most probably dates from the Roman period. Unfortunately we are told nothing as to the origin or object of this division. We may venture to guess that in all likelihood it had something to do with the system of taxation. No conjecture even can be hazarded as to whether these administrative divisions were justiciary circuits also.

The great synedrium in Jerusalem was also the municipal council. In close analogy with this, the various communities throughout the country had also their local synedria (**συνέδριον**, Mt. 10 17 Mk. 13 9 Mt. 5 22; **βουλή**, Jos. *BJ* ii. 14 1, etc.; **πρεσβύτεροι**, Lk. 7 3). This also, as shown above, was an ancient institution among the Jews. As in earlier times so also now these local courts exercised judicial functions. According to what Josephus tells us (*Ant.* iv. 8 14 *BJ* ii. 20 5) the membership of one of these provincial courts required to be not less than seven; in larger centres they seem to have had twenty-three members. As for jurisdiction—even grave criminal cases came before them (Mt. 5 21 *f.*). In relation to them the great synedrinm was not a court of appeal; but recourse was had to it when the judges of the local courts could not agree (Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 14; *Sanh.* 11 2).

32. Literature. On the general subject *see* the recent works dealing with biblical history (We., Ki., Klo., St.) and archæology (Benz., Now.). On the tribal constitution see WRS *Kin.* '85, and Nöld.'s review *ZDMG*, 1886, pp. 148-187; Riehm, art. 'Stamm' in *HWB*(2). On the monarchical period Oehler, art. 'Königthum' in *PRE*(2) 8 102-110; Diestel, art. 'Königthum' in Riehm's *HWB*(2); the commentaries of Benzinger and Kittel on Kings. On post-exilic government; Schiirer, *GJV*(2) 2 51-174 and art. 'Synedrium' in Riehm's *HWB*(2); Strack, art. 'Synedrium' in *PRE*(2) 15 101-103, Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, '96. The older literature will be found fully indicated in Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*(2) (1775), Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht* ('53); also in the works on Hebrew Archæology by De Wette, Ew., Keil. **I. B.**

GOVERNOR. This word is used widely in the EV to denote any title of rank or superiority. Neither EV nor 𝔊 is always consistent, and the words referred to below are sometimes differently rendered. On the methods of organization among the Hebrews cp the preceding article (§§ 15 *ff.*), and *see* ARMY, §§ *a*, 4; DAVID, § 11; ISRAEL, § 64.

1. *Peḥḥāh*, פֶּחָה (cp Ass. *piḫû*, to tax or govern, *bêl paḫâti*, governor or satrap). It is not quite clear what kind of officer we are to understand by Solomon's 'governors of the land' (פחות הארץ, 1 K. 10 15 2 Ch. 9 14 [**σατράπης**]), or by Ben-hadad's 'governors,' as distinguished from 'kings' (1 K. 20 24 [σατ.]). In the latter case the title is manifestly expressive of military rank. In like manner it is used by RABSHAKEH [*q.v.*] in 2 K. 18 24 Is. 36 9 (**τοπάρχης**) in the sense of "general.' In Jeremiah (51 23 28 57 [**ἡγεμών**]), Ezekiel (23 6 23), Daniel (3 2 [τοπ.])[1] and Esther (3 12 8 9 9 3 [AV 'deputies']), however, a civil administrative officer of high rank is intended. Palestine, while under Persian dominion, was under the jurisdiction of such officers, called פ׳ עבר נהר, 'governors beyond the river' [Euphrates] (Ezra 8 36 Neh. 2 7 9 Neh. 3 7 [**ἔπαρχος πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ**]); see GOVERNMENT, § 25. The title 'governor of Judah' was borne by Zerubbabel (Hagg. 1 1 14 2 2 21) and also by Nehemiah (Neh. 5 14 *f.* 18 [allusion to the 'bread of the governor'; cp Mal. 1 8, **ἡγούμενος**] 12 26 *f.*).

2. *Tiršāthā*, תִּרְשָׁתָא, Ezra 2 63 EVmg., etc. See TIRSHATHA.

3. *Sāgān*, סָגָן, Dan. 3 2, etc. See DEPUTY, 1. 4. *Nāgīd* נָגִיד, 5. *nāśī*, נָשִׂיא, and 6. *śar*, שַׂר; see PRINCE. 7. *Pāḳīd*, פָּקִיד, see OVERSEER. 8. *Alluph*, אַלּוּף; see DUKE, 1.

9. *Šallīṭ*, שַׁלִּיט (from שלט, Heb., Aram., Ass., 'to rule, have power,' cp Ar. *sulṭān*), the word used by J in Gen. 42 6 (**ἄρχων** [ADEFL]) to denbte Joseph's position as the Pharaoh's steward of the palace and grand vizier. In Dan. 2 15 *f.* ('captain,' **ἄρχων**) it denotes military rank (see ARIOCH, 2), and it is used more or less vaguely in Dan. 5 29, etc. (Daniel, third 'ruler' EV), Eccles. 7 19 ('ten rulers [RV, AV 'mighty men'] in a city,' 𝔊 **ἐξουσιάζων**).

10. *Ḥōḳēḳ* חוֹקֵק, EV 'governor,' Judg. 5 9 (**τὰ διατεταγμένα** [AL]), used poetically in a somewhat vague sense; cp מְחֹקֵק, 'governor,' in Judg. 5 14, **ἐξερευνῶντες** [BAL]), usually rendered 'law-giver' (Gen. 49 10 Ut. 33 21 Is. 10 1 33 22).

11. *Mōšēl*, מֹשֵׁל, Jer 30 21 (**ἄρχων**); usually 'ruler,' in a general sense. Cp RULER. 12. *Haddāberayyā*, הַדָּבְרַיָּא, Dan. 3 24, AVmg.; see COUNSELLOR, 3. Six Greek words come under consideration.

13. **ἔπαρχος** (cp 1, above), 2 Macc. 4 27 RV (AV 'ruler'); see SOSTRATUS. 14. **ἡγούμενος**, Mt. 2 6 (quoting Mi. 5 1 [2], מֹשֵׁל, **ἄρχων**). See 11, above. 15. **ἡγεμών**, the title given in NT to the Roman procurators (Pilate, Mt. 27 2, etc.; Felix, Acts 23 24, etc.; Festus, Acts 26 30); see ISRAEL, § 90. 16. **ἐθνάρχης**, 1 Macc. 14 47, etc.; see DAMASCUS, § 13, ETHNARCH. 17. For **ἀρχιτρίκλινος** (Jn. 2 8 *f.* AV) see MEALS, § 11. 18. **εὐθύνων**, Jas. 3 4, RV 'steersman.' 19. **οἰκονόμος**, Gal. 4 2, RV STEWARD.

GOZAN (גּוֹזָן; in Ki. ΓΩΖΑΝ [BA]; in Ch. ΧΩΖΑΡ [B], ΓΩΖΑ [A]; ΓΟΙΖΑΝ [L; Ki.; Ch.]), one of the districts to which Israelites were deported by the king of Assyria (2 K. 17 6 [ΓΩΖΑΡ B] 18 11 1 Ch. 5 26), also mentioned (with Haran, Rezeph, and the Bne-Eden of Tel-assar) in a letter of Sennacherib to Hezekiah, according to 2 K. 19 12 (= Is. 37 12). It is no doubt the Assyrian Guzanu, the **Γαυζανῖτις** of Ptolemy (v. 18 3 *f.*), mentioned in 2 R. 53 43*a* between Tušḫan and Naṣibina (Nisibis). This province was ruled by a governor who sometimes had the honour to give his name to the year as *limū* (eponym). It rebelled in 809 B.C., and again in 759, but was finally subdued in 758. Its chief stream was the HABOR [*q.v.*], now the Ḫābūr, on the banks of which the exiles were settled. (See Del. *Par.* 184, and cp Schr. *KB* 2 275, 326; *KGF* 167, n., 310, 352 *f.*; also HABOR, HALAH, HARA.)

[In 2 K. 17 6 and 18 11 𝔊L, and in 17 6 𝔊BA read **ποταμοῖς** Γ., '*rivers* of Gozan.' The former is universally represented as 𝔊's reading. This may be so, but is not proved by the evidence. **ποταμοῖς** may very well be a scribe's conjecture. There is hardly occasion to inquire, with Winckler (*AT Unters.* 108) and W. M. Müller (Hastings, *DB* 2 285 *b*), which rivers may be meant.—T. K. C.] **C. P. T.**

GRABA, RV **Aggaba** (ΑΓ(Γ)ΑΒΑ [Bab mg. AL]), 1 Esd. 5 29 = Ezra 2 45, HAGABAH.

GRAFTING (ΕΝΚΕΝΤΡΙΖΕΙΝ [Ti.WH]), Rom. 11 17. See OLIVE.

GRAPE, Blossom, early berry, sour and ripe fruit, all find mention in the OT.

1. פֶּרַח, *péraḥ* (**ἄνθος**), blossom, Is. 18 5†; cp Gen. 40 10.

2. נִצָּה, *niṣṣah* (**βλαστός** [Gen.], **ἄνθος** [Is.]), properly the blossom, but perhaps also the cluster of tiny berries which

[1] Mentioned along with סגן, see DEPUTY.

becomes visible as soon as the blossom is over (Gen. *40* 10 Is. 18 5). In Job 15 33 the בֹּסֶר or 'sour grape' is parallel to the נִצָּה of the olive.

3. סְמָדַר, *sĕmādar* (κυπρίζουσιν, -σαι, κυπρισμός, but οἰνάνθη [Sym.]), the fragrant vine-blossom, the appearance of which was a sign of spring, Cant. 2 13 15 7 13. The impossible reading שְׁדֵמוֹת in Is. 16 8 (late; see ISAIAH ii., § 9 [4]), should be emended סְמָדַר (see Che. *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' 121 198 *f.*); read 'withered are the vine-blossoms of Heshbon' (important for the flavour of the wine [see WINE]); similarly Dt. 32 32 Hab. 3 17.[1] 'ס is a late Aramaising word. In the Syriac lexicon of Bar Bahlul οἰνάνθη is always rendered by סמדרא, cp Is. 17 11; Pesh. Tg., gives 'ס for נצה (*Is.* 18 5), but the text of Tg. seems in disorder. Derenbourg (*ZATW* 5 301 *f.* 6 98 *f.*) takes both נצה and 'ס to be the earliest unripe berries on the vine. Whilst, however, this sense seems to be required by Is. 18 5, the passages in Cant. do not recommend it for 'ס. On the whole question, cp Duval, *REJ* 14 277 *f.* Derenbourg's exposition of Is. 18 5 seems rather forced; but the facts adduced by him leave no doubt as to the proper sense of 'ס. See further WINE.

4. בֹּסֶר, *bōser* (ὄμφαξ), the unripe grape which sets the teeth on edge, Is. 18 5 Job 15 33 Jer. 31 29 *f.* Ezek. 18 2.† Verjuice pressed out from wild grapes is a strong acid.

5. עֵנָב, *'ēnāb* (σταφυλή), Gen 40 11 Is. 5 2 etc., the usual term for grape, found also in Aram., Arab., and Ass. Hence perhaps ἄμπελος (Lag. *Mitth.* 2 356). σταφ. in Mt. 7 16 Lk. 6 44 Rev. 14 18.

6. בְּאֻשִׁים, *bĕ'ūšīm* (ἄκανθαι, cp Mt. 7 16; *labruscæ*), the wretched grapes produced by the wild vine, Is. 5 2 4.

7. אֶשְׁכֹּל, *eškōl* (βότρυς), the cluster of ripe grapes, often; *e.g.*, Gen. 40 10 Cant. 7 7 [8] *f.* and Hab. 3 17 (crit. emend.: see n. 1 below). In NT βότρυς in Rev. 14 18†.

8. חַרְצַנִּים, *ḥarṣannīm* (EV 'kernels') mentioned with זָג, *zāg* (EV 'husk') Nu. 6 4†. 𝔊 ἀπὸ στεμφύλλων ἕως γιγάρτου—*i.e.*, whether pressed grapes or grape-stone(s). Tg., Talm. agree with EV; but it is very possible that this traditional view is of purely arbitrary origin. Rabbinic opinion was not agreed as to whether 'in meant the exterior and זַגִּים (plur.) the interior of grape-berries or *vice versâ* (*Naz.* 6 2 34 *b*). The supposed connection of זג, 'grape-skin,' with זוג or זגג, 'to be clear' (Ges. *Thes.*), is not very plausible; perhaps we should read 0'1'1 (Gen. 40 10 Joel 1 7). חרצן may perhaps be connected with חרץ, 'to be sharp (to the taste),' and mean 'sour grape.' The phrase used in Nu. 6 3 ('from the grape-vine,' not 'from the grapes') favours this view of the passage. Render therefore in Nu. *l.c.*, 'be may eat nothing that is produced by the grape-vine, whether young (sour) grapes or tendrils' (the edible tops of the tendrils are meant, even if we read זָג; see Dillm.). חרצן then is a synonym of בסר. This result receives some support from a probable emendation of the text of Is. 18 4 (which, as it stands, is not very satisfactory)—

Thus has Yahwè said to me: I will be still and look out like the vine-dresser,
For the appearance of the fresh growths and for the coming up of the young grapes.
For before the young grapes, when the blossom is over, and the small berries begin to ripen into sour grapes
He will cut off the tendrils with knives, and the spreading branches he will clear away.

The chief changes are כַּבֹּרִם for במכוני, and חַרְצָן ,הַרְצַנִּים for קציר ,חם קציר. See further Che. *SBOT* 196 *f.* T. K. C.

GRASS. (1) חָצִיר, *ḥāṣīr* (√חצר, signifying greenness; cp Ar. *ḥaḍira* 'to be green'; χόρτος [βοτάνη twice]); 1 K. 18 5 2 K. 19 26 Job 8 12 (EV 'herb') Prov. 27 25 (EV 'hay') Is. 15 6 (AV 'hay') and frequently; also Nu. 11 5 where it is translated LEEKS [*q.v.*].

2. דֶּשֶׁא, *dĕše'* (cp √דשא, 'to sprout luxuriantly'; cp Che. on Ps. 23 2) Jer. 14 5 (cp 6) Prov. 27 25 Job 35 27 Is. 66 14 RV 'tender grass.' In Jer. 50 11 עֶגְלָה דָשָׁא, 'heifer at grass' (RVmg.; cp 𝔊 Vg.) is rightly rendered by RV 'heifer that treadeth out [the corn].'

3. דְּתֵא, *dethe* (Dan. 4 15 [12] 23 [20]†), Aramaic for no. 2.

4. and 5. ירק, *yārāḳ*, and עֵשֶׂב, *'ēsebh*. See HERBS, 1 and 2.

6. χόρτος Mt. 6 30 Mk. 6 39 etc.

1 In Dt. 𝔊 has ἡ κληματὶς αὐτῶν ἐκ γομόρρας; read סמודרם מעמרה, 'their vine-blossom is from Gomorrah.' So Symm. in Is. κλήματα. In Hab. read וּסְמָדַר לֹא עָשָׂה אֶשְׁכֹּל, 'and (though) the vine-blossom produces no grape-cluster.' 'Twice,' says *Ges. Lex.*(11-13) 'this plur. noun (שדמות) has a sing. verb.' The sing. verb should have awakened a suspicion of the faultiness of the text. [This article supplements the note in *SBOT*, which was condensed from want of space, and meets Marti's criticism in his commentary.]

GRASSHOPPER, AV, sometimes RV (אַרְבֶּה, גּוֹב and חָגָב; Lev. 11 22 Nah. 3 17); see LOCUST, § 2, nos. 1, 4, 8. It is impossible to identify the species of insect referred to. The English word grasshopper is loosely applied to members of the true Orthopteran families, Acridiidæ and Locustidæ, and as a rule to the smaller and non-migratory species.

In the famous description of old age in Eccl. 12 occurs the enigmatical expression: 'and the grasshopper shall be a burden' (*v.* 5 וְיִסְתַּבֵּל הֶחָגָב), or rather, as in RVmg., 'shall drag [drags] itself along.'

GRATE (מִכְבָּר), Ex. 27 4 etc. See NETWORK.

GRAVE. See TOMB; HADES.

GRAY [HAIRS] (שֵׂיבָה), Gen. 42 38 44 29. See COLOURS, § 9 (*a*).

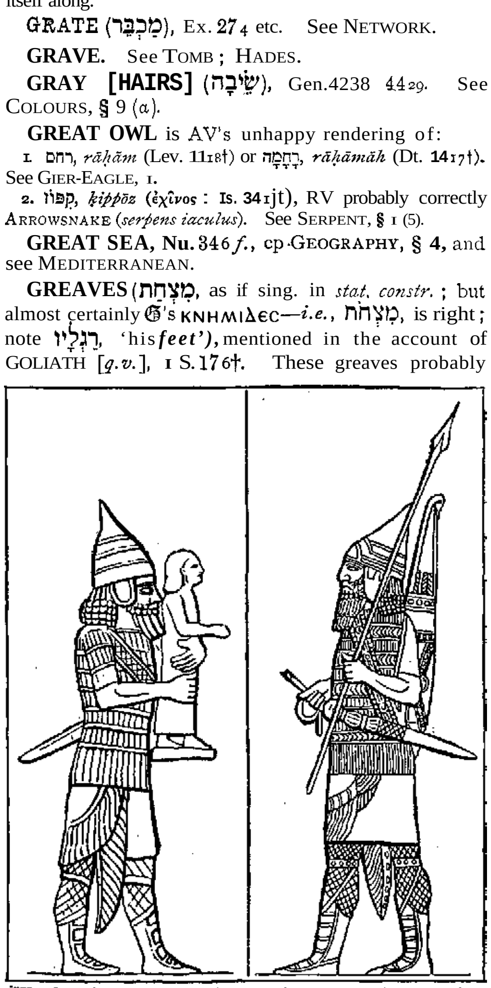
GREAT OWL is AV's unhappy rendering of:

1. רחם, *rāḥām* (Lev. 11 18†) or רָחָמָה, *rāḥāmāh* (Dt. 14 17†). See GIER-EAGLE, 1.

2. קִפּוֹז, *ḳippōz* (ἐχῖνος: Is. 34 15†), RV probably correctly ARROWSNAKE (*serpens iaculus*). See SERPENT, § 1 (5).

GREAT SEA, Nu. 34 6 *f.*, cp GEOGRAPHY, § 4, and see MEDITERRANEAN.

GREAVES (מִצְחַת, as if sing. in *stat. constr.*; but almost certainly 𝔊's ΚΝΗΜΙΔΕϹ—*i.e.*, מִצְחֹת, is right; note רַגְלָיו, 'his *feet*'), mentioned in the account of GOLIATH [*q.v.*], 1 S. 17 6†. These greaves probably



Warrior with captured Idol. Attendant of Sennacherib.
(After Layard.)

consisted of plates of bronze (נְחֹשֶׁת) which covered the lower portion of the legs. The annexed, figures of Assyrian combatants may illustrate the kind of defensive armour that was used, protecting the lower portion of the leg both in the front and at the back. There is no evidence that greaves were used among the ancient Egyptians. See SHOES. *O.* C. W.

GRECIANS, a word occurring four times in EV and thrice in AV of Macc.

1. On Joel 3 [4] 6, where the mg. and RV render literally 'sons of the Grecians' (בְּנֵי הַיְּוָנִים; τ. υἱ. τ. ἑλλήνων [BℵAQ]) see JAVAN, HELLENISM, § 1 *f.* In 1 Macc. 6 2, 2 Macc. 4 15, RV reads 'Greeks'; in 1 Macc. 8 9, 'they of Greece.'

2. In Acts 9 29 'Grecians' means Greek-speaking Jews (**Grecian Jews**) [RV], HELLENISTS [RVmg.], Ἑλληνισ-

τάς [Ti. WH])—as it is paraphrased in Pesh.—as distinguished from non-Jewish Greeks (Ἕλληνες [Ti. WH], Rom. 1 14) on the one hand, and Palestinian Jews (Ἑβραίων [Ti. WH], Phil. 3 5) on the other. In Acts 6 1 the Hellenists spoken of are Christian. The distinction, however, has not always been understood or observed by copyists and translators.

In Acts 11 20 the better reading is 'Greeks' [RV text], Ἕλληνας [Ti. WH, Blass, following ℵ^c AD*]—*i.e.*, non-Jews. In Jn. 12 20 Acts 17 4, 'Greeks' are proselytes *to* Judaism (cp HELLENISM, § 2, PROSELYTE).

GREEK, GREEKS (ελλην Rom. 1 16, ελληνες[1] Jn. 12 20). See HELLENISM, § 2, and cp GRECIANS (above). For **Greek Language** (ἑλληνιστί [Ti. WH]) Jn. 19 20, see HELLENISM, § 3.

GREEN. For (1) יָרָק, *yārāḳ* (2 Ki. 19 26 etc.) see COLOURS, § 11; for (2) לַח, *laḥ* (Gen. 30 37 etc.); (3) רַעֲנָן, *ra'ănān* (Dt. 12 2 etc.), and (4) רָטֹב, *rāṭōb* (Job 8 16 etc.) see COLOURS, § 17. **Greenish** (יְרַקְרַק, *y^eraḳraḳ*) Lev. 13 49 14 37; see COLOURS, § 11. **Greenness** (אֵב, *'ēbh*) Job 8 12; see COLOURS, § 17. For **Green [hangings]** (כַּרְפַּס, *karpas*) Esth. 1 6, see COTTON.

GREETINGS (ασπασμοι), Mt. 23 7. See SALUTATIONS.

GREYHOUND (זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם, 'well girt [or, 'well-knit'] in the loins,' RV^mg.),[2] one of the four things mentioned in Prov. 30 31 EV as of stately motion, the lion, the he-goat, and the king (going to battle?) being the other three. Whether the poet meant the greyhound (Kim., Gr., Ven., Luth., Ew., BO., De.), is another matter.

The revisers of AV felt uncertain, and placed 'war-horse' (so Bochart, Wildeboer?) in the margin, with what they conceived to be the literal meaning of the Hebrew pnrase (see above); the eagle (Ibn Ezra) and even the S. African zebra have **also** been thought of (Ludolf, Simonis).

The rendering 'cock' is advocated elsewhere; but the rendering in EV would be not less suitable if only it could be justified (see COCK). On this hypothesis something good would for once be said of a dog (see DOG, § 1). The large Persian greyhound is used in the desert for hunting the GAZELLE (*q.v.*); as of 'noble kind,' it is allowed to lie down in the nomad booth (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 337 337). Tristram states that this dog is known in modern Palestine (*NHB* 80).

GRINDING (טַחֲנָה), Eccles. 12 4. See MILL.

GRISLED (בָּרֹד), Gen. 31 10. See COLOURS, § 12.

GROVE, GROVES. For (1) אֲשֵׁרָה, *'ăšērāh*, אֲשֵׁרִים, *'ăšērīm*, see ASHERAH, § 1, and for (2) אֵשֶׁל, *'ēšel*, Gen. 21 33 AV, 1 S. 22 6 AV^mg. (cp 31 13), see TAMARISK.

GUARD. On the employment of men for the purposes of protection and of keeping watch, see ARMY (esp. §§ 4, 10), CARITES, CHERETHITES, DAVID, § 11 *a*, GOVERNMENT, § 21, FORTRESS.

1. *ṭabbāḥīm*, טַבָּחִים (*e.g.*, 2 K. 25 8); see EXECUTIONER (1) and cp CATTLE, col. 714, n. 1.

2. *rāṣīm*, רָצִים, 1 S. 22 17, RV, etc.; see ARMY, § 4, col. 314, CHARIOT, § 10.

3. *mišmār*, מִשְׁמָר, Neh. 4 22 *f.* [16 *f.*] EV (*it.* 49 [3], 7 3 EV 'watch'); the word primarily denotes the place where a watch or guard is posted (cp Gen. 40 3, מִשְׁמֶרֶת Is. 21 8 etc., in Neh. 7 3 משמר, προφυλακή; משמרת, προφύλαξ).

4. *mišma'ath*, מִשְׁמַעַת, 2 S. 23 23 ‖ 1 Ch. 11 25; see COUNCIL i., 2. Possibly to be emended to מִשְׁמֶרֶת (cp above).

5. σπεκουλάτωρ, Mk. 6 27 RV; see EXECUTIONER (3).

6. κουστωδία, Mt. 27 65 *f.*, RV.

7. On the captain of the guard, στρατοπεδάρχης, Acts 28 16 AV, cp CAPTAIN, 17, and see PRÆTOR.

GUDGODAR (גֻּדְגֹּדָה; cp Ar. *judjud^un* 'a cricket'; γαδγαδ [BA], γαδιγαδ [L], γαλγα.' [F]), a place-name in a fragment of an itinerary preserved in D (Dt. 10 7); cp HOR-HAGIDGAD, and see WANDERINGS, § 8.

GUESTS (קְרֻאִים), 1 Ki. 1 41. See MEALS, § 4, STRANGER, § 3 and SACRIFICE. For **Guest-Chamber** (κατάλυμα) Mk. 14 14 Lk. 22 11, see HOUSE, § 2.

GUILT OFFERING (אָשָׁם), Lev. 5 6 etc. RV, AV 'trespass offering'; see SACRIFICE.

GUM TRAGACANTH (נְכֹאת), Gen. 37 25 RV^mg., EV 'spicery.' See SPICE, 3; STORAX, 2.

GUNI (גּוּנִי—*i.e.*, 'Gunite'; γωυν[ε]ι [BADFL]).

1. A Naphtalite clan individualised (Gen. 46 24) Nu. 26 48 (γαυνει [B], ωγυνι [F]), 1 Ch. 7 13 (γωνει [B], γουνι [L]). The gentilic הגוני occurs in **Nu.** 26 48 EV, The **Gunites** (γαυνει [B]), and is read by most critics in 1 Ch. 11 34 (𝔊^A ο γωυνι; 𝔊^B for בני השם הגזוני has βεννααις ὁ σομολογεννουνειν, 𝔊^ℵ νεας ὁ σομογεννουνιν, 𝔊^L υἱοὶ ασομ τοῦ ζεννι) instead of EV's GIZONITE. See JASHEN.

2. A Gadite family individualised in 1 Ch. 5 15 (γουν[ε]ι [BAL]).

GUR, THE GOING UP TO, RV **The Ascent of** (מַעֲלֵה־גוּר; for similar combinations see ADUMMIM, AKRABBIM, and ZIZ), a place near IBLEAM [*q.v.*] where Ahaziah seems to have received his death-blow; 2 K. 9 27 (εν [προς] τω αναβαινειν γαι [BA], εν τη αναβασει γεθ [L]).

Josephus mentions no name; he has merely 'in a certain ascent' (ἔν τινι προσβάσει, *Ant.* ix. 6 3). The name appears as *Ger*, γηρ, in *OS*(2) 129 30; 247 96 Flinders Petrie (Syria *and Egypt*, 160) identifies Gur with the land of Gar in the Amarna Tablets; see art. below, and cp HORITES.

GUR-BAAL (גּוּר־בַּעַל), **a** place inhabited by Arabians (2 Ch. 26 7).

The Targum reads 'Gerar' instead of 'Gur'; cp 𝔊's 'Gerar' for 'Gedor,' 1 Ch. 4 39 [BAL], and note that in both passages of Ch. the MEUNIM [*q.v.*] also are spoken of. 𝔊, however, has (in 2 Ch. *l.c.*) ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας [BAL], which supports Kittel's suggestion of טור־בעל (Vg. cod. Amiat. *Turbaal*).

The rock or mountain of Baal might he the *Jebel Neby Hārūn* (see HOR, MOUNT, 1), the summit of which was doubtless always crowned by a sanctuary.

The neighbourhood of this sacred mountain would be inhabited by 'Arabians' before the later city of Petra arose. See Kittel's note (*SBOT*) and Buhl, *Edomiter*, 37, 41 (n. 4), and cp ARABIA, § 3.

Wi. (*GVI* 1 46 n. 1) reads בנור ועל־המעונים and identifies Gur with the Gar (= Edom) in the Amarna Tablets (237 23); hut see HORITE. Contrast the view of Flinders Petrie; cp preceding article. T. K. C.

GYMNASIUM (1 Macc. 1 14 2 Macc. 4 12 *ff.*). See HELLENISM, § 5, PALÆSTRA.

[1] On 𝔊's rendering of *Pĕlištīm*, in Is. 9 12, see PHILISTINES.
[2] For the Greek readings, see COCK, col. 855, n. 4.

H

HAAHASHTARI (הָאֲחַשְׁתָּרִי, the art. being prefixed; ΑCΗΡΑΝ [B], ΑCΘΗΡΑ [A], ΑΕCΘΟΥΡΕΙ [L]). A Judahite family which traced its origin to Ashhur (1 Ch. 4 6); perhaps we should read הָאַשְׁחוּרִי, 'the Ashhurite.' The error has arisen from a mistaken assimilation of the already corrupted name to אחשתרנים, Est. 8 10.
T. K. C.

HABAIAH (חֲבַיָּה [Bä.], but חֳבַיָּה [Ginsb.] 'Yahwè hides' or 'protects'; cp ELIAHBA, JEHUBBAH), a post-exilic priestly family which was unable to prove its pedigree, Ezra 2 61 (λαβεια [B], οβαια [A], ωδουια [L]) = Neh. 7 63, RV HOBAIAH (חֲבָיָה [Ba.], but חֳבַיָּה or חֳבָיָּה [Ginsb.]; εβεια [BA], αβ[ε]ια [ℵL]) = 1 Esd. 5 38, OBDIA (οββεια [B], οβδια [A], ωδουια [L]). See GENEALOGIES i., § 3 (2).

HABAKKUK (חֲבַקּוּק, § 66, αμβακουμ [BℵAQ], αμβακουκ Da. (Theod.) Bel [A] Complut., 4 Esd. 1 40† ABACUC; Frd. Del. compares Ass. *ḫambakuku*, the name of a garden plant, *Ass. HWB* 281, *Prol.* 84; cp Hommel, *Aufsätze*, 27 *f.* ['92]), the eighth of the minor prophets, about whom, in the absence of authentic traditions, legend has much to say.

1. Legends. In Bel and the Dragon Habakkuk is commanded to carry a meal to Daniel in the lions' den, for which purpose an angel seizes him by the hair and carries him to Babylon and back; and the same story is told, but more picturesquely, in the different *Lives of the Prophets*, which have reached us in a great variety of languages and forms. Here he is represented as a Simeonite, born at Beth-zechariah, and dying two years before the end of the Babylonian exile.[1] In the heading of the Codex Chisianus (see DANIEL § 16) Habakkuk is a son of Jesus of the tribe of Levi. No historical value attaches to any of these notices: their sole link of connection with the biblical book is the mention of the Chaldeans (Hab. 1 6) by which the prophet's place in history is approximately indicated.

2. First section: chap. 1 *f.* The book is divided by the new heading of 3 1 into two independent sections which demand separate treatment. The first two chapters are headed: 'The oracle (הַמַּשָּׂא) which the prophet Habakkuk saw.' The very first word, which had already been ridiculed for its ambiguity by Jeremiah (23 33-40) and strictly prohibited, is proof that the heading is due to a late editor (see ISAIAH ii., § 9). It need not surprise us therefore to find many traces of editorial intervention within the book itself.

I. Chaps. 1 *f.*, as we now have them, may be analysed somewhat as follows:—

1 2-4 sounds like a Psalm, or rather a Lamentation: the prophet complains to Yahwè that he is left to cry in vain for help against the oppression and tyranny of the wicked, from which law and justice are suffering.

1 5-11. Yahwè speaks *without any introductory formula* (such as 'And Yahwè said'). He is about to raise up the warlike *Chaldeans*, who will achieve complete success.

1 12-17. Again *without an introductory formula*, the prophet addresses Yahwè once more. He cannot understand how the God of Israel, himself holy and just, can look on while the sinner destroys the man who is better than himself, how the wicked is allowed to take men and peoples like fish with hook and net, and then to pay divine honours to these instruments of his wealth and greatness.

2 1: 'I stand upon my watch tower' etc. The prophet awaits the answer of Yahwè to his complaint.

2 2-4: 'Then Yahwè answered me,' etc. The prophet is bidden write and set up where all may read them the joyous tidings that help is coming in due time, and that the just who waits patiently shall live by his faith.

2 5 *ff.* Over the violent one who had made the nations his prey, these nations shall utter a taunting song which is comprised in five sections from *v.* 6*b* onward, each beginning with הוֹי or 'woe' (*vv.* 6*b*-8 9-11 12-14 15-17 18-20—in the last section the הוֹי is at the beginning of *v.* 19).

A. The taunting song just referred to stands apart as a separate section within the first two chapters of the book, although it is in connection with the preceding prophecy. We have therefore now to discuss 1 2-2 4.

3. Chap. 1 2-2 4. The question we have to consider is, to whom does this prophecy (1 2-2 4) relate? or, rather, to whom is salvation promised, to whom destruction threatened? Until quite recently it was universally held that the latter were the Chaldeans and the former the people subject to them, especially Israel.

The ground for this belief was that in 1 14 *ff.* 2 5 *ff.* the crafty and violent wrongdoer is altogether described as an imperial or world-power, and the sufferers as an aggregate of nations; and since the only such power named is the Chaldean (1 6), it was assumed that the prophecy was directed against this.

It is now, however, coming to be recognised that the matter is by no means so simple. Scholars cannot shut their eyes to the fact that in 1 6 the nation of the Chaldeans appears, not as the object of a divine judgment, but as its instrument.

It is Yahwè who will raise the Chaldeans up (הִנְנִי מֵקִים); the promise of victory is for them, the threatening is for others. Later, the relation of Yahwè to the hostile power is reversed; but in the text as we now have it this change does not come out clearly, and there is confusion in consequence.[1]

The present position of the question may here be briefly stated. The element of truth in the theories of earlier scholars has of late been rediscovered by several independent workers, notably Giesebrecht[2] and Wellhausen.[3] The present writer also, with equal independence of predecessors, pointed out (*St. Kr.*, 1893, p. 383 *ff.*) that 1 4 and 1 12 should be brought together, to which he added the entirely new theory that 1 5-11 is not an independent earlier prophecy but an integral part of the same prophecy removed from its original place, and that this prophecy is a threatening addressed not to Chaldea but to Assyria. It has, in fact, been overlooked that the prophecy, if it contains a threatening against a world-power, must be speaking not of one world-power only, but of two—*i.e.*, not only of the oppressor but also of the destroyer of that oppressor.

Why not, indeed? He who 'alone doeth great wonders' both can and does avail himself of secondary causes. The prophets are well aware of this, and Habakkuk himself, in his threatenings, gives clear expression to this truth (2 8). If, then the prophecy were directed against the Chaldeans we should have expected to find Cyrus as in II. Isaiah, the Medes as in Is. 13 17, or Elam and the Medes as in Is. 21 2 (cp also Jer. 51 27 *f.*), mentioned by name as the instruments of Yahwè's

[1] Cp two recensions of the *Vitæ prophetarum*, with numerous notes, by E. Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, 2 1, esp. 26 *f.* 57: also Delitzsch, *De Habacuci prophetæ vita atque ætate*(2), '42, and Hamaker, *Comm. in libellum de vita et morte prophetarum*, '33.

[1] The first to observe this was von Gumpach (*Der Proph. Hab.* '60) to whom de Goeje (review in *Nieuwe Jaarboeken*, etc., '61, p. 304 *ff.*) in the main assents. A full and discriminating account of their theories will be found in Kuenen's *Ond.*(1) 2 362; a more condensed statement is given in the second edition of this indispensable work, where the author's own revised opinion will be read with profit (German translation by Müller, 2 371 *ff.*).

[2] See his *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, 197 ['90], where strong arguments are brought to show (against Kuenen) that 1 12 ought to come immediately after 1 4. According to this scholar, the appropriate place for 1 5-11 (which is a piece complete in itself) is before 1 1. It is the Chaldeans, he thinks, who are here for the first time announced: they are described with imagery derived from the Scythians. The rest of the prophecy was written under the Chaldean yoke, probably during the exilic period.

[3] See his *Kl. Proph.* 162 *ff.* ('92); (3), 165 *ff.* ('98). Both with regard to the people addressed, and as to the origin of 1 5-11, he agrees with Giesebrecht; but he apparently makes all the prophecy pre-exilic. This it must be because 1 2-4 presupposes the existence of the kingdom of Judah.

justice,[1] or at the very least the announcement made that a warlike people should appear, even if no name were given. Instead of this, the power which is to cause the fall of the oppressor is not even referred to in the divine response given in 2 2-4; indeed, it is extremely doubtful whether the fall itself is spoken of in the obscure words of 2 4*a*.[2]

Now for our hoped-for solution. We have detached 1 5-11 from its surroundings, and must study it in and for itself.

4. 1 5-11 against Assyria. It describes how Yahwè, who speaks in the first person, calls up a warrior people that he may give it an unheard-of victory; by the 'for' (כִּי) in the beginning of *v.* 6 this word of Yahwè is linked to another that must have preceded it. A divine word of such deep import will exactly correspond to the prophet's anxiety in 2 1. The divine response waited for begins indeed in 2 2, but after *v.* 4 we find an unaccountable hiatus. Now, is it not obvious that the passage we have already isolated fills the hiatus, that it calls by its name the mighty warrior nation which is the destined conqueror of the oppressor? It will be objected: we cannot suppose that the Chaldeans are to abolish themselves? Of course not; but we have seen that the theory which identifies them with that oppressor rests *only* on 1 6. If now the Chaldean power in 1 6 is referred to, not as the oppressor but as the oppressor's conqueror, then the oppressor himself is the power which was vanquished by the Chaldeans, in other words Assyria: that is, the prophecy is directed not (as used to be thought) against the Chaldeans but against the Assyrians.

The view just indicated is supported by other weighty considerations.

1. The exceedingly vivid picture of the oppressor in 1 14 *f.* 2 5 does not suit the Chaldeans, whilst it fits the Assyrians, the Romans of the East, perfectly.

Not all at once, but by numerous separate efforts spread over three centuries, not merely by force of arms, but (as the angling metaphor suggests) by policy and craft, were so many petty principalities and more than one important kingdom swept into the hands of these robbers (cp Is. 10 5-11 13 *f.*). The Chaldean, on the other hand, far from being the unresting, persistent, grasping amasser of wealth, was simply the smiling heir. His conquest of Babylon threw the empire of the Euphrates and Tigris, like ripe fruit, into his hands, and his victory at Carchemish over the pharaoh Necho did the same with Western Asia: within a very few years—within twenty, if we reckon from the accession of Nabopolassar in Babylon—all had been accomplished. This does not correspond well with Habakkuk's figure.

2. Even if it were granted, however, that ultimately perhaps the Chaldean ascendency did come to partake of the character described, Judah at all events had no time allowed her to experience it.

The conquest of Nineveh brought relief rather than oppression to the whole of Western Asia; and even after the battle of Carchemish about 605 B.C. Judah would have had little to suffer at the hands of the Chaldeans had not Jehoiakim's senseless renunciation of his vassalage in 602 provoked their wrath. Between that date and 597 at latest the prophecy might conceivably have been directed against the Chaldeans; not later, because we find in it no trace of the hard fate of Jerusalem and Jehoiakim. This short interval is hardly long enough, however, to account for such a picture as we have in 1 14 *ff.*, and, moreover, within these years a prophecy of the fall of the Chaldean power would certainly have been most premature.

3. The strong personification of the enemy in the image of the fisher, as in 1 15 and elsewhere, is worthy of attention.

It is very appropriate in the case of the Assyrians, who are always designated by the singular *Aššûr*; and a splendid instance of a similar kind had already been supplied by Is. 10 5 *ff.* (see especially *v.* 14). It does not fit in with the plural *Kaśdim* nearly so well, and we notice that in 1 6 we at once meet with the apposition, 'the people,' etc., a phrase which controls the entire description down to *v.* 10.

Such is the only solution that meets the conditions of the problem. The argument is necessarily simple; no long historical discussion is required. The change of date involved is at most twenty-eight years, perhaps considerably less.[1] The counter-hypothesis offered by Rothstein, however carefully elaborated, labours under insuperable difficulties.[2]

We may therefore proceed to show how the theory adopted illuminates the whole prophecy.

That the 'law' in 1 4 is that of Deuteronomy needs no showing. The 'righteousness' claimed here and in 1 13 is the will for good produced by this law, the promulgation of which was accompanied by such high hopes. The weight of the long-continued Assyrian suzerainty, however, has crushed all effort (1 2-4). The righteous people feels itself worthy of freedom, and cannot comprehend how it is that Yahwè can passively watch the violence done (1 12-17). After uttering this complaint the prophet is commanded to write legibly upon a tablet that deliverance is coming but must be waited for with patience (2 1-4). Yahwè is about to send the Chaldeans, a warlike people which will subvert everything (1 6-10). Then the might of the Assyrian will be at an end and disappear without leaving a trace (1 11 2 5). Thus far the exposition (given by Yahwè himself) of the inscription in 2 3 *f.*[3]

This view of 1 2-2 5 has been variously received by scholars.

Accepted without qualification by Cornill (*Einl.*(3)(4) ['96]), and rejected by Davidson (*Nah. Hab.* and *Zeph.* ['96]) and Nowack (*Kl. Proph.* ['97]), it was again accepted by GASm. (*Twelve Proph.* 2 ['98]) and again rejected by Driver (Hastings, *DB* 2, ['99]). The objections are stated in detail by Davidson; for the other side reference may be made to GASm.

One point put forward by Davidson in his Appendix (137 *f.*) demands special notice. He lays stress on the fact that according to the recently discovered inscriptions 'those who accomplished the final destruction of Nineveh were the Medes alone, the Babylonians having no part in it.' He concludes 'that this course of events can hardly be said to give any additional plausibility to the interpretation of Habakkuk advocated by Prof. Budde.' It is difficult, however, on the other hand, to see how this 'course of events' could militate against the interpretation in question.

If the Chaldeans took no personal part in the final destruction of Nineveh, they at least were in alliance with the Medes who did, and they contributed all they could to the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire. Even if this had not been the case it is still conceivable that the prophet might by anticipation have erroneously assigned this part to them. If in point of fact, however—as Winckler had conjectured and the inscriptions now confirm—the Chaldeans held back from the final destruction of Nineveh and left the task to their allies simply because they shrank from the wrath of the gods of Nineveh, the fact remains that they were morally the authors of the overthrow as well as the others, and the prediction of the prophet according to the interpretation in question was completely realised.

Those who reject this interpretation are themselves divided into two camps. Nowack follows Giesebrecht

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1 M. Lauterburg (*Theol. Z. aus d. Schweiz*, 1896, p. 74 *ff.*) draws this inference. He reads in 1 6 'Persians' for 'Chaldeans,' and, accordingly, dates the whole book from the exile, including ch. 3, which could, he thinks, in this way be ascribed to the same hand.

2 Wellhausen justly remarks: 'However anxious he was about it, Habakkuk's revelation is surprisingly meagre. To bring at least some divine judgment out of it, the Septuagint [𝔊BAQ] has taken leave to translate in 2 4 οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ.' How near the acute critic is to a solution of the riddle! But for his low opinion of the prophet he might have reached it.

1 The death of Ašur-bāni-pal in 626 B.C., and the commencement of Nabopolassar's reign over Babylon in 625, constitute for our hypothesis the superior limit, the inferior is to be sought in the battle of Megiddo in 609 and the fall of Nineveh in 608.

2 See his article on Hab. 1 and 2, *St. Kr.*, 1894, p. 51 *ff.* Like the present writer he transposes 1 6-10 so as to stand after 2 5*a*; but he infers from 1 2-4 (*v.* 5 an editorial insertion) that the entire prophecy was originally directed against the *godless in Judah*, particularly King Jehoiakim, who was to be punished by the Chaldeans. This prophecy (1 2-4 12*a* 13 2 1-5*a* 1 6-10 14 [read וַיַּעֲשֶׂה] 15*a*), originally delivered about 605 B.C., was, he thinks, revised during the Exile; so as to make it an oracle against Babylon. Against this view compare the present writer's article, *Expos.* May, '95, 372 *ff.*

3 For the necessary emendations of the text see Budde, *Expos.* May, '95, p. 376, where an answer will be found to the objection of Davidson, *Nah. Hab. Zeph.* 55, that 'it is improbable that the same thing should be said of two different nations' (*v.* 11 of the Chaldeans, *v.* 16 of the Assyrians). It would seem that 1 11 also must be taken as referring to the Assyrians, and in the article already cited the present writer has even ventured to substitute אשור for the impossible ואשם before אז יחלף כרוח ויעבר: 'then shall disappear like the wind, and pass away, Asshur who has made his strength his God.' *V.* 11 simply refers back to *v.* 16 and explains it. [Ruben, more boldly, ה]אזבח] לרוח תעבר וְאָשִׂים חַכָּה לאלהי, 'Am I to sacrifice *to* the wind that passes? Am I to make the angle my god?']

and Wellhausen in simply removing 1 5-11, as being an older prophecy, from its present position and making *v.* 12 follow immediately on *v.* 4. Davidson and Driver, on the other hand, in spite of all the difficulties which they themselves acknowledge, prefer to retain the section in its present order, and thus essentially follow rhe view of H. Oort (*Th. T*, '91, pp. 357 *ff.*): 1 2-4 speaks only of the internal corruption of Judah, *vv.* 5-11 threaten this corruption with punishment through the instrumentality of the Chaldeans.

On this assumption the prophet loses his way, and his threatening comes to be directed against the Chaldeans. This sudden change of front is attributed to the personal peculiarity of the prophet. Only, Driver is inclined to assign 1 2-11 (not, as Giesebrecht, Wellhausen, Nowack, 1 5-11) to a date considerably earlier than that of the following sections.

B. The new section begins with 2 6, not with 2 5.

6. Chap. 2 6-20. Certainly 2 6 establishes a close connection with 2 5 by the words 'Verily they all of them (*i.e.*, 'all peoples,' with which *v.* 5 closes) will take up a parable and a taunting proverb against them and will say' (read וְיֹאמְרוּ). This introduction, like similar ones elsewhere, as for example in Is. 14 3 *f.*, presupposes that the enemy has already fallen. Only then is there any occasion to take up a 'māshāl' against the enemy. What we read in the following passage (2 6b-20), however, does not fit into the situation. The evil that befalls the enemy there lies wholly in the future, and is *throughout* expressed in the future tense (cp *vv.* 7 *f.* 11 13 16 *f.*). Rothstein accordingly has rightly deleted the introductory clause, *v.* 6*a* down to ויאמרו, as an editorial addition. In reality it is only the prophet himself (not the nations) who again takes up speech, after Yahwè has spoken, cataloguing the oppressor's sins with ever-recurring woes, and threatening him with punishment from God.

These things being so, we have in the first instance to suppose that the enemy in 2 6*b*-20 is the same as the enemy in the opening section of the book—in other words, the Assyrian. The strong personification cannot mislead us here; it corresponds exactly with what we have already read about the Assyrian in 1 13 *ff.* 2 5. On the other hand, the added introduction, *v.* 6*a*, leads us to anticipate editorial additions also in the body of the section.

As such may be pointed out (1) 2 12-14. Verse 12 is taken from Mic. 3 10. *v.* 13 is brought in as a Divine word (point, with 𝔊BNAQ, הִנֵּה) from Jer. 51 58 and *v.* 14 from Is. 11 9. In substance the entire passage is in harmony with the thought and feeling of the post-exilic community, but has little to do with Habakkuk's time. (2) *vv.* 18-20. For it is wasting time to charge a heathen king with his idolatry when Judah's one desire is to be rid of his tyranny. The passage recalls the manner of II Isaiah. Further, *v.* 18 stands before its proper 'woe' in *v.* 19. These verses must be transposed. probably *v.* 18 is a later amplification, wrongly brought in from the margin. Verse 20 may have had its origin in Mic. 1 2 and Zeph. 1 7. It closes the passage not unfittingly, hut perhaps was intended at the same time to prepare for the theophany in chap. 3.

The remaining three woes have all a beauty of their own and are strikingly characteristic. The first (2 6*b*-8) declaims against the plundering of the nations; the second (*vv.* 9-11) against the buildings for display or defence carried out at the cost of violence and forced labour; the third (*vv.* 15-17) against the ravishment of lands and peoples (*v.* 15 to be taken figuratively), in particular by the stripping of the forests and hunting-grounds of Western Asia. That all this admirably fits the case of Assyria is certain.]

The text, it is true, is very corrupt (see Wellhausen's suggestions). Perhaps it was the mutilation of the text that gave opportunity for the drastic revision we now have before us.[2]

6. Result as regards chap. 1 *f.* To sum up: in chaps. 1 and 2 the Assyrians, whose vassals the kings of Judah have continuously been since the time of Ahaz, are threatened with the overthrow of their empire by the Chaldeans. These Chaldeans, not to be confounded with the Babylonians, are a new and rising people whose seat is on the seaboard to the S. of Babylonia: once already in the seventh century they were a menace to the Assyrian empire for a time (2 K. 20); the danger was again in sight from the time when the Chaldean Nabopolassar secured for himself the throne of Babylon (625).[1] In 1 6-10 the prophet describes them as a people beginning to be known by hearsay, and the surmise of earlier scholars is no doubt correct, that the Scythian irruption (from about 630 onwards), of which the prophet himself had personal experience, supplied him, in part at least, with colouring for his picture. The time is more precisely determined by 1 4 as subsequent to Josiahs reformation in 621, but also (with equal certainty) prior to the death of that king in 609, so that, halving the difference, we may take 615 or (by preference) a slightly earlier time to be the date of composition. At that time the people of Judah was conscious of righteousness: indeed, even later, men saw in the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile the punishment, not of their own sins, but of those of king Manasseh (2 K. 24 3 Jer. 15 4), or of their fathers (Jer. 31 29 Ezek. 18 2). As the solitary expression of this mental attitude to be found among all the prophetic writings that have come down to us, the book of Habakkuk possesses peculiar value, and takes a high place among our sources for the history of the period.

The oracle, then, expected from the Chaldeans freedom and prosperity for Judah. The actual result was quite different: they were the instruments of Judah's overthrow. Of course, the responsibility for this must primarily be attributed to the bad policy of the kings of Judah and to the fanaticism of the patriotic party. Apart from these causes the prophecy of Habakkuk had every likelihood of being fulfilled. Jeremiah too could venture to promise the continuance of the kingdom if only it could decide to yield to the Chaldeans.

7. Successors and Predecessors. We can easily understand that in the exilic or the post-exilic period a prophecy which had been so sadly falsified could not escape alteration. By displacement of the passage in which good fortune was promised to the Chaldeans (now 1 6-10), and by other editorial changes, including perhaps removal of the name of Asshur, the prophecy was so transformed as to be capable of being interpreted of the fall of the Chaldeans. These alterations hardly belong to the exilic period, which produced its own oracles against Babylon and the Chaldeans. They are rather to be assigned to the great period of editorial activity—the fifth, perhaps, or the fourth century.

From a literary point of view, the original work of Habakkuk in its main features is plainly dependent on the great prophet of the preceding century, Isaiah. The picture of the Assyrian tyrants in 1 13-17 recalls Is. 10 5 *ff.*, the announcement of the Chaldeans in 1 6-10 suggests that of the Assyrians in Is. 5 26 *ff.*, and the three woes of 2 6*b*-17 the 'seven' woes of Is. 5 8-23 10 1-4. At the same time it is true that, as Rothstein has been at special pains to show, Habakkuk has also in details a very close affinity with his contemporary Jeremiah. One must not be in a hurry to infer that he copies Jeremiah: almost everywhere the facts of the case are explained by identity of period and circumstances. When all has been said, Habakkuk is entitled to be regarded as a well-marked prophetical and poetical personality: the remains of his work which have reached us are among the finest examples of prophetic literature, and have served as models to later writers, particularly to the authors of Is. 13 21 1-10. Unfortunately the text is not in good preservation, and cannot always be quite satisfactorily restored.

II. The concluding section of the book has words at

[1] For proofs see *St. Kr.*, 1893, p. 391 *f.*

[2] The view of Stade (*ZATW* 4 154-159 ['84]), who explains 2 9-20 as an interpolation speaking of a petty Palestinian tyrant, cannot he discussed here; see Kue. *Einl.* 2 371 *ff.* Against Rothstein, who explains the whole section, in its original form, of Jehoiakim, see *St. Kr.* as above, and *Expos.* May '94, p. 372 *ff.*

[1] For the proofs see *St. Kr.*, 1893, as above.

its opening and at its close which mark it out as a *psalmus* **extra** *canonem* [1] and give it the full apparatus of a poem fitted to be used in public worship. The only singularity is the division of the descriptive words into a superscription and a subscription: read 'A prayer of the prophet Habakkuk after Shigyōnōth (?)' and 'By the chief musician, with stringed instruments' respectively. Clearly, what is here the subscription must originally have come before v. 1.

8. Chap. 3 a psalm.

Adopting Wellhausen's suggestion, נגינות for שִׁגינות, we may restore the superscription thus למנצח בנגינות תפלה להבקוק הנביא (to the chief musician, on stringed instruments : a prayer of the prophet Habakkuk).[2] [See, however, SHIGGAION.]

In any case the words prove, as Kuenen rightly perceived, and as Cheyne (*OPs.* 156 *f.*) has well shown, that the piece, before it had its proper position assigned to it, belonged to one of the collections of psalms that were in use in the worship of the temple. Perhaps the only reason for its exclusion from the Psalms as we now possess them was that the editors of the prophetic canon had already appropriated it. They did so because it bore Habakkuk's name, just as in 𝔊, Pss. 146 **147 148,** which in the original text bear no author's name, are attributed to Haggai and Zechariah. (See PSALMS.)

To Stade belongs the credit of having first shown (*ZATW* **4** 157 *f.*) that the authorship of Habakkuk is on internal grounds impossible; but it is to Wellhausen that we owe the complete elucidation of this obscure composition (*Kl. Proph.* 166, (3) 170 *f.*). As he well remarks: 'It is the community that is the speaker. Awe-struck, it remembers that first great deed of Yahwè to which it owed as it were its existence, and yet it prays, Renew thy work in the midst of the years. The long-since founded theocracy has fallen into ruin, and a new foundation is desired. The child has become gray-haired, and "in the midst of his years" a new birth is sought for the sake of a happy final result, even though it will not take place without bitter pangs.'[3] In the description of the theophany which follows—extending from 3 3 to almost the end of the poem—the colours are derived exclusively from the deliverance from Egypt, as can be seen with sufficient clearness from vv. 3 7 8 *ff.* (cp, however, MIZRAIM). With this description of the deliverance wrought for the fathers that of the new deliverance now prayed for and expected becomes for the poet so blended that in remembering the one he seems to behold the approach of the other. Wellhausen leaves open the possibility that this may not always have been the case, and that the proper close of the poem has been lost, since *vv.* **17-19** cannot be the genuine one. This is possible, but by no means certain. Verse 17, which certainly seems strange, may give some fresh touches to the picture of the fate of the hostile people; but *vv.* 18 *f.* present not only a very appropriate contrast to this, but also a thoroughly **typical psalm-epilogue (see Ps. 13** 5 [6] *f.* **26** 11 *f.* **528** [10] *f.* **5916** [17] *f.* 75 10 [9] *f.*), and no sure inference can be drawn from the borrowing of *v.* 19*a* from *Ps.* 1832 [33] *f.*

9. Authorship of psalm.

Elsewhere also (as could easily be shown) the poem frequently recalls the psalms, and particularly the latest psalms. If we want a qnite infallible indication of post-exilic date, we have it in the special application of the phrase 'Yahwè's anointed' (*v.* 13)—*i.e.*, in the transference of the kingly title to the kingless but consecrated people (We. rightly refers here to Ps. **288** [𝔊BNART לְעַמּוֹ] **849** [10] 8938 [39] 51 [52] 105 15, also to Dan. **7 27**). The very late divine name 'Ĕlōăh' (*v.* 3) is also a decisive proof of the late date of the Psalm of Habakkuk (see PSALMS).[1]

The poetical value of the composition is not slight; but it suffers greatly from corruptions of the text (especially in *vv.* **9-11 13** *f.*), in correcting which Wellhausen has rendered excellent service. [See also HORN, MIZRAIM, ON [ii.], VILLAGE, 6, and cp Ruben, *JQR* **11** 451 *ff.* ('99), who rejects vv. 2, 17-19 as later additions, and arranges the genuine psalm in three stanzas of nine lines each, with 'corresponsio,' according to the theory of D. H. Muller.]

10. Literature.

The fullest catalogues of the earlier works on Habakkuk will be found in the otherwise unimportant commentaries of **A.** A. Wolff ('22) and **L.** Reinke ('70), where no fewer than 135 treatises are mentioned. Among modern works, besides those referred to in the course of this article, Franz Delitzsch's Commentary ('43) should not be overlooked (cp **also** *OT History of* ***Redemption***, **126** ['81]; *Isaiah*(4), **ET** 1 22 ['90]); see also A. B. Davidson, ***Nahum****, Habakkuk and Zephaniah* (Cambr. Bible), '96; **W.** Nowack, ***Die Kleinen Propheten*** in *HK*, **'96'** GASm. *The Book of the* ***Twelve*** *Prophets* 2 (Expos. Bible): '98. On Hab. **3** see also Nestle, *ZATW* 20 **167** ***f.*** **(1900).**

K. B.

HABAZINIAH, RV **Habazziniah** (חֲבַצִּנְיָה; χαβα-σ[ε]ιν [BℵAQ]), a Rechabite, or rather the home of a Rechabite (Jer. **353**). The name seems to be a corruption of קַבְצְאֵל, KABZEEL [*q.v.*]. ק and *ח* were confounded; ׳ intruded from יאוניה. Kabzeel was a place in S. Judah. (See, however, NAMES, § 39.)

T. K. C.

HABBACUC (αμβακουμ [BQ Theod.] *cud.* 87 [a]), Bel and Dragon, 33, 35, 39, RV HABAKKUK [*q.v.*].

HABERGEON (תַּחְרָא), Ex. 28 32 39 23 AV; RV COAT OF MAIL. See BREASTPLATE i.

HABOR (חָבוֹר, αβωρ [BAL]), **a** river in the land of GOZAN, near which were settlements of the Israelites deported by Sargon in the time of Hoshea, 2 K. **176** = **1811** (αβιωρ [B]), and also, according to the critically emended text [2] of 1Ch. ***526*** (χαβωρ [BA]), of the trans-Jordanic Israelites deported in the reign of Tiglath-pileser 111. It was the Ḫabur of the Assyrians (a name which it still retains), the Chabōras of classic writers (*αβορρας* [Strab.], *αβουρας* [Isidore of Charax], *αβωρα* [Zosimus], *χαβωρας* [Ptol.]). It is a tributary of the EUPHRATES [*q.v.*], which it enters about 36° N. lat.

For references to the Habur in the Assyrian annals see *KB* **1 39** (Tiglath-pileser I. hunts elephants on its bank), and 197 101 (Ašur-nasir-abal mentions the Habur and its 'mouths' in describing his conquests). Several important places lay near it. **Cp.** Del. ***Par.*** 183 *ff.* See CHEBAR.

HACHALIAH, RV **Hacaliah** (חֲכַלְיָה, probably ***a*** corruption of חִלְקִיָּה, Hilkiah; scarcely for חַכֵּהלְיָה, 'wait for Yahwè,' §§ 23, 34, 79; αχαλια [ℵAL]), the father of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 1 1, χελκεια [B], -κιου [L]; 10 1 [2], αχελια [Bℵ]).

T. K. C.

HACHILAH, HILL OF (גִּבְעַת הַחֲכִילָה, εχελα [BAL]; in 1 S. **261** χελμαθ [B], αχιλα [A]), a hill in the wilderness of Judah, associated with the wander-

1 It alone shares with the Psalms the following peculiarities: the use of the word ***Selah*** (*vv.* **3** 9 13; in the Psalms seventy-one times), the expression למנצח ('to' or 'by.' 'the chief musician' *v.* 19 : in the Psalms fifty-five times); the immediately following expression בִּנְגִינוֹת ('with' or 'on' 'stringed instruments'; **so** *to* he read, see below), used in *v.* 19 and in Pss. 4 6 **54** 67 **76**; the word תְּפִלָּה, 'prayer,' used to designate a poetical piece ***(u.*** 1 : Pss. 17 86 90 102 142 : cp also Ps. 72 20, according to which **all** Psalms admit of being called 'prayers'); the use of the ל *auctoris* in *v.* 1 (as also after תְּפִלָּה in Pss. 17 86 90 102); the word שִׁגָּיוֹן (in plu.), if it be genuine (Ps. **7**; see SHIGGAION).

2 It would be eccentric to argue from MT's בנגינותי **that** Habakkuk was a Levite and temple chorister : yet, probably enough, the inscription of Bel and the Dragon (cp above) presupposes this inference.

3 Wellhausen **has** put the case **ahove** so brilliantly that Oort's defence of the traditional view falls to the ground. To set aside the liturgical notes in **3 1** and 19*b* as editorial additions, and account for the obscurity and want of order in chap: **3** from the idiosyncrasy **of** Habakkuk, as in chaps. 1 **and 2,** is certainly inadequate.

1 In Hab. 1 11 read לֵאלֹהָו **(suffix** forms of אלוה do not occur).

2 Read 'In Halah and by Habor the river of Gozan and in Harhar a city of Media.' See HARA.

ings of David twice (1 S. 23 19 26 1 *f.*). On the former passage, see HORESH. It relates how the men of ZIPH [*q.v.*, 2] told Saul that David had found hiding-places 'in Hōrĕshāh, in the hill of Hăchīlāh, which is on the S. of the Jĕshīmōn.' In the latter passage, however, the same persons describe the same hill as being 'in front of the Jeshimon'—*i.e.*, where the desert begins. The second definition alone is correct.

In 1 S. 23 19 'on the south of the Jeshimon' is an error introduced from *v.* 24 (where the wilderness of Maon is referred to; see HORESH). Further references to the name are presupposed by 𝔊 in 1 S. 23 14 *f.* 19 26 1. In 23 14, where MT merely gives בהר 'in the mountain,' MSS of 𝔊 give a combination of readings, including εἰς ὄρος τὸ αὐχμῶδες and ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ αὐχμώδει; αὐχμ. corresponds to חכילה. Possibly for αὐχμῶδες we should read ἀμαυρόν, and so forth. So also in Mic. 4 8 for αὐχμ. read ἀμαυρός (=אֹפֶל). Bentley's suggestion of ἐν ἀμαυρῷ τόπῳ for ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ in 2 Pet. 1 19 seems indispensable. On ἐν τῇ καινῇ (*v.* 14) see HORESH.

Conder ventures to find a trace of the name Hachilah in the *Ẓahret el Kōlā*, a ridge which runs down from the plateau of Zif towards the desert of En-gedi. The name. is, however, by no means certain. In 1 S. 23 28 we meet with the name המחלקות (EV Hammahlekoth). 𝔊B's χελμαθ in 26 1 favours a reading המחלכת, which would be miswritten for הַמַּחְלְקוֹת, the name found in 23 28. A hill with rocky clefts seems to be intended.

The *Onom.* (*OS*(2) 256 3; 120 15) confounds Hachilah with KEILAH. Glaser, not very plausibly, reads 'Hachilah' for 'Havilah' in 1 S. 15 7 [see TELEM i.]. T. K. C.

RACHMORI. Jehiel, tutor of David's sons, is called 'the son of Hachmoni' in EV of 1 Ch. 27 32 (בֶּן־חַכְמֹנִי, ο τοΥ ΑχΑΜΕΙ [B], . . . -ΜΑΝΙ [A], . . . ΑΜΑχΑΝΙ [L]).

Jehiel is either an imaginary personage, whose description is borrowed from the Jashobeam of 1 Ch. 11 11 (see HACHMONITE, THE), or, as Marquart (*Fund.* 16) supposes, Jehiel is a substitute for Ishbaal, which is explained as יְחִיאֵל=יִשְׁבַּעַל. Certainly David's sons had a lion-hearted tutor, on the second hypothesis, for Ishbaal and Jashobeam are identical. T. K. C.

HACHMONITE, THE. In 1 Ch. 11 11 JASHOBEAM (*q.v.*, 1) is called בֶּן־חַכְמוֹנִי (ΑχΑΜΑΝ[ε]ι [BA], -ΜΑΝΝΙ [א], ΘΕΚΕΜΙΝΑ [L]), RV 'the son of a Hachmonite' (AV quite incorrectly, 'an Hachmonite'). It has been pointed out (see TAHCHEMONITE) that the true description of Jashobeam, or rather, Ishbaal, is most probably 'a man of Beth-cerem.'

This should also he substituted for 'the son of a Hachmonite' in 1 Ch. 11 11, and 'the son of Hachmoni' in 1 Ch. 27 32.

T. K. C.

HADAD (הֲדַד, § 57; ΑΔΑΔ [BADEL]; a Canaanitish and, some think, Aramæan name of the storm-god, who was known also as Rammān, Bir, and Dadda; cp Winckler, *AT Forsch.* 69, Schr. *KGF*, 371-395, 538; *KAT* 200-206, 454; Tiele, *BAG* 525; Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 76-78; Baethgen, *Beitr.* 67. The first-mentioned of the four gods of the N. Syrian kingdom of Ya'di is Hadad [Zenjīrli inscr.]. These references also illustrate the name BEN-HADAD).

1. h. Bedad, fourth king of Edom; Gen. 36 35 *f.* (*v.* 35 αδαμ [E]), 1 Ch. 1 46 *f.* See BELA ii., 1.

2. Eighth (?) king of Edom, 1 Ch. 1 50 (*a.* υιος βαραδ [BL; om. *vi. β.* A], *v.* 51 αδδα [B]); miswritten HADAR [*q.v.*], Gen. 36 39. See BELA ii., 1. The name of his city was PA'U [*q.v.*] or Pa'i. Probably, however, there is a considerable error in the text.

Pa'u is almost certainly corrupted from Pe'or, and this very probably from Bĕ'ōr, an alternative reading to Achbor in 1 Ch. 1 49. 'Son of Achbor,' or 'Son of Bĕ'ōr,' however, does not belong to BAAL-HANAN [*q.v.*, 1], who is really this Hadad's father. Thus the name of Hadad's city is not really given; there was a lacuna in the text.

He married a N. Arabian—a Miṣrite or Muṣrite, named MEHETABEL [*q.v.*, 1], who is also mis-described in the received text. Most probably he lost his life in the massacre referred to in 1 K. 11 15 *f.* The cause of the massacre isnnrecorded ; probably it was a retaliation. Cp **DAVID**, § 8 (*c*), EDOM, § 6.

3. (In 1 K. 11 17 אדר; αδερ [BAL].) According to the MT, which presents many difficulties, Hadad was a royal prince of Edom who escaped with some 'Edomites,' servants of his father, when Joab massacred 'every male in Edom,' by an obscurely indicated route to Miṣraim or Egypt (1 K. 11 14-22; but 'Miṣraim' should rather be 'Miṣrim'; see below). There he was welcomed, and received the sister of the queen Tahpenes as his wife. By her he had a son GENUBATH [*q.v.*]. On the death of David he returned home, and became 'an adversary to Solomon' (cp *v.* 25). According to the parallel narrative of the marriage of Jeroboam in L.'s text of 𝔊 (1 K. 12 36 Lag.; 12 24*e* Swete), which is evidently copied from a narrative of the marriage of Hadad, the name of the 'Egyptian' princess referred to in 1 K. 11 19 was Ano (Klo. reads אחנות, Ahnoth).

This reading (Ano), though accepted by Klo., Wi., Benz., Ki. as genuine, is merely a corruption of אֲחוֹת, 'sister (of)'; TAHPENES [*q.v.*] is also certainly corrupt. Indeed, textual criticism is much needed in this narrative. It was not to 'Miṣraim' (Egypt) hut to 'Miṣrim' (the N. Arabian Muṣri) that Hadad and his Mizrite followers fled, and he went there because MEHETABEL [*q.v.*, 1], his mother, was a Miṣrite. This N. Arabian land appears, both at this time and later, to have had a keen interest in the affairs of Palestine (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [*b*]). In what the 'mischief' which Hadad did to Israel on his return consisted, we are not informed (see EDOM, § 6).

See Winckler, *AT Untersuch.* 1-6; Benzinger, in *KHC*; Ki. in *HK*; Che. *JQR* 11 551-556 ('99). Winckler's attempted analysis of the Hadad narrative, though it has given a healthy stimulus to critics, was not preceded by a sufficiently thorough examination of the text. T. K. C.

HADAD (חֲדַד [Gi. Bä.]), eighth son of Ishmael, Gen. 25 15 RV (so Sam.; χοδδαν [A], χαλδα [*D*], χοδδαδ [EL]; Jos. *Ant.* i. 12 4 χόδαμος [conj. χοδαδος]), 1 Ch. 1 30 (χουδαν [B], χοδδαδ [A], αδαδ [L]). Gen. AV and 1 Ch. AVmg. and some printed Heb. editions, HADAR.

RADADEZER (הֲדַדְעֶזֶר, 'Hadad is help,' §§ 28, 43; 2 S. 8 3 *ff.* 2 S. 10 16 *ff.* and 1 K. 11 23, where 𝔊A has αδαδεζερ [*sic*; cp *v.* 14 in BL]), or, as some codd. and 1 Ch. 18 3 *ff.* 19 16 *ff.* (best codd.), and as EV also 2 S. 10, and Pesh. and 𝔊BAL everywhere, Hadarezer (הֲדַר עֶזֶר; αδρααζαρ [BL everywhere except αδραζαρ [B*] in 2 S. 10 16 and so B in 1 K. 11 14; A in 2 S. 8 10]; αδραζαρ [A in 1 Ch. 19 and אA in 1 Ch. 18 *f.*] with varr. in א, αδραζαρει [in 1 Ch. 18 3] and in א* αδραζα [1 Ch. 18 5], εδρααζαρ [1 Ch. 19 16]; the Hebrew is also written with *Makkef* everywhere in some MSS. An old Aramaic seal bears the letters הדרעזר; and a cuneiform inscription has Dad-'idri; cp Euting, *Ber. der Berl. Akad.*, '85, p. 679; Baeth. *Beitr.* 67).

The name of the king of Aram-zobah, who was defeated by David. See ARAM, § 6, DAMASCUS, § 6 *f.*, ZOBAH.

HADAD-RIMMON (הֲדַדְ רִמּוֹן; ρωΜΝΟC [BאAQΓ]; ܗܕܕ ܪܡܘܢ; *Adadremmon*), according to the usual interpretation of Zech. 12 11, a place in the plain of Megiddo (בְּבִקְעַת מְגִדּוֹן) where a great lamentation had taken place; it is further held that the occasion of the mourning was the death of JOSIAH (*q.v.*, 1) on the battlefield near Megiddo. This view dates from Jerome, who states (*Comm. in Zach.*) that Adadremmon is a village near Jezreel now called Maximianopolis. The latter place was an important station between Cæsarea and Jezreel, and von Raumer has, with probability, identified it with Legeon or Legio, the ancient MEGIDDO (*q.v.*).

1. Current views.

What authority (if any) Jerome had for his assertion, we know not; at any rate, we cannot connect Maximianopolis-Adadremmon with the modern village Rummāneh (so Van de Velde, Baudissin), for to this theory there is a geographical objection (see Buhl, 209), and any place with a pomegranate tree might he called Rimmon (whence Rummāneh). Apart from this, however, the traditional theory labours under these difficulties—that the state mourning for Josiah cannot have been elsewhere than in Jerusalem (2 K. 23 29 *f.*), and that Megiddo is מגדו, not מגדון.

The Targ. mentions the Josiah-theory only in the second place, and combines with it another, according to which Hadadrimmon, son of Tab-rimmon, was the slayer of Ahab, king of Israel, so that the phrase of the prophetic writer of Zech. 12 11 really means 'the mourning for Ahab hen Omri.'

Baudissin (*Stud. zur Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1 320) gives a new form to the Josiah-theory, explaining the disputed phrase, 'as the mourning for the battle of Hadad-rimmon.' This is surely

unnatural: nor can it be proved that there ever was such a place as Hadad-rimmon.

Hitzig and Movers see a reference to the mourning for the mythic ADONIS (*q.v.*) mortally wounded by a boar (Macrob. 1 21); 'women weeping for Tammuz' are referred to in Ezek. 8 14; 'the only one' (יָחִיד), Zech. 12 10 may also, it is held,[1] refer to Adonis. The obvious objection is that RIMMON (*q.v.*, i.) is certainly the Assyrian Storm-god Rammān. Even if the pomegranate tree was sacred to Tammuz, it is hazardous to suppose that Tammuz was called Rimmon.

There is need of a new theory which shall unite the elements of truth in earlier theories, and justify itself from some new source. 'The mourning for the only one' and 'the mourning of Hadad-rimmon' are parallel; the reference is to the mourning for TAMMUZ (*q.v.*). The original reading, however, was not Hadad-rimmon. 𝔊^BAQF read simply Rimmon (רמון). What then is the mythological name nearest to Rimmon that can stand in such a connection? The answer is, Either Migdon, or some name out of which Migdon is corrupted.

2. New theory.

Jensen has conjectured that *μαγεδων* in the apocalyptic *αρμαγεδων* (see ARMAGEDDON) may be identical with *μιγαδων* in *νεσιμιγαδων*, the name of a god of the underworld, corresponding to *ερεσχιγαλ*, the Babylonian Persephone;[2] and it has elsewhere been shown (see GOG) that 'Gog' and 'Magog' in Ezek. 38 39 are both corruptions of Migdon. Still, the Greek *μιγαδων* and the Hebrew Migdon do not seem to be identical. *Υεσεμιγαδων* is probably Eshmun-Adon (Eshmun and Adonis were identified in Cyprus); if so, *μιγαδων* comes from *μυναδων*. But מגדון, Migdon, given by MT in Zech. 12 11, is most probably a corruption of תמ[ו]ז[א]דון—*i.e.*, Tammuz-Adon. This is suggested by the only possible emendation of the corrupt word בבקעת in Zech. 12 11, and of the equally corrupt word בחור in Is. 66 17 (see TAMMUZ), viz. מְבַכּוֹת. The women who wept for the יחיד, or for 'Tammuz-Lord,' are naturally referred to in a prophecy so much influenced by Ezekiel. On the other hand, whereas Ezekiel takes Tammuz as a symbol of the power opposed to God (cp Belial, if this comes from Belili, the name of the *sister* of Tammuz, and goddess of the underworld, see BELIAL), the author of Zech. 12 1-13 6 merely refers to the mourning for Tammuz as an image of the mourning of the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for some great offence committed by them in the past. Render, 'In that day there shall be a great mourning in Jerusalem as the mourning of the women who weep for Tammuz-adon.'

'Hadadrimmon' may be neglected; apparently it owes its origin to a scribe's error. By a common accident מגדון became מרון; then a too clever scribe converted מרון into רמון, and glossed Rimmon by Hadad (Hadad and Rammān or Rimmōn were in fact identified). Thus the plausible reading Hadad-Rimmon grew up, and the door was opened to Jerome's misapprehension. Possibly 'Armagedon' in Rev. 16 16 (AV) is due to the conflation of two readings, 'Magedon' and 'Adarremman' (*αδαρρεμμαν*, for Hadadrimmon). For a parallel to the combination of רמון and מגדון, two rival readings in Zech. 12 11, see MIGRON. T. K. C.

HADAR (הֲדַר; ΑΡΑΘ ΥΙΟΣ ΒΑΡΑΘ [A], Α ΥΙ. ΒΑΡΑΔ [E], ΑΡΑΗ ΥΙΟΣ ΒΑΡΑΗ [E], ΑΡΑΘ ΥΙ. Β. [L]), a king of Edom (Gen. 36 39†). See HADAD, i. (2).

HADAR (חֲדַר [some printed edd.], חֲדַד [Bä. Gi.]), Gen. 25 15 AV; I Ch. 1 30 AV^mg., RV HADAD [ii.].

HADAREZER (הֲדַדְעֶזֶר), 2 S. 10 16. See HADADEZER.

HADASHAH (חֲדָשָׁה—*i.e.*, 'new [town]'; ΑΔΑΣΑΝ [B], -ΣΑ [A], -ΣΑΙ [L]), a town in the lowland of Judah, named between Zenan and Migdal-gad (Josh. 15 37†).

According to the Mishna (*'Erūbīn*, 5 6) it was the smallest place in Judah. Sayce (*Pat. Pal.* 165, 236) finds this name in the lists of Rameses II. and III.; but see W. M. Müller's remark (*As. u. Eur.* 166 top). It is to be distinguished from ADASA (*q.v.*). T. K. C.

HADASSAH (הֲדַסָּה, § 69, 'myrtle'; cp ΜΥΡΤΙΑ, ΜΥΡΡΙΝΗ; but see MYRTLE), the Jewish name of ESTHER [*q.v.*, § 7] in Esth. 2 7 (om. 𝔊^BNAL).

[1] So Movers, Lenormant, Lagarde.

[2] See Halévy, 'Le Rapt de Perséphoné par Pluton,' *Rev. Sém.*, '93, pp. 372 *ff.*; cp Jastrow, *Rel.* Bab. and Ass. 584.

HADATTAH (חֲדַתָּה), Josh. 15 25. See HAZOR-HADATTAH.

HADES (ΑΔΗΣ). 1. The word occurs ten times in RV of NT (AV 'hell') for the nether world (but 'unto Hades' in Mt. 11 23 is metaphorical); in 1 Cor. 15 55 [not Ti. WH], Rev. 6 8, and 20 13 *f.* this nether world is personified like Shĕōl in Hos. 13 14. In Mt. 16 18 it is represented as a city with gates like Shĕōl in Ps. 9 13 [14] (see GATE).

2. Hades is 𝔊's common rendering of *she'ōl*, שְׁאוֹל (see SHEOL). But also employed to render other expressions: (a) Is. 14 19 (אבני בור), 38 18 (יורדי־בור); see PIT; (*b*) Is. 28 15 Prov. 14 12 16 25 (מָוֶת), Job 33 22 (מוח); see DEAD, THE, § 2; (c) Ps. 94 17 115 17 (דּוּמָה); see SILENCE; (*d*) Job 38 17 (צלמות); see SHADOW OF DEATH. On the Hebrew equivalent, see SHEOL, and (on the whole subject) ESCHATOLOGY (see index under 'Shĕōl').

HADID (חָדִיד; ΑΔ[Ε]ΙΔ [AL]; cp the corrupt CALAMOLALUS of I Esd. 5 22). Our notices of Hadid are all post-exilic. Its people, along with those of Ono and Lod (Lydda), are included in the list (see EZRA ii., § 9, § 8 *c*) of 'children of the province,' Ezra 2 33 (*αρωθ* [B]) = Neh. 7 37 (*αδια* [BK]), and according to Neh. 11 34 *f.* (*αδωδ* [ℵ^c.a mg. inf. L]; Bℵ*A om. passage), these were among the places in Judæa that were inhabited by Benjamites.

The list of Benjamite towns, however, in Josh. 18 mentions none of them, though, according to the Mishna (*'Ărākhīn*, 9 6), Hadid and Ono were fortified as early as the time of Joshua, and 1 Ch. 8 12 asserts that Ono and Lod, with the towns thereof, were 'built' by Shemed a descendant of Benjamin.

Hadid, or, in its Greek form, ADIDA in the Shephēlah, (*αδ[ε]ιδα* [ℵA]), but also 'over against the plain' (*ἐν ἀδίδοις* [A], *αδεινοις* [ℵ*], *αδειδ.* [ℵ^c.a], *αδιμοις* [V], *κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου*) was at any rate fortified and 'made strong with gates and bars' by Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 12 38 13 13; cp GASm. *HG* 202).

As Ἀδδιδα or Ἀδιδα it is also referred to by Josephus, from whom (*BJ* iv. 9 1) we learn that it commanded the road from the coast to Jerusalem.

Jerome (*Onom.* 93 1) describes Aditha as near Diospolis (Lydda) in an easterly direction. This enables us with considerable probability to identify it with the modern *el-Ḥadīthe*, about half an hour eastward from Lydda, and since Thotmes III. in his Karnak list refers to Hadid among other southern cities as Ḥuditi (no. 76), it is probable that the modern form correctly represents the ancient name. Cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 159, 165. T. K. C.

HADLAI (חַדְלָי), an Ephraimite, father of Amasa, 2 Ch. 28 12 (ΧΟΔΑΔ [B], ΑΔΛΙ [A], ΑΔΛΙ [L]).

HADORAM (הֲדוֹרָם, 'the beloved of the High One'? Baeth. *Beitr.* 67, n. 6. Possibly for אֲדוֹרָם. Hilprecht ['98] mentions a Jewish name Addu-ramu [see ADONIRAM]. Cp Sayce, *RP*^(2) 4 70 ['90].[1] For another view see Hommel, *Exp. T.* 10 329 [Ap. '99]; *αδωραμ* [L]).

1. A son of Joktan (Gen. 10 27; *οδορρα* [AE], -*μ* [L]; 1 Ch. 1 21; om. B, *κεδουραν* [A]). The name is obscure. D. H. Müller (*Burg. u. Schlösser*, 1 360 *f.*) and Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 426 *f.* 435) compare *Dauram* near Ṣan'ā (which is identified with UZAL [*q.v.*]) in Yemen. The name seems to appear in Sabæan as הדרום (*CIS* iv. 1 1).

2. Son of TOI (see TOW): 1 Ch. 18 10 (*ιδουρααμ* [B], -*ραμ* [ℵ], *δουραμ* [A]). The same form should be restored (with Ew., We., Bu., HPSm.) for JORAM in 2 S. 8 10, where 𝔊 has *ιεδδουραν* [BAL] [Josephus has *ἀδώραμος*] = יְדוֹרָם (on which form cp IDDO ii.). Sayce's remark on the name 'Joram' (*Early Hist. Heb.* 423) will hardly be accepted.

3. 2 Ch. 10 18, see ADONIRAM.

HADRACH (חַדְרָךְ, ΣΕΔΡΑΧ [BK: -Κ, AQ] = Shadrach), a region of Syria, mentioned by an archaism in Zech. 9 1 (late; see ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF, § 6).

'A word has Yahwè sent into Hadrach, and upon Damascus does it light; for Yahwè's are the people of Aram, as well as all the tribes of Israel.'[2]

[1] Baethg. (*Beitr.* 76) compares Šamaš-rammān, Ašur-rammān, Ilu-rammān.

[2] Insert שָׁלַח after דָּבָר (Is. 9 7 [8]), and, with Ball, read עַם אֲרָם (Am. 1 5). See *JQR* 10 581 ('98).

In Rabbinic times, the name was explained on the same principles as ABRECH as 'sharp-tender,' a compound name of the Messiah. The view did not satisfy every one, however, and R. Josè, whose mother was from Damascus, identified Hadrach with a locality near that city, bearing the same name.' This evidence stood alone till the name Hatarika was found in the Assyrian inscriptions sometimes beside Damascus, sometimes beside Zoba, Zemar, and Arka. In the list of eponyms, three expeditions to the land or city of Hadrach are recorded in 772, 765, and *755 (COT* **2** 190 *ff.* ; cp Del. ***Par.*** 279) — and in Tiglath-pileser III.'s account of his war with 'Az(s?)riyâhu Jaudai' (see UZZIAH) the city of Hatarika is mentioned as tributary to Assyria (*KB* **2** 27).

Lately the name Hadrach has been detected in a corrupt word in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5 21 ; see KADESH, 2). Hadrach seems to have formed part of the Hittite country, and furnished men to Sisera's army. Certainly too חדרך should he restored in Ezek. **47** 15 for the impossible הַדֶּרֶךְ. See HETHLON.

T. K. C.

RAGAB (חָגָב, **§ 68**, 'grasshopper' ; cp HAGABA, HAGABAH ; ΑΓΑΒ [BAL]), a family of NETHINIM (*q.v.*), in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii. § 9); Ezra 2 46 = Neh. 7 48 (ΓΑΒΑ *[K]*, om. MT 𝔊^B EV) = 1 Esd. 5 30† (AGABA AV, ACCABA RV ; ΑΚΚΑΒΑ [B], ΓΑΒΑ [A]). The same name is borne by a NT prophet (AGABUS : Acts 11 28 **2110).**

RAGABAH (חֲגָבָה, **§** 68 ; 'grasshopper,' Ezra [Aram.]) or **Hagaba** (חֲגָבָא, Neh.), a family of NETHINIM (*q.v.*) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii. § 9) ; Ezra 2 45 (ΑΓΑΒΑ [BAL]) = Neh. 7 48 (ΑΓΑΒΑ [BℵL], ΑΓΓΑΒΑ [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 29 (GRABA, RV AGGABA, ΑΓΓΑΒΑ [B^{a.b mg.}A], ΑΓΑΒΑ [L]).

HAGAR, and **Hagrites** or **Hagarenes** (הָגָר,[2] הַגְרִים, הַגְרִ(י)אִים ; ΑΓΑΡ [BADEQL], ΟΙ ΑΓΑΡΗΝΟΙ [BTL]). Hagar is introduced to us in Gen. 16 1 [J] as an Egyptian slave of Sarah, a description which is repeated by **P** in *v.* 3. All the three narrators (J, E, and P) agree that she bore Ishmael to Abraham, and it is plain that the story of her flight or expulsion symbolically expresses the separation of the Ishmaelites from the Israelites.[3]

1. Hagar in Hexateuch.

We have two parallel versions (Gen. 16 1*b* 2 4-7 11-14 [J] 21 8-21 [E]) of this story and of the oracle respecting Ishmael given at a well in the desert (see BEER-LAHAI-ROI); these have been harmonised by means of an interpolated passage (16 8-10) in which Hagar is commanded to return to her mistress. The interpolator, however, does not express the intention of the original tradition ; probably J made Hagar give birth to Ishmael at Beer-lahai-roi (We. *CH*^{(2)} 21 *f.*). That Hagar appears as a slave-woman is a necessary consequence of the theory on which the Hebrew myth is based, the notion being that Ishmael was of inferior origin. (On the geographical details of these narratives, cp ISHMAEL, § 1, MIZRAIM, § 2 [*b*].)

Like Ishmael and his twelve sons, Hagar is no doubt the personification of a tribe or district. In several passages of the OT we read of a nomadic people called the Hagrites. In Saul's days the tribe of Reuben waged a successful war against them, seized their ***tents*** and took possession of their territory throughout all the land to the E. of Gilead (1 Ch. 5 10 RV **Hagrites,** AV **Hagarites;** *τοὺς παροίκους* [BA]). This campaign is perhaps identical with that described in *vv.* 18-22 ***(v.*** 19 *οἱ ἀγαραῖοι* [A], *v.* 20 *ἀγεραῖοι* [B], *ἀγορ.* [A]) of the same chapter, which refer to victories gained by the tribes beyond Jordan over the Hagrites and other foes (Jetur, Naphish, and Nodab). The numbers, it is true, are here enormously exaggerated, and the whole story is moulded in accordance with the religious conceptions of the later Jews; but observe that the principal booty consists of camels ; the people in question must therefore be nomads. In 1 Ch. 27 31 (6 *γαδαρι* [L], 6 ***γαρειτης*** [B], 6 *ἀγαρίτης* **[A]),** a Hagrite (RV; AV **'Hagerite'**) figures as chief overseer of David's flocks ; but Hagri ('a Hagritk') in 1 Ch. 11 38 is an incorrect reading (see HAGRI). Ps. ***836*** [7] ***(οἱ****αγγαρηνοι* [B*ℵAR], *οἱ αγαρηνοι* [B^bT]) (Maccabean) mentions the Hagrites (EV **Hagarenes)** among the enemies of Israel.

2. Hagrites.

Moreover Eratosthenes (cited by Straho, 767) classes the 'Αγραῖοι with the Nabatzans and the **Chaulotzans,** placing them to the **E.** of Petra. Dionysius (*Perieg.* 956), **who** refers to the **'Αγρέες** in connection with the Nabatæans and the Chaulasians, seems to have derived his information from Eratosthenes. Ptol. ***(5*** 18), presumably following some ancient authority, couples the **'Αγραῖοι** with the **Βαταναῖοι,—*i.e.*,** the inhabitants of Bashan, a **district** which, at least during certain periods, was occupied by Israelites. These statements are all **in** harmony.

The Hagrites, we must suppose, were a pastoral people who wandered hither and thither in the Syrian desert to the E. of the Israelites. What is the precise ethnographical relationship denoted by the portrayal of Hagar as the mother of Ishmael remains altogether obscure, like so many other genealogical affinities between the mythical ancestors of tribes.'

The *Agræi* of Pliny, 6 28 **(§** 154**),** have no connection with the Hagrites, but dwelt, **on** the contrary, in Yemen ; the occurrence of the name in another passage (*ib.* **§** 161) depends on a hazardous conjecture.

In later times the term **'** Hagarenes' was applied by Christians to Muslims, and from the name of Hagar the Syrians even formed the verb ***ahgar*** **or *ethhaggar,*** 'to become a Muslim,' as well as the noun *Mahgrāyā*, 'a Muslim,' whence are derived the late Greek words ***μαγαρίτης, μαγαρισμός, μαγαρίζειν* ; but** all this is based simply on the OT, the name of the bondwoman being attached, by way of insult, to her supposed descendants.

T. N.

A word must be added regarding the use made of the story of Hagar by Paul (Gal. 4 24-26). The apostle neither affirms nor denies the historical character of the narrative; his sole interest is in its esoteric meaning. To this he attaches the greatest weight, as it enables him, in accordance with Rabbinical methods, to prove the temporariness of the Jewish religion. Hagar and Ishmael, Sarah and Isaac are therefore allegoric (*ἀλληγορούμενα*) ; the Sinaitic **'** covenant **'** corresponds to Hagar, the Christian to Sarah (contrast Philo's explanation : Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, 2 243 *ff.*). As Hagar was a bondwoman, so too is the present Jerusalem ; as Sarah was free, so also is 'Jerusalem which is above.' Let the Galatian Christians, who belong to this Jerusalem, refuse to be forced under the Sinaitic covenant, lest they fall under the doom of Hagar and her son.

3. Gal. 4 24 *ff.*

The sense of the passage has been obscured by the gloss, pointed out by Bentley and others,[2] ***τὸ δὲ Ἄγαρ Σινὰ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ*** (WH ; 'Now this Hagar is Mt. Sinai in Arabia'); the following words ***συστοιχεῖ δέ*** are really the continuation of ***ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἄγαρ*** ***(v.24);*** probably, however, we should read, not ***συστοιχεῖ δέ,*** but ***συνστοιχοῦσα*** (D*FG ; pr. ***ἡ*** FG; ***qui con-junctus est,*** Vg., Victn.). What does the gloss mean? Some (cp the comment of Chrys.) assume that *ḥajar*, 'a stone,' was a name given to Mt. Sinai by the Arabs whom Paul had met. The order of the words ***τὸ 68 Αγαρ Σινα ὄρος*** (instead of **ὄρος Σινα,** as in *v.* 24), however, favours the view that **Αγαρ** is a later addition to the gloss, and there is strong MS authority (NCFG) for the omission of Αγαρ. The recognition of this makes the gloss more intelligible. (RV adopts the reading *τὸ γάρ*, but ***γάρ*** is evidently an alteration to improve the sense,)

T. N. **§** 1 f: ; T. K. C. **§ 3.**

[1] *Siphrē*, ed. Friedmann 65 (Neub. *Géogr.* 297). The lexicographer, David ben Abraham, also places Hadrach at Damascus. Olsb. (*Lehrgeb.* 411) emends into חַוְר 'Haurān.'

[2] ***Hagar*** not only in Ethiopian but also in some Arabic dialects denoted 'settlement, village, town' ; the name of the tribe, whose eponym is Hagar, may he derived from that word, though we know the tribe but as nomadic ; a settlement named Hagar (as several in Arabia are named) was perhaps the centre of the sons of Hagar.

[3] On Gal. **4 24-26** see below, **§ 3.**

[1] The only reference to the Hagrites ('sons of Hagar') in the Apocrypha is in Baruch **3 23**, where they' are mentioned tbgether with Teman, and described as those 'who seek after wisdom.'

[2] For references, see Bakhuyzen, ***Over de toepassing van de conjectuuraal-kritiek,*** 273 ('80).

HAGGAI or [in 1 Esd.] AGGEUS, AGGÆUS (חַגַּי; αγγαιος [BℵAQΓL];[1] perhaps 'born on the feast day,' § 72; unless -ai is substituted for -yah [cp MATTENAI, ZACCAI]. In this case Haggai = either Ḥag-iah, 'feast of Yahwk' [Olsh. § 277 *b*], or, by contraction, Hagariah. 'Yahwk hath girded' [We. in Bleek's *Einl.*(4) 434]. Hilprecht has found the Jewish name Hagga on a tablet of fifth century B.C. from Nippur, *PEFQ* Jan. *'98*, p. 55). A contemporary of Zechariah, with whom he was associated in his prophetic ministry (Ezra 5 1 1 Esd. 6 1 7 3).

1. The name and the man.

His book contains four short prophecies delivered between the first day of the sixth month and the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month—that is, between September and December—of the second year of 'Darius the king'—*i.e.*, of Darius Hystaspis (521-485 B.C.). From the language of the prophet in chap. 2 3 we may perhaps infer with Ewald that Haggai was one of those who had seen the temple 'in its former glory,' and that his prophetic work began in extreme old age. This supposition agrees well with the shortness of the period covered by his book, and with the fact that Zechariah, who began to prophesy in the same autumn, afterwards appears as the leading prophet in Jerusalem (Zech. 7 1-4). Whether he was ever in Babylonia or whether he had been continuously in Jerusalem (cp 'her [Jerusalem's] prophets,' Lam. 2 9), we are not told, nor can we venture to trust the later traditions respecting him (in the *Vitæ Prophetarum* ascribed to Epiphanius, and copied by Dorotheus and by Hesychius of Jerusalem).[2] His name occurs in the titles of certain psalms in LXX (Pss. 112 [R] 145-148 149 [R]) and other versions; but no inference can be drawn from this. These titles vary in the MSS, and Eusebius did not find them in the Hexaplar 𝔊.[3] They have no critical value.

2. The four prophecies.

(*a*) In his first prophecy (1 1-11) Haggai rebukes the people for leaving the temple unbuilt while they themselves dwell in panelled houses. The prevalent famine and distress are 'because of Yahwè's house that lies waste, while the Jews are zealous (enough) for their own houses.'[4] Let them 'build the house, and Yahwè will take pleasure in it and glorify himself' (*i.e.*, accept the honour paid to him). The rebuke took effect, and the people began to work at the temple under the leadership of Zerubbabel the governor and Joshua the high priest (1 12-15).[5]

(*b*) In a second prophecy (2 1-9), delivered in the following month, Haggai forbids the people to be disheartened by the apparent meanness of the new temple. The silver and gold are the Lord's. Soon 'he will shake all nations, and the choicest things (point חֲמֻדֹות) of all nations will come' (*i.e.*, will be brought) to adorn his house. Its glory will be greater than that of the former temple, and in this place Yahwè will give peace. Here 𝔊 adds, *καὶ εἰρήνην ψυχῆς εἰς περιποίησιν παντὶ τῷ κτίζοντι τοῦ ἀναστῆσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον*, which Wellhausen cleverly reproduces in Hebrew so as to give the sense, 'and rest of soul, to repair all the foundation, to raise this temple.' Probably the passage really belongs to Haggai, and was omitted by a later scribe in deference to the narrative of the Chronicler (so Now.).

(*c*) A third prophecy (2 10-19) contains a promise, enforced by a figure drawn from the traditional theory of holiness, that God will remove famine and bless the land from the day of the foundation of the temple onwards. 2 17 is inserted in an incorrect form from Am. 4 9 (We.).

(*d*) Finally in 2 20-23 (unnecessarily doubted by Böhme) a special prophkcy is addressed to Zerubbabel, who is not indeed expressly called a son of David, but receives a promise which is hardly intelligible unless he were one. 'I will shake the heavens and the earth,' is the terrifying exordium, 'I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen.' But fear not, O Zerubbabel, for 'in that day, I will make thee as a signet' (thus reversing the doom of Zerubbabel's grandfather Jeconiah, in Jer. 22 24), 'for I have chosen thee.' To what high dignity Zerubbabel is called, we are not expressly told; but, comparing Zech. 6 12 *f.*, we cannot doubt that he is to become the Messianic king. See ZERUBBABEL.

3. Difficulties.

(*a*) What induced Haggai (and Zechariah) to come forward in the second year of Darius with the exhortation to rebuild the temple and the promise of kingship to Zerubbabel? Why had they waited sixteen years before stirring up the people to restore the sanctuary? And why did they address their promises to Zerubbabel rather than to his predecessor? The answer is that a startling historical event had opened their eyes to the will and purpose of Yahwè. Just after the accession of Darius to the throne of Persia, revolts broke out in different parts of Eastern Asia. In Babylon, two pretenders successively assumed the favourite name of Nebuchadrezzar, and even where there was no rebellion the hope of the recovery of independence must have revived.'[1] Can we doubt that such hopes were awakened in Judah? Must not Yahwè's prophets have heard in these events the rumbling of the chariot-wheels of the Most High? Of a surety, the Messianic era was at hand, and the temple must be quickly prepared to receive the Great King.

(*b*) Another question forces itself upon the mind. What is the cause of the indifference of the Jews to the desolate condition of their sanctuary? The restoration of the temple and its worship was the necessary expression of the faith that the service of Yahwk was the true national vocation of Israel. How was it that, so soon after 527 B.C., the people of Jerusalem so completely forgot their ideal calling as the nation of the true God? Our surprise would be diminished if Haggai made any allusion to a party of stricter adherents of the Law and more zealous worshippers of Yahwk. Allusions of this kind, however, which are not wanting in the post-exilic Palestinian portions of Is. 40-66, are not to be found in this book. Some scholars think that the only natural explanation is that no considerable body of exiles had as yet returned, and that those who had arrived (in the train of Sheshbazzar?) belonged to the more secular-minded portion of the Babylonian community. The people whom Haggai addresses in 2 3 as having, some of them, seen the first temple, are in fact (it is thought) almost entirely Jews who had never been to Babylon.

(*c*) A third question may arise—how is it that Haggai makes no direct reference to moral duties? In this respect he falls below Zechariah. The reason may possibly be that the notes of his prophecies are incomplete. We need not therefore believe that the only command of Yahwè the neglect of which he regrets is the erection of a house for Yahwè's dwelling-place. It remains true, however, that both Haggai and Zechariah give precedence to a duty which to us

1 In Hag. 1 1 𝔊B* has αγγεος, a reading adopted by 𝔊ℵ in every passage.

2 See the double recension in Nestle, *Marg.* (Haggai, pp. 26 *ff.*). Epiphanius says that Haggai came up from Babylon while still young, prophesied of the return of the people, saw [in part] the building of the temple, and on his death received an honoured burial near the priests. The fuller recension adds, *καὶ αὐτὸς ἔψαλλεν ἐκεῖ πρῶτος ἀλληλουια· ὃ ἑρμήνευεται αἰνέσωμεν τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ αμην* (sic). It closes with the words, *διὸ λέγομεν αλληλουια, ὅ ἐστιν ὕμνος Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου.*

3 On this subject cp Köhler, *Weissag. Haggai's*, 32; Wright, *Zech. and his prophecies*, Introd. xix. *f.*; B. Jacob, *ZATW* 16 290 ['96]; and see note on Ps. 145 1 in Field's *Hexapla*.

4 Read חָרֵצִים for רָצִים (*v.* 9). 'While ye each run every man to his own house' (RV) is clearly not correct. We. now reads רֹצִים איש בביתו; hut 'while ye delight every man in his house' is an infelicitous substitnte for the received text. Robertson Smith, like every other critic until of late, thought the reference was to the providing of costly houses for rich men among the returned exiles. The majority of the people, however, cannot have been returned exiles, and in any case the received text will not bear the strain put upon it. It was not merely their houses but their fields which called forth the 'zeal' of the Jews (*vv.* 6 9); 'house' has a wide sense (as in Gen. 15 2 Job 8 15).

5 The section is altogether narrative; *v.* 13, which professes to give a short prophecy of Haggai, being evidently a gloss from the margin (Böhme, *ZATW*, *1887*, p. *216*). The second part of the verse is taken from 2 4 (where moreover the very same words are followed by another gloss, which is not given by 𝔊). The first part would certainly have been expressed differently by Haggai. One phrase in it ('Yahwè's messenger') gave rise to the notion, mentioned by Jerome and Cyril of Alexandria, that Haggai was really an angel, and had only in appearance the human form. The same fancy was entertained with regard to Malachi and John the Baptist.

1 See Ed. Meyer, *Entst.* 82 *ff.*; Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 14.

must appear a secondary one. Both stood on the threshold of a new age, and though they performed the task of the moment successfully they had not the varied gifts which the creation of a new people demanded. See ZECHARIAH, § 2.

4. Haggai's style. The style of Haggai is truly described by Kirkpatrick (Sm. *DB*(2) 11265) as tame and prosaic. Evidently the notes of his discourses have not been touched up by a more literary writer; his repetitions have not been pruned. Telling passages, however, are not altogether wanting (see 169 2 16), and the frequent interrogations give life to the addresses.

6. Literature. Among older books, the learned commentary of Marckins may be specially mentioned, nor must we omit Rosenmiiller's still useful *Scholia*. Kohler's comm. ('60) is elaborate and valuable. Reinke's work ('68) gives the views of a scholarly Roman Catholic. It is'hardly needful to mention Pusey, Wellh., GASm., Dods, and the books of introduction. Duhm's *Theol. des Propheten* ('75), however, should be added to the student's list for a historical view of the place of Haggai as a prophet, and Kosters' *Het herstel van Israel* (pp. 19-24) for a suggestive treatment of the question, Were there returned exiles among the people addressed by Haggai and Zechariah? W. R. S.-T. K. C.

HAGGEDOLIM (הַגְּדוֹלִים), Neh. 11 14 RV. See ZABDIEL, 2.

HAGGERI (הַגְרִי), 1 Ch. 11 38† AV, RV HAGRI (*q.v.*).

HAGGI (חַגִּי, 'born on the feast day,' § 72), b. GAD [*q.v.*, i. § 13] (Gen. 46 16, ἀγγεις [ADL] = Nu. 26 15, ἀγγ[ε]- [BAFL]) ; gentilic, **Haggite,** Nu. 26 15 (הַחַגִּי ; ὁ ἀγ γ[ε]ι [BAFL]).

HAGGIAH (חַגִּיָּה, 'my feast is Yahwè,' § 72), a Merarite (1 Ch. 6 30 [15], ἀγγια [A], αμα [B^a], ανaια [L]). In 𝔊 the Merarite names cannot always be identified with those in MT.

HAGGITH (חַגִּית, § 72, perhaps born on the feast day,' § 99, ἀγγ[ε]ιθ [BAL]), wife of David and mother of ADONIJAH [*q.v.*, 1]: 2 S. 3 4 (φεγγειθ [B], φενγιθ [A]; 1 K. 1 5, ἀγιθ [A], L substitutes δαγιδ, 11 ; 2 13, ἀγειθ [A om. B], 1 Ch. 3 2). Perhaps חגית is an early corruption from הַגִּתִּית, 'the Gittite'; the mention of a wife from Gath after those from GESHUR (2), Caleb, and Jezreel, would be quite suitable; see DAVID, § 11 *(d)*, col. 1032. S. A. C.

HAGIA (ἀγια [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 34 AV = Ezra 2 57, HATTIL [q. u.].

HAGRI. AV **Haggeri** (הַגְרִי, 'a Hagrite'; ἀγαρει [Bℵ], αγαραι [A], αγηρι [L]), an incorrect reading for 'the Gadite' (הגדי) in 1 Ch. 11 38†, where 'Mibhar son of Hagri' should'rather be '. . . of Zobah, Bani the Gadite' as in 2 S. 23 36 (see Dr. *ad loc.*).

HAI (הָעַי), Gen. 13 3 AV; RV AI (*q.v.*, 1).

HAIL (בָּרָד, cp Ar. *barada*, to he [become] cold; χαλαζα; אֶלְגָּבִישׁ[1] [Ezek. 13 11 13 (λιθους) πετροβολους,—*i.e.*, חַלָּמִישׁ? 3822 χαλαζα]). Hailstones were devoutly regarded as proofs of God's might (Ecclus. 43 15 and 𝔊); he kept them in his 'store chambers' (Job 38 22, cp SNOW); they served as his weapons (Josh. 10 11, cp Ecclus. 46 5 *f.*[2] Wisd. 5 22). Naturally, therefore, hail forms a feature in descriptions of judgment (*e.g.*, Is. 28 17 [not 𝔊] 30 30 32 19 Ezek. 13 11 13 38 22), and once in a description of a theophany (Ps. 18 12 [13]), where, as often elsewhere, it is coupled with 'fire (lightning); cp Ps. 78 48 (see below) 105 32 148 8 Ecclus. 39 29 Rev. 8 7 cp 11 19.

1 Generally connected with גָּבִישׁ; see CRYSTAL. Most probably, however, we should read חַלָּמִישׁ; see FLINT, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

2 Read 'answered him with hail and flint-stones' (see Heb. text).

Hail is also mentioned with 'voices' (thunder) in Ex. 9 23 28 *f.* 33 *f.*, and in Ps. 148 8 is not far off from 'storm wind.' This too is perfectly natural. The most destructive hailstones are those which accompany a tornado or a violent thunderstorm. Perhaps we may assume such a combination for the great overthrow of the Canaanite kings at Beth-horon (Josh. 10 11 ; cp Judg. 5 20), when more died by the hailstones than by the sword of Israel. Hail frequently accompanies the thunderstorms of winter and spring in Palestine[1] (GASm. *HG* 64). Certainly such a combination is presupposed in the two, or strictly speaking, three, notices of the plague of hail in Egypt (Ex. 9 13-35 Ps. 78 47 *b*), to which we now turn. The former, which is the only original one, is 'conflate'—*i.e.*, it has been produced by the fusion of two distinct accounts,[2] one of which does not know of a plague of locusts, and makes the crops to be destroyed by the hail, while the other says nothing of a plague of murrain, and makes the hail-stones fall upon man and beast. Hence the cattle, though destroyed in Ex. 9 6, are still presupposed in 9 22. The poetic version of the plagues in Ps. 78 devotes one distich to the locusts, and two to the hail, if MT is correct. Sym., however, reads 'pestilence,' 'murrain,' where MT gives בָּרָד 'hail' in *v.* 48*a*. This is most probably correct.[3] If so, the psalmist transposes the plague of hail and the plague of murrain.

It is remarkable that he says nothing of the destruction of human life caused by the hail; also that (if the text is correct) he uses the very unusual word הרג ('to kill') in speaking of the destruction of the vines, and, as a parallel to 'hail,' in *v.* 47, an otherwise unknown and perfectly inexplicable word (חֲנָמַל, EV 'frost'; mg. 'great hailstones'; 𝔊 πάχνη, 'rime'; Aq. κρυος; but Sym. σκώληξ, 'worm'; and Tg. כרובא, 'locust,' as if reading חֲגָבִים). Both these words appear to be corrupt. Adopting the most probable emendations we obtain this quatrain :

He wasted their vines with hail,
And their fig-trees with hot coals;
He gave their cattle over to the murrain,
And their flocks to burning sickness.4

The narrative represents the hailstorm as occurring at the end of January (Ex. 9 31), a month during which hailstorms may very well occur. In summer they are rare; according to Pruner (Di.-Rys. *Ex. Lev.* 98) in twelve summers hail only fell thrice, and then not very much. Prof. Macalister (Hastings' *DB* 2 281) mentions stones which fell in a brief hail-shower in Egypt on 13th Aug. 1832, which weighed several ounces. In Rev. 16 21 we read of hailstones of the weight of a talent—*i.e.*, about two cubic feet in bulk. This is the weight ascribed to 'the stones cast at the Jews by the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* v. 6 3). T. K. C.

HAIR (שֵׂעָר; θριξ). **1. Colour.** The question of the origin of the Israelitish race and the variations of the Israelitish type is too uncertain to be referred to in this connection. We can therefore only state, with regard to the colour of the hair, that in Canticles, which represents the conventionalised type of a Jew and a Jewess in the country districts in the

1 The reference to 'hail' as destructive to crops in Hag. 2 17 (an interpolation from Am. 4 9) is due to corruption. Read הַחֲרַבְתִּי, 'I destroyed' (as We. in Am. *l.c.*).

2 See Bacon, *Trip. Trad.* 49 *f.*

3 In the parallel line (*v.* 48*b*) we find לרשפים, which is generally rendered 'to the lightning flashes' ; but רשף by itself does not mean 'lightning' (76 3 [4]*a* is corrupt), and the strong expression וַיַּסְגֵּר ('he gave over,' as if to a supernatural power) favours Sym.'s reading לַדֶּבֶר. Perhaps we should read לָרֶשֶׁף (sing.); cp Hab. 3 5 where דֶּבֶר and רֶשֶׁף are parallel. Thus we gain an allusion to Ex. 9 3 (דֶּבֶר). For לרשפים Sym. has οἰωνοῖς, based on a well-attested but quite erroneous interpretation of רשף (cp Ecclus. 43 17, Heb. and Gk.).

4 For ויהרג read וַיַּחֲרֵב ; for חנמל ,בְּגֶחָלִים ; for לַבָּרָד ,לַדֶּבֶר (so also Dyserinck, Bi.(2) Gra.), and for לִרְשָׁפִים ,לָרֶשֶׁף, with Che. (Ps.(2)).

latter part of the OT period, the hair that receives poetic eulogy is black. Neglecting the opening words of Cant. 5 11, which describe the head of the bridegroom as 'the most fine gold'—an unintelligible and doubtless corrupt phrase,[1] we find in the next line that 'his locks are bushy, and black as a raven.' Elsewhere no doubt the hair of the bride is said to be 'like purple' (Cant. 7 5 [6]), and with a little ingenuity this might be plausibly explained (see Del. *ad loc.*), if we could venture to believe that the passage was correctly read in the received text. We must take care, however, not to commit such an offence against the ideal bride as to make her red-haired.[2] In Cant. 4 1 (6 5) the song-writer says, 'Thy hair is like a flock of goats, that lie along the side of Gilead'; it is plain that the goats of Palestine could by no caprice of language be called *purple*. Thus in post-exilic times the Jews considered dark hair as beautiful. Clear evidence of a similar estimate in pre-exilic times is wanting. We may reasonably assume, however, that David's hair was dark, for it is represented in Michal's stratagem by a net of goat's hair (1 S. 19 13), and when the youthful David is called אַדְמֹנִי (1 S. 16 12 17 42), this means, not that he was red-haired[3] like Esau (אַדְמֹנִי שֵׂעָר, Gen. 25 25), but that he had not yet become browned by exposure to the sun. Kitto[4] thinks that Eccles. 12 5 contains a reference to the striking contrast in a mixed assembly between the snow-white head of an old man and the jet black heads of the younger men.

There is certainly no better explanation to propose for יָנֵאץ הַשָּׁקֵד (cp ALMOND); but the reading is uncertain, and the object of the little poem to which the phrase belongs is disputed.

It would accord well with the ordinary view if the same writer used the expression 'black hair'[5] as a synonym for 'youth' (Eccles. 11 10); but no stress can safely be laid upon this. Kitto's remark is at any rate illustrative of Prov. 16 31 20 29 (cp 2 Macc. 6 23), where 'gray hairs' (שֵׂיבָה) are represented as the ornament of old men, no doubt because the wicked were supposed not to reach old age. It must have shocked Jewish sentiment (cp *Mt.* 5 36) when Herod (if the story is true) dyed his hair black, to conceal his advanced age (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 8 1). Of wigs we hear nothing in the Bible, though such toilet articles were common in ancient Egypt (Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 219-223).

Quite incidentally the prophet Ezekiel (8 3) shows us how well rooted the bushy locks of the Israelites were (cp LOCKS).

2. Growth. This native vigour is one of the presuppositions of the story of Samson. 'Beguile him,' said the Philistine princes to Delilah, 'and see how it comes that he is so strong' (Judg. 16 5); and Samson replies at last, 'If I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and be like any other man' (*v.* 17). It is true, Samson's strength was held to be due to his consecrated character; but this is not the whole of the secret. His hair was the symbol of that natural strength which the Nazirite vow placed under the divine protection.

The true origin of Samson's hair is a matter of conjecture. It is probable enough that the hair of the 'solar one' (שמשון) originally meant the rays of the sun. In Job 3 9 41 18 [10] the eyelids or eyelashes of the dawn (or rather, of the sun; see LUCIFER) were the rays of the sun[6] (see Schultens, *Comm. in Jobum*, 161).

Hence too in Ps. 68 21 [22], if MT is correct, we read—

Yea, God smites asunder the head of his foes,
The hairy crown that stalks on in his sins.[1]

He who placed his long hair and his corresponding physical strength at the service of his sins challenged God to interpose and crush him. Hair and strength are here once more related. To a Jew it must therefore have seemed a striking paradoxical expression, when, in the picture of an anthropomorphic God, it was said, 'The hair of his head was like pure wool' (Dan. 7 9). The colour indicated that he was 'ancient in days'; but the 'fiery stream' which was 'before him' proved that his white hair was no symbol of weakness. Compare Rev. 1 14.

On the Nazirite vow see NAZIRITE. Analogous to it is the consecration of their hair by warriors, supposed to be referred to in the words בִּפְרֹעַ

3. Consecration of the hair. פְּרָעוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל (Judg. 5 2), which Robertson Smith rendered,[2] 'for that flowing locks were worn in Israel.'[3] We must not suppose, however, that Israelites, in time of peace, wore their hair short. To be sure, there were barbers (Ezek. 5 1; see BEARD); but the popular sentiment or superstition about hair justifies us in assuming that an Israelite's hair was only trimmed, especially in front, not cut close; and it is not probable that the author of 2 S. 14 25-27 would have wished to make us laugh at Absalom's vanity. Cp, however, ABSALOM.

That Absalom employed the barber only once a year is told us in order to explain how it was that his hair (and also his strength?) was so abundant. Probably it is not a whit more historical than the story in Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7 3) of the 'horse guards' of Solomon, who had gold dust sprinkled every day on their long hair. The writer may be of the post-exilic age (Bu.); certainly his sole aim is to glorify Absalom.

On the other hand, to express contempt for a man, it was enough to call him a 'bald head' (2 K. 2 23; cp Is. 3 17 24), and the object of plucking out (Ezra 9 3) and shaving (Job 1 20) or disfiguring the hair of the head by throwing dust upon it (Job 2 12), and extending similar treatment to the beard, was to express the mourner's sense that he was cut off from all the pleasures and honours of ordinary life. See MOURNING CUSTOMS.

In this connection we may refer to a limitation placed by P on the high priest. He was neither to rend his clothes as a mourner, nor to let the hair of his head go loose (Lev. 21 10, cp 10 6). His hair was at all times to be tended in such a way as to enhance the popular respect for so exalted a personage. Ezekiel, *too*, gives this precept to the priests, 'They shall not shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long; they shall only poll their heads' (Ezek. 44 20). They were to strike the mean between the practice of the Nazirites (Nu. 6 5) and the heathenish asceticism referred to in Lev. 19 27 21 5 Dt. 14 1 Am. 8 10 (see CUTTINGS, § 3).

That long hair was admired in women, is plain from Canticles (see above, § 1). One might almost infer

4. Women's head-dress. from Jer. 7 29 that scissors were hardly applied to women's hair (on Dt. 21 12 see Driver's note), for the word rendered 'hair' (נֵזֶר) is the same which is applied elsewhere to the inviolable hair of the Nazirite (נזיר). Certainly, as Kamphausen remarks, the goats, with whose black hair the hair of the ideal bride is compared (Cant. 4 1 6 5), were not shorn goats. Of the 'artful curls' (Is. 3 24, *SBOT*) of the ladies of Jerusalem in Isaiah's

1 Read 'His head is like Carmel.'

2 Gra. renders 'Thy head upon thee is like crimson' (כַּכַּרְמִיל = כְּכַרְמֶל); but cp Del. *ad loc.*

3 So Kitto (*Bib. Cycl.*), Sayce (*Races of the OT* 74), Then., Klo. The עִם which follows אדמני is not a corruption of שֵׂ[עָר], 'hair' (Klo.'s view), but a prematurely written עֵי[נַיִם].

4 Kitto, *Bib. Cycl.*, art. 'Hair.' The passage gives striking expression to the still prevalent view.

5 שַׁחֲרוּת is so explained by Del. and Wildeboer following Targ. and Rab. interpretation.

6 For more distant parallels (Greek, Latin, American) see Goldziher, *Heb. Mythology*, 137. See especially Wilken, 'De Simsonsage,' *De Gids*, 2 303 ('88).

1 So De Witt renders. Duhm even supposes an allusion to the Nazirites among the Pharisees. שֵׂעָר 'hair,' however, should no doubt be רָשָׁע 'wicked one' (Grä., Che. etc.).

2 J. S. Black, *Judges*, 39 ('92).

3 Probably, however, *v.* 2 and *v.* 9 are duplicates (Marq., Ruben), and *v.* 9 should be used to correct *v.* 2. In this case the 'long hair' disappears, and, if Cheyne's emendation (*JQR*, July '99) be adopted, the verse will run: 'Bless Yahwè, O ye marshals of Israel, who displayed (such) zeal among the people.' פרעו and בפרע in *v.* 2, and לבי ל in *v.* 9, both came from ברכו יה (which was in fact inserted at the end of *v.* 2 as a correction).

time, we have no information. The Talmud, however, presents us with a word for the women's hair-dresser (מְגַדְּלָא, cp MARY MAGDALENE), and the verb from which it comes means 'to plait.' Judith, one remembers, 'braided her hair' (διέταξε [διέξανε, *h*] τὰς τρίχας, 10 3) before entering the camp of Holofernes; and NT writers dissuade strongly from using πλέγματα (1 Tim. 2 9) and ἐμπλοκὴ τριχῶν (1 Pet. 3 3), and from adorning the hair with pearls and jewels. On 1 Cor. 11 4-15 see VEIL.

Illustrations from the Egyptian monuments are, as far as men's hair is concerned, of less importance than those from the Assyrian. Great pains were taken by Assyrians of high rank in the arrangement of their hair. As we see from the monuments, it was carefully combed down and parted into several braids or plaits, and was allowed to spread out upon the neck in a mass of curls. This, together with the similar use of braids or plaits among the Arabs,[1] illustrates the seven braids (*maḥlĕphōth*, מחלפות) of Samson's hair mentioned in Judg. 16 13 19. Cp BEARD.

5. Illustrations from the monuments.

T. K. C.

HAJEHUDIJAH (הַיְּהֻדִיָּה), 1 Ch. 4 18 RV[mg.]; AV JEHUDIJAH (*q.v.*).

HAKKATAN (הַקָּטָן, 'the small one,' § 66; ακ[κ]αταν [BAL]), father of JOHANAN (15) of the b'ne Azgad, a family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 12 = 1 Esd. 8 38† RV[mg.], but AV ACATAN; RV AKATAN.

HAKKOZ (הַקּוֹץ, as if, 'the briar'; ακ[κ]ως [BKAL]) RV; AV always KOZ except in (3) where it has HAKKOZ; in 1 Ch. 4 8 RV even has HAKKOZ for Heb. קוֹץ, Coz.

1. The b'ne Hakkoz were a post-exilic family who were unable to prove their pedigree; Ezra 2 61 (ακους [B], ακκ. [AL]) = Neh. 7 63 (ακκ. [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 38†, AV Accoz, RV AKKOS, mg. HAKKOZ (ακβως [B], ακκους [L]).
2. Grandfather of MEREMOTH (1), Neh. 3 4 21 (ακωβ, *v.* 21 [B]).
3. According to 1 Ch. 24 10 the seventh of the priestly courses fell to HAKKOZ (לְהַקּוֹץ, κως [B]).

HAKUPHA (חֲקוּפָא, 'crooked' (?); αχ[ε]ιφα [BA]), a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) Ezra 2 51 (αφεικα [B], ακουφα [AL]) = Neh. 7 53 (ακειφα [ℵ], om.' L) = 1 Esd. 5 31 (αχειβα [B], ακουφα [L], ACIPHA [AV], ACHIPHA [RV], and possibly ACUB [see BAKBUK] is really a duplicate of the same name).

HALAH (חֲלַח; αλ[λ]αε [BA], ελλαε [L]; in 2 K. 17 6 18 11 *HALA*; in 1 Ch. 5 26 χααχ [B], χαλα [A], αλλαν [L], *LAHELA*; Pesh. always ܚܠܚ), a city or district, mentioned with Habor, the river of Gozan, and the 'cities (?) of Media,' as one of the places colonised with Israelites from Samaria (2 K. 17 6 18 11; cp 1 Ch. 5 26). Schrader (*KGF* 167, n.; *COT* 1 268) combines it with a city called Ḫalaḫḫu mentioned in a geographical list (2 R. 53 36 *ff.*) between Arrapachitis and Reṣeph, and Winckler (*AOF* 292) gives references (K. 109 22 etc.) for a land called Ḫalaḫḫa connected obscurely with Ḫarrān. 𝔊[BAL] in 2 K. 17 6 and 𝔊[L] in 2 K. 18 11 treat Halah as one of the *rivers* of Gozan; but see GOZAN (end).

T. K. C.

HALAK, MOUNT (הָהָר הֶחָלָק; α[α]λακ [AFL]). 'The smooth (or bare) mountain that goeth up to Seir' (*i.e.*, in this passage, to the mountain district W. of the 'Arāba, bounded on the N. by the *Wādy el-Marreh*, the *Wādy Madarah*, and the *Wādy el-Fiḳreh*), is opposed as the limit of Canaan (or, more precisely, of Joshua's conquests) in the S. to Baal-gad, 'under Mt. Hermon,' in the N., Josh. 11 17 (αχελ [B]), 12 7 (χελχα [B]), αλοκ [AL]). Elsewhere the S. frontier of Judah towards Edom is the 'ascent of AKRABBIM' (*q.v.*), which is the long winding pass on the route from Petra to Hebron fitly called the *Naḳb eṣ-Ṣafā*, or Pass of the Bare Rock. This pass indeed could hardly be said to 'go up *to* Seir'; but not very far to the SW., in a wādy of the same name (the continuation of the *Wel-Fiḳreh*), stands the *Jebel Madarah*—a conical limestone hill or mountain, which no one descending to Edom could fail to notice, rising in isolation 'like a lofty citadel' (Rob. *BR* 2 589; Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, 415, 418). This has been identified by Trumbull with Mt. Hor (see HOR, MOUNT, 1); it is at any rate safer to regard it as the 'bare mountain that goeth up to Seir.'

T. K. C.

HALHUL (חַלְחוּל; perhaps 'full of hollows'; cp HOLON; αλουα [B], -υλ [A], -υε [L]), in the hill-country of Judah, grouped with Beth-zur and Gedor (Josh. 15 58); Jerome (*OS* 119 7) speaks of a village Alula near Hehron. No doubt it is the mod. *Ḥalḥūl*, about 4 m. N. of Hebron, a village beautifully situated between Beit Siir (BETH-ZUR) and Beit 'Ainūn (BETH-ANOTH); Jedūr (GEDOR, 1) lies to the N.

A village Alurus, where an Idumæan army assembled, is mentioned in Josephus (*BJ* iv. 9 6); it is plausible to identify this name with Ḥalḥūl (Buhl, *Geogr.* 158). The CHELLUS of Judith 1 9, however, lies elsewhere.

HALI (חֲלִי), if the text is right, an unidentified city of Asher; Josh. 19 25† (αλεφ [B], οολει [A], αχει [L]).

Corruption, however, is not unfrequent in these place-names, and we may possibly read (ה)חֶלְבָּ, cp 𝔊B; see HELBAH. To connect Ḥali with '*Alia* (Guérin, *Gal.* 2 62; cp Buhl, 231) is hardly plausible.

S. A. C.

HALICARNASSUS (αλικαρνασσος [AℵV]; mod. *Budrun*), a Carian city, on S. shore of the promontory which, with that of Cnidus to the S., encloses the Ceramic gulf, the mouth of which is occupied by the island of Cos. It is celebrated as the birthplace of Herodotus and the seat of Mausolus (inscrr. and coins, Maussollos) whose tomb, built by his widow Artemisia, who was also his sister, was one of the seven wonders of the world (Strabo, 656). The town is mentioned incidentally in 1 Macc. 15 23 (referring to 139 B.C.) as containing a Jewish colony, like all the cities on this coast. The coinage seems to indicate that Halicarnassus did not share in the trade with Egypt in the fifth century B.C. to any great extent.

From Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 23 we learn that a decree of the city, passed under Roman influence (46 B.C. ?), guaranteed that the Jews of Halicarnassus should be allowed, in addition to other privileges, 'to make their proseuchæ at the seaside, according to the customs of their forefathers' (τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος), which illustrates Acts 16 13 'without the gate by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer' (ἔξω τῆς πύλης παρὰ ποταμὸν οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ [ἐνομίζομεν προσευχήν WH] εἶναι, *sc.* at Philippi).

The town never recovered from its siege and capture by Alexander (334 B.C.). It was rebuilt in the third century B.C. Cicero, writing to his brother in 60 B.C., calls it 'diruta ac pæne deserta' (*Ad Q. Fr.* i. 1 25); but he is magnifying his brother's services towards the town during his governorship in the previous year.

See Newton, *Hist. of Discov. at Hal.*, etc.; *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (views and plans). Fragments of the Mausoleum are in the British Museum. On the form of the name see Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of A.M.*, 405.

W. J. W.

HALLEL (הַלֵּל), a Mishnic Hebrew derivative from הִלֵּל, *hillēl*, 'to praise,' is a term in synagogal liturgy, (1) for Pss. 113-118, specifically called הַלֵּל הַמִּצְרִי, *hallēl hammiṣrī*, 'the Egyptian Hallel,' and recited during the Paschal meal on the night of the Passover, and also on eighteen other festal days of the year (*Ta'ănīth*, 28 6); and (2) for Ps. 136 (according to some Pss. 120-136 or 135 4-136; *Pes.* 118 *a*; *Sōphĕrīm*, 18 2), called הַלֵּל הַגָּדוֹל, *hallēl haggādōl*, 'the great Hallel.'

[1] We. *Ar. Heid.*(2) 197. Tabari reports of a certain Ribi' that he wore four braided locks which were as stiff as the horns of a wild goat. It is still said by the Bedouin in praise of a good-looking young man, 'He has great and long horns' (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 469).

Rabban Gamaliel's words (M. *Pĕsāḥīm*, 10 5) suggest that the reciting of the Hallel originated in the desire to amplify the passover celebration by rendering of special praise for Israel's deliverance from Egypt (hence its name 'the Egyptian Hallel'); and that thkcustom was in his time (Gamaliel was the teacher of Paul[1]) only just in its inception. Some years later the extent of the Hallel was still in dispute; the school of Shammai favoured Ps. 113; the school of Hillel, Pss. 113 and 114 (*Pes., ibid.*). It should be observed that the connection in which the passage cited is found in the present arrangement of the Mishna suggests that this difference of opinion relates only to what became, by later additions, the first part of the Hallel. The compilation of the Mishna, however, is over a century later, and the injunction to close with a blessing for the deliverance indicates that here at some time was the end. During the first half of the second century the Hallel received considerable additions, and it probably reached then its present proportions. R. Tarphon and R. 'Aḳība[2] (110-135 A.D.) supplied it with the closing blessing; after this, the second part, Pss. 115-118, was added, to be recited after the pouring out of the fourth cup; later, to this also was added a closing blessing, which was made to cover the entire song (M. *Pes.* 106). The Mishna no longer gives us the form of this blessing; it does not seem to have been determined at the time of its compilation. According to the Gĕmāra (*Pes.* 118 *b*), R. Jehuda and R. Johanan (130-160 A.D., cp Strack, *Einl. in d. Talm.* 83 *f.*) suggested different forms.

1. Origin and extent.

The opinion of Samuel (died 254 A.D.; cp Strack, 88) that the prophets among them instituted it in Israel to the end that they should recite the Hallel when they were threatened with persecution, to avert it, and when delivered, in thanksgiving, indicates a twofold tendency, first, to extend the reciting of the Hallel to other occasions, leading to its incorporation into the liturgy of other festivals, and second, to regard it as a custom which was followed in Israel as far hack as the time of Moses (*Pes.* 117 *a*). R. Jehuda's statement (M. *Pes.* 5 7) that the Hallel was recited in the temple during the slaughtering of the passover sacrifices, is evidently only a similar piece of ideal history.

Allusions to the Exodus and appropriate national sentiment determined the selection of the Psalms that were to constitute the liturgical thanksgiving for the passover; the great Hallel, on the other hand, was to serve the wider purpose of a general thanksgiving. R. Johanan says it is called the great Hallel because (alluding to Ps. 136 25) the Holy One sits in heaven, and thence deals out food to all his creatures (*Pes.* 118 *a*). With this sentiment accords its use in thanksgiving for the blessing of rain (*Ta'ăn.* 19 *a*).

We may now attempt to answer the question of the relation of the Hallel to the hymn referred to in the phrase 'when they had sung a hymn' (ὑμνήσαντες) in Mt. 26 30 and Mk. 14 26. The answer commonly given is that the hymn was the Hallel, and the statement is followed by a description of the Hallel in its most developed form; but in tracing its history it has appeared that there is no evidence that the Hallel was in the time of Christ more than in its inceptive stage, consisting of Ps. 113, or at the most also of Ps. 114.

2. Not intended in Mt. 26 30 Mk. 14 26.

Cp Del. on Ps. 113; Grä. *MGWJ*, 1879, p. 203 *f.*, 241 *f.*, *Psalmen*, 56 *f.*; and especially Büchler, *ZATW* 20 114-135 (1900). I. J. P.

HALLELUJAH (הַלְלוּיָהּ,[3] *v.l.* הללו־יה; once הַלְלוּ־יָהּ [Ps. 104 35; *v.l.* [הללו־יה], 'praise Jah'), or (as 𝔊 [ἀλληλουιά] and Vg. always, and AV in Tobit and in Rev.) ALLELUIA, a Jewish doxological formula, which obtained an Aramaic colouring, and under the form αλληλουια was adopted (like Osanna—see HOSANNA) by the Gentile Christian congregations; cp Tob. 13 18 Rev. 19 1 3 4 6. In 3 Macc. 7 13. ἐπιφωνήσαντες τὸ αλληλουια, we find it treated as a substantive. Its original use was to summon the congregation to join the cantor in reciting a psalm, or in responding by a united acclamation of praise. This view assumes that it was in use only in the liturgy of the synagogue, not in the temple, where a choir of Levites sang the appointed psalms. It seems to have been originally inserted (in collections of psalms for synagogue use) at the beginning of psalms, and here we still find it, both in MT and in 𝔊, in Pss. 106 111-113 135 146-150, and in 𝔊 also in 104 [105] 106 [107] 113 [114-115] 114 [116 1-9] 115 [116 10-19] 116-118 [117-119] 135 [136] 147 [147 12-20]. The fashion seems, however, to have varied. In Pss. 104 105 115-117, the MT gives 'Hallelujah' at the end of each psalm, and in the MT of Pss. 135 and 146-150, as well as in 𝔊 of Ps. 150, the doxology occurs both at the beginning and at the end of a psalm. Two apparent inaccuracies of 𝔊 may also be mentioned; it includes Ps. 119, which is a purely didactic psalm, among the Hallelujah psalms, and excludes from their number Pss. 103-104, which certainly ought to have been Hallelujah psalms (or rather a Hallelujah psalm in two parts) if we can judge on this point from the contents. As to the characteristics of this class of psalms (to which the HALLEL psalms belong), see the commentaries, and cp PSALMS, BOOK OF.

Cp Gratz, *MGWJ*, '(79), 193 *f.*; *Psalmen* ('82), 63 *f.*, 91 *f.*

[1] He belongs to the first generation of Tannā'īm (50-90 A.D.); cp Strack, *Einl. in d. Talmud*, 77 *f.*; Schür. *GJV*(3) 2 364 *f.*

[2] Schür. *op. cit.*, 375 *ff.*

[3] So Ginsb.; Bä. הַלְלוּ.

HALOHESH, RV **Hallohesh** (הַלּוֹחֵשׁ, see below, ἀλλωης [AL]), a name occurring twice in post-exilic lists.

1. Father of Shallum in the list of wall builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*; EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 12 (ηλεια [BℵA]).

2. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 24 [25] (αλωης [BN] αδω [A]).

According to Meyer (*Ent.* 143; cp 157), an appellative, '[the family] of magicians' (cp NAMES, § 70); but the number of miswritten names in Ezra-Neh. suggests caution. That both COL-HOZEH [*q.v.*] and Hallohesh are miswritten appears certain; the name which underlies both words seems to be הַשִּׁלְחִי, *Hašilḥī*. See SHILHI. T. K. C.

HAM (חָם; χαμ [BAL]), according to P, second son of Noah (Gen. 5 32, χαφ [A], as in 6 10 7 13), and ancestor of the peoples of the south, especially Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan (Gen. 10 6 *f.* 20). J2 also gives him the second place among the brothers, and though in Gen. 9 24 he appears as Noah's 'youngest' or rather (see JAPHETH) 'younger son,' this arises from a manipulation of the text of J1. Originally it was Canaan who was so designated, and also Canaan who was represented as having treated his father Noah with irreverence; 'Ham, father of,' in *v.* 22, is a redactional insertion (see *SBOT*).

The origin and meaning of the name are disputed. In Pss. 105 23 27 106 22 we read of the 'land of Ham,' where Ham clearly means 'Egypt,' just as 'stock of Jesse' in Is. 11 1 = 'stock of David.' It was natural, therefore, to connect Ham with the old native name of Egypt, *keme* or *chemi*, 'black,' with reference to the black colour of the Egyptian soil (see EGYPT, § 1)—a connection supported by Ebers (*Ægypten*, 155) but disputed by Lepsius (*PRE*, *s.v.* 'Ægypten'), who would explain the name as a general term for the 'hot' south (חם, 'hot,' Josh. 9 12). Probably Lepsius lays too much stress on the difference of vocalisation between *chemi* and *cham*. Since *cham* had a meaning in Hebrew, and *chēm* had not, the Hebrews might have substituted the one form for the other. Lefébure[1] at any rate is unconvinced by Lepsius.

Still, the (probable) analogy of Shem suggests another explanation. Ham, which seems originally to have meant the land and people of Canaan, may be a shortening of such a form as Ḥammu-rābi, the name of an early Babylonian king (see AMRAPHEL); cp Zur

[1] *TSBA* 9 170 suggests comparison with Chem, the name of an Egyptian god imported from the land of Punt (see PUT).

for Zuriel (?). Possibly there was an early tradition (of which Gen. 14 may give us a late modification) that Ḫammu-rābi conquered Canaan, and the name חמורב may thus have become known to an early narrator, who wanted a symbol for Canaan, and explained the name, on the analogy of ABIRAM (*q.v.*), 'the (divine) kinsman is a great one.'[1] Glaser's identification[2] of Ham with 'Amū, the Egyptian name for the Bedouin races of the Semitic countries adjoining Egypt, appears less plausible. In 1 Ch. 4 40 the phrase 'from Ham' (מִן־חָם, 𝔊 ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν χαμ; but Pesh. reads מֵהֶם) is very improbable; for there was neither a place nor a tribe called Ham. Read [מן־[יר]חמ[אל], and see MEUNIM.

T. K. C.

HAM (הם; 7 MSS of Sam. חם; cp Jer. *Quæstt.*), the land of the ZUZIM (*q.v.*), Gen. **14 5**. Since the Zuzim seem to be the same as the ZAMZUMMIM, 'Ham' must be a corruption either of Ammon (if we read חם; ח and ע confounded) or of Rabba or Rabbath (so Ball). Cp Dt. **2 20.**

𝔊 (*ἅμα αὐτοῖς* [AEL]), Pesh., Vg. express בָּהֶם, 'among (or with) them'; Tg. Onk. and Jerus. give בהמתא. T. K. C.

HAMAN (הָמָן, a name of Elamite origin; see ESTHER, § 7; αμαν [BℵAL], but ανaμ, MAN [A, Esth. **3 1** **7** (16) 17]), called AMAN in (Apoc.) Esth. 10 7, etc.; son of ADMATHA or HAMMEDATHA [*qq.v.*]; one of the chief characters in Esther, where he appears as the inveterate enemy of the Jews (Esth. **3 1** *ff.* etc., Apoc. Esth. **12 6**). He is accordingly represented as an AGAGITE [*q.v.*] (so Jos. ***Ant.*** xi. **6 5**, and Targg. call him an 'Amalekite') or Macedonian (see ESTHER, § 1). The first Targum (with much probability) identifies with him the important but otherwise obscure MEMUCAN [*q.v.*]. On the fate of Haman see HANGING [i.], and on the combination of Haman with one of two mythological dragons, see DRAGON, **§ 3.**

HAMATE (חַמַּת, 'enclosed or guarded place' [WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 150]; ημαθ [BAL]; other common forms in the uncial MSS. are αιμαθ or εμαθ), a royal city of the Hittites on the Orontes, to the territory of which the boundary **of** Israel is said to have reached under David, Solomon, and Jeroboam II. (2 S. 8 9 1 K. 8 65, αιμαθ [A], 2 K. **14 25**, αιμαθ [BA], εμαθ [L], cp **Nu. 13 22** [21], εφααθ [B], ε.αθ [F] 34 8). The Chronicler states that Solomon built store-cities in (the land of) Hamath (2 Ch. **8 4**); but this stands in connection with the statement (based on a misunderstanding) that he also built 'Tadmor in the desert.' The Table of Nations (Gen. 10 18) mentions '**the Hamathite**' (הַחֲמָתִי; ὁ αμαθι [AEL]) in the last place among the eleven descendants of Canaan; but *vv.* 16-18*a* are due to R. The bulk of the population of Hamath was certainly Semitic (note the Semitic names of the kings in the time of Tiglath-pileser III.). See HITTITES, § 11 *ff.*

The fall **of** Hamath deeply impressed the people of Judah. 'Is not Hamath as Arpad?' asks the Assyrian king in Isaiah's prophecy (Is. 10 9; not 𝔊). A similar question (suggested by Is. 10 9) is put into the mouth of the Rab-shakeh (2 K. 18 34 = Is. **36** 19, *αμαρ* [ℵ*], *αιμαρ* [AΓ], *σεμαρ* **[Q]**) and the king of Assyria (2 K. **19** 13, *μαθ* [B], *αιθαμ* [A] = Is. **37** 13, *αμαρ* [ℵAQ*], *αιμαρ* [Qa]). Balaam, too, if a recent critical conjecture may be accepted, becomes the mouthpiece of Jewish consternation at the downfall of so ancient a state as Hamath.[3] According to tradition, some of the colonists transported by 'the king of Assyria' to the land of N. Israel were Hamathites (2 K. 17 24 30), and it is further stated that the men of Hamath made images of ASHIMA. The problem of the origin of this name can no longer be called unsolved. The other divine names **in** 2 K. 17 30 *f.* being Assyrian (see special articles), Ashima, or better Ashimath (see 𝔊BAL), must be Assyrian too. Tasmitu, the consort **of** Nebo, is not great enough. The original name was עשתר = אשתר, Ishtar.[1] Ishtar was the second of the five planetary deities, four of whom are mentioned besides in 2 **K.** 17 30 *f.* The notice in 2 K. 17 24 30, however, needs a close examination. To understand it is one thing; to accept it as quite historical is another. Hamath and Avva (or rather Gaza, עַזָּה) have no right of existence in this passage, the context of which requires well-known Babylonian cities. No Assyrian king would ever have placed Hamathite colonists in Samaria; the object of such transferences of populations was to remove restless elements to a distance from their home.[2] The cause of the insertion of the wrong names can easily be surmised (see SEPHARVAIM). Almost equally improbable is it that a prophetic writer, in a list of the countries from which Israelitish captives should, by a mighty divine act, be brought back, would write 'and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the isles of the sea' (Is. 11 11). Not improbably חמת, 'Hamath,' should be כתים, 'Kittim' (Cyprus);[3] 𝔊 reads otherwise (see 'Isaiah,' ***SBOT*** [Heb.]).

To assume with Millar (Hastings, *DB* 1 166) that, 'as Hamath was occupied by the Hittites' the name (Ashima) may very possibly he Hittite, is opposed to the facts suggested above, and mentioned by Jensen (*Hittiter u. Armenier*, 164). Below is given a list of the divine names in 2 K. 17 30 *f.* with their probable identifications:—

Succoth-benoth = Sakkuth-Kaiwān (Ninib) = Saturn
Nergal = Mars
Ashima = Ishtar = Venus
Nibhaz (Nibhan) = Marduk = Jupiter
Adrammelech = „ ,
Anammelech = „ „
Tartak or Tartaḥ = the lance-star = Antares.

The references to Hamath in Ezek. 47 16 *f.* have not come down to us quite accurately. In *v.* 16 לְבֹא should go with חֲמָת, ZEDAD (*q.v.*) being an interpolation, and in *v.* 17 וגבול ח׳, 'and the region of Hamath,' is a gloss (Cornill). [The names in 𝔊 the first time are corrupt; later in *v.* 16 there occurs *ημαθει* [B]; in *v.* 17 B omits Hamath.] T. K. C.

HAMATR-ZOBAH (חֲמַת־צוֹבָה, 2 Ch. 8 3, βαισωβα [B], αιμαθ σωβα [A], εμαθσουβα [L]). See ARAM, § 6, HAMATH, SOLOMON.

HAMITAL (Kt. חֲמִיטַל), 2 K. **24 18** RVmg., EV HAMUTAL.

HAMMATH (חַמַּת—*i.e.*, 'hot spring'), one of the fenced cities of Naphtali (Josh. 19 35; ωμαθα [δακεθ] [B], αμαθ [A], αμμαθ [L]), probably = HAMMOTH-DOR (חַמֹּת דֹּאר; νεμμαθ [B], εμαθδωρ [A], αμαθδωρ [L]), reckoned among the Levitical cities in Naphtali (Josh. 21 32, P), and called in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. **6 76** [61], HAMMON [2] (חַמּוֹן; χαμωθ [BL], -ων [A]). It is perhaps to be connected with *el-Hammeh*, the hot springs to the S. of Tiberias. Josephus (***Ant.*** xviii. 2 3; *BJ* iv. **1 3**) calls it Emmaus (cp EMMAUS). Wilson took the temperature of seven distinct springs, three of which have been enclosed (Recovery **of** *Jerus.* 362). Cp GASmith, *HG* 450.

HAMMATH (חַמַּת), 1 Ch. 2 55, RV, AV HEMATH [*q.* , 1].

HAMMEAH (הַמֵּאָה), Neh. **3 1**, RV, AV MEAH, in **'Tower of** Hammeah' (מגדל׳). המאה **is evidently a corruption**

[1] It is just possible (so Gray, *HPN* 56) that the Babylonian king's name was really compounded with חם, though 5 R 44 *a* 6 21 explains it as *kimta rapaštum*, 'wide family.'
[2] In Hommel, AHT 48.
[3] Nu. 24 24. **Alas! who will survive of Sham'al (מִשַּׁמְאָל), or come forth from the city of Hamath' (וְיֵצֵא מֵעִיר חֲמָת)? חמת and כתים confounded, as in Is. 11 11 (see below).**

[1] See Che. 'Gleanings in the Books of Kings,' *Exp. T.*, 10 429 (June '99).
[2] Winckler, *AT Unters.* 101.
[3] By transposition and confusion of כ and ח (Che. *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb.). Cp last col., n. 3.

of הסנאה (see *v.* 3), which in turn is a corruption of הישנה, 'the Old (city).' See COLLEGE, HASSENAAH, HULDAH, and cp HANANEEL. T. K. C.

HAMMEDATHA (הַמְּדָתָא; αμαδαθου [BאL], αμαθαδου [A]), the father of Haman (cp the name μαδαταs in Xenophon, *Cyr.* v. 3 41; and see Be-Ryss.), Esth. 3 1 (αναμαθαδου [A], *v.* 10 om. BNAL) 8 5 (only in א^c.a mg.^ as above) 9 10 (αμαναδαθου [א*]) 24 (αμαγαθουν [א*]). His name appears as AMADATHUS in 12 6 (αμαναδαθου [B*vid., see Swete], ναμαναδ. [Bb]) and 16 10 17 RV, where AV AMADATHA (αμαθου [A] in *v.* 10, om. L^β^ in *v.* 17).

HAMMELECH (הַמֶּלֶךְ) appears in AV and RV^mg.^ as the name of the fathers of JERAHMEEL and MALCHIJAH, **2** (Jer. **36** 26 **38** 6). In RV and AV^mg.^ each of these persons is called 'the king's son' (so 𝔊). Probably, however, המלך is a corruption of an imperfectly written ירחמאל, Jerahmeel. Men of Jerahmeelite origin would naturally be called 'sons of JERAHMEEL' (*q.v.*). Cp JOASH i., **4**. T. K. C.

HAMMELZAR (הַמֶּלְצָר), Dan. **1** 11, RV^mg.^, AV MELZAR (*q.v.*).

HAMMER is not always an accurate rendering of the word in MT.

1. מַקֶּבָה, *makkābāh*, (σφῦρα, *malleus*, but in Is. 44 12 τέρετρον) a tool used by the stone mason (1 K. 6 7), the smith (Is. 44 12; MT has plur., 𝔊 sing.), and the woodcarver (Jer. 10 4). The word (מַקֶּבֶת) is also applied to the (wooden) mallet with which tent-pins' were driven (Judg. 4 21). It was therefore smaller than the *paṭṭīš* (no. 3, below).

2. הַלְמוּת עֲמֵלִים, *halmūth 'ămēlim*, σφῦραν κοπιώντων [B; really Aq.?], ἀποτομας κατακόπων [A], ἀ. κατακοπτῶν [L]; Vg. *malleos fabrorum*, a name given to the implement with which Jael slew Sisera (Judg. 5 26). The phrase is, however, highly suspicious (see Moore). Che. emends חַלְמִישׁ סֶלַע, 'a flint of the rock.' Cp Dt. 32 13, and see JAEL.

3. פַּטִּישׁ, *paṭṭīš*, σφῦρα [πέλυξ in Jer. 23 29], malleus, a heavy tool used in image-making and in quarrying (Is. 41 7 Jer. 23 29). Nebuchadrezzar is called by this term (Jer. 50 23), which gives no support to the explanation of 'Maccabæus' as 'Hammerer' (see MACCABEES i., § 1).

4. From וכילפות in Ps. 74 6† a noun כֵּילַפָּה, *kēlappah*, λαξευτήριον, *ascia*, has been inferred; but in the light of the Tg. we should doubtless emend to בַּעַל פִּיוֹת, 'two-edged' (Herz), and render, not 'with axes and hammers,' but 'with two-edged axes.'

5. σφῦρα, Ecclus. 38 28 (blacksmith's hammer).

HAMMIPHKAD (הַמִּפְקָד), Neh. **3** 31, RV, AV MIPHKAD, in 'the gate of Hammiphkad'; cp Ezek. **43** 21, 'the appointed place' (*miphkad*) of the temple (following 𝔊, τῷ ἀποκεχωρισμένῳ).

The sense, however, is not good; read perhaps 'the burning-place (*mōkēd*) of the temple' (Konig, *Lehrgeb.* 2a, 93 n.). The gate would be that which adjoined the 'burning-place.' See JERUSALEM, § 24.

HAMMOLEKETH, or (RV) **HAMMOLECHETH** (הַמֹּלֶכֶת, as if 'she who reigns,' sister of MACHIR; 1 Ch. 7 18† (Η ΜΑΛΕΧΕΘ [BA], ΜΕΛΧΑΘ [L]; *REGINA* [Vg.]).

Close by we find ZELOPHEHAD, GILEAD (*q.v.* 1, § 8), ISHOD (see, however, the article), MAHLAH, each of which is a corruption of Salecah or Ṣalḥad. The older view that Hammolecheth is a divine title requires too much confidence in MT; we should have expected Beth-Milcah (cp Gray, *HPN* 116); but Milcah itself is a corruption of Salecah (see MILCAH, 2).

HAMMON (חַמּוֹן, 'glowing,' perhaps a divine title, cp Baal-Hamman—*i.e.*, the Baal of the solar glow; but see [2]).

1. A place on the border of Asher, apparently near the sea, Josh. 19 28 (εμεμαων [B], αμων [AL]). Identified by Robinson with the ruins at the head of the W. Ḥāmūl, which he saw from the high hill of Belāṭ (see RAMAH [6]), and believed to bear the name of Ḥāmūl. Since, however, the existence of a locality of that name is very doubtful (see Guérin, *Galilée*, 2 147), it would be better to connect Hammon with *'Ain Ḥāmūl*, near the point where the wādy reaches the sea, and where there are the remains of an ancient fortress. This Dillmann admits as a possibility. But the fortress was certainly in connection with a town, the striking ruins of which still exist, now called *Umm el-'Amūd* (or *'Awāmīd*). It was there that Renan found an inscription dedicated to El (=Baal) Ḥamman (see Baethg. *Beitr.* 27; also G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschr.* 21 *f.* [Sg]). These ruins are possibly on the site of the ancient Hammon (Guérin, *l.c.*).

2. A Levitical city in Naphtali, 1 Ch. 6 76 [61] (χαμωθ [BL], -ν [A]). Probably identical with HAMMATH (i.), Josh. 19 35, and HAMMOTH-DOR, Josh. 21 32. The name in this case has reference to hot springs. T. K. C.

HAMMOTH DOR (חַמֹּת דֹּאר), Josh. 21 32. See HAMMATH (i.).

HAMMUEL (חַמּוּאֵל, § 46), 1 Ch. 4 26, RV, a mistake of MT for HAMUEL [AV] (*q.v.*).

HAMONAH (הֲמוֹנָה, Ezek. 39 16 ΠΟΛΥΑΝΔΡΙΟΝ[1] [BAQΓ], and **Hamon-Gog** (הֲמוֹן־גּוֹג, 'Gog's multitude,' Ezek. **39** 11*b* 15, ΤΟ ΠΟΛΥΑΝ. ΤΟΥ ΓΩΓ [BAQΓ]). The latter is the name which, in Ezekiel's prophecy, is given to the valley, or rather ravine (גַּי; see VALE, 3), where GOG [*q.v.*] and his multitude are buried, and which is more precisely described as 'a ravine of (the mountains of) the Abarim, east of the (Dead) Sea.' This is intelligible. But what is to be said of HAMONAH? Is there really to be a city with this name?' So AV and RV lead us to suppose; and Tg. may have found an allusion to the city of Bethshean, deriving its name Scythopolis from the Scythian invasion in the 7th cent. B.C. Gog, however, as has been pointed out elsewhere, is a corrupt fragment of Mig(a)don, a title of the enemy of 'God derived from Babylonia; Hamon-Gog is either a corruption of the same name, or perhaps of Har-mig(a)don (ARMAGEDDON). We may then continue ונכור מארץ מגדון, 'and Mig(a)don shall disappear from the land,' after which read 'and the land shall become clean' (so 𝔊, Co.). T. K. C.

HAMOR (חֲמוֹר, 'ass,' § 68; ΕΜΜΩΡ [ADEL]), the 'father of SHECHEM' [*q.v.*], Gen. **33** 19 34 Josh. **24** 32 Judg. 9 28 Acts 7 16 (AV EMMOR) etc. There is a current view that Hamor is the name of a 'totem-clan.' In the abstract there is no objection to a belief in early 'totem clans,' as stated by Gray (*HPN*, 115). It is more probable, however, that בן חמור in **34** 2 is analogous to בני חת, 'sons of Heth' (=Hittites), and simply means 'Hamorite'; חִוִּי, which follows, should perhaps be read חֲמֹרִי, 'Hamorite,' and be regarded as a gloss (see, however, HIVITES, § 2). In this case 'Hamorite' probably= 'Amorite'; in fact Gen. 48 22 (E) represents Shechem as won from האמרי, 'the Amorite.' The Assyr. name of the kingdom of Damascus (*māt ša-imērē-šu*) has similarly been derived from *imēru* 'ass'; but the real name was probably related to 'Amorite' (cp Del. *Pur.* 280 *f.*). The Assyrians made a pun on the name. T. K. C.

HAMRAN (חַמְרָן), 1 Ch. 1 41 RV=Gen. **36** 26, HEMDAN.

HAMU or HAMI, NAMES WITH. This group of Hebrew names is small; it may perhaps comprise only HAMUEL (*q.v.*) and one other (see HAMUTAL; but cp HEMDAN). Renan (*REJ* 5 175), Wellhausen (*De Gent.* 22, n. 1), and Hommel (*AHT* 322) derive these and similar Semitic names (*e.g.*, חמעתתר in Himyaritic) from *ḥamā*, 'to protect.' That such a root was used in forming proper names seems clear (see JAHMAI); but the analogy of the names compounded with Abi-, Ahi-, etc. is in favour of taking Ḥamu as a term of kindred.

That חם means 'father-in-law,' חמות 'mother-in-law,' is certain; the instances may be few, but they range

1 This word represents the Heb. גיא in Jer. 2 23 19 2 6 as also in Ezek. 39 11 *a*; cp 2 Macc. 9 4 14 4 Macc. 15 20.

from early documents in Gen. and Sam. to a possibly late. passage of Micah (76) and the late book of Ruth. The cognate **Ass.** word *imu (emu)* also means 'father-in-law'[1]; Winckler's definition, 'the head of a family from which a man gets a wife,' illustrates the anticipative use of the term in two of the letters of Dušratta to Amen-hotep III. (*Am. Tab.* 17 3, 18 2). Like similar words (*e.g.*, inn), its precise usage varied in different Semitic languages. Thus in biblical Hebrew it seems to denote a woman's, in **Ass.** a man's father-in-law. We cannot be certain, however, that even in ancient Hebrew it was never used in a wider sense, as *e.g.*, it sometimes is in Arabic, and as אח and עם certainly are in Hebrew. Thus perhaps all the men of a group might be called *aḥ* by the husband and *ḥam* by the wife, or *vice versa*, and so Hamu-el might be practically synonymous with Ahi-el, or, for that matter, with Abi-el (see ABI, NAMES WITH). H. W. H.

HAMUEL, RV Hammuel (חַמּוּאֵל, § 46, om. B, ΑΜΟΥΗΛ [AL]), a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 26). The form with double *m* (MT and RV) was explained 'æstus Dei' by Ges., but should no doubt be read, as in AV and 𝔊, Hamuel[2] (חֲמוּאֵל) as in the case of HAMUL (see below). The meaning will then be, 'The head of my kindred is God.' See HAMU, NAMES IN.

RAMUL (חָמוּל—*i.e.*, חָמֻל or חֲמוּל, possibly a corruption of חמואל; see above, HAMUEL; but the name יחמליה has been found on an Israelite seal, which makes Gesenius's interpretation 'clementiam expertus,' just possible [cp GAMUL]; see also We. *De Gent.* 22; and cp Ki. on 1 Ch. 25; more probably, however, like MAHOL, the name is a corruption of JERAHMEEL [*q.v.* § 4]: Hezron, Hamul's brother, appears in 1 Ch. 29 as Jerahmeel's father), a grandson of Judah[3] (Gen. 46 12, ιεμουηλ [ADL], [Syriac]; 1 Ch. 2 5, ιεμουηλ [BA], αμ. [L] [Syriac]; Nu. 26 21, ιαμουν [B], ιαμουηλ [AFL], [Syriac]), whence arises the patronymic Hamulite (הֶחָמוּלִי, Nu. *l.c.*; ιαμουνει [B], ιαμουηλι [AL], ιεμ.[4] [F]).

RAMUTAL (חֲמוּטַל Kt. חֲמִיטַל, 'my husband's father is the dew' [see NAMES, § 46]; but the second element in the name is very suspicious [see ABITAL]; read rather HAMUTUB, 'the head of my kindred (= my God) is goodness'; ΑΜΙΤΑΛ [ALQ]), the mother of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, 2 K. 23 31 (ΑΜΕΙΤΑΙ [B]), 24 18 (ΜΙΤΑΤ [B], ΑΜΙΤΑΘ [A]), Jer. 52 1 (ΑΜ[Ε]ΙΤΑΑΛ [BRA]) and in 𝔊^BAL of 2 Ch. 36 2*a* (ΑΒΕΙΤΑΛ [B]). T. K. C.

HANAMEEL, or (RV) Hanamel (חֲנַמְאֵל, 'God is kind'? [see below]; ΑΝΑΜΕΗΛ [BKAQ]), b. Shallum, a cousin of Jeremiah, from whom, in the first part of the siege of Jerusalem, Jeremiah purchased, for seventeen shekels, a property at Anathoth, thus demonstrating his faith, victorious over doubts, in the ultimate restoration of Israel (Jer. 32 [𝔊 39] 7-12, cp 44). The account is evidently authentic, though it received its present shape only after the fall of Jerusalem (see Giesebrecht). The details of the purchase are interesting. The deed of purchase was subscribed and sealed (with clay; see CLAY), and together with a second unsealed copy was deposited in an earthen vessel, which may have been like the earthen jars which contain the Babylonian contract-tablets,

[1] Muss-Arnolt connects it with a root *emū* [= חמה], 'to protect, surround,' inferred from a proper name.

[2] The altered form may be a mistake under the influence of Ammiel, or an intentional alteration.

[3] Names common to Judah and Simeon occur not unfrequently; see GENEALOGIES i., §§ 5, 7 [*v.*].

[4] The 𝔊 forms with initial ι seem to have arisen from a dittography; και ιεμουηλ is for και εμουηλ. [Jos. (*Ant.* ii. 74) has αμουρος, also the form ιαμουρος (see Niese).]

The name much exercised the old interpreters. 'Grace of God,' 'Grace of God's people' (or 'of circumcision'), are the explanations given in OS 162 25 (cp 186 20), and the former appears as a note on the name in 𝔊Q mg. of *v.* 7. We should probably read חֲנַנְאֵל = חֲנַיְאֵל, 'God is pity.' HANNIEL [*q.v.*] occurs twice. Gray's remark (*HPN*, 307, n. 2) goes too far. The support of the versions could only prove the comparative antiquity of the reading חנמאל. מ is very frequently miswritten for נ.
T. K. C.

HANAN (חָנָן, § 50, an abbreviated name; cp ELHANAN, HANANIAH; ΑΝΑΝ [BRAL]).

1. A name occurring twice (*v.* 23 and *v.* 38, αννaν [L] = 9 44) in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β) in 1 Ch. 8.

2. b. MAACAH (*q.v.*, ii. g), one of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11 43, ανναν [ℵ]).

3. The b'ne Hanan a post-exilic family of the NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list [see EZRA ii., § 9], Ezra 2 46 = Neh. 7 49 (in latter, γαναν [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 5 30, ANAN, 2.

4. A Levite, present at the reading of the Law under Ezra (Neh. 8 7 om. BA = 1 Esd. 9 48, αννιας [B], ανανιας [AL], ANANIAS, 5); probably the signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7) Neh. 10 10 [11] (om. B, αναν [ℵ c.a mg. A], ανανι [L]).

5. The name borne by two signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 22 [23] ανανι [L], 10 26 [27] αιναν [BA], αινα [ℵ vid.], evav [L]).

6. b. Zaccur, a keeper of the storehouses, appointed by Nehemiah, Neh. 13 13 (aavav [ℵ], ανανιου [L]).

7. The sons of Hanan b. IGDALIAH (*q.v.*), were a family which had a chamber in the temple (Jer. 35 4 . . . υἱῶν ιωναν υἱοῦ ανανιου [BAQ], avuav vi. αννανιου [ℵ, αναν. ℵ c.a, but ℵ omits υἱοῦ γοδολιου]).

RANANEEL, AV, RV **Hananel** (חֲנַנְאֵל), in 'Tower of Hananeel,' Neh. 3 1 12 39 Jer. 31 38 Zech. 14 10; see JERUSALEM, § 24.

In Neh., both times, the tower of Hananeel is coupled with that of HAMMEAH (*q.v.*). When we consider that HAMMEAH is probably a corruption of *hayĕšānah* 'the old (city),' it seems very possible that the name of the 'tower of the old (city)' was Hananeel. Observe in this connection that in Neh. 12 39 𝔊B does not recognise 'the town of Hammeah.' T. K. C.

HANANI (חֲנָנִי, § 52, shortened from חֲנַנְיָהוּ, see HANANIAH; ΑΝΑΝ[Ε]Ι [BRAL]).

1. Father of the prophet JEHU [*q.v.*, 2], 1 K. 16 1 (in *v.* 7 ανας [Ba mg.], ανανια [A]), 2 Ch. 16 7 (αναμει [B], 19 2 20 34).

2. A temple musician, a son of Heman (1 Ch. 25 4 [om. B] 25 ανανιας [B]; L has ανανιηλ in both verses which points to a form חֲנַנְאֵל).

3. One of the b'ne IMMEE (*q.v.*, ii. 1) among the sons of the priests in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 20 (ανανια [A] -ς [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 21 ANANIAS [2] (ανανιας [BAL]).

4. One of the 'brethren' of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 1 2, avau [L], ανανεις [ℵ ? αναν εἷς as in L], 7 2, ανανια [BℵAL]).

5. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13*g*), Neh. 12 36 (ανανιας [L], avavi ℵc.a mg. inf.], om. Bℵ*A).

RANANIAH (חֲנַנְיָה, חֲנַנְיָהוּ—*i.e.*, 'Yahwè is gracious,' §§ 28, 52, 84; ΑΝΑΝΙΑ(Σ) [BℵAQΓL, 87]).

1. One of Daniel's companions, also called Shadrach (Dan. 1 6 etc). See DANIEL, § 14.

2. Son of *Azzur*; a prophet who opposed Jeremiah (Jer. 28 1 *ff.*).

3. Ancestor of the captain of the guard who arrested Jeremiah (Jer. 37 13).

4. A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 19 21).

5. b. Shashak in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 24.

6. One of the fourteen 'sons of Heman' (1 Ch. 25 4 23).

7. One of the Bene Bebai in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end); Ezra 10 28 (viava [B], ανεια [ℵ*], ανανεια [ℵa mg.]) = 1 Esd. 9 29, ANANIAS, 3.

8. An apothecary in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.* EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15*d*), Neh. 3 8. Perhaps the same person is intended in Neh. 3 30 (same list).

9. Neh. 3 30. See no. 8.

10. Governor of the castle, under Nehemiah, who describes him as 'a faithful man,' and one 'who feared God above many (Neh. 7 2). Cp nos. 11, 13.

11. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 23 [24], εναν [L]; perhaps the same as no. 10.

12. Head of a priestly house in the days of Joiakim (see EZRA ii., §§ 6 *b*, 11), Jeshua's successor (Neh. 12 12; Bℵ* om.).

13. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12 41 [om. Bℵ*A]); perhaps the same as no. 10.

RAND (יָד, ΧΕΙΡ). Many of the uses of the hand in Hebrew phraseology are too plain to need special explanation. There are some, however, which are nbt

devoid of strangeness, and some of the passages in which יד 'hand' occurs, need brief consideration from the point of view of textual criticism. Not that mere critical puzzles are worth mentioning here, but when exegesis is distinctly affected by textual criticism, it would seem to be a fault of method not to refer to this.

Yād, יד, the hand sometimes with reference solely to the wrist (Gen. 24 22, etc.) or finger, sometimes including even the arm (*zĕrōa'*, זרוע), is to be kept distinct from *kaph*, כף,[1] the palm of the hand (or the sole of the foot, paw, etc., cp Lev. 11 27). The hollowed hand is the *šō'al*, שֹׁעַל (1 K. 20 10, etc.), or *ḥōphen*, חפן (Prov. 30 4, etc.). For parts of the hand the Hebrew terms are *eṣbā'āh*, אצבעה, finger[2] (Ex. 31 18, etc.), *bōhen*, בֹּהֶן, thumb (Judg. 16, etc.), *ḳōṭen*, קֹטֶן, little finger (1 K. 12 10), and *ṣippōren*, צִפֹּרֶן, nail.[3] The span of the hand is *ṭōphaḥ*, טפח (Ex. 25 25, etc., טֶפַח, 1 K. 7 26), used as a unit of measurement (cp the similar use of 'finger' in Jer. 52 21); see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. It should be noted that the full phrase for right hand is *yad yāmīn* יד ימי (*e.g.*, Ps. 73 25); *yāmīn*, ימין is properly 'right side.' "Left-handed' is expressed by *'itter* [*yad yāmīn*] אִטֵּר [יד־ימין], Judg. 3 15 20 16.

a. In two important passages (1 S. 15 12 Is. 56 5) RVmg. records the fact that where English idiom requires 'monument,' or 'memorial,' the Hebrew has 'hand' (יָד). 'Saul came to Carmel, and, behold, he set him up a monument'; this trophy of Saul the Hebrew text calls a 'hand.' The reading, however, is not free from doubt.[4] At any rate, this use of 'hand' is certainly found in 2 S. 18 18 (Absalom's 'monument') and in Is. 56 5 (the 'memorial' promised to God-fearing eunuchs). On many Phœnician votive steles an out-stretched hand is represented, probably to symbolize the action which accompanied the vow.[5] The monuments referred to in the OT passages may be regarded as votive steles.

b. Similarly Abram, when he makes a vow, lifts up his hand (Gen. 14 14; cp Dt. 32 40 2 K. 10 15 Ezek. 17 18; and especially, according to the usual interpretation, Ex. 17 16, Prov. 11 21).

Ex. 17 16 forms part of an account of the defeat of the Amalekites, when Yahwk declared that he would utterly blot out the Amalekites. The Hebrew has, 'And he said, That a hand to the throne (?) of Jah, war hath Yahwk against Amalek from generation to generation (?).' Forth: first part of this RV gives, 'And he said, The Lord hath sworn.' Those who are less tied to the MT than the Revisers were, will admit that the text is hardly translateable, and needs emendation (see JEHOVAH-NISSI). Prov. 11 21 is alsocommonly said to refer to the custom of lifting up the hand for an oath. As an alternative to the faulty rendering of AV we find in RVmg., 'My hand upon it' Heb., Hand *to* hand.' There is, however, no parallel for a proverb constructed as RVmg. supposes Prov. 11 21 to be, and we should almost certainly read, not, 'My hand upon it; the evil man shall not go scot free,' but, 'The malignant witness[6] shall not go scot free.'

No doubts need be raised against that well-known passage, Ps. 144 8, 'Their right hand is a right hand of falsehood'; *yamīn* in Arabic has the double meaning of 'right hand' and 'oath.' Cp 2 K. 10 15 (see JONADAB, 3); Gal. 2 9, 'the right hands of fellowship.'

c. Clasping hands was the sign of a completed bargain; see Job 17 3 Prov. 6 1.

RV, however, goes too far when it gives in Is. 2 6, 'and they strike hands [in bargains] with the children of strangers.' The present Hebrew text is hardly translateable, and no suggested rendering is thoroughly suitable to the context. Most probably we should read, 'And with the secret arts of the Harranians they practise enchantments' (see HARAN i.).[7]

d. In Ex. 28 41 29 9, Lev. 21 10 (all P), we find the strange idiom, 'to fill the hand' (מִלֵּא יָד) for 'to consecrate as priest.'[8] In Judg. 17 5, however, it simply means 'to bestow the office of priest,' which is near the original sense. Halévy has pointed out (*REJ*, Oct.-Dec. 1890, p. 209) that it is exactly parallel to an Assyrian phrase for the transmission of authority; Delitzsch (*Ass. HWB* 409b) gives this as *ḳâtû mullû*, 'to fill the hand' = 'to invest with an office.' There is therefore no need to suppose either that the objects with which the hand was filled were pieces of a sacrificial offering (Di., Baudissin), or that a sum of money was placed in it (Vatke, Wellh.); it is the office itself which is given.

Nor can we say, with most scholars, that Ezek. 43 26, where the phrase seems to he applied to the reconsecration of the altar, shows how completely the consciousness of its original meaning has faded away. For ומלאו ידיו (Kr., 𝔊) seems to be a corruption of וְכִלּוּ אֶת־הַיָּמִים, words which appear in MT (but with יכלו for כלו) at the head of *v.* 27, but are lacking in 𝔊. Obviously there are two rival readings, and ומלאו ידיו is the worse of the two. Cp, however, Nowack, *HA* 2 120 *f.*; Addis, *Doc. Hex.* 2 263 n.; Dr.-White, *SBOT*, *Lev.* Eng., 71.

T. K. C.

1 In Bibl. Aram. פַּס, Dan. 5 5; see Bevan, *Dan.* 100, n., Dr. on 2 S. 13 18.

2 With רגלים = toes, 2 S. 21 20.

3 With עָשָׂה = 'to pare the nails,' Dt. 21 12†. On the custom here referred to, see WRS, *Kin.* 178. Bibl. Aram. טפר* Dan. 4 30 [33].

4 Cp Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 58.

5 See SAUL, *beg.*

6 עֵד בְּלִיַּעַל (cp Prov. 19 28), represented in MT by יד ליד רע.

7 וּבְלַהֲטֵי חָרָנִים יְכַשֵּׁפוּ.

8 Note the Syr. cognate *šūmlāyā* ordination.

HANDBREADTH (טֹפַח), Ex. 37 12 2 Ch. 4 5 Ps. 39 5 [6]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

HANDICRAFTS. To attempt a complete account of all the handicrafts practised by the Hebrews, in the light of the Talmud and the evidences of the monuments, would mean a history of their civilisation and culture, and would lie far outside the limits of this article. It must suffice, therefore, here to give a brief summary of the various occupations to which reference is made in the Bible, and to indicate any additional features which seem to be of general interest.

1. Leaving on one side all workers in metal, whether coppersmiths (1 K. 7 14 2 Tim. 4 14), ironsmiths (Is. 44 12), gold- or silversmiths (Judg. 17 4 Is. 40 19 Mal. 3 2 *f.*),[1] we may start with two allied crafts—vu. those of workers in wood and workers in stone.

1. Terms. The common term is חָרָשׁ, *ḥārāš* (for ḥarrāš; 𝔊 usually *τέκτων*), √ to cut, used generally of an artisan (*e.g.* 2 K. 22 6 24 14 Jer. 24 1 29 2), or, more definitely of a carpenter (Jer. 10 3 Is. 41 7), or metal-worker! (Hos. 13 2); in 1 S. 13 19 (*τέκτων σιδήρου* [BAL]) the reference is, as the context shows, to armourers. Usually, however, the term is qualified by addition of the material—viz. (1) אֶבֶן ח', worker in stone, 2 S. 5 11 (*τ. λίθων*), 1 Ch. 22 15 (*οἰκοδόμος λίθων, λατόμος λίθων*), Ex. 28 11 (*λιθουργικῆς τέχνης*), (2) עֵץ ח', worker in wood, 2 S. 5 11 2 K. 12 11 [12] 1 Ch. 22 15 (*τ.* [*τῶν*] *ξύλων*), (3) נְחֹשֶׁת ח', worker in bronze, 1 K. 7 14 (*τ. χαλκοῦ*), 2 Ch. 24 12 (*χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ*), (4) בַּרְזֶל ח', worker in iron, 2 Ch. 24 12 (*χαλκεὺς σιδήρου*). From the same root comes חֲרֹשֶׁת, *ḥărōšeth*, 'work' (naturally more specific than מלאכה, *mĕlā'kāh*), defined, as above, by the addition of אֶבֶן or עֵץ (Ex. 31 5).

Words used to express the idea of carving, cutting, or hewing are: חצב (to hew out of the living rock), 1 Ch. 22 15 (*τεχνίτης*), 2 Ch. 2 18 [17] (with הָהָר, *λατόμος*), to he kept distinct from חטב ('to cut or gather wood'), Dt. 29 11 [10], etc.; and חקק (stone), Is. 22 16, as opposed to חקה (wood), 1 K. 6 35. Common to both crafts are כרת, Dt. 19 5 1 K. 5 6 [20] Is. 14 8 (wood), Mesha inscr. *l.* 25 (stone), and בקע, Gen. 22 3 (wood), Hos. 13 2 Ps. 78 15 Job 28 10 Eccles. 10 9 (stone). נקב (to judge from the use of נקבה in Siloam inscr. *l.* 1) is used only of stone; נקף, on the other hand, of wood (Is. 10 34, cp נֹקֶף, chap. 17 6 24 13).

2. The work of the carpenter belongs to the earliest efforts of man to provide himself with the ordinary conveniences and simple comforts of life. His work ranges from the fashioning of the rude tent furniture to veneering, inlaying, and carvings in wood (*miḳlā'ōth*, מִקְלָעוֹת, *e.g.* of cedar, 1 K. 6 18; olive, *ib.* 32; fir, *ib. v.* 34 *f.*; *pittūḥīm*, פִּתּוּחִים, 1 K. 6 29); see BED, EBONY, IVORY. Cp also SHIP.

2. Workers in wood.

The implements used would be primarily of the simplest description. (The modern Bedouin for example fashions a hammer by taking a fragment of hard red granite and bringing it into the required shape by chipping it with another stone.) The precise meaning of some of the terms is uncertain, and the mention of

1 See METALS, and cp COPPER, GOLD, IRON, etc.

ḥéreb (sword) in Ex. 20 25 to denote an implement is significant. Naturally growth of culture went side by side with the invention of more elaborate and delicate tools. As we should expect from the analogies of folklore, implements of stone or wood were long preferred for certain purposes to those of iron (cp Ex. 20 25); but the tradition that in the building of Solomon's temple no 'tool of iron' was heard (1 K. 6 7) is hardly genuine (see IRON, § 2).

The tools comprised various kinds of AXE, HAMMER, SAW, measuring-line (קו, Is. 44 13), chisel or carving-tool (מַקְצֻעָה, pl. Is. 44 13, EV 'planes'), the stylus or graver (שֶׂרֶד, see PENCIL), and an instrument for making circles (so apparently מְחוּגָה). Some of these tools, of course, were used by workers in stone:

From Is. 44 13 *ff.* Wisd. 13 10 *ff.* we gain interesting particulars regarding some of the details of carpentry. The artificer takes care to choose a sound tree, one that will not rot, avoiding the crooked and knotted pieces, or, may be, 'planteth an ash tree' for the purpose. Having made his choice he saws, hews, or cuts it into beams.[1] The wood is then ready to he shaped into a slab (לוּחַ), board (קֶרֶשׁ), plank (צֶלַע), stave (בַּד), etc.

3. Workers in stone.

3. The art of working in stone goes back to the earliest ages. In its rudest forms it is exemplified in the primitive rock-cut altars, aqueducts, wine-vats, cisterns, and conduits still to be seen in Palestine. Of a less primitive character are the rough-hewn stones, varying ih workmanship, used as landmarks (Jer. 31 21), gravestones (2 K. 23 17), inscriptional steles,[2] etc. Finally, the art in its most cultivated and advanced form is seen in the manufacture of stone vases, etc. (see ALABASTER); sculpture, on the other hand, does not seem to have been practised by the Hebrews, although the prohibition in Ex. 20 4 is sufficiently wide to indicate that this particular branch of art was not unknown.

4. One of the most interesting features connected with the craft of stone-cutting in general is the faculty which the ancients possessed of dealing with huge masses of stone (in the form of foundation-blocks, obelisks, or statues). The hugest of the stones of Stonehenge is quite put in the shade by such specimens of Egyptian workmanship as Cleopatra's Needle (186 tons), and the obelisk of Hatshepsu at Karnak (*circa 374* tons), and—to go beyond Egypt—by the largest of the stones in the outer wall of the Temple Hill at Jerusalem (some of which measure 25 x 12 x 8 ft.), or by some of the stones in the ruins of Baalbek, three of which are about 13 ft. in height, probably as much in thickness, and no less than from 62 to 64 ft. in length. 'The greatest marvel is that they have been raised to the top of a substruction already 23 ft. high.'[3] One is enabled to see from the extant quarries of red granite at Syene the way in which the stone was cut away from the mother-rock before removal. Thence it was conveyed upon sledges and rollers or upon rafts and floats, which were drawn by men or cattle (sometimes both) to the required spot. Brute strength—with a total disregard of human life—aided by such simple mechanical expedients as levers was the sole motive power employed.[4]

5. Turning now to the builders (בֹּנִים, *οἰκοδόμοι*), we note that in the construction of walls both wood and stone were used (Ezra 5 8 6 3; cp Herod. 1 179, Rawl. *ad loc.*). The specialised term for wall-builders is גֹּדְרִים

[1] Cp הִפִּיל קוֹרָה, 2 K. 6 5.

[2] The specific term (at all events for the stele maker) is פסלא, found at the end of several Nabatæan inscriptions. In some cases there are two (*CIS* 2 nos. 206 209 221) or even three (*ib.* no. 208) workmen. One bears the (possibly appropriate) name אפתח (cp פִּתּוּחַ, פָּתַח; see ENGRAVE).

3 Baed. *Pal.*(3) 375. Even these are exceeded in size by a prodigious block in the quarries to the SE., measuring 71×14×13 ft., and probably weighing about 1500 tons (*op. cit.* 376). Though hewn out it has not yet been separated from the rock.

4 See Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 302 *ff.*, and for the interesting description upon the bas-relief in the Deir el-Baḥri temple, see F. L. Griffith in *Eg. Expl. Fund Report* for '95-'96, p. 6 *ff.*

(2 K. 12 12 [13]) or חָרָשֵׁי אֶבֶן קִיר (2 S. 5 11). Houses were made of bricks or clay; but hewn-stone was not uncommon (cp below, 6), especially in the case of houses of the better class and such buildings as the פלטין, טריקלין, בימה, etc., which (like the names they bear) were of foreign introduction. Joisting is referred to in 2 Ch. 34 11 (מְחַבְּרָה). Naturally some knowledge of measuring and the drawing of plans (cp תַּבְנִית, 1 Ch. 28 11 *f.*, etc.) was required.

6. Here mention may be made of the plasterers (טָחִים, *ṭāḥīm*, Ezek. 13 11, see MORTAR, *3*), and the whitewasher (MH סייד, cp *κονιάω*, Mt. 23 27 Acts 23 3) who carried a brush with jointed handles (*Shabb.* 47*a*).

For the terms used to express the 'cutting' of stone see above (§ 1); the 'quarrying' is called הַסִּיעַ (1 K. 5 18 [31] Eccles. 10 9). Stones which have been thus treated are styled (1) אַבְנֵי מַחְצֵב, 2 K. 12 12 [13] 22 6 (λίθοι λατομητοί), 2 Ch. 34 11 (A. τετράπεδοι), (2) גָּזִית, 1 K. 5 17 [31] (A. ἀπελεκήτους), 1 Ch. 22 2 (A. ξυστούς), 1 K. 7 9 11 6 36 (μέτρον ἀπελεκήτων), Am. 5 11 (ξεστούς, or ξυστούς); used for altars, Ezek. 40 42 (λίθιναι λελαξευμέναι); cp the prohibition Ex. 20 25 (τμητοί); also in buildings, Is. 9 10 [9]. (3) גְּלָל used in building, Ezra 5 8 6 4, the same word in Palm. is used of an inscriptional stele.

Special tools which would be needed in addition to those mentioned above are the plumb-line (?@$ Am. 7 7), or plummet-weight (מִשְׁקֹלֶת, Is. 28 17 2 K. 21 13), and the measuring-reed (קָנֶה or קְנֵה הַמִּדָּה, Ezek. 40 3). For the mechanical methods employed by the Egyptians, see especially F. Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, 173 212 *ff.*

7. On the art of setting and engraving jewels (Ex. 28 9 *ff.*, etc.). see PRECIOUS STONES).

Other trades.

8. Workers in clay and earth. Their trade ranged from the building of houses to the manufacture of household utensils, and pottery of the finest construction (see BRICK, § 2; HOUSE; POTTERY). GLASS [*q.v.*] was known to the Hebrews; but the glazier is first mentioned in the Mishna (זגג).

9. For the tanning and preparation of skins see BOTTLE, § 1; LEATHER.

10. For the various kinds of cloths, wearing apparel, etc., see DRESS and the related articles, and for their manufacture, see EMBROIDERY, LINEN, TENT, WEAVING, WOOL. In connection with this trade mention must be made of the FULLER and the dyer (Mish. צבע; see generally COLOURS).

11. Considerable attention was paid to the body. The use of perfumes and perfumed unguents necessitated the 'apothecaries' and 'confectionaries' (in AV); see INCENSE, OIL, SPICES. Barbers were an indispensable class (see BEARD, HAIR). The bath-man (MH בלן), and the מגרד (Phœn.), who scraped the skin with a strigil, first appear at a late date.

12. Finally must be enumerated the most domestic of all arts—that of cooking; see BAKING, BREAD, COOKING, FISH, FOOD.

5. General remarks.

Among dwellers in the desert whose wants are few, and who derive food and clothing from their herds, a knowledge of handicrafts cannot be expected to flourish. The women do more than their share of the work, and owing to inter-tribal co-operation outside aid is rarely needed. Doughty, however, speaks of a tribe of nomads who travelled as cheese-sellers (*Ar. Des.* 2 208 *f.*), and in the case of metal-workers it is not improbable that there were nomad craftsmen, the ancestors of the *ṣāny* and *solubby* of to-day.[1]

It is among a settled population living in towns and villages that need for special craftsmen arises. Outside help was needed by Solomon in the building of the temple (1 K. 5 6 [20], see GEBAL i.), and the intercourse thus established (not necessarily for the first time) was

1 That the Kenites were such a guild (Sayce, *Races of OT*, 118) rests upon the slenderest of bases; see AMALEK, § 7 n., and cp METALS.

not without its influence on the religious history of Israel (Neh. 13 16 20 *f.*, cp HORSE, § *3*).

With the increase of trade special places for the transaction of business sprang up. The 'shop' (חנות) is first mentioned in MH (on the text of Jer. 37 16 see CELLS); the Gk. [פטפל[יא] (παντοπωλία) occurs only in a Palmyrene inscription. The usual custom, no doubt, was to carry on business out of doors, in the streets (חוצות, see especially 1 K. 20 34), and, as is still so frequently the case, special localities would be set apart for certain trades. Hawkers and pedlars, however, were not unknown. *Bābā Bathra* 22*a* mentions the itinerant vendors of perfumes who visited cities to sell toilet requisites to women, and the Tadmor fiscal inscription of 137 A.D. imposes a tax on all peripatetic dealers in old clothes (יםנתיא די הפכין . . . במדיתא, || Gk. ἱματιοπῶλαι μεταβόλοι πωλ[οῦν]τες ἐν τῇ πόλει).

In Alexandria there were streets reserved for the goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, etc. (*Succah*, 51*b*), similarly in Damascus (cp Baed. *Pal.*[3] 348; see also JERUSALEM). On the 'valley of craftsmen or sorcerers' (1 Ch. 4 14), see GE-HARASHIM.

The classification by trade and the formation of guilds doubtless arose at an early date (cp EPHESUS, col. 1305, n. 1). Guilds of goldsmiths and perfumers are mentioned in Neh. 3 8,[1] possibly also temple-masons in POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM.

If so the family was a hereditary guild, similar to the later families of Garmu and Abtinas who tenaciously retained the secret of baking the shew-bread and preparing the holy incense in their respective families (*Yōmā* 3 11). Guilds of potters and weavers seem to he referred to in 1 Ch. 4 21. A בית הכנסת of the coppersmiths is mentioned in *Shabb.* 11*b* and a תנמא די קיניא (smiths' guild) in a Palmyrene inscription of the third century A.D. It was possibly as a sign of membership that each artisan used to wear something distinctive of his calling; the scribe, a pen in his ear; the wool-carder, a woollen thread; the tailor (חייט), a needle in front of his dress, etc.

No encroachment of trade was allowed (*Mass.* 24*a*), and to avoid competition two butchers would agree together not to kill on the same day (*Bābā Bathra*, 9*a*; see *ib.* 89*a*). Each baker adopted a particular shape of loaf to distinguish his workmanship from that of others.

All labour was looked upon as honourable. Exceptions were few. The sailor, herdsman, driver of asses or camels, and barber were regarded with disfavour. The tanner was obliged to carry on his evil-smelling craft outside the precincts of the city (*Bābā Bathra* 25*a*, incidentally confirmed by Acts 10 32), and the low esteem in which his calling was held was only exceeded by that of the skinner of carcases (*Pĕsăch.* 113*a*). The trades closed to the high priest were those of the weaver, fuller, perfumer, barber, tanner, leech, and bath-man. Apart from this the practice of some trade or other was recommended to all. 'Great is work, for it honours the worker' (*Nĕdār.* 46*b*). To neglect to teach one's son some handicraft was tantamount to bringing him up to robbery (*Ḳidd.* 29*a*). Not all trades, as we have seen, were estimated alike. *Bĕrākh.* (63*a*) advises every man to teach his son a clean and light employment, such as, for example, tailoring, because the stitches form neat, straight lines like the furrows of the field. Many Rabbins, renowned in their day, were not ashamed to earn their living by the labour of their hands; R. Johanan as a sandal-maker, Hillel as a wood-cutter, R. Jehudah as a baker, R. Simon as an embroiderer — and many other instances could be given.[2] It is quite exceptional, therefore, when Ben-Sira elevates the literary profession far above all trades, and refuses to concede the possibility of the artisan's acquiring wisdom (Ecclus. 38 28 *ff.*). See EDUCATION.

S. A. C.

HANDKERCHIEF (σουδάριον) Acts 19 12. See NAPKIN.

HAND MIRROR (גִּלָּיוֹן), Is. 3 23 RV, AV GLASS. See LOOKING-GLASS.

1 The idiom בן־הצרפים, etc., may perhaps he the source of the ὁ τοῦ τεκτόνος υἱός (Mt. 13 55; contrast Mk. 6 3). See JOSEPH (HUSBAND OF MARY).

2 *e.g.* Paul; cp CILICIA, § 3 (end), TENT, § 3.

HANDS, LAYING ON OF. The same English phrase 'to lay hands upon' is used in the AV to render two distinct Greek phrases—viz. χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν to lay hands on with violence, and χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι, to lay hands on to convey some gift. With the latter phrase corresponds the ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν of Heb. 6 2 1 Tim. 4 14 2 Tim. 1 6. From it, again, must be distinguished the verb χειροτονεῖν (Acts 14 23), which properly signifies simply 'to appoint,' so, *e.g.*, in the *Didaché*, chap. 15, 'Appoint for yourselves (χειροτονήσατε ἑαυτοῖς) bishops and deacons': though at a later period χειροτονία is regularly used as a synonym of χειροθεσία.

In the OT we find 'laying on of hands' practised (*a*) by privileged individuals, of their own free will, and (*b*) by religious officers as a legal act. In the NT we find (c) Jesus and the apostles using it at their pleasure in acts of healing or in benedictions; we also find it (*d*) as an ecclesiastical rite. In all cases we must suppose the laying on of hands to be accompanied by words. If the words partake of the nature of a spell, the laying on of hands must also be said to have a magical character; our judgment on the one act conditions our judgment on the other (see BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS). For an instance of (*a*) see Gen. 48 17 *ff.*; for instances of (*b*) Ex. 29 10 15 Lev. 1 4 3 2 4 4 8 13 *f.* 22 15 24 29 33 16 21 (see AZAZEL, § 1) 24 14 Nu. 8 10 12 27 18 20 Dt. 13 9 17 7; cp also Ecclus. 50 20. See SACRIFICE.

The later Jewish *sĕmīkhā* is the lineal descendant of this OT rite; but by the fifth century A.D., the symbolic act of imposition of hands had entirely disappeared from the Jewish ordination of religious teachers. (See Schürer's note *GJV*[3] 2 199 [*GJV*[2] 2 152 ET 3 177]; and article 'Ordinirung' in Hamburger, *RE*, Abt. 2 882 *ff.*).

For instances of (*c*) see Lk. 4 40 (the parallels in Mt. and Mk. are silent), Mk. 8 23 [16 18] 10 16 (blessing children) Acts 9 17 28 8. The several passsages in Acts, however, need separate consideration. In Acts 8 16 *f.* we read that Peter and John, after prayer, laid their hands on those who had been baptized by Philip in Samaria, and they (for the first time) received the Holy Spirit. That the action was in no degree magical is shown by the incident related in Acts 10 44. Similarly in Acts 19 6 Paul lays his hands on disciples of John the Baptist (see JOHN, DISCIPLES OF).

Instances of (*d*) occur in Acts 6 6 (imposition of hands on the Seven), 13 3 (Barnabas and Saul), 1 Tim. 4 14 5 22 2 Tim. 1 6. It is everywhere apparent that only certain privileged persons are able so to perform the rite of imposition of hands that the χάρισμα of office may be communicated, and it is this communication of a χάρισμα which constitutes investiture of office.

Once more the non-magical character of the rite is manifest. In 1 Tim. 4 14 the imposition of the hands of the presbytery is in close connection with prophetic utterances (cp 1 Tim. 1 18). In 2 Tim. 1 6 the description is condensed into 'the gift (χάρ.) of God which is in thee through the laying on of my (Paul's) hands.'

The meaning of 1 Tim. 5 22 is not quite plain. 'Lay hands suddenly (or, hastily) on no man' might refer to the appointment of church officers; but the following words, 'and be not partaker with other men's sins,' hardly seems favourable to this. The laying on of hands was afterwards employed in the reception of catechumens and in the restoration of offenders. The ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν of Heb. 6 2 is closely connected with 'baptisms';[1] but we are unable to define the precise meaning. See SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

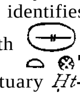
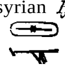
HANDWASHING. See WASHINGS, MEALS, § 5.

HANES (חָנֵס; on the versions see n. 2), a place in Egypt (Is. 30 4 to which *v.* 5 belongs). MT is generally rendered thus: 'For though[2] his princes are in Zoan,

1 Βαπτισμοὶ ἐπίθεσίς τε χειρῶν corresponds to ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν καὶ κρίμα αἰώνιον.

2 If MT of *v.* 4 *f.* is correct, כי היו must be taken as concessive ('for though . . .'). 'His princes' cannot mean 'Judah's princes,' for Pharaoh has just been spoken of (see Di. *Jes.*[6] ed. Kittel). 𝔊 differs in several points from MT. It presupposes שרים, מלאכים, for שריו, מלאכיו; also חנם ייגעו (μάτην κοπιάσουσιν [BℵAQ]) for חנס יגיעו; and כל הבאיש is unrepresented. So far as חנם for חנס is concerned, we cannot pronounce 𝔊BℵAQ's text an improvement. See, however, no. 3. Jerome keeps *Hanes*, but guesses badly at 'ultimam juxta

and his messengers go as far as Hanes, none wins aught but disappointment,' etc. (so *SBOT*, 'Isaiah')—*i.e.*, however far the rule of the Pharaoh may extend, none who has anything to ask of him fails to be disappointed (Di., Duhm, Che.). If this is correct, Hanes must have been at some distance from the royal residence, so that the Pharaoh communicated with it by messengers or envoys. Our first object will be to illustrate by Egyptology what the critics pronounce the most probable view of the Hebrew text; we therefore disregard at present the different interpretation of EV.

1. We may well be cautious in seeking to identify Hanes, considering the failure of 𝔊 to recognise any Egyptian name resembling it. But we may at any rate reject the view put forward by Dumichen, who identifies both Hanes and the Assyrian *Ḫinin*(!)*ši* with , the capital of a district  with a sanctuary *Ḥt-ḥnmtt* ('house of the nurser?). Dumichen held this city to be Daphnæ, and Daphnæ to be *Heracleopolis parva*, but without any other reason than the analogy of this alleged *'genes'* to the southern Ḥnēs (wrongly read *Ḫenensuten* by Diimichen). Unfortunately, the reading *genes* is a guess of the highest improbability. Naville (*Ahnas el-Medineh*, 4) admits it to be doubtful, and prefers to emphasise the fact that in Ašur-bāni-pal's account of his war with Tarku (Tirhakah) Ḫininši occurs among the names of cities all of which belong to the Delta. It is clear, however, that this circumstance will not justify us in accepting Dümichen's identification. It can only suggest that Ašur-bāni-pal's Ḫininšu was probably a city in the Delta, which is, in fact, all that Naville contends for.

2. We have next to consider the view prevalent among scholars from Vitringa's time—a view that is at any rate in harmony with the generally accepted interpretation of Is. 30 4. This identifies Hanes with Heracleopolis (magna), a city of Middle Egypt, W. of the Nile, near the place where the Bahr Yūsuf branches off into the Faiyiim. The spot is now called Henassfye or Henassiyet-el-Medineb, 12 mm. W. of Beni Suēf; on the unproductive excavations there see Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh* (11th Memoir of EEF, '94). Earlier Arab writers called it *Ahnās*;[1] the Copts *Hnēs* (or Ehnēs); the ancient hieroglyphic name was *Ḥat* (*i.e.*, 'house,' cp בַּיִת), *Ḥenen-suten* (or *seten*?) (*i.e.*, 'abode of the royal youth').[2] This name seems to have been shortened to *Ḥne*(*n*)*s*(*e*) in the vulgar pronunciation (cp Ass. *Ḫininši*?).

The city was the capital of the twentieth nome (or county) of Upper Egypt, which formed an island surrounded by the main Nile and the present Bahr Yiisnf (? Ptol. 125, Strabo, 789, 809, 812), or at least by a similar branch of the Nile (called Menhi in Coptic writers). The chief god was Ḥaršaf(y), 'Αρσαφής—*i.e.*, 'Horus the valiant' (cp Plut. *De Is.* 37), whence the Greek name of the city (the ram-headed Hnumu being identified with Heracles), or according to an earlier etymology 'the one on his lake' (vocalize *ḥri-šeif*); but most likely the name (*Ḥr-šfy*) meant originally only 'the ram-headed.' The sacred animal was the ichneumon. The city and its chief temple played a great part in Egyptian theology, and deep cosmogonic symbolism was found in the ceremonies of the great local festivals of 'hoeing the ground,' of 'lifting the heaven,' etc. The story which in Egyptian mythology takes the place of the Deluge-story (see DELUGE, § 15) represents the destruction of mankind as having begun here.[1] Politically, the city took the highest rank under the ninth and tenth dynasties (Heracleopolitan), and again we find it important in the eighth and seventh centuries. The Ethiopian *P'anḫy* (commonly miscalled Pianchi) mentions the ruler (nomarch) of Heracleopolis as the chief adversary of the powerful prince of Sais (EGYPT, § 65). The Assyrian king Ašur-bāni-pal speaks of a ruler of *Ḫininši* (= Heracleopolis?) whom he called *Naḫkī* (but see above). Herodotus (2 137) knows, something of a blind king Anysis (!) who in the island-city Ἄνυσις (= *Aḥnês*) held out against the Ethiopian invasion for fifty years (a confusion of some historical and mythological facts). W. M. M.

3. But is the text on which recent critics have worked correct? It is very difficult to think so. Gratz (*Emendationes*, '92) and Cheyne (*JQR* July '98) have independently suggested תחפנחם as an emendation of חנם; 'Zoan' and 'Tahpanhes' are very naturally combined. חנם at any rate is wrong, thinks the latter; אהנם would he possible (cp the Coptic name Ehnes); but the appearance of *vv.* 4 and 5, both in MT and in 𝔊, suggests that more than one letter may have fallen out of the text. כל הבאיש also appears to him wrong. There is a Ḳrē הֹבִיש (see Ginshurg); hut this is artificial. Krochmal, Gratz, and Cheyne read כלם הביאו שי 'they all bring presents.' מלאכים, שרים (so 𝔊) for מלאכיו, שריו removes all the ground for dispute between EV and the recent critics; Cheyne's חָנוּ for יַגִּיעוּ may also be right, unless the corruption is more deeply seated. Verses 5 and 6 thus become parallel, and within *v.* 5 itself the parallelism between 'Zoan' and 'Tahpanhes' is as perfect as it could he (see TAHPANHES). Cp Ruben, *JQR* 11448 ['99].

W. M. M. (1, 2)—T. K. C. (3).

HANGING. The Hebrew terms employed to denote deaths of this or of a like nature require to be carefully distinguished.

1. In the cases of Ahithophel (2 S. 17 23) and Judas Iscariot (Mt. 27 5) death by strangulation (pin, *ḥānaḳ*; ἀπάγχεσθαι) is a mode of suicide. Another reference has been found in Job 7 15, where, after describing some of his distressing symptoms, Job says, according to RV,

> So that my soul chooseth strangling,
> And death rather than (these) my bones.

It is very improbable, however, that a righteous man like Job should be thus represented, and either the 'strangling' must be one of the well-known symptoms' of leprosy, or, much more probably, the word rendered 'strangling' (מחנק; so Aq. ἀγχόνην)[2] is corrupt. It is at any rate certain that there is a reference to suicide by strangling in Tob. 3 10, and to a violent death caused thus in Tob. 2 3, also in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 11 7 (two sons of Herod στραγγάλῃ κτείνονται).

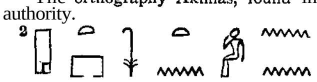
In later times, according to the Talmud, this form of death was the ordinary mode of execution (*Sanh.* 11 1; cp 7 3); some form of the garrotte such as is still used in executions in Spain and elsewhere, is intended hy the expression.

2. The word rendered 'hanging' in EV (תָּלָה, *tālāh*, תְּלָא, *tĕlā'*; κρεμάζειν, κρεμᾶν, κρεμαννύναι, in Esth. 7 9 σταυροῦν; *suspendere* [appendere, affigere] *in patibulo* [ligno, cruce], or *super stipites*, or *super trabem*, or *cruci*) seems invariably to mean some form of impalement or crucifixion.

(*a*) It has been doubted whether the references in Esther (תָּלָה עַל־הָעֵץ 5 14 6 4 7 9 *f.* 8 7 9 13 *f.* 25) refer to impalement or to crucifixion (after death). It is true, impalement (ἀνασκολοπίζειν, Herod. 1 128) would have been the correct punishment to specify,[3] the scene of the story being laid in Persia (cp Schr. *KAT*(2) 378,

Æthiopas et Blemmyes Ægypti civitatem.' Saad. renders בהנסא; cp his rendering of Lehabim in Gen. 10 13 (בהנסיון). But this is Eg. Pemṣe, Pemdje, Greek Πέμπτη or Ὀξύρυγχος.

[1] The orthography Akhnas, found in some books, has no authority.

[2]  6

[1] Inscription *l.* 19 (Naville, *TSBA* 8 415).

[2] The whole) verse seems to need careful restoration. See Che. *Exp.T.*, May '99, 381 6.

[3] Both ἀνασκολοπίζειν and ἀνασταυροῦν mean either to impale or to crucify. In Herod. 3 125 ἀνεσταύρωσεν is used of the punishment inflicted by Orœtes the Persian on Polycrates, and here there can be no doubt that impalement is intended. Lucian, however (*De Peregr. Morte*, 11), speaks of τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα,—*i.e.*, Jesus Christ (quoted by Brandt, *Evangel. Gesch.* 180). Diodorus (5 32) says of the

615); but we must not expect minute accuracy (see ESTHER, § 1 *f.*). Further, the description in 5 14 seems inconsistent with impalement. Both here, and in the other passages referred to, EV has 'gallows,' but in 223 'hanged on a tree' as elsewhere. At any rate, the impalement of the living body seems to be meant in Ezra 6 11, RV 'let a beam (עץ) be pulled out from his house, and let him be *lifted up* (זקיף) and *fastened* (יתמחא) thereon' (𝔊^BA ὠρθωμένος πληγήσεται [παγήσεται, A], ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, 𝔊^L ὀρθωθήσεται καὶ παγήσεται).

We may compare the Ass. phrase *ina zaḳipi uzaḳif*; zaḳipu is the ordinary word for 'pale, cross'; cp Aram. ܙܩܝܦܐ 'cross' (same verb in Heb. in Ps. 145 14 146 8).

(6) Beyond all doubt it is the impalement or gibbeting of the offender (or part of the offender) after death, for propitiation to God or warning to man, that is meant in Dt. 21 22 *f.*[1] (see below), Josh. 829 (king of Ai) 10 26 *f.* (the five kings), and 2 S. 4 12 (Rechab, and Baanah's hands and feet; so Klo.). Probably also in Gen. 40 19 22 41 13 (cp Ebers, *Ægypten*, 334, and EGYPT, § 28). Similarly Nicanor's head and shoulder (2 Macc. 15 35), Holofernes' head (Judith 14 1), and the princes hanged up by their [enemies' ?] hand (Lam. 5 12).

3. Closely allied to the usage of (6) is that which apparently underlies another word (יקע), which is taken by EV (after Symm. and Pesh.) to mean hanging.

It occurs in MT only in Nu. 25 4 (where 𝔊 has παραδειγματίσαι) and in 2 S. 21 6 9 13 (where 𝔊 has ἐξηλιάζειν, 𝔊^L in *v.* 6 ἐξιλασώμεθα; Vg. cruci figere; cp *v.* 14 𝔊^BA ἡλιαζειν, Vg. affigere). Probably however, the same verb ought to be read also in 1 S. 31 10 (so, after Lag. *Prov.* p. iv, Dr., Bu., Löhr).

The etymology is difficult. WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 419, thought of precipitation, and reminds us of the many cases in which precipitation from a rock was a mode of execution;[2] but this hardly suits the context. Dillmann on Nu. 25 4 takes the meaning to be to expose with dislocated limbs. This seems to have been the meaning attached by 𝔊 (cp παραδειγματίζω in Heb. 66). In all cases the reference is to a solemn presentation of the dead body with piacular intent—in the sun (Nu. 25 4), before Yahwè (2 S. 21 6 Nu. 25 4 2 S. 21 9)—on the 'mountain' of Gibeon or the walls of Bethshan, until the falling rain showed that the divine wrath had been appeased.

4. In spite of the fact that crucifixion was not a Jewish punishment, we find Paul in Gal. 3 13 expressly asserting that the death of Christ made him 'a curse' on the ground that 'every one who hangs on a stake (EV a tree, ξύλον, עץ) is cursed' (Dt. 21 23, quoted freely from 𝔊). In Acts 5 30 10 39 (cp 1 Pet. 2 24) is found the very same Hebraistic phrase for crucifixion, together with the ascription of the responsibility of the act to the Jews. Evidently those who wrote thus considered crucifixion to have a piacular character, and the only wonder is that Paul could have represented an innocent person as attracting to himself the divine punishment by an act which was a judicial error. It should be observed, however, that Paul qualifies the term ἐπικατάρατος by the preceding expression γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, 'being made a curse for us.' It is true, κατάρα 'curse' may have been suggested by the Heb. קְלָלָה, which corresponds to ἐπικατάρατος in Paul's free quotation from Dt. (𝔊 has κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ). Bearing in mind, however, the parallel abstract term ἁμαρτία in 2 Cor. 5 21 ('made him to be *sin* for us,' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν), we cannot help supposing that there is another more important reason for the choice of the term κατάρα. 'Christ was not personally accursed, but only came to stand in the place of such an one before God, inasmuch as he suffered the accursed death as a vicarious expiatory sacrifice' (Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 1 99). He was therefore a 'curse,' but not 'cursed' in the same sense as any justly condemned criminal would have been. Paul's object being to overthrow the legal religion by terms derived from the law, we cannot hold that this minute distinction is a mere quibble. He deliberately avoids 𝔊's expression as liable to misinterpretation. Cp Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.* 2 105 *ff.* See also Lightfoot's note, *Galatians*(2), 150 *ff.*

Gauls τοὺς κακουργοὺς ἀνασκολοπίζουσι τοῖς θεοῖς, and Strabo (198), speaking of the Druids, says καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἴδη λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευόν τινας καὶ ἀνεσταύρουν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς.

[1] Jos. *BJ* iv. 5 2 [§ 317], referring to this law, has ἀνεσταυρωμένους.

[2] Cp also Ar. *waḳa'a*, 'to fall,' and note the statement 'they fell seven together' (2 S. 21 9). The words 'before Yahwè' (*v.* 9), however, hardly favour this view. The word seems to be a religious synonym for תלה; for וַיִּפְּלוּ in 2 S. 21 9 read (with Klo., Che.) וַיִּתָּלוּ, 'and they remained hanging there' (𝔊^L ἐκεῖ). 'Hanging' with a piacular intent is what is meant; 'before Yahwè' and 'before the sun' (Nu. 25 4) are synonymous. When the divine wrath had been appeased, the bones of 'those who were hanged' were collected and buried (2 S. 21 13).

HANGING. For (1) מָסָךְ *māsākh*, Ex. 26 36, RV **'screen.' AV sometimes 'covering,' 'curtain'; and for (2) קְלָעִים, *ḳelā'īm*, Ex. 27 9 etc., see TABERNACLE. For (3) בָּתִּים, *bāt(t)īm*, 2 K. 23 7, RVmg. 'tents, Heb. houses [for the Asherah]'; see ASHERAH, IDOLATRY, § 4, also DRESS, § 8.**

HANIEL (חַנִּיאֵל), 1 Ch. 7 39 AV, RV HANNIEL, 2.

HANNAH (חַנָּה, 'graciousness,' § 51; ΑΝΝΑ [BAL]: Vg. *ANNA*), wife of Elkanah and mother of the prophet Samuel (1 S. 1). On the probable date of Hannah's prayer or song (1 S. 2 1-10), see SAMUEL, ii. § 7.

HANNATHON (חַנָּתֹן; ΑΜΩΘ [B], ΕΝΝΑΘΩΘ [A], ΑΝΑ. [L]), a city on the N. border of Zebulun (Josh. 19 14). Perhaps for Anathon = Beth-anath? 𝔊^L's reading (cp 𝔊^L αναθων, 1 Ch. 7 8, for Anathoth) favours this view. There was a Beth-Anath in Zebulun, and not far off a Ḳart-'Anat or Kirjath-Anath (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 195). In Am. Tab. 11 17 196 32 we find a city called Ḫin(n)atūni in Kinaḫḫi; but ḫ in Assyrian sometimes represents ע, *e.g.*, Ḫazitu = 'Azzah (Gaza).

T. K. C.

HANNIEL (חַנִּיאֵל, 'favour of God,' §§ 21, 28; ΑΝ[Ε]ΙΗΛ [BAFL]).

1. A Manassite prince, Nu. 34 23 (P).
2. AV HANIEL, in a genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 39.

HANOCH (חֲנֹךְ, חֲנוֹךְ; ΕΝΩΧ [BADEFL]).

1. Third son of MIDIAN [*q.v.*]; Gen. 25 4; also 1 Ch. 1 33 [AV HENOCH]. See ENOCH, 3. Perhaps the mod. *Ḥanākiya*, three days' journey N. from Medina (so Knobel). See Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 183.

2. Eldest son of REUBEN [*q.v.*], Gen. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 5 (Gentilic, **Ranochite,** חֲנֹכִי; ο ενωχ [BAFL]), 1 Ch. 5 3. Perhaps the clan thus designated was of Midianitish origin.

HANUN (חָנוּן, 'pitied [by God],' § 56; ΑΝΝΩΝ [B], Α[Ν]ΩΝ [A] in 2 S.; ΑΝΑΝ [B**ℵ**A], but also ΑΝΝΑΝ [K in 1 Ch.; ΑΝΝΑΝ [L] in both places; cp Ḫanunu, the name of a king of Gaza mentioned by Tiglath-pileser, *KAT*(2) 257 = *COT* 1 249).

1. Son of Nahash, king of Ammon, who went to war with David, after insulting his ambassadors (2 S. 10 1 *ff.* 1 Ch. 19 1 *ff.*). In 2 S. 10 1 Wellhausen and Budde (see *SBOT*) omit the name 'Hanun'; but see H. P. Smith. See AMMONITES, § 4; NAHASH ii., 2; ISRAEL, § 19.

2. In list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 13 (ανουν [BℵA; om. L]), 30 (ανουμ [Bℵ], αυωρ [A], ανων [L]).

HAPHARAIM, AV **Haphraim** (חֲפָרַיִם; possibly 'place of a 'well or moat'; on form of name see NAMES, § 107; ΑΓΕΙΝ [B], ΑΦΕΡΑΕΙΜ [A], ΑΜΦΑΡΑΙΜ [L]), in Issachar (Josh. 19 19).

Mar Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 170) compares the Eg. Ḥa-pu-ru-m-â. According to Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*(2) 223 61 94 28) Haphraim (αιφραιμ) lay 6 R. m. N. of Legio. Perhaps the site is *el-Farriyeh*, NW. of Lejjūn (Conder).

HAPPIZZEZ, AV APHSES (הַפִּצֵּץ ; αφεσης [B], -ccη [A], -ccει [L]), the name of the eighteenth priestly course (1 Ch. 24 15), corrupted probably from PASHHUR [*q.v.*].

פשחו(ו)ר became, by accidental transposition of letters, חפשו(ו)ר, and this became הפצץ, ר and צ, ח and ה being confounded. The corruption of מפסח into מפזו [see DANCE, § 4 (4)] is partly analogous. T. K. C.

RARA (הָרָא), mentioned with Halah and Habor as a place where Israelitish exiles were settled by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch. 5 26; om. 𝔊BA; αρραν—*i.e.*, הָרָן [L]). From a comparison of 2 K. 17 6 it is clear that הרא is a mutilated form of some longer phrase. Most critics think that it represents the עָרֵי מָדַי ('cities of Media') or perhaps rather הָרֵי מָדַי ('mountains of Media'), or נַהֲרֵי מָדַי ('river of Media').[1] It is possible, however, that the original document had some name of a place such as Ḥarḥar, a city and region on the border of Media, near Ellip, conquered by Sargon, and *colonised by him with captives from other countries* (*KB* 2 61).

It is noteworthy that among the families of Nethinim mentioned in the great list in Ezra 2 Neh. 7 and 1 Esd. 5, occur the b'ne Ḥarḥur (Ḥarḥar). Out of וּבְחַרְחַר עָרֵי מָדַי, 'and in Ḥarḥar, a city of Media,' all the various readings of MT and 𝔊 may have arisen. (𝔊BA, in 2 K. 17 6, has και ορη μηδων, where ορη is not = הרי, but is corrupt. 𝔊L εν οριοις [= ορεσι; see Mal. 1 3] μηδων, which is a conjectural correction.)

T. K. C.

HARADAH (חֲרָדָה; χαραδαθ [BAF], -δα [L]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33 24 *f.*). See WANDERINGS, § 11 *f.*

HARAN (חָרָן; χαρραν [BADEQaL]), or, as we shall here call it, for distinction from the Haran properly so-called, ḤARRĀN (CHARRAN, Acts 7 2 4 AV), is, in P, the place where Terah and his family halted in their migration from Ur Casdim and where Terah died (Gen. 11 31 *f.* 12 4 6 5); whilst J represents it as the birthplace of Abraham (Gen. 12 1 24 4 7; cp 27 43 28 10 29 4, χαρρας [E]), and gives it the name of the 'city of Nahor' (Gen. 24 10). J also describes it as the home of LABAN (*q.v.*), and introduces it as such into the story of Isaac and Jacob; he places it in ARAM-NAHARAIM. There are, however, great difficulties[2] in this view, and it is not improbable that חרן in Gen. is miswritten for חורן, Hauran; not Harran, but the chief city of Hauran was the home of the Laban clan (see NAHOR). At any rate there is no doubt that Harran is mentioned in 2 K. 19 12 (see below); reference is made (∥ Is. 37 12, χαραν [א*]) there to its conquest by the Assyrians, and in Ezek. 27 23 (χαρρα [BQ]) to its commercial intercourse with Tyre. Nor can any one fail to see the certainty of the restoration חָרָנִים for נכרים in Is. 2 6 which (if we adopt also two other appropriate corrections)[3] produces this complete picture,

For they are full of diviners from the east,
And of soothsayers like the Philistines,
And with the secret arts of the Harranians they practise enchantments.

Harran, *Ar. Ḥarrān*, is situated about nine hours' journey from Edessa, on the small stream called Jullāb, at the point where the road from Damascus joined the great highway from Nineveh to Carchemish and Arpad. The commercial and strategical importance of its position may account for its name (Ass. *ḫarrānu*, 'road').[4]

[1] At any rate the phrase, whatever it may have been, was first omitted and then restored in the wrong place.

[2] This is the ground of identifications, such as that of Beke (*J. of R. Geog. Soc.* 32), who thinks of Ḥarrān el-ʿAwāmīd, 16 m. E. of Damascus, where there is a so-called well of Abraham, and more recent theories of Halévy (see *Literature*, and cp ARAM-NAHARAIM). Several places bore the name Ḥarrān; but on the above theory we need none of them.

[3] וּבְלָטֵי for וּבילדי (see Ex. 7 11); יְכַשֵּׁפוּ for ישפיקו. The latter is due to Krochmal. Cp HAND.

[4] Winckler, however, questions the connection between the words.

The site was first explored by a party detached from the Euphrates expedition,[1] and the disinterment of a fragment of an Assyrian lion at Ḥarrān preceded the discoveries of Layard in Assyria proper. No inscriptions have yet been brought from Ḥarrān itself; but the Assyrian and Babylonian texts throw some light on its history. The 'country of Ḥarrān' is mentioned in the Prism inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. (*KB* 1 39), and in another inscription believed to be of not later date (3 R 41 *l.* 19 *f.*). In 5 R 64 Nabūna'id, the most scrupulously religious of the later kings of Babylon, relates that he rebuilt the temple of Sin (the moon-god) at Ḥarrān on the foundation-stone of Ašur-bāni-pal, who discovered the foundation-stone of Shalmaneser (II.), son of Ašur-naṣir-pal. The cultus of this deity had its chief home and perhaps its origin at Ḥarrān; āšib ḫarrāni ('inhabiter of Ḥarrān') is a title of Sin under Ašur-bāni-pal (1 R 8, no. 2, *l.* 13), and Nabū-na'id tells us that Sin had had his dwelling-place at Ḥarrān from remote days (*PSBA*, 1883, p. 7).

Hence it has been fancifully conjectured that Terah may have halted at Ḥarrān because the moon-god had attracted his special reverence at Ur (Uru). So Tomkins (*Life of Abraham*), Hommel (*AHT* 73).

Sargon II. also mentions Ḥarrān. He states that he restored its privileges (as well as those of Ašur) 'which had long been forgotten' (*KB* 2 53, cp 41); it would seem therefore that Ḥarrān had taken part in the rebellion of Ašur in the year of the great solar eclipse 763. Ašur-bāni-pal, who had been crowned in Ḥarrān with the crown of Sin', was not less friendly to this sacred city. He rebuilt its temple (see above), and raised his younger brother to the rank of high priest of Sin. During the invasion of the Ummanmanda (*i.e.*, here, the Medes; see CYRUS, § 2) much damage was done to Ḥarrān and its temple.

An inscription of Nabū-na'id discovered by Scheil gives a second account of that king's restoration of the temple of Sin fifty-four years after its destruction (see Messerschmidt, *MVG*, 1896, and cp the cylinder inscription described at length by Del. *Calwer Bib. Lex.*(2), *s.v.* 'Haran').

The conquest of Ḥarrān mentioned in 2 K. 19 12 evidently stands in connection with the restoration of privileges spoken of by Sargon II. When the rebellion of Ašur and Ḥarrān was suppressed, these places were doubtless deprived of their ancient rights.'

It only remains to be mentioned that at Carrhæ (= Ḥarrān) Crassus was defeated and slain by the Parthians (53 B.C.), and the emperor Caracalla murdered at the instigation of Macrinus (217 A.D.). The place long continued to be a centre of idolatry, and especially of moon-worship. Its principal temple remained in the hands of the heathen Harranians till the eleventh century A.D., and was finally destroyed by the Mongols in the thirteenth.

The commercial importance of Ḥarrān in the sixth century B.C. is attested not only by Ezek. 27 23, but also later by Pliny, who enumerates among its specialities a certain odoriferous gum (*HN* 12 40). Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2 2), too, speaks of its plentiful production of amomum. (There are also in it, he adds, the remains of Noah's ark.)

Literature. See Mez, *Gesch. der Stadt Harrān*, '92; Wi. *GBA*, and *AOF* 1 75 *ff.*; Sachau, *Reise*, 217 *ff.*; Ainsworth, *PSBA*, 1891, p. 387 *ff.* (on the ruins of various dates), Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, bk. i. (a history of Ḥarrān and the Harranians); Halévy, *Mél.* 72 *ff.*, *Rev. Sém.* 1894 (Ḥarrān, in Syria, seven days' journey to the N. of Mt. Gilead). Nöldeke, 'Harrān,' *ZA* 11 107-109 ('96), questions the importance assigned by Winckler and Hilprecht to the primitive Ḥarrān. T. K. C.

HARAN (הָרָן; αραν [AL in 1 Ch.]). **1.** Brother of Abraham, and (P adds) father of Lot (Gen. 11 28 *f.* [J]; 26 *f.* 31 [P]; αρρα [A], -ν [ADEL]). According to MT (*v.* 29) his daughters were MILCAH (1) and ISCAH. Wellhausen thinks that Haran was originally Ḥarrān (*Prol.*, ET, 313), and Yāḳūt, the Arabian geographer, mentions the opinion that *Ḥarrān* was named after

[1] These privileges were probably connected with the reverence paid to the ancient sanctuaries. One of them probably was that of immediate dependence on the king; we never hear of a governor of Ḥarrān (Wi. *AOF* 194).

Haran, Abraham's brother (2 23 1, ap. Mez, *Ḥarrān*, 24). If Milcah = Salecah (of which MT's Iscah must be another corruption) all becomes plain. The city of Salecah might equally well be called the wife and the daughter of Hauran. J, doubtless, reconciled these Statements (which lay before him in a corrupt form) by inventing a Haran (הָרָן). That P understood the Terahites to have sojourned in Harran on their way from 'Ur-kasdim' (?) to Canaan, is, of course, not to be questioned.

2. h. Shimei, **a** Levite (1 Ch. 23 9; αιδαν [B*], **καὶ Δὰν** (*sic*) [Bᵇ]). T. K. C.

HARAN (חָרָן; cp Sab. pr. n. חרן; DHM *Epig. Denk.* 56), the name of a Calebite family, 1 Ch. 2 46 (αρραν [BA], ωρων [L]).

HARARITE, THE (הָהֲרָרִי, BDB *Lex.*, doubtfully 'mountain-dweller'; ο αραχ[ε]ι [L]), an unknown ethnic applied to certain of David's heroes.

1. Shammah h. Agee, 2 S. 23 11 (הָרָרִי, *b αρουχαιος* [BA]); more probably an ARCHITE (*q.v.*); see SHAMMAH, 3.

2. Shammah, 2 S. 23 33*a* (**ὁ αρωδειτης** [BA]) = 1 Ch. 11 34 (ὁ αραχει [B*b], **αραρ[ε]ι** [BᵃᵇאA], *αρωρι* [L]), properly the same as (1) above, see SHAMMAH (4).

3. Ahiam h. Sharar, 2 S 23 33b (הָאֲרָרִי [Bä. for common 'הָאֲ]; RV ARARITE; *σαραουρειτης* [B], *apap.* [A], **αρεριμα** [L]), where *we* may read with Marq. (*Fund.* 21) Ahiam b. SHARAR (*q.v.*) the 'Aradite' (הָעֲרָדִי) or 'Adorite' (הָאֲדֹרִי); cp ARAD.

HARBONA (חַרְבוֹנָא; θαρρα και Βωραζη [BאLᵝ, om. Lᵅ], oape Bwa [A]), or as in Esth. 7 9 **Harbonah** (חַרְבוֹנָה; Βουγαθαν [BALᵝ], -θα [א*] -γαζαν [אᶜ·ᵃ], *αγαθας* [Lᵅ]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 10).

In Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6 11 the name appears as **σαβουχαδας**, *σαβουζανης*, and the latter stands for *ῥαβουζάνης* (so for *βωραζη* above, rend *ραβωζη*)—*i.e.*, חרבוזנא, **a** *name* on the analogy of *μιθροβουζανης*, etc.; see SHETHAR-BOZNAI. So Marq. (*Fund.* 71).

HARE (אַרְנֶבֶת; δασυπους [BAFL] *[vv.* 5 and 6 in 𝔊ᴮᴬᶠ Lev. having apparently changed places]), Lev. 11 6 Dt. 14 7†. The hare is included amongst the unclean animals, on the ground that it chews the cud and does not part the hoof; cp CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 8. The idea that it chews the cud is an error, probably to be accounted for by the peculiar and constant twitching of the hare's upper lip when feeding, which, to a superficial observer, has somewhat the appearance of the motion of the jaws when the cud is being chewed by ruminants. Five species of hare (*Lepus*) have been described by Tristram from Palestine, where, he states, they are *highly esteemed* by *the* Arabs as food. The rabbit, *L. cuniculus,* is not found in the Holy Land. **Cp** CONEY. A. E. S.

HAREL (הַרְאֵל), Ezek. 43 15 EVᵐᵍ· See ARIEL, 2, **n.** 6, and ALTAR, § 4.

HAREPH (חָרֵף, 'sharp'; § 57, cp HARIPH), a Calebite, was the father of BETH-GADER [*q.v.*] (1 Ch. 2 51 αρει [A], -ειμ [B], αρημ [L]).

HARETH (RV **Hereth), THE FOREST OF** (יַעַר חָרֶת), apparently the place to which David went after leaving Mizpeh of Moab, 1 S. 22 5 (εν πολει σαρεικ [B], . . σαριχ [L], εν τη π. αριαθ [A], σαριν [Jos. *Ant.* vi. 12 4]). Conder (*PEFQ*, 1876, p. 44) adopts עִיר, 'city,' instead of יער, 'forest,' and finds Hareth (Hereth?) in the hill-village of Khārās, near the valley of Elah. We should most probably read [עֲדֻלָּם] מְעָרַת (from מְצָדַת)—*i.e.*, יער and חרת are two fragments of מערת. Adullam was David's refuge. See HORESH. T. K. C.

HARHAIAH (חַרְהֲיָה, so the best edd., others read חַרְחִיָה (חַרְהֲיָה), הַרְהֲיָה, see Baer, Ginsb., *ad loc.*; BאA [ed. Sw.] om., αραχιου [Tisch.; cp H-P], Βαρ. [L], [Syriac] [Pesh.], *ARAIA* [Vg.]), the name given to the father of UZZIEL, 6 (Neh. 3 8). Its genuineness is doubtful; the MT עוזיאל בן־חרהיה צרפים can scarcely be defended (in spite of Be.-Rys.), and after the analogy of חנניה בן־הרקחים (*ib.*) we should read simply עוזיאל בן־הצרפים.

The origin of the intrusive חרהיה may perhaps he explained. Its close similarity to the equally unnecessary ההרה in *v.* 20 (BNAL om.) suggests that *vv.* 8 20 originally stood opposite one another in parallel columns, and that a marginal note has found its way into both passages, suffering corruption in the process. The note in question was הָהָרָה ('to the mount'), a gloss upon הַמִּקְצֹעַ (the turning of the wall) in *v.* 19*b*.[1] It still survives in 𝔊ᴸ, where **εἰς τὸ** ὄρος is inserted bodily between **ὀπίσω** and **αὐτοῦ** = אחריו, *v.* 20*a*), and has been transplanted, hut not yet corrupted, in the Vg. reading of *v.* 20 ('post eum in monte ædificavit'). A somewhat similar fate (according to We. *TBS* 151) has befallen another marginal note in 2 S. 16 6 17a (cp We., Dr. *ad loc.*); see *Exp. T.* 10 280 (Mar. '99). **S. A. C.**

HARHAS (חַרְחַס), ancestor of SHALLUM (2), 2 K. 22 14 (αραας [B*], αρδας [Bᵇ ᶜᵉʳᵗᵉ], apac [A], αλδα [L]) = 2 Ch. 34 22 HASRAH (*q.v.*).

HARHUR (חַרְחוּר, § 74, 'fever' [?], or, rather, a place-name [see HARA];[2] apoyp [BA], αρουαρ [L]), family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9, Ezra 2 51 = Neh. 7 53 (αρουμ [BK]) = 1 Esd. 5 31 ASSUR, RV ASUR (ασουρ [BA]).

HARIM (חָרִם, 'inviolable'? cp Nab. and Sin. חרמו and Ar. and Sab. name *ḥarām*; or = HARUMAPH? see NAMES, § 66; ηραμ [BאA] ηιραμ [L]).

1. One of the twenty-four (post-exilic) priestly courses; 1 Ch. 24 8 (*χαρηβ* [B], -ημ [A], *χειραμ* [L]), whose head in the days of Joiakim (see EZRA ii., §§ 66 11) was Adna; Neh. 12 15 (*ορεμ* [אᶜ·ᵃ ᵐᵍ· ⁱⁿᶠ·], *ρεουμ* [L], Bא*A om.). It is mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 39 (om. B, *ηρεμ* [A], **ιαρειμ** [L]) = Neh. 7 42 (*ηρα* [א], **ιαρειμ** [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 25 (**χαρμη** [BA], **αραμ** [L]); and in the list *of* those with foreign wives (EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 21 = 1 Esd. 9 21 (𝔊ᴮᴬ om. name); and was represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 5 [6] ([ε]ιραμ [BאA]).

2. A lay family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9) 1 Esd. 5 16, EV AROM (*αρομ* [BA]; but see **also** HASHUM), misplaced (from between *vv.* 16 and 17) among names of towns (so Bertheau) in 𝔊ᴸ and in the ‖ Ezra 2 32 (*ιηραμ* [L]) = Neh. 7 35; mentioned also in the list of those with foreign wives (*see* EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 31 (*μεραρει* [L]), and in that of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1] 15 *d*), Neh. 3 11 (*ηρμα* [A]), as also among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 27 [28] (*ηραμ* [Bאvid.], *ρεουμ* [A], *αειραμ* [L]).

HARIPH (חָרִיף, § 57). The B'ne Hariph, a post-exilic family, Neh. 7 24 (*αρειφ* [Bא], -ειμ [A], *ωρηε* [L]) = Ezra 2 18, JORAH [*q.v.*] (ουρα [B], *ωρ.* [A], *ωρηε* [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 16, AZEPHURITH, RV ARSIPHURITH (*αρσειφουρειθ* [B], *αρσιφρουρειθ* [A], *ωραι* [L]), on which see JORAH; represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 19 [20] (αρ[ε]ιφ [BאA], *αρηφ* [L]); cp the gentilic **Hariphite** (חרופי, Kr. חֲרִיפִי [so Ki., Kau.]; **χαραιφει** [Bא], *αρουφι* [A], **χαραφι** [L]), 1 Ch. 12 5, **a** designation **of** Shephatiah (4), and the Calebite HAREPH.[3]

HARLOT (זוֹנָה, *zōnāh*, πορνη; קְדֵשָׁה, *ḳĕdēšāh*, 'one consecrated' [cp CLEAN, § 1], **ἱερόδουλος**, cp Ass. *ḳadištu*; *πόρνη* [Gen. Dt.], **τετελεσμέναι** [Hos.], 'those initiated,' cp the masc. form קָדֵשׁ, AV 'sodomite,' *πορνεύων* [Dt.], **ἐνδιηλλαγμένος** [1 K 22 46 (47) A], **τελεταί** 'sacred rites or mysteries' [= מִקְדָּשׁ, *mikdāš*, 1 K. 15 12, 𝔊ᴸ **στήλας**], **καδησείμ** [B], **καδησ[ε]ίν** [AL] [2 K. 23 7], **συμπλοκή** [𝔊ᴬᴸ 1 K. 16 28], cp **ἑταίρα** [Judg. 11 2]).

The difference between the Græco-Roman and the early Israelitish (and indeed Semitic) conceptions **of** marriage must be borne in mind when we consider the prevalence of harlotry attested by the OT documents. The Semitic conception is closely bound up with the idea that **a** dead man who has no children will miss something in Shĕōl through **not** receiving that kind of worship which ancestors in early times appear to have received (cp Stade, GVI[(2)], 390 *ff.*). The object of marriage thus regarded is *not* the obtaining of legitimate heirs; a son of a *zōnāh*, like Jephthah, is brought up in his father's

1 So Be.-Rys., who, however, do not notice its connection with חרהיה.

2 A connection with Talm. חַרְחוֹר, 'coulter,' Ass. *ḫarḫaru*, 'bucket' (?), does not help us.

3 Hariphite and son **of** Hareph **may** be synonyms.

house with the legitimate children (Judg. 11 2), and can even under certain circumstances succeed to the throne (Judg. 9 18; cp KINSHIP, § 6). Social and religious progress (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 5 *f.*) necessarily led to the rise of a higher conception of marriage (cp Gen. 2 24); but in countries where the reproductive forces of nature were deified—in short, where the worship of the Babylonian goddess Ištar had been introduced—harlotry became so deeply rooted that it taxed all the energy of the Hebrew prophets of the eighth century and their adherents to overcome or at least to restrain it. For there is sufficient evidence that the worship of Ištar was 'saturated' with this shocking practice (see Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 59 *f.*; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. and Ass.* 485), and at the local shrines of N. Israel (see Hos. 4 14) the worship of Yahwè was deeply affected by Canaanitish practices derived ultimately from Babylonia. Even in Judah the consecrated harlotry of both sexes was not unknown (see 1 K. 15 12 22 46[1] [47]); but we must not be too prompt to draw historical inferences from 1 K. 14 24 (σύνδεσμος [BAL]), *vv.* 21-24 being a redactional insertion, nor must we infer from passages like Ezek. 16 15-34 23 5 *ff.*, that licentious religious rites were universally prevalent in the closing years of the Southern Kingdom.[2] In the original text of Am. 4 3 there was probably a distinct reference to the temple-prostitutes in Assyria (see HARMON).

This religious prostitution was prohibited in the Deuteronomic code (Dt. 23 17 [18] *f.*), and the Levitical legislation (Lev. 20 23) represents Canaanitish abominations as the chief reason why the Canaanites were exterminated. Lev. 21 7 (old?) forbids a priest to take a harlot to wife, Lev. 21 9 directs that the daughter of any priest who 'profanes herself by playing the harlot' shall be burned.

In the Wisdom Literature there is no trustworthy reference to the religious prostitutes.

In Job 36 14, where RV gives, 'And their life (perisheth) among the unclean' (mg. 'sodomites'), the usual explanation is so far-fetched, and affords so poor a parallelism, that emendation of the text is indispensable.[3]

Ordinary harlots are, however, referred to, and comparatively high ground is taken in the Prologue to the Book of Proverbs[4] (Prov. 2 16-19 5-7) in dealing with their immorality. Harlotry had become a social evil of a new sort, and had to be encountered by new arguments. Paul, as might be expected, reaches the highest point of Christian insight (1 Cor. 6 13-19), and our first Gospel contains the interesting notice (Mt. 21 31 *f.*) that the harlots, equally with the publicans, listened to John the Baptist whilst the hierarchical leaders turned a deaf ear to his call. This circumstance is not indeed referred to in the accounts of John the Baptist's ministry; but it is possible that the 'publicans' are mentioned there as representatives of the most degraded classes.

On the singular term 'dog,' Dt. 23 18 [19], see DOG, § 3 fend), IDOLATRY, § 6, and cp Dr. *Deut.* 264. Halévy's attempt (*REJ* 9 ['84], 186) to show that Ass. *ḳadištu* (קְדֵשָׁה) can mean the legitimate wife, and that Herodotus (1 199) misunderstood and misrepresented a perfectly innocent matrimonial custom, has not met with acceptance.

See further HOSEA, § 6, MARRIAGE. T. K. C.

1 The 'harlots' intended in 1 K. 22 38 (see RV) may perhaps, though *zōnōth* is the word used, be religious prostitutes (so Kittel). The clause, however, is a very late insertion.

2 The difficult passage, Ezek. 20 29, is commonly misunderstood. Neither of the explanations cited by Dav. will stand: הבאים is plainly corrupt, and this throws suspicion on the whole passage. Read probably, 'what are the loves (הָאֲהָבִים) which ye pursue (כָּאֲהָבִים) there? So the name of the land was called Ahābim (*i.e.*, "loves") unto this day.' The meaning is, Unto this day the land is given to idolatry. Cp the symbolic names AHOLAH, AHOLIBAH.

3 In *v.* 14*a* for בנער, 'in youth,' read בְּרָעָב, 'by famine' (cp Pesh. in 6), and in 6 for בקרשים, 'among the *ḳĕdēšīm*,' read בִּרְשָׁפִים, 'by pestilence.'

4 On the exceptional use of נָכְרִיָּה (EV 'a stranger') for a 'harlot' in Prov. 2 16 5 20 6 24 7 5 23 27 see Toy on Prov. 2 16; Bertholet, *Stellung*, 195. The dissolute women spoken of were probably often non-Israelites; but the wise men had thrown off a narrow nationalism to such an extent that the origin or birth-place of an adulteress or a harlot is of no moment to them.

HAR-MAGEDON (ἁρμαγεδων), Rev. 16 16 RV, AV ARMAGEDDON (*q.v.*).

HARMON. In Am. 4 3 RV has 'and ye shall cast [yourselves] into Harmon,' where AV has 'and ye shall cast [them] into the palace,' for וְהִשְׁלַכְתֶּנָה הַהַרְמוֹנָה. The text is undoubtedly corrupt. Probably we should read וְהִשָּׁגַלְנָה בִּקְדֵשׁוֹת, 'and ye shall be ravished among the temple-prostitutes'—*i.e.*, ye shall be devoted as spoil of war to the goddess Ištar (see *Crit. Bib.*). Cp HARLOT.

𝔊's εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ ρομμαν ([B]; ρεμμαν [AQ*]) supposes an unlikely reference to Rimmon; Tg.'s 'beyond the mountains of Armenia' (cp Sym.) postulates too early an acquaintance with Armenia. Theodot. has τὸ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος. Heilprin (*Historical Poetry of the Hebrews*, 2 75 ['80]) and König (*Lehrgeb.* 2 459, n. 5) suggest a reference to Mt. Hermon; cp 𝔊 [Qmg.] ερμωνα. Hitzig and Steiner see a reference to the heathen sanctuary of Hadad-rimmon. Zech. 12 11, however, is most obscure and HADAD-RIMMON [*q.v.*] is itself corrupt. So much, at least, these critics have seen more clearly than most, that some extremely pointed expressions must have closed the prophecy.

T. K. C.

HARNEPHER (חַרְנֶפֶר), possibly of Egyptian origin, 'Horus is good' [so Tomkins, Marquart]; cp אסרונפר in an old Aram. inscr. *CIS* 2 no. 155 B 5, and for compounds of Horus [with ה not ח] cp, with caution, Aram. הרעדר, 'Horus helps,' and הרתכל, 'Horus is a confidence' [see Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, *s.v.* חר]; αναρφαρ [B], αρναφαρ [A], αριαφερ [L]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 36.† Cp AHIRA, HUR, and note the connection between Egypt and ASHER [*q.v.*, § 1].

S. A. C.

HARNESS, equally with 'armour' (see 1 K. 10 25 2 K. 10 2), is given by AV for נֶשֶׁק (see WEAPONS). In 1 K. 22 34 ‖ 2 Ch. 18 33, 'the joints of the harness' is a vague paraphrase of a difficult phrase (cp AVmg. and RVmg., and see BREAST-PLATE i., col. 606).

HAROD, THE WELL OF (עֵין חֲרֹד, 'the fountain of trembling' [?], cp *v.* 8; πηγην αραδ [B], την γην ιαεр [A], την ην αρωδ [L]), Judg. 7 1, and perhaps originally 1 S. 28 7 29 1 1 K. 20 30. The fountain 'above' which Jerubbaal encamped.

1. *Judg.* 7 1.—If Moore is right in referring this passage to a different stratum of tradition from 6 33 (which makes the Midianites encamp in the vale of Jezreel), we shall have to conjecture that 'Ēn Ḥărōd is the name of some fountain near Shechem. Certainly the two other passages in which MOREH [*q.v.*] is mentioned, localise the name near Shechem, and Ophrah, the home of Gideon, was probably not far from that town; but (*a*) the word Moreh = 'soothsayer' was, of course, not confined to Shechem, and (6) Moore's view of the origin of Judg. 7 1 is not quite satisfactory. It is safest to hold with Budde that 7 1 is the continuation of 6 33 (cp MOREH, HILL OF), so that the Well of Harod must be sought in the vale of Jezreel; and since there are only three wells or fountains which can come into consideration—viz., the 'Ain el-Meiyiteh, which is at the foot of the hill of Jezreel, the 'Ain Ṭuba'ūn, which is out upon the plain, and the 'Ain Jālūd, close under Gilboa—and since a position by the first or second of these would have exposed Gideon to the attack of the Midianites, G. A. Smith (*HG* 397 *f.*) appears to be right in assenting to the plausible traditional view that the third is the fountain referred to. Its waters well out at the NE. end of Mt. Gilboa from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, and spread out into a limpid pool or lakelet 40 or 50 ft. in diameter (*BR* 3 168). From this pool and from the 'Ain Ṭuba'ūn (the Tubania of mediaeval writers), which is some little way off, the Nahr Jālūd flows down past Bethshan into the Jordan. With its unusually deep bed and its soft banks it formed a natural ditch in front of the position which both Gideon and Saul appear to have taken up on the plateau

of Gilboa, and rendered it possible for those encamped on the plateau to hold the lakelet below against an enemy on the plain. See GILBOA, § 3 (6).

It is true, Budde (who denies that 'Ēn Hărōd is 'Ain Jālūd) objects that the Nabi Dahi (with which the 'hill of Moreh,' Judg. 7 1 [MT], is generally identified) is too imposing an eminence to be called a 'hill,' נבעת; but (1) loftier heights than the Nabi Dahi (*e.g.*, probably the Tell el-Fiil, *i.e.*, Gibeah of Benjamin) can be called גבעה, and (2) the text of Judg. 7 1 is evidently in disorder. It may, in fact, he regarded as certain that originally *v.* 16 harmonised with *v.* 8b; there must also (as Budde allows) be some omission in *v.* 1*a*. The omitted words probably are 'and passed on to Mt. Gilboa'[1] (which were afterwards transferred with an alteration to *v.* 3); and the description of the position of the Midianitish camp in v. 1*b* should most probably run thus, 'and the camp of Midian was to the N. of them, beneath Mt. Gilboa, in the vale.'[2] Cp GILBOA, § 3, MOREH, HILL OF. We can thus dispense with the hypothesis of Schwarz and Grove that 'Gilead' (*v.* 3, MT) was the name of the NW. part of Gilboa, and that there is *a* trace of this in the name 'Ain Jālūd.

2. 1 S. 29 1.—It has usually been held (*e.g.*, by Robinson, Stanley, and W. Miller) that 'the fountain which is in Jezreel' (so MT), beside which Saul's army encamped, is the 'Ain Jālūd. The expression, however, will hardly bear this interpretation. 'The fountain in Jezreel,' *par excellence*, can only be the fountain below Zer'īn now called 'Ain el-Meyiteh ('the dead fountain'). This shows the necessity of basing biblical geography on a revised Hebrew text. A word must have fallen out of the text, and this word must be חֲרֹד. For MT's בַּעַיִן we must therefore read בעין חרד. This view is supported by 𝔊B ἐν αεδων and 𝔊A ἐν αενδωρ—*i.e.*, בעין חרד (Klo.). The 'Ain Jālūd (='Ēn Hărōd) is, in fact, little more than a mile from the E. of the foot of the hill of Jezreel, and could therefore fairly be described as being 'in [the district of] Jezreel.' 'It was on the plateau above this that Saul's army was posted, unless MT is very far wrong indeed (see SAUL).

3. 1 S. 28 7.—Did Saul really go 7 or 8 m. to visit the so-called 'witch of Endor'? It is shown elsewhere (ENDOR), with as near an approach to certainty as is possible, that Endor is an error for 'Ēn Hărōd. The wise woman lived at only ten minutes' distance from the Israelite camp. See ENDOR (*b*), bnt cp SAUL.

4. 1 K. 20 30.—Did Benhadad attempt to hide himself 'in an inner chamber'? Does חדר בחדר really mean this? Perhaps we should read 'by the fountain in Harod.' See GILBOA, § 3 (*c*). T. K. C.

HARODITE (חֲרֹדִי, ρουδαιος [B], αρουδαιος [A], αδαρι [L], 2 S. 23 25*a*), a designation applied to Shammah, one of David's heroes; in *v.* 25*b* Elika is also called a Harodite; but *v.* 25*b* is probably an interpolation (see ELIKA). The situation of Shammahs native place depends somewhat on that of the home of his fellow on the list, for the names are given in couples. If we omit Elika, the companion of Shammah is Helez the Paltite. BETH-PALET [*q.v.*] was in the far south of Judah, which forbids us to connect 'Harodite' with En-harod (H. P. Sm.), and suggests

1 וַיַּעֲבֹר אֶל־הַר הַגִּלְבֹּעַ. For attempts *to* explain *v.* 3 with the minimum of change in the text, or even with no change at all, see Moore's commentary and the article 'Gilead, Mt.' in Hastings, *DB* 2 176*a* (Dr.). To the present writer it seems useless to 'heal the hurt' of the text 'lightly.' The view maintained by him is that an editor transferred the words to *v.* 3 to form part of the address to the 'fearful and trembling,' but with an alteration. The text now stands וְיִצְפֹּר מֵהַר הַגִּלְעָד; but צפר ('to plait') cannot mean 'to turn aside' (Ges.-Buhl); there has been both corruption and editorial manipulation. An earlier reading was almost certainly וַיַּעֲבֹר מֵהַר הַגִּלְבֹּעַ, 'and let him pass on from Mt. Gilboa.' What the editor did was to alter אֶל־הַר into מֵהַר, to adapt the words which he transferred to their new position. The emendation 'Gilboa' for 'Gilead' is adopted from Clericus (1708) by Hitzig, Bertheau, Gratz, Reuss, Driver, etc.; but it is not sufficient alone.

2 For מִגִּבְעַת המורה, 'from the hill of the soothsayer,' read מתחת להר הגלבע, 'beneath Mt. Gilboa.' מגבעת is composed of the first two letters of מתחת and three of the letters of הגלבע. הם in המורה comes from מה, and מו from להר.

reading עֲרָרִי for חֲרֹדִי (ע and ח are often confounded). Shammah then becomes a man of ARAD (*q.v.*, 1). So, in the main, Marquart (*Fund.* 19), who identifies this Shammah with one of David's brothers. Cp DAVID, § 1, n. 2. T. K. C.

HAROEH (הָרֹאֶה). Shobal 'the father of Kirjath-jearim' had sons: 'Haroeh, half of the Menuhoth'; 1 Ch. 2 52 (הראה חצי המנחות; αιω εσειρα μωναιω [B], αραα εσει αμμανιθ [A, om. L]). For הראה we should read ראיה. See REAIAH, 1; cp also MANAHETHITES.

HARORITE (הֲרוֹרִי), so 1 Ch. 11 27 for HARODITE [*q.v.*]. See SHAMMAH, 5.

HAROSHETH OF THE GENTILES (חֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם; αρειcωθ [των εθνων] [B], αcειρωθ, αρειcωθ, δρυμου [τ.ε.] [A], αcηρωθ, αριcωθ, δρυμου [τ.ε.] [L]), the place of residence of Sisera, a powerful king (see Cooke, *Hist. and Song of Deb.* 4), whose oppression roused six Israelitish tribes to common hostile action against him (Judg. 4 2 13 16†). It has been identified by Thomson (with the assent of Conder. G. A. Smith, G. A. Cooke, Socin, Buhl)[1] with mod. el-Ḥārithīyeh, on the right bank of the lower Kishon, NW. of Megiddo. This is 'an enormous double mound,' 'situated just below the point where the Kishon in one of its turns beats against the rocky base of Carmel, leaving no room even for a footpath. A castle there effectually commands the pass up the vale of the Kishon into Esdraelon, and such *a* castle there was on this immense double *tell* of Harothieh [Ḥārithīyeh]. It is still covered with the remains of old walls and buildings' (Thomson, *LB* 437). The situation is well adapted for an oppressive chieftain, and is not to be rejected on the ground of the remoteness of Jabin's city of Hazor, for Sisera was no mere 'captain of the host.' The place-name, however, does not occur in the Amarna tablets, and textual criticism favours the view (first suggested by the names Shamgar and Sisera) that Sisera was a Hittite king. If this is correct, his place of residence must have been Kadesh on the Orontes; in fact, recent textual criticism of Judg. 5 reveals to us the Kadeshites and Hadrachites fighting against Israel under Sisera. More precisely, the Hittite city KADESH [*q.v.*, 2] bears a fuller name in the true text of the Song of Deborah—viz., Kadshon or Kidshon.

Now, looking at חרשת, we notice that two of its letters recur in קדשון, for ר and ד resemble each other so closely in all the alphabets as to be often hardly distinguishable. Moreover ח, נ, and ק are sometimes confounded through phonetic similarity, while the corruption of ון (the final forms of letters but slowly established themselves) into ת is easy.

The conclusion we reach is that the otherwise unknown 'Harosheth of the nations' should rather be 'Kidshon of the nations.' It was so called to distinguish it from places of the same name in Canaan. This view is substantially that of Marquart (*Fund.* 3) and Ruben (*JQR* 10 554); but these scholars did not remark the existence of the termination *-on* appended to the fundamental element *Kadsh.* Whether the corrupt name TAHTIM-HODSHI [*q.v.*] may be compared, is doubtful. T. K. C.

HARP (כִּנּוֹר, Ps. 33 2 etc.; קִיתָרֹס, Dan. 3 5 *ff.*). See MUSIC, § 7 *ff.*

HARROW. For Job 39 10 (שׂדד) see AGRICULTURE, § 3 *beg.* and § 4. For 2 S. 12 31 = 1 Ch. 20 3 (חרצי הברזל) see AGRICULTURE, § 8, n.

HARSHA (חַרְשָׁא, 'deaf,' § 66, cp also TEL-HARSHA), a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 52 (αρησα [BA], αβασα [L]) = Neh. 7 54 (αδασαν [BℵA], αδασα [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 32 EV CHAREA (χαρεα [A], om. B, βασα [L ?]).

1 J. S. Black, however, in 1892, and (at greater length) Moore in 1895, expressed themselves doubtfully. See their respective commentaries.

HARSITH, in 'The gate Harsith' (Kr. שַׁעַר הַחַרְסִית, but Kt. (שׁ׳) החרסות), Jer. 19 2 RV, AV 'THE EAST GATE' (as if from חֶרֶס, 'sun,' cp mg.), RVmg. 'the gate of potsherds.'

Although 𝔊's χαρσ(ε)ιθ favours Kre, this may be merely due to an early corruption or conjecture. Harsith cannot easily he explained. Most scholars (see BDB) render as RVmg., but the ending *-ith* constitutes a difficulty; Hitzig renders *Scherbenthum*, König (2 205 [a]) *Scherbenei*, but improbably. Read perhaps הָ אַשְׁפֹּת; the Dung-gate seems to be meant. See HINNOM, VALLEY OF, § 4 (2), JERUSALEM, § 24, col. 2423.

T. K. C.

HART, HIND (אַיָּל, אַיֶּלֶת; ελαφος [BKAQRTFL]). The animal intended is probably the fallow-deer (*Cervus dama*, L.), which is still to be found in the neighbourhood of Sidon (Tristram); see ROE, 4. As the name Aijalon shows, the *ayyāl* must have been found in very ancient times far to the S. of this, and Dt. 12 15 22 15 22 proves that it was quite common game. It was regularly supplied to Solomon's table, according to 1 K. 4 23 [5 3]. In Dt. 14 5 it is enumerated among the clean animals. Hebrew poets delight to refer to it. Its slender but powerful build, the swiftness and sureness of its motions, suggested a pleasing comparison for warriors or for the victorious people of Israel (2 S. 22 34 = Ps. 18 33 [34] Hab. 3 19, εἰς συντέλειαν [BKAQ]), and in Gen. 49 21 (στέλεχος [BADFL]), if MT is correct, Naphtali is likened to a nimble hind, with reference to the swiftness of its heroes (see, however, below.). The horns (a figure for rays of the rising sun?) of the ayyāl have been thought (wrongly) to be referred to in the title of Ps. 22 (see RVmg.); but cp AIJELETH-SHAHAR. Its languishing condition when deprived of pasture is referred to in Lam. 1 6 (κριοί [BKAQ]); its disregard of its young under these circumstances in Jer. 14 8; its eager panting for water in Ps. 42 1 [2].[1] An image of feminine grace and affectionateness is derived from the elegance and the gentle gaze of the hind (Prov. 5 19; cp Cant. 2 7 3 5 [ἐν (ταῖς) ἰσχύσεσιν τοῦ ἀγροῦ (BAKC in both verses)]); and a lover may be likened to a young hart, Cant. 2 17 8 14 (עֹפֶר הָאַיָּלִים).

Two passages remain which have to be taken together, Job 39 1-4 and Ps. 29 9. In the former passage the ease with which the hinds bring forth appears as one of the wonders of creation; in the latter, a phrase used in Job 39 1 of the travailing of the hinds is employed, but with a causative sense, of the effect of thunderclaps in hastening the parturition of hinds. It must be admitted, however, that the reference to the accelerated pangs of the hinds is not quite what we should expect in this grand storm-piece, nor does it suit the parallel line. יְעָרוֹת, 'forests,' seems to require us to point אֵילוֹת, 'terebinths' (so Lowth, Gratz, Thrupp, Che.); the suspicious-looking יחולל should rather be יְקַלְקֵל, 'shakes' (Che.(2)). On the analogy of the former emendation some (Bochart, Lowth, Ew., Olsh., Di., etc.), would point אֵילָה, 'terebinths,' in Gen. 49 21 instead of אַיָּלָה, 'hind.' See NAPHTALI.

HARUM (הָרֻם, cp Sab. הרם, הרמה [DHM, *Ep. Denk.* 59], Ar. *hirm* also HORAM) father of Aharhel, a name in an obscure part of the genealogy of Judah; 1 Ch. 4 8 (ιαρειμ [BA]; om. L, see AHARHEL).

HARUMAPH (חֲרוּמַף, prob. = חֲרוּם אַף, 'with pierced nose,' § 66), father of Jedaiah in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*; EZRA ii., §§ 66, 16 [1] 15 *d*), Neh. 3 10† (ερωμαθ [B], -φ [AL], ειωμαθ [ℵ]).

HARUPHITE (חרופי Kt.), 1 Ch. 12 5. See HARIPH.

HARUZ (חָרוּץ, 'eager'? 'gold'? 566, αρους [BAL]), of Jotbah, father of Meshullemeth, king Amon's mother (2 K. 21 19).

HARVEST (קָצִיר, Gen. 8 22 etc.; θερισμος, Mt. 9 37 etc.). See AGRICULTURE, §§ 1 7; YEAR, § 4.

HASADIAH (חֲסַדְיָה, 'Yahwè is gracious,' § 28), one of the children of Zerubbabel; 1 Ch. 3 20 (ασαδια [BA], -βια [L]).

[1] Read with Olsh., Che., We., Du., אילת (MT איל; ת follows).

HASENUAH (הַסְּנֻאָה), 1 Ch. 9 7 AV, RV HASSENUAH. See HASSENAAH.

HASHABIAH (חֲשַׁבְיָהוּ in 1 Ch. 25 3 26 30 2 Ch. 35 9; elsewhere חֲשַׁבְיָה; 'Yahwè has taken account of,' see NAMES, § 32; ασαβια(ς) [BKAL]), a name so common in post-exilic times that the identity or differentiation of the individuals bearing it is sometimes uncertain. On Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [ii. *d*].

1. A Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 6 45 [30], ασεβ[ε]ι [BA]).

2. b. Bunni, a Merarite Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., §§ 5 [*b*], 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 14 Neh. 11 15 (ασαβιου [ℵc.a mg. sup.] om. Bℵ*A).

3. One who with his brethren 'men of valour,' 1700 in number, was overseer in Israel 'beyond Jordan westward' (1 Ch. 26 30); see HEBRON ii. 1.

4. A musician, a 'son of Jeduthun' (1 Ch. 25 3 and 19 απρα [B]).

5. A Levite, son of Kemuel (*i.e.*, Kadmiel? 1 Ch. 27 17), perhaps the same as 3.

6. A Levite, according to the Chronicler, of the time of Josiah (2 Ch. 35 9). In 1 Esd. 1 9 his name appears as ASSABIAS, RV SABIAS (σαβιας [BA]).

7. A Levite in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i. § 2, ii. § 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 19 (ασεβ[ε]ια [BA], ασσαβια [L]), 1 Esd. 8 48 ASEBIA, RV ASEBIAS (om. B, ασεβιαν [A]), cp Ezra 8 24 (σαβια [Avid.]) = 1 Esd. 8 54 ASSANIAS, RV ASSAMIAS (ασσαμιαν [B], ασα. [A], ασαβιαν [L]), see Kosters, *Herst.* 44, n. 2; signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7) Neh. 10 11 [10] (om. Bℵ*, εσεβιας [ℵc.a mg. A]); 11 22, ασαβεια [ℵ] (see *Herstel*, 105 *f.*). The name also appears among the Levites in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA ii., §§ 6 *b*, 11) Neh. 12 24 (αβια [Bℵ*]).

8. 'Ruler of half the district of Keilah,' mentioned in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 17.

9. Head of the house of Hilkiah (see EZRA ii., §§ 66, 11), Neh. 12 21 (ℵc.a mg. inf., om. Bℵ*A).

HASHABNAH (חֲשַׁבְנָה, § 32, probably to be read חֲשַׁבְנְיָה—*i.e.*, Hashabni-jah; see HASHABNIAH), signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7) Neh. 10 25 [26] (εσαβανα [BℵA], ασβ. [L]).

HASHABNIAH, RV **Hashabneiah** (חֲשַׁבְנְיָה, or perhaps, if the text is right, as suggested in § 32, חֲשַׁבְנְיָה—*i.e.*, Ḥăshabni-iah, 'Yahwè has taken thought of me'), a Levite; Neh. 9 5 (BℵA om., σαβανιας or σεχενιας [L, the order of the names is different]); the name also of the father of HATTUSH (2); Neh. 3 10 (ασβανàμ [B*], -νεαμ [Bab (vid.)], -ενεαμ [ℵ], -ανια [A], σαβανιου [L]). The נ, however, seems due to a scribe who thought of שׁכניה. Names of the type 'Hashabniah' are generally corrupt. Probably Hashabiah is right.

T. K. C.

HASHBADANA, RV **Hashbaddanah** (חַשְׁבַּדָּנָה, probably, if original [see below], a corruption of חשׁבניה, Hashabni-jah; § 32). one of those (probably Levites: so Kosters, *Herstel*, 88) present[1] at the reading of the law under Ezra; Neh. 8 4 (om. B, ασαβδανα [ℵc.a mg. dextr.], -βαδμα [A], αβαδανας [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 44 (LOTHASUBUS + NABARIAS: λωθασουβος + ναβαρ[ε]ιας [BA], ασσομ και αψαδανας [L]). Their number is doubtful.

According to L (in both Neh. and 1 Esd.) there were seven standing on each side of Ezra; according to Neh. MT, 6 on his right, and 7 on his left; according to Neh. HA, 6 and 7 [ℵc.aA] respectively: Neh. B, 6 and 4: 1 Esd. BA and RV, 7 and 6; 1 Esd. AV, 7 and 5.

The MT seems to have suffered somewhat from the 11th name onwards; the last two names lack the connective 'and,' and the preceding name is surely corrupt. Hashbaddanah may in fact have arisen, the first half (חשׁב) from a repetition of the preceding Hashum (חָשֻׁם), and the second (בדנה) from a repetition of the following (ז)כריה. The corruption has taken another course in 1 Esd., וחשׁב becoming (ל)תשׁב, Lothasubus, and זכריה becoming נבריה, Nabarias. We thus lose, no doubt, the two heptads desiderated by Kosters (*Herstel*, 88; so also Be.-Ryss., Guthe), hut we get twelve names, corresponding to the tribes. See HASHUM.

S. A. C.

[1] Neh. 8 4-6 may be due to the Chronicler (Kosters, *Herstel*, 88).

HASHEM, THE SONS OF, the Gizonite (1 Ch. 1134, בְּנֵי הָשֵׁם; Βενναιας ὁ Σομολογεννουνειν [B], υἱοι Ασαμ' ὁ Γιωυνι [A], Βενναιας ὁ Σομογεννουνιν [א], υἱοὶ Ασομ τοῦ Ζευν [L v. 34], Ειρασαι ὁ Γουνι [L v. 33]; but see JASHEN).

HASHMONAH (חַשְׁמֹנָה; CEΛΜωΝΑ [BL], ΑCΕΛΜωΝΑ [AF]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness; Nu. 33 29 f.†. See WANDERINGS, § 11 f., and cp MACCABEES i., § 2.

HASHUB (חַשּׁוּב), 1 Ch. 9 14 AV; RV HASSHUB (q.v.).

HASHUBAH (חֲשֻׁבָה; cp HASHUB), one of the children of Zerubbabel; 1 Ch. 3 20 (ΑCΟΥΒΕ [B], ΑCΕΒΑ [A], ΛΑCΑΒΑΘ [L]).

HASHUM (חָשֻׁם, vocalisation doubtful; cp 𝔊's readings and Meyer, *Entst.* 144, who suggests חוּשִׁים; cp the name חוּשִׁים; α[σ]σομ [BAL]), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., §§ 9, 8 c), Ezra 2 19 (ασεμ [B], ασουμ [A], ασωμ [L]) = Neh. 7 22 (ησαμ[ι] [BאA]) = 1 Esd. 5 16 AROM[1] (αρομ [BA]), represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 18 [19] (ησαμ [BאA]). Various members of it are mentioned in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 33 (ησ[ι]αμ [Bא], ασ[σ]ημ [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 33, ASOM. The name is borne apparently by an individual in list of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA ii., § 13 [f.]; cp i. § 8, ii. 5 16 [5], ii. § 15 [1] C), Neh. 84 (om. Bא*, ωσαμ [אc.a mg. dextr. A]) = 1 Esd. 9 44, LOTHASUBUS (λωθάσουβος [BA]). See HASHBADANA.

HASHUPHA (חֲשׂוּפָא), Neh. 7 46 AV, RV HASUPHA.

HASMAAH (הַשְּׁמָעָה), 1 Ch. 12 3 AVmg., EV SHEMAAH (q.v.).

HASMONÆANS. See MACCABEES i., § 2.

HASRAH (חַסְרָה), ancestor of SHALLUM (2), 2 Ch. 34 22 (χελλης [B], εσσερη [A], ασρ [L]). 2 K. 22 14 has HARHAS (q.v.).

HASSENAAH (Neh. 3 3), or SENAAH (Ezra 2 35 Neh. 7 38), or [1 Esd. 5 23] RV SANAAS, AV ANNAAS, הַסְּנָאָה, סְנָאָה; CENNAA [AL]).

In Neh. 7 38 σαναναγ [B*], σανανᾶ γ' (the y's numerical) [Ba.], σανανα [אA]; in Ezra σαανα [B]; in Neh. 7 38, ασαν [B], ασανaa [א], auava [A]; in 1 Esd. σαμα [B], σαναας [A].

1. Current explanations. (a) The name, which only occurs with the prefix בְּנֵי, 'sons of.' was formerly regarded as the name of a city, the inhabitants of which returned in large numbers (3930 in Neh. 7 38; 3630 in Ezra 2 35; 3330 [A] or 3301 [B] in 1 Esd. 5 23) with Zerubbabel, and rebuilt the fish-gate at Jerusalem (Neh. 33). This is the first stage in the quest of the true meaning of the phrase *b'nē hassĕnāāh* or *b'nē sĕnāāh*. But where is there a city with a name like Senaah? The Magdalsenna of Eusebius and Jerome (OS 292 8 150 22), 8 or 7 R. m. N. of Jericho, is surely not what is meant. (6) Schlatter (*Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Pal.*) and Siegfr.-Sta. therefore suspect that a Benjamite family (cp 1 Ch. 97) may be meant. No such name, however, occurs in the list in Neh. 10 14-27. (c) Hence a third view: Senaah, or rather Hassenaah (with the art.), may be wrongly vocalised. In 1 Ch. 97 Neh. 11 9 we meet with a 'son of Hassenuah' (in Ch. ααvα [B], ασανουα [A], σaava [L]; *asana* [Vg.]; in Neh. AV SENUAH; *auava* [BRA], ασεννα [L], *senna* [Vg.]); cp HODAVIAH, 2. That 1 Ch. 97-9 contains material derived from a post-exilic list, has long been recognised.[2] Ed. Meyer, therefore,[3] does not hesitate to regard Hassennah (misread Hassenaah) as a post-exilic designation, and to explain it from post-exilic circumstances. Among those who returned with Zerubbabel, or, perhaps rather,[4] who after Ezra's arrival formed the *ḳāhāl* or 'congregation' of true or genuine Israelites, there must have been many who had no landed possessions. The popular wit may have described such as 'children of the slighted wife' (שְׂנוּאָה = סְנוּאָה 'hated,' 'slighted'; see Dt. 21 15 f., Is. 6015).

This theory is ingenious, and might provisionally serve us. But it has perhaps a family likeness to the explanations one finds in the Midrash, and to the edifying vocalisations of names in the Chronicler. Is not 'Praise-Yahwè, the son of the slighted' an unnatural combination?

2. New theory. The key to the mystery must be sought elsewhere. It is to be found in the problematical term MISHNEH [q.v.], the current explanation of which is purely hypothetical. An examination of the passages in which this word occurs with reference to Jerusalem suggests that underneath it lies the term הַיְשָׁנָה, 'the old city'—*i.e.*, the city which existed before Hezekiah built 'the other wall without' (2 Ch. 32 5; see JERUSALEM, § 23). Hassenaah (הַסְּנָאָה) or Hassenuah (הַסְּנֻאָה) and Senaah (סְנָאָה) are probably corruptions of הַיְשָׁנָה, 'the old city'—the city which is referred to under that title in three or rather four passages in which MT gives משנה (RV, conjecturally, 'the second quarter'). The 3000, or more, people mentioned in Ezra 235 Neh. 738 at the end of the list of town populations are the 'sons' or people of the 'old city,' or quarter, of Jerusalem. Now we understand the relative largeness of the number. T. K. C.

1 But see also HARIM (2).
2 See Herzfeld, *Gesch.* 1 299 (47).
3 *Ent.* 150, 154, 156. J. D. Michaelis partly anticipated him.
4 Meyer, however, takes the former view.

HASSHUB (חַשּׁוּב, 'thought of [by God]'; ΑCΟΥΒ [BKAL]; but ΑCωΒ [BA] in Ch.; CΟΥΒ [א*] in Neh. 3 23; ΑCΟΥΘ [Bא] in Neh. 10 23 [24]).

1. A Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 914 Neh. 11 15 [AV HASHUB]).
2. AV HASHUB, b. Pahath-moab, one of the repairers of the wall (Neh. 3 11).
3. AV HASHUB, another of the repairers of the wall (Neh. 323).
4. AV HASHUB, signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 1023[24].

HASSOPHERETH (הַסֹּפֶרֶת, 'scribe'? or = ZAREPHATH? ασωφερεθ [L]). The B'ne Hassophereth, a group of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 55 (ασεφηραθ [B], -φοραθ [A]) = Neh. 7 57 with article omitted, Bne SOPHERETH (ספרת; σαφαραθ [BA], -θι [א], ασοφερεθ [L]) = 1 Esd. 533 AV AZAPHION, RV ASSAPHIOTH (ασσαφειωθ [B], ασαφφι. [A]). It is plausible to read בְּנֵי צָרְפַת, 'men of ZAREPHATH' (q.v.). T. K. C.

HASUPHA (חֲשׂוּפָא, in Neh. חֲשֻׂפָא; ΑCΟΥΦΑ [AL], family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 43 (ασουφε [B], ασουφαι [L]) = Neh. 746 (ασφα [B], ασειφα [אA], AV HASHUPHA) = 1 Esd. 529 (τασειφα [B], ασειφα [A], EV ASIPHA). Corrupted to GISPA (q.v.) in Neh. 11 21.

HAT. For (1) כַּרְבְּלָא (Aram.), *karbĕlā*, Dan. 3 21 AV (AVmg. 'turban,' RV 'mantle'), see TURBAN, 2; and for (2) πέτασος, 2 Macc. 4 12 (RV '[Greek] cap'), see CAP.

HATACH, RV HATHACH (הֲתָךְ; ΑΧΡΑΘΑΙΟC [BאLβ], -θεος [A], om. La; in Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6 7 αχραθεος), one of the eunuchs of Ahasuerus (Esth. 4 5 f. [om. BNAL in v. 6], v. 9 [ὁ] αρχθαθαιος [א*A]; v. 10). Marq. (*Fund.* 7) makes this the O. Pers. *hu-karta**, 'well-made. 𝔊 also inserts the name in 4 12 (αρχαθαιος [A]), 13 (αχθραθαιον [א], om. A).

HATCHET (כַּשִּׁיל, ΠΕΛΕΚΥC [BאR], *securis*), Ps. 74 6†. See AXE, 3.

HATHACH (הֲתָךְ), Esth. 4 5 RV; AV HATACH (q.v.).

HATHATH (חֲתַת; ΑΘΑΘ [BA], -ΕΘ [L]), a Kenizzite, 1 Ch. 4 13†. Probably the word is a fragment of מנחתי (see MANAHATH), a variant to מעונתי (see MEONOTHAI). The clan called מנחתי was Calebite (1 Ch. 2 54). T. K. C.

HATIPHA (חֲטִיפָא [Aram.], 'snatched'; ΑΤ[Ε]ΙΦΑ [RNA], ατουφα [L], see NAMES, § 63) a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 54 (ατουφα [B]) = Neh. 7 56; 1 Esd. 532 (ατεφα [BA]), EV ATIPHA,

HATITA (חֲטִיטָא, 'pointed'?); ΑΤ[Ε]ΙΤΑ [BA], αζιζα [L]), a family of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 42 (ατητα [B]) = Neh. 7 45; 1 Esd. 5 28, TETA, RV ATETA (ατητα [A], B om.).

HATTIL (חַטִּיל, αττιλ [L]). The Bne Hattil, a group of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9); Ezra 2 57 (ατεια [B], αττιλ [A]) = Neh. 7 59 (εγηλ [BN], εττηλ [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 34, HAGIA, RV AGIA after 𝔊BA αγια.

HATTUSH (חַטּוּשׁ, αττογc [AL]; in Ch. χαττογc [B], χεττ. [A], ατ. [L]).

1. A descendant of David and son[1] of SHECANIAH [*q.v.*]; he went up with Ezra (see EZRA i. § 2, ii. § 15 (1) *d*), Ezra 8 2 (τους [B]) = 1 Esd. 8 29, LETTUS,[2] RV ATTUS (B om.), cp 1 Ch. 3 22; priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); (Neh. 10 4 [5], τους [BN*], ατους [Nc.a]); also appears among the 'priests and Levites,' who went up with Zerubbabel [see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*] (Neh. 12 2 [Nc.a (mg.), om. BN*A]).

2. b. HASHABNEIAH [*q.v.*] in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 10 (ατουθ [BN], αυτους [A]).

HAURAN (חַוְרָן;[3] αγρανιτις [BAQ]; in *v.* 18 ωρανιτις [A], λωρανειτις [B]), a region mentioned in connection with the ideal eastern border of Canaan in Ezek. 47 16 18†. Of Hazar-enan (see HAZAR-HATTICON) we learn that it was on the border of Hauran (*v.* 16), and more particularly that it was on the border between the territories of Hauran and Damascus (*v.* 18; see Co.'s text of Ezekiel). Furrer (*ZDPV* 8 27 *ff.*; cp Grove, Smith's *DB*) places Hauran far away in the N. at *Ḥawwārīn*, between *Ṣadad* and *Ḳaryatēn* (Baed.(3) 40 j); but it is a false assumption of his that Hauran is described as N. of Damascus; it is the S. region that Ezekiel mentions first (cp *v.* 16 *f.*, first Damascus, then Hamath).

Nor is it safe to work upon an incorrect text. Verse 18 should be emended with Cornill so as to run thus, 'And the east side; from Hazar-enan which lies on the border between Hauran and Damascus, the Jordan forms the border between Gilead and the land of Israel as far as the east sea, unto Tamar; that is, the east side.'

If we adopt Cornill's emendation it becomes clear that Hauran is the district which still bears this name, with the addition of GOLAN (*q.v.*) which (the) Ḥaurān adjoins. The name is also found in the Assyrian inscriptions (Hamranu = Havranu, *KB* 2 84; Havrina, *KB* 2 216), and in the Mishna (*Rōsh hashānah*, 2 4).

Elsewhere it has been suggested that J and presumably also E, misunderstood the stories respecting the patriarchs which lay, written, before them, and misread 'Haran' and (in Gen. 24 10) 'Nahor' for 'Hauran.' The 'city of Nahor,' or rather 'of Hauran,' will be some important place (Ashtaroth?) in the district between Damascus and Gilead called Hauran. Possibly too 'Aram-naharaim' (EV 'Mesopotamia') in Gen. 24 10 was misread by J for Aram-Hauran. See HARAN, NAHOR.

On the Auranitis of Roman times, see Schurer, *GJV* 1 354; on the modern Ḥaurān see PALESTINE.

T. K. C.

HAVEN represents, in EV, (1) חוֹף, *ḥōph*, Gen. 49 13 etc. (חפף, 'to enclose').

2. מָחוֹז, *māḥōz*, Ps. 107 30,† primarily 'a large city' (for Assyrian and Syriac usage see BDB, and cp *Lexx.* of Delitzsch and Payne Smith), but in a special context possibly 'haven' (see, however, below).

3. λιμήν Acts 27 8 12.

It is doubtful, in view of the clearness of the Assyrian usage, whether מחוז can really mean 'haven'; improbable too that this particular word would have been used in Ps. 107. Cheyne (*Ps.*(2)), on these grounds, emends the text of *v.* 30 reading לְחוֹף צִיִּים, 'for a beach of ships' (cp Gen. 49 13); חפ was written twice over, and the first חף corrupted into מחז. In Is. 23 10 Duhm and Cheyne read מָחוֹז for מוח; but we are not obliged to render מחז 'haven.'

On the harbours of Palestine, see MEDITERRANEAN, and on the terms of the Blessing of Zebulun (Gen. 49 13) see ZEBULUN.

HAVILAR (חֲוִילָה, perhaps explained by the Hebrews 'sand-land'; cp חוֹל; εγ(ε)ιλα(τ) [BADEL]; *HEVILA* except Gen. 2 11 *HEVILATH*), a son of Cush, Gen. 10 7 (P), 1 Ch. 1 9; of Joktan, Gen. 10 29 (J), 1 Ch. 1 23 (εγι [A]). The same name is given to a region bordered by the river Pishon (Gen. 2 11 J); but where the Pishon was, interpreters are by no means agreed (see PARADISE). Twice again (if not thrice, for Cornill restores the name in Ezek. 27 22, 'Havilah, Sheba, and Raamah'), we find mention of Havilah. In Gen. 25 18 [J] the limits of the Ishmaelites are 'from Havilah unto Shur,' and a similar phrase describes the region within which the Amalekites were defeated, 1 S. 15 7 (but here the text is disputed; see TELEM). The combination of all the data is difficult, and many critics have been led to distinguish several Havilahs. It would seem, however, that only absolute necessity would justify this, and it is perhaps safest to hold that Havilah is always the same region—of which sometimes one part, sometimes another, is specially referred to. Del. (*Par.* 12 *ff.* 57 *ff.*), E. Meyer (Gesch. *d. Alt.* 1 224), identify with the NE. part of the Syrian desert; Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 323 *ff.*), with Central and NE. Arabia. See GOLD, ONYX, TOPAZ.

Attempts to find an African Havilah (Ἀβαλῖται, etc.) are therefore unnecessary, especially since the only other son of Cush in Gen. 10 7 who can be probably identified points to Arabia (viz. Raamāh). It appears that P regarded all (non-Ishmaelite) Arabian tribes as connected with Africa. F. B.

HAVVOTH-JAIR, AV, less correctly, HAVOTH-JAIR (חַוֺּת יָאִיר, επαυλεις ιαειρ [BAFL]; in Ch. κωμαι σαειρ [B*], κ. ιαειρ [Ba.b], κ. ιαρειρ [A], αγωθ ιαειρ [L]; *Auothiair*, Jer. [*OS*(2), 89 14]). This was the name of certain towns (which arose out of tent-villages[1]) on the E. side of Gilead. An early tradition respecting them is given by JE in Nu. 32 39 41 *f.* (*v.* 40 is an interpolation); *v.* 41 ἐπαύλεις ιαηρ [A]).

Bu. thinks that this passage originally stood after Josh. 17 14-18 (*Ri. Sa.* 87); but surely the colonisation described in it belongs to a later period (see Judg. 10 3 *ff.*). A geographical difficulty is caused by Dt. 3 14 (αυωθ ιαειρ [BAFL]) and Josh. 13 30 (κῶμαι ια[ε]ιρ [BAL]) which localise the Havvoth-jair in Bashan instead of in Gilead. Apparently the writers identify them with the sixty fortresses (Dt. 3 4 1 K. 4 13) in the former region—a mistake into which only late writers could have fallen. '(Even) Bashan' (אֶת־הַבָּשָׁן) in Dt. 3 13 is evidently a redactional interpolation, and the reference to Havvoth-jair (EV 'the towns of Jair') in 1 K. 4 13 (om. BL., αυωθ ιαρειρ [A]) has been interpolated from Nu. 32 41. In the post-exilic passage 1 Ch. 2 23 (om. Pesh.) Geshur and Aram are said to have taken sixty cities (including twenty-three belonging to Jair). Such is the account generally given of the matter; but a closer inspection of the text of various passages referring to Gilead (where 'Gilead' should probably be 'Ṣalḥad') leads to a more favourable view of the writers who localise the Havvoth-jair in Bashan, and to a comprehension of the otherwise dark passage, 1 Ch. 2 23, respecting the conquest of the Havvoth-jair by Geshur and Aram. See JAIR., KENATH.

See Kue. *Hex.* 47; Di. *Deut.*, and Bertholet, *Deut.*, *ad loc.*; Moore, *Judges*, 274 *f.*; GASm., *HG* 551 n. 9.

HAWK (נֵץ, *nēṣ*, ιεραξ [BNAFL]; *ACCIPITER*), mentioned only in Lev. 11 16 (om. A), Dt. 14 15 (AF in *v.* 14), as one of the unclean birds, and in Job 39 26 (see below).

By the hawk no well-defined zoological species is meant; the term may be used of any of the smaller diurnal birds of prey. These are common in Palestine, the commonest being perhaps the kestrel (*Tinnunculus alaudarius*) and the lesser kestrel (*T. cenchris*). Both were protected in Egypt as sacred birds. The hawk (in Eg. *bēk*) was especially the sacred bird of Horus (the sun god) and it is the characteristic feature of solar deities in Egypt that they are hawk-headed. The association of the hawk with the sun is found outside Egypt. The Neo-Platonists connect the two, and in *Od.* 15 525 the hawk is called 'the swift messenger of Phœbus.' Such was their sanctity among the Egyptians, that they were kept in sacred groves in various places along the Nile, and when dead their bodies were embalmed.

In Job 39 26 the *nēṣ* is described as stretching out its wings and flying to the south. This applies to the migratory habits of many of the smaller kinds, such as the lesser kestrel, which migrates to central and southern Africa for the winter (cp Thomson, *LB* 326).

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

1 Emending MT in accordance with ‖ 1 Esd. 8 29 (see Be-Rys. *ad loc.*).

2 ATTUS (AV LETTUS) is from a reading λαττους, a scribe's error which could have easily arisen in an uncial MS for αττους.

3 'The black land' (so Wetzstein, see Del. *Hiob*, 597), with reference to the basalt formation.

1 Havvoth occurs only in this compound name. It is a legacy from the nomadic stage of Hebrew life (see GOVERNMENT, § 4).

HAWK, NIGHT (תַּחְמָס), Lev. 11 16. See NIGHT-HAWK.

HAY. (1) חָצִיר, *ḥāṣīr*; Prov. 27 25 (RV mg. 'grass'), Is. 15 6 (RV 'grass'), see GRASS, 1; (2) *χόρτος*, 1 Cor. 3 12.

HAZAEL (חֲזָאֵל, 2 K. 8 8, etc., or חֲזָהאֵל, 2 K. 8 9, etc., 'God sees,' § 32; ἀζαηλ [BAQL]; Ass. *Ḫaza'ilu*). Successor of BENHADAD I. (*q.v.*) as king of Syria. Two great prophetic biographies referred to him. In 1 K. 19 15 Elijah is sent from Horeb to Damascus[1] to anoint Hazael king over Syria; in *v.* 17 *f.* Hazael's victories over Israel are represented as the divine vengeance upon Baal-worshippers. In 2 K. 8 7-15, however, we read that '*Elisha* came to Damascus,' that he described the cruelties which Hazael would practise on the Israelites, and that when Hazael shrank in affected humility from the prospect (see DOG, § 3), he answered, 'Yahwè has showed me that thou shalt be king over Syria.' It would seem that two different accounts were current, and that the redactor combined portions of each. Historically, it is not important to determine whether either or neither of these accounts is correct. What is important is the light which 2 K. 8 7-15 throws on the road which Hazael took to the throne. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this narrative as far as Hazael is concerned, and the natural impression of the reader is that it was not the sick king, but Hazael who 'took the coverlet[2] (RV), and dipped it in water, and spread it on his face, so that he died.' The opposite view is no doubt reconcilable with the letter of the narrative.[3] Probably the redactor has produced this indistinctness by the omission of some words, to make it more difficult to accuse Elisha of complicity in the deed. Who Hazael was, we are not told; but the expressions used by him in *v.* 13 seem to preclude the idea that he was the legitimate heir of Ben-hadad. He met the allied forces of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah at RAMOTH-GILEAD (2 K. 8 28 *f.*; 9 14 *f.*), and gained important successes against Jehu which are referred to elsewhere (DAMASCUS, § 8). So great indeed was the stress of the affliction of Israel that it was not till the reign of Joash b. Jehoahaz, that the losses inflicted upon Israel by the Syrians were repaired. In the time of Amos the barbarities of Hazael were still fresh in the minds of men (Am. 1 3 *f.*). Hazael also came into conflict with SHALMANESER II. (*q.v.*). Twice (842 and 839 B.C.) the Assyrian king says that he marched against him and defeated him. Shalmaneser does not, however, appear to have gained any permanent advantage, and he troubled Aram of Damascus no more. Thus Hazael was at liberty to extend his dominion, and this accounts for the notices in 2 K. 10 32 12 18 [17] 13 22 of his successes against Jehu and Jehoahaz of Israel and Jehoash of Judah. Cp GATH, and (on 𝔊L's insertion in 2 K. 13 22) APHEK, 3 *(a)*, KINGS, § 3 (2). Hazael's successor was probably Mari (see BEN-HADAD II.). **T. K. C.**

HAZAIAH (חֲזָיָה, 'Yahwè sees'; οζ[ε]ια [BℵA], *ὀζίου* [L]), in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*] § 15 [1] *a)*, Neh. 11 5.

HAZAR-ADDAR (חֲצַר אַדָּר, ἐπαυλις αραδ [BAL]), a place on the S. border of Judah, Nu. 34 4.† In the ‖ passage, Josh. 15 3, it is called אַדָּר, Addar (AV ADAR); but probably the HEZRON [*q.v.* i.] which occurs close by is a corruption of חצר (so Ges.-Buhl). Probably, too, adopting necessary emendations, the geographical statement in both passages is that the S. border of Judah went round by the S. of KADESH-BARNEA ('Ain Ḳadīs) and up to Hazar-jerahmeel (near 'Ain Muwaileh), and then passed along Azmon (Jebel Helal and Jebel Yelek), and so to the torrent of Miṣrīm (the Wādy el-'Arīš). Thus the frontier line went southward from 'Ain Kadis as far, perhaps, as the edge of the Tih plateau, and then made a circuit to the Jerahmeelite settlement near the sacred fountain (see BEER-LAHAI-ROI, JERAHMEEL), and to el-'Anjeh (EN-RIMMON), where Palmer noticed strongly-embanked terraces which must once have been planted with fruit-trees, and thence by the WHdy el-Abyaḍ into the WHdy el-'Arīš. A less probable view is learnedly set forth by Wetzstein in Del. *Gen.*(4), 586-590.

The two texts can hardly both be correct: some corruption must be assumed. One emendation is suggested above. Azmon (עצמון) should probably he En-rimmon (עֵין־רִמּוֹן); ין became ין, and ר fell out. It remains to read ירחמאל for ארר and for הקרקע (the latter occurs in Josh. 15 3). ארר represents ראל. הקרקע is more nearly complete; it comes from רחמאל by ordinary corruption and transposition.) **T. K. C.**

HAZAR-ENAN (חֲצַר עֵינָן, 'village (enclosure) of springs'—the second element is not Hebrew but Aramaic; in Ezek. αυλης του αινα(ν) [BAQ], in Nu. αρσεναειμ [B *v.* 9], -ν [B *v.* 10], -σερν- [Ba?b *v.* 9], ασερναι[ε]ιν [AFL *v.* 9, and Ba?b *v.* 10]), is the extreme E. point of the ideal N. boundary of Canaan in Ezek. 47 17 (where it is חֲצַר עֵינוֹן, **Hazar-Enon**), 48 1 (αυλης του αιλαμ [B], α. τ. αιναμ [Q]), and also in Nu. 34 9 (cp *v.* 10), a passage which belongs to the priestly narrative and depends on Ezekiel. Probably Hazar-enon ought also to be substituted for HAZAR-HATTICON (*q.v.*) in Ezek. 47 16. Its position is unknown; but, from the passages in Ezekiel where the territory of Damascus seems to be placed on the N. side of the border and excluded from Canaan, the conjectures which place it at Ḳaryatēn or some other point N. of Damascus appear to be illegitimate.

Identifications must he precarious, whatever view be taken of the ideal northern frontier. Van Kasteren (*Rev. bib.*, 30 *f.* ['95]) thinks of *el-Ḥāḍr*, to the E. of *Bāniās*, near the road to Damascus. As Buhl points out, however (*Geog.* 67 240), the name would be still more appropriate for Bāniās itself (Bāniās not being the ancient Baal-gad). This may he only a plausible conjectnre; but it acquires importance from its complete consistency with the description of the E. border in Nu. 34 10-12; cp Ezek. 47 18 and HAURAN. **W. R. S.—T. K. C.**

HAZAR-GADDAH (חֲצַר גַּדָּה, § 105; σερει [B?], ασεργαδδα [A], ασαρ. [L]), a place on the Edomite border of Jndah (Josh. 15 27). Eusebins and Jerome (OS 245 35; 127 28) identify 'Gadda' with a village in the extreme parts of the Daroma, overhanging the Dead Sea. More than one site agrees with this description (see Buhl, *Geog.* 185); but most probably Eusebius and Jerome are mistaken, and the village Hazar-gaddah lies nearer to Beer-sheba than to the Dead Sea. Cp the name Migdal-gad, and see HAZOR, 1 (end). **T. K. C.**

HAZAR-HATTICON, RV HAZER-HATTICON (חָצֵר הַתִּיכוֹן—*i.e.*, 'the middle village'; αυλη του σαυναν [B], ευναν και του ευναν [A], om. αυλη [Q*], αυλαι του θιχων [Qmg]), on the ideal N. frontier of Canaan (Ezek. 47 16).

It is probable, both on external grounds and on the evidence of 𝔊, that we should read Hazar-enon (עינון for תיכון) (so Sm., Co.). Van Kasteren's attempted identification (*Rev. Bibl.*, '95, p. 30) is therefore needless. See HAZAR-ENAN.

HAZARMAVETH (חֲצַרְמָוֶת, § 105; Sab. חצרמ(ו)ת; in Gen. ασαρμωθ [A'], σαρμωθ [A*], *σαλμων* [E], ασαραμωθ [L]; in Ch. αραμωθ [A], om. B, ασερμωθ [L]); the eponym of an Arabian clan, called son of JOKTAN (*q.v.*); Gen. 10 26, 1 Ch. 1 20†. The name (which occurs in Sabæan, see above) represents the mod. Ḥaḍramaut (or Ḥaḍramūt), the name of a broad valley running for 100 m. or more parallel to the coast, by which the valleys of the high Arabian tableland discharge their not abundant snpply of water into the sea at Saihut.[1] A similar name occurs in Asia Minor (ADRAMYTTIUM); the final syllable was probably

[1] Read ובאת דמשק (cp 𝔊), and cp KINGS, § 3.
[2] Read מַכְבֵּר (see BED, § 3, n. 6).
[3] Cp Wi. *Alttest. Unters.* 64-66.

[1] Bent, *Southern Arabia*, 71 [1900].

-*moth* or -*muth* (cp AZMAVETH). The modern district is less extensive than the ancient. The kings of Hadramaut have left inscriptions which Glaser has lately discovered.

According to Strabo (xvi. 4 2), the χατραμωτῖται were one of the four chief tribes dwelling in southern Arabia (their capital was Sabata or Sabatas (the SABTAH of *v.* 7). See Glaser, *Skizze*, 220, 423 *ff.*; Hommel, *AHT*, 77 *f.*, 80 etc., and cp BDB.

Here dwelt the people who in *v.* 7 are called SABTAH [*q.v.*].

HAZAR-SHUAL (חֲצַר שׁוּעָל, § 105), a city, on the extreme southern border of Judah, assigned to Simeon: Josh. 15 23 (χολασεωλα [BL], ασαρσουλα [A]); Josh. 19 3 (apawha [B], σερσουλα [A], α[σα]ρσολα [L]); 1 Ch. 4 28 (εσηρεουλαβ [B], εσερσουαλ [A], ασερσαωθ (L]); Neh. 11 27 (om. BN*A, εσερσοαλ [Nc. a mg.], ασερσωαλ [L]).

It is very probably identical with the אֲשַׂרְאֵל, ASAREEL of 1 Ch. 4 16, and εσελων, the *brother* of 'Ir-nahash' (Beer-sheba), 𝔊 1 Ch. 4 12. Conder identifies with the ruin Sa'weh, on a hill E. of Beersheba. But the name is almost certainly a Hebraised form of Ar. *siyāl*, a kind of acacia tree, which grows in Arabia (see Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 91). Cp SHITTAH-TREE. T. K. C.

HAZAR-SUSAH (חֲצַר סוּסָה), Josh. 19 5†; capcoycein [B], acepcoycim [A], a[ca] pcoycin [L]), also called HAZAR-SUSIM (𝔊 in Josh.; and MT. 1 Ch. 4 31†, ח׳ סוּסִים; hmicycecopam[1] [B*], hmicycwc opam [B ab], hmicyewcim [A hmicy points to a reading חצי]), acepcoyci [L], where a Simeonite village. The name apparently means 'station of a mare.' But this is an early editor's guess, not a record of Solomon's importation of horses (cp MARCABOTH). Possibly a corruption of חֲצַר עָזִיז, Haṣer 'aziz, 'strong enclosure.' Kephar 'Aziz was a place in the province of Idumæa where R. Ishmael, a contemporary of R. 'Akiba, resided (Neub. *Géogr.* 117). T. K. C.

RAZAZON-TAMAR, RV, AV HAZEZON-TAMAR (חַצְצֹן תָּמָר [in Ch. חַצְצוֹן], § 103; acacan θamap [BAL], in Ch. acam θamapa [B], anacan θamap [A]; *ASASONTHAMAR*), mentioned as inhabited by Amorites, and as conquered by Chedorlaomer, together with the region of the Amalekites, after he had come to Kadesh, Gen. 14 7. In 2 Ch. 20 2 it is identified with En-gedi, which was probably suggested by the meaning of Tamar (date-palm), En-gedi having been famous for its palms. But the situation of En-gedi does not suit. Hence Knobel thought of the important site called Thamaro or Thamara, and identified by some with Kurnub, NE. of 'Ain Kadīs (see TAMAR); but palms, we may be sure, have never grown at Kurnub. There must be a corruption in the text, which in so ill-preserved a narrative need not surprise us. Probably we should read for '(the Amorites that dwelt) in Hazazon-tamar' '(the Amorites that dwelt) in the land of Miṣrim,' בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרִים.[2]

In truth, it is difficult to see how the N. Arabian land of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*) could have been passed over. The neighbourhood of Kadesh and Jerahmeel are probably thought of. In 1 Ch. 20 2 the note 'that is, En-gedi' may fairly be taken as a gloss, and 'Hazazon-tamar' be explained as a conventional expression for the country S. of Judæa, derived from Gen. 14 7 in its already corrupt form. T. K. C.

HAZEL (לוּז, Gen. 30 37†). This very interesting tree-name (*luz*) is wrongly rendered.

Note (1) that the scene of the narrative in Gen. 30 31-43 is laid in Haran, whereas the hazel-tree is said not to grow in this region, and (2) that this tree is also not known in S. Palestine, to which the author of the narrative (J) belongs.

The fact that in Syr. and Ar. the cognate word means 'almond-tree,' strongly favours RV's rendering ALMOND (*q.v.*), which is also given by Vg. (*amygdalinas*) and is not inconsistent with the καρυίνην of 𝔊AEL, κάρυον being a general term. לוז may be a foreign word; the proper Heb. term for 'almond' is שָׁקֵד. See Low, no. 319; Celsius, 1 253 *f.*

[1] חצ׳סםורם; a simple transposition.

[2] בארץ became בחצ; מצרים was corrupted into צנתמר (נת=ים). For an analogous corruption see Ps. 120 4 (Che. *Ps.* (2)).

HAZELELPONI, RV **Hazzelelponi** (הַצְּלֶלְפּוֹנִי; echλeBBwn [B], echλλeλφwn [A], aceλaφwnei [L]), sister of JEZREEL, ISHMA, and IDBASH [*qq.v.*] (1 Ch. 4 3).

One of the oddest names in Chronicles, mentioned in connection with (the Judahite) Jezreel, Etam, and (probably) Hur b. Judah (1 Ch. 4 3). Olshausen (*Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* 618) explains, 'Give shade, thou who lookest upon me'. Curtis (in Hastings, *DB* 2 128 *a*) 'the Zelelponites.' Neither view commends itself. פּוֹנִי (*poni*) is a duplication of פנו (*penu*) in פנואל (Penuel) which follows: הצלל is miswritten for חלצאל, Halaṣel, the true original of בצלאל BEZALEEL [*q.v.*]. Possibly Halaṣel is the full name of חֲלֻצָה Halusa (better known to us as ZIKLAG). The name would correspond to Jerahmeel (see REHOBOTH, JERAHMEEL). T. K. C.

HAZER-HATTICON, or 'the middle Hazer' (חָצֵר הַתִּיכוֹן), Ezek. 47 16 RV, AV HAZAR-HATTICON [*q.v.*].

HAZERIM (חֲצֵרִים, achλwθ [B], achpwθ [AFL]), AV's mistake, derived from 𝔊, for 'villages' (so RV Dt. 2 23). See AVVIM.

HAZEROTH (חֲצֵרוֹת; achpwθ [BAFL]; in Dt. 1 1 translated aγλwn [BAFL]), an unknown locality mentioned in Nu. 11 35 12 16 33 17 *f.* Dt. 1 1. See WANDERING, § 7.

HAZEZON-TAMAR (חַצְצֹן תָּמָר) Gen. 14 7 AV, RV HAZAZON-TAMAR.

HAZIEL (חֲזִיאֵל, § 32 prob. = JAHAZIEL [*q.v.*], 'El sees'; eieihλ [B], azihλ [AL]), a Gershonite Levite, temp. David (1 Ch. 23 9).

HAZO (חֲזוֹ, azaγ [ADL]), Nahor's fifth son (Gen. 22 22). The name resembles Ass. Ḫazū (= חזו), which was a mountain region of volcanic conical hills (so Fr. Del.) in N. Arabia (*KB* 2 131). See Buz.

HAZOR (חָצוֹר; acwp [BAFL]; *ASOR*), like HEZRON (*q.v.*), is a name corresponding, probably, not to the Ar. *ḥiṣār* ('fort') but to *ḥaẓīra* ('sheep-fold,' cp CATTLE, § 6 n. 5), an enclosure of thorny branches or of stone. The name Hazor or Hazar occurs frequently as a place-name in the pastoral Negeb. the region of the 'Hezronites'—nomads who dwelt within such enclosures (cp HEZRON). The phrase 'the kingdoms of Hazor' (Jer. 49 28 30 33; ἡ αὐλή [BKAQ]) is a collective term for the region of the settled Arabs in the S. or E. of Palestine (cp Jer. 25 34 Is. 42 11); cp the Ar. *ḥāḍir* used (in the plur.) of the settled Arabs living in towns and villages as contrasted with the purely nomad Arabs (cp Rob. *BR* 1 305 and Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 274).

1. The Hazor of king JABIN (*q.v.*) lay near the waters of Merom, not far from Kedesh (Jos. 11 and [𝔊B ασομ, 𝔊L ασσωρ] 12 19 Judg. 4 2 17 1 S. 12 9; ασωρ, -ρος Jos. *Ant.* v. 5 1 xiii. 5 6 *f.*). Its identification is doubtful. Wilson and Guérin think of the *Tell Harreh*, SE. of Kedesh, where there are extensive ruins. Conder and others prefer Jebel Hadireh (' Mt. of the sheep-fold'; cp the plain Merj-Ḥadīreh), a little to the W. of Dēshūn, about three quarters of an hour S. from Kedesh (cp Baed., 262). On the whole, Robinson's identification with the Tell Khureibeh, 1680 ft. above sea-level, 2½ m. S. from Kedesh, seems the most suitable; but no ruins have as yet been discovered there.

As *hudara* (-*ru*) it seems to he mentioned on the old Egyptian lists of Thotmes and the papyrus Anastasi (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 173), and its importance in the fourteenth century is perhaps revealed by the Amarna Tablets, where the king of Ḥaṣūra or Harura is mentioned several times; it had smaller dependent towns, and its king is mentioned with the king of Sidon (from which Petrie infers that a Hazor 11 m. SE. of Tyre is meant).[1]

In Jos. 19 36 (P) Hazor appears as a 'fenced' city and is allotted to Naphtali. Its inhabitants were carried off by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 15 29). It is

[1] *Syria and Egypt*, 94 173.

mentioned in 1 Macc. 11 67 (AV NASOR, νασωρ [VA], ασωρ [K]) and is the ASER, RV ASHER, of Tob. 1 2 (ασηρ [BA] ασσηρ [א]).

Whether the Hazor fortified by Solomon was really the northern one seems doubtful (1 K. 9 15 om. BL, εσερ [A]; in 10 23, ασσουρ [B], -δ [L], om. A; *HESER* [Vg.]). Although followed by Megiddo its mention with Gezer and localities in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem does not inspire confidence, and both Jer. and Eus. (*OS*[(2)] 97 10, *assure;* 227 34 *ασουρ*) actually locate it in Judah. This position seems more natural, and in 𝔊's addition to 1 K. 2 (35 *i* ασσουρ [BA], ασουδ [L]) Hazor and the other places are followed immediately by Beth-horon and Baalath. Which Hazor is meant, however, is uncertain. Jer. and Eus. speak of a Judæan *Aser* (*OS*[(2)] 92 19 220 93) between Ashkelon and Ashdod; and an *Asor* on the borders of the former is by them (erroneously?) identified with HAZOR-HADATTAH. Perhaps Solomon's Hazor is the same as no. 3 below. Megiddo seems to be a corruption[1] of MIGDAL-GAD [*q.v.*], unless for 'Hazor, Megiddo,' we should read HAZAR-GADDAH [*q.v.*].[2]

2. A locality in Benjamin mentioned between Ananiah (Beit Hanina?) and Ramah (Neh. 11 33 K$^{c.a\ mg.\ inf.}$ L, om. Bא*A). One might plausibly identify it with the ruins of Ḥazzūr near Beit Hanina (*PEFM* iii. 8 114). The mention of Zeboim, however, between Hadid and Neballat (*v.* 34) makes it possible that Hazor may mean BAAL-HAZOR (בַּעַל חָצוֹר 2 S. 13 23 βαιλασωρ [B], βελλα. [A], βασελλ. [L]), which in its turn is defined as being 'beside EPHRAIM' [*q.v.*, ii.]. This is *Tell 'Aṣūr*—a hill 1 hour NE. from Bethel (which place is mentioned in Neh. 11 31)—and lies ENE. of Jifnā (*i.e.* OPHNI); cp Bnhl, *Pal.* 177. See ESORA.

3. A town in the Negeb of Judah mentioned between Kedesh and Ithnan (Josh. 15 23 ασορ [ιωναιν] [B], ασωρ [L], om. A); Buhl (*l.c.* 182) identifies with *Ḥuḍēre*, E. from Hebron and NE. from Ma'in. Cp below.

4. Another Hazor, alternatively called קְרִיּוֹת חֶצְרוֹן (KERIOTH-HEZRON, RV; AV read as two) is enumerated in the same group (Josh. 15 25 πόλεις ασερων [R], πόλις -μ [A], πόλεις εσρωμ [L]) and is identified by Buhl with mod. *Ḳaryatēn* S. of Ma'in, the place whence Judas perhaps derived his designation 'Iscariot' (but see JUDAS).

The modem form of Hazor survives in the Negeb in the forms *Ḥadira* amount S. of Kurnub, and a well, *el-Ḥuḍerā*, in *et-Tīh* (cp Rob: *BR* 1223). See HAZOR-HADATTAH. S. A. C.

HAZOR-HADATTAH (so RV; חָצוֹר חֲדַתָּה,—*i.e.* [Aram.] 'New Hazor,' ασωρ την καινην [L; om. BA], *ASOR NOVA* [Vg.]), a place on the Edomite border of Judah (Josh. 15 25).

'An Aramaic adjective, however, in this region is so strange that the reading must be questioned' (Di.). חדתה is probably a miswritten form of קריות which follows; Hadattah should he omitted. AV gives, 'And Hazor Hadattah.' Eus. and Jer. (OS 217 31 90 8) place this Hazor tdo far N., viz., on the borders of Ashkelon, towards the E. See HAZOR, 1. T. K. C.

RAZZELELPONI (הַצְּלֶלְפּוֹנִי), 1 Ch. 4 3 RV. AV HAZELELPONI.

HEAD is the equivalent in OT of רֹאשׁ, *rō'š*, and in Aram. parts of Dan. of רֵאשׁ, *rē'š*, and in NT of κεφαλη. In 1 Ch. 10 10 EV also gives 'head' for גֻּלְגֹּלֶת, *gulgōleth.* This passage furnishes a good starting-point for our survey of some of the ideas connected by the Hebrews with the head. גלגלת (*gulgōleth*) does not really mean 'head.' The Chronicler misunderstood 1 S. 31 10.

The first part of the verse, relative to Saul's armour, is a parenthesis, and probably a gloss, but seemed to the Chronicler to he the beginning of a statement respecting the trophies carried off by the Philistines. If this view was correct there was no choice hut to emend גְּוִיָּתוֹ 'his body' into גֻּלְגָּלְתּוֹ 'his skull,' in spite of the fact that, according to usage, it was not merely the skull, but the whole head of an enemy, that was the victor's trophy.

A critical translation of Chronicles would therefore have to render, in 1 Ch. 10 10, 'and they stuck up his skull in the house of Dagon.' Why the head was chosen as a trophy (Judg. 7 25 1 S. 17 54 57 31 9 2 S. 4 7 20 21 *f.* 2 K. 10 6 *ff.*) may at first seem to need no investigation; was not the severed head a convincing proof of death? It may have become no more than this when the grim narrative in 2 K. 10 6 *ff.* was written. When, however, we read of the Australians that one of the trophies which they carry home after killing an enemy is the kidney fat, and that this is kept by the assassin to lubricate himself, because he thinks that thus he acquires the strength of his victim,[1] we begin to suspect that there is something more than we at first supposed in the custom of decapitating a dead enemy. What is it, then? It is the idea that the head is a special seat of life (which accounts for the phrase 'to swear by the head,' Mt. 5 36). Hence among the Iranians the head of a victim was dedicated to Haoma, in order that the life, represented by the head, might return to its divine giver. That was not indeed the usage of the Egyptians or of the Hebrews. Yet both peoples had a reverence for the head. 'There are twenty-two vessels in the head which draw the spirits into it, and send them thence to all parts of the body,' is the assertion of the Ebers Papyrus (Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 216), and shows what the feeling of the Egyptians was.

It is true Herodotns (2 39, quoted by WRS, *Rel. Sem.* [(2)] 379) states that the head of a sacrificial victim was not offered on the altar, but sold to Greek traders, or thrown into the Nile; hut this is opposed to the clear evidence of the Egyptian monuments.[2]

The Hebrews, too, doubtless offered the head, among the other chief parts of the body, upon the altar, and there is considerable improbability (see DOVE'S DUNG, col. 1130) in the statement in the MT of 2 K. 6 25 that heads of asses were eaten during a great famine in Samaria,—first, because ass's flesh was forbidden food, and next, because the dried head of any animal being used by the Semites as an amulet, it was not natural for them to eat the head.[3] (The eating of the head of the paschal lamb was an exception.) It is also probable that there is a sense of the sacredness of the head in the statement of 1 S. 17 54 and 1 Ch. 10 10 respecting the head of Goliath and the skull of Saul respectively. In the former passage the MT tells us that David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem (ירושלם), but this anachronism is probably an error of the scribes (Che. *Exp. T.* 10 522 ['99]); the true reading is to 'Saul' (לְשָׁאוּל). Saul who had not stirred from his place could not regard the head of Goliath as a trophy; but he may have valued it greatly as a supernatural guardian or amulet. And so in 1 Ch. 10 10 even the Chronicler feels that the skull (representing the head) of Saul may well have been affixed as a sacred object to the wall of a Philistine temple. Possibly we may connect his statement with the view certainly held in Talmudic times that a mummified human head (*tĕrāphīm*) or even a human skull (*'ōb*), could give the knowledge of the future.[4]

Among the various idioms in which the head finds a place a few may he mentioned.

(1) To 'lift up the head' when spoken of another, most naturally means 'to raise to honour' (see *e.g.* Gen. 40 13 2 K. 25 27). In Gen. 40 19, however, it means 'to take off the head' as a punishment. It is one of those plays on words in which Hebrew writers delight.

(2) Yahwè 'will take away thy master from thy head' (2 K. 2 3 5 EV) alludes to the customary position of pupils at the feet of their teacher (cp Acts 22 3).

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1 In 1 K. 9 15 (10 23) the readings are μαγδω [A], μαδιαν [B] (cp *medam*, *OS*[(2)] 140 34), μαγεδδω [L]; in 2 35 μαγαω [B], -δω [AL].

2 A possible connection with MAKKEDAH may also be suggested.

1 WRS *Rel. Sem.* [(2)] 380.

2 See Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, 2 71.

3 WRS *Rel. Sem.* [(2)], 381.

4 For the references see Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud.* 2660 *ff.*; Selden, *De Dis Syris*, 59; Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.*

(3) 'They shoot out the lip, they shake the head' (Ps. 22 7 [8]) may strike us as a strange combination of phrases. With the Hebrews, however, shaking the head is a sign of mockery (cp Ps. 44 14 [15], 2 K. 19 21), though it may also be a gesture of sympathy (Job 16 4).

(4) 'Thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head' (Prov. 25 22) would most naturally mean, 'Thou shalt take vengeance upon him by destroying him'[1] (Gen. 19 24, Ps. 11 6 [7]). Of course, this does not suit the context, nor can חתה mean anything but 'fetch,' or 'carry away.' Hence the text must be out of order. Read, 'for (so) thou wilt quench coals of fire'[2] (*i.e.* evil passions, Ecclus. 8 10). Certainly the reference to the head can be well spared; the ethical gain is considerable.

In a Zend scripture we read, after an exhortation to charity on the ground that the Law begs for charity in the person of thy brethren who beg for bread, 'Ever will that bread be burning coal upon thy head' (Vistasp Yast, 36, in [Oxford] *Zendavesta*, part ii., by Darmesteter, 338). The 'burning coal on the head' seems to be a figurative expression for the vengeance imprecated on him who refuses the bread of alms. If so, it suggests what the MT of Prov. 25 22*a* ought to mean. On the phrase 'to cover the head,' etc. (in mourning), see MOURNING. T. K. C.

HEADBAND. For (1) קִשֻּׁרִים, *kiššūrim*, Is. 3 20 AV (RV 'sashes'); see GIRDLE, 4; and for (2) אֲפֵר, *ăphēr*, 1 K. 20 38 41 RV (AV 'ashes'), see TURBAN, 2.

HEADTIRE. 1. RV for מִגְבָּעָה, *migbā'āh*, the priestly 'bonnet' of AV (Ex. 28 40 etc.). See MITRE, 1. 2. RV for פְּאֵר, *pĕ'ēr*, in Is. 3 20 (AV 'bonnet'), Ezek. 24 17 (AV 'tire'). See TURBAN, 2. 3. EV for κίδαρις, 1 Esd. 3 6; see CROWN.

HEART (לֵב or לֵבָב, on the distribution of which respectively in OT writings see Briggs, *Kohut Memorial Studies*, 94-105 ('97); καρδία).[3] There are some interesting varieties in the biblical use of the term 'heart.' Primarily the heart is the seat and principle of vitality, for 'the life of the flesh is in the blood' (Lev. 17 11), and the receptacle of the blood is the heart.

Hence the expressions, 'let your heart live' (Ps. 22 26 [27]); 'it reaches to thy heart' (Jer. 4 18; cp *v.* 10 'to the soul'); 'the whole heart is faint' (Is. 1 5).

'Heart' and 'flesh' (שְׁאֵר) combined designate the whole inner and outer man (as in Ass. *šêru* and *libbu*); see Ps. 16 9 73 26 (cp ESCHATOLOGY); and for 'heart' in the sense of 'inner man' note the phrase so frequent in Dt. (*e.g.*, 4 29), 'with all the heart and with all the soul.'

More special meanings are the following:—

(*a*) The seat of the appetites, emotions, and passions; see, *e.g.*, Ps. 104 15 Dt. 19 6 1 K. 8 38 Is. 30 29.

(*b*) Mind, intellect, purpose, memory; so 'men of heart' = 'men of understanding,' Job 34 10 34; 'all the wickedness which thine heart (= thy mind) is privy to,' 1 K. 2 44 EV; 'wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart,' 1 K. 4 29 EV; 'it is in his heart (*i.e.* purpose) to destroy,' Is. 10 7; 'the heart (purpose) of Pharaoh was changed,' Ex. 14 5; 'David laid up these words in his heart,' *i.e.* in his memory, 1 S. 21 12 (cp Lk. 2 19 51). So Ps. 31 12 [13], 'a dead man out of heart' would mean 'a dead man, forgotten,' if the Hebrew text were correct.

(*c*) Consciousness, conscience, character. So Prov. 14 10 (a fine passage even in EV; but 'intermeddleth with its joy' strikes a false note, for even a stranger feels some sympathy with simple human joys) where read—

A heart that feels its deep vexation
Cannot intermingle with the joy of a stranger.[4]

Hitzig would give the sense of 'consciousness' to the word 'heart' in the well-known phrase 'a clean heart,' Ps. 51 10 [12]. He supports this by a reference to Prov. 22 11*a*; a clear consciousness—*i.e.*, a joyous temper—would then be the boon sought for by the speaker. But the reference is not tenable, for in the passage referred to 𝔊 enables us to restore an all-important word which has been lost—viz., 'Yahwè.' A human king may he partial to joyous-hearted subjects, but Yahwè loves those whose conscience, or moral character, is spotless; ἀγαπᾷ κύριος ὁσίας καρδίας.

As to Ps. 51 10 [12], the true sense of this religiously important passage is shown by Ezek. 11 19 *f.* 18 31 36 26 *f.*, where 'a new heart,' or 'a heart of flesh,' is the organ of that new life which Israel is to lead in the ideal age. A 'clean heart' is therefore 'a pure conscience and character.' The consciousness of being free from guilt had often been possessed by the early Israelites temporarily as a consequence of the due performance of ritual forms; but the future Israelites would possess it permanently, because they would have a moral organ which would guard them against displeasing their righteous and holy God.

Such a 'clean heart' is otherwise described as a 'steadfast spirit' (RVmg.; cp Ps. 78 8 37, EV 'aright spirit') by which the Psalmist must mean 'a steady impulse towards all that is good.' For the sense of 'conscience' see also Job 27 6, EV 'my heart doth not reproach me' (?), and especially 1 K. 8 38 where EV's rendering, 'every man the plague of his own heart,' should rather be 'every man a stroke in (lit. of) his own conscience.' The idea is that God not only strikes the body or the possessions of a sinner, but forcibly touches his heart, or conscience, with conviction of sin (see KLO., KI.).

In the books admitted into the Heb. canon (for the Apocrypha cp Wisd. 7 11 Ecclus. 42 18 [*K*]) 𝔊 has the proper Greek term for conscience, συνείδησις, only once—viz. in Eccles. 10 20, where the Hebrew text has the late word מַדָּע.[1] It is, however, common in NT, though it occurs only once in the Gospels (Jn. 8 9 in a disputed section). For the sense of 'character,' see also Jer. 12 3, 'Thou hast tried my heart'; Ps. 7 9 [10] 1 Thess. 2 4.

Here we find ourselves on the line of progress to NT religion. The Pauline epistles give the heart a central position in the moral nature of man. It has the power of immediate perception of the spiritual truths revealed by Gods spirit. God, we are told, has shone in the hearts of Christians to give the light of the knowledge of the divine glory (2 Cor. 4 6); we even meet with the strange expression 'the eyes of your heart' (Eph. 1 18). Here the 'heart' is in fact almost a Hebraistic synonym for that 'reason' or 'understanding' (νοῦς or διάνοια) which is the responsive element in man to the divine spirit (cp GNOSIS, § 5). The germ of this representation, however, is to be found in the teaching of Jesus. 'Happy are the pure in heart, for they will see God' (Mt. 5 8). Indeed, the entire Sermon on the Mount impresses the necessity of keeping the 'heart' pure and in constant contact with God and with heavenly things as the condition of pure morality. This again is but the clearer expression of the OT view that it is affinity of character that brings a man near to God; and that the moral and spiritual life which produces character is seated in the innermost part of man—*i.e.*, in his 'heart.' T. K. C.

HEARTH. For (1) אָח, *'āḥ* (ἐσχάρα; *arula*), Jer. 36 22 *f.*; (2) כִּיּוֹר, *kiyyōr*, Zech. 12 6 RV 'pan (of fire)' (δαλός, *caminum*); (3) מוֹקֵד, *mōkēd*, Ps. 102 3 [4] (φρύγιον, *cremium*, *i.e.*, dry wood), RV 'firebrand'; plur. מוֹקְדֵי, *mōkĕdē*, Is. 33 14, EV 'burnings,' see COAL, § 3.

Lev. 6 9 [2] is difficult (see below); RV 'on the hearth,' RVmg. 'on its firewood'; neither is right. The small מ proceeds from an ancient corrector (cp the small נ in Is. 44 14) and (as in Is. *l.c.*) is conjectural. Read עַל־הַיָּקוּד, 'on the fire' (see 4); the letters היקוד were accidently misarranged as יוקדה, and a corrector changed י into מ (suggested by SS).

4. יָקוּד, *yāḳūd*, Is. 30 14† (𝔊BNAQΓ om., *al.* [see Field] καύστρα, *incendium*); 'the fire burning on the hearth.'

On the 'hearth of God,' Is. 29 1 (RVmg.), see ALTAR, ARIEL; on the 'cakes upon the hearth' of Gen. 18 6 see BREAD, § 2 (*a*); on the 'hearthstones' of Ezek. 40 43 (AVmg.) see HOOK, 7.

HEATH, RVmg. 'tamarisk' (*'ar'ār*, עַרְעָר;[2] ἀγριομυρίκη, Jer. 17 6 48 6†). The Heb. word may he connected with √ערר, signifying nakedness, and so point to the stunted appearance of the plant (see below).

[1] Toy (*Prov.* 468) still adheres to the traditional view that the pang of contrition is meant. But what unsophisticated Jewish reader could so have interpreted the words?

[2] כִּי נֶחָלֵי־אֵשׁ אַתָּה תְכַבֶּה.

[3] Lazarus (*Ethik d. Judenthums* ['98], 231) notes that Talm. לבא has a narrower reference than the biblical לֵב, and designates the inward disposition as distinguished from external acts.

[4] In *b* read, with Chajes, בְּשִׂמְחַת זָר לֹא יִתְעָרֵב. Deep sorrow incapacitates a man for sympathy with the joys of others. Frankenberg reads זָדוֹן (𝔊 ὕβρις) for זָר; but the result is not simple enough for a proverb.

[1] מַדָּע, however, in Eccles., *l.c.*, is probably corrupt; Perles reads בְּמַצָּעֲךָ, 'on thy couch.'

[2] The same form occurs as an adj. = 'naked' in Ps. 102 17 [18]; but cp Che. *Ps.*(2)

The form *'ărō'ēr*, עֲרוֹעֵר in Jer. 486—for which 𝔊BℵAQ read עָרוֹר (implied in ὄνος ἄγριος)—is most naturally explained as a 'broken plural' of *'ar'ār*[1] (Hitz. *Jes.* 201, Lag. *Sem.* 1 30); Barth's view of it as a sing. adjectival form (*NB* 160) is less likely. 'Tamarisk' is the rendering of 𝔊BℵAQ in Jer. 176 (ἀγριομυρίκη [BℵAQ]), of Aq. in Jer. 176 (in 486 μυρίκη) and of Vg. ; Tg. has in the former place עכוביתא=σκόλυμος, 'edible thistle,' but in the other takes *'ărō'ēr* to be a proper name (so Sym. αροηρ); Pesh. simply renders by 'root' in both places.

The plant intended is almost certainly a juniper, as that is the meaning of Ar. *'ar'ār*, and the most likely sort is, according to Tristram (*NHB* 358), the *Juniperus Sabina* L., or Savin. This tree abounds on the rocks above Petra, where as Robinson (*BR* 2506) says, it grows to the height of 10 or 15 feet, and hangs upon the rocks even to the summit of the cliffs and needles.

'Its gloomy stunted appearance, with its scale-like leaves pressed close to its gnarled stem, and cropped close by the wild goats, gives great force to the contrast suggested by the prophet.' Tristram adds, 'There is no true heath in Palestine S. of the Lower Lebanon.' Hooker states that this particular plant is still called *'ar'ar* by the Arabs. See also AROER.

[The *'ar'ār*, or juniper, has been found in 1 S. 20 19 *f.* 41, (crit. emend.), where David is said to have sat down beside a juniper tree, while Jonathan shot arrows at three prominent rocks near. The passage gains in picturesqueness. (חצים צרה in *v.* 20 should be צָרִים; צרה was originally צרים, and intended as a correction of חצים; see Che. *Crit. Bib.* and cp EZEL.)]

N. M.

HEATHEN (גּוֹיִם; ΕΘΝΗ). The rendering is plainly wrong in AV of Lev. 2544 2645, but is admissible when *gōyīm* or ἔθνη is used of nations whose religion is neither Jewish, nor Jewish-Christian, nor Christian, with consciousness of this fact.

Cp Sanderson (1627), 'Abimelech, an heathen-man, who had not the knowledge of the true God of heaven to direct him' ; Caxton, Pref. to Malory's *Arthur* (1485), 'in al places crysten and hethen.' Possibly the Gothic original of 'heathen' may be traced to Armenian *het'anos*, an adaptation of Gk. ἔθνος, though the stem-vowel seems to have been assimilated to Gothic *haiþi* 'heath' (Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*). See GENTILE, § 2.

HEAVEN. On the various Hebrew conceptions of a heaven as the abode of supernatural beings and (later) of the risen dead, see ESCHATOLOGY, and cp EARTH AND WORLD, EARTH [FOUR QUARTERS], PARADISE.

The usual Hebrew term is שָׁמַיִם (plur., not dual ; 𝔊 οὐρανός), but 'heaven' is used also by AV to render גַּלְגַּל Ps. 77 18 [19] (RV, whirlwind,' see WINDS), and שַׁחַק Ps. 89 6 [7] 37 [38] (RV 'sky'). In the NT besides οὐρανός and ἐπουράνιος the only feature which calls for remark is the reference to a belief in a plurality of heavens (τὰ ἐπουράνια, Eph. 1 3 20 2 6 3 10, etc.), probably due to Persian influence ; see especially Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*, xxx-xlvii.

HEAVENLY BODIES (ϹΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ), 2 Pet. 3 10 12 RVmg. See ELEMENTS, § 2.

HEAVE OFFERING (תְּרֻמָה, תְּרוּמָה ; ΑΦΑΙΡΕΜΑ ; *primitiæ* ; Ex. 29 27, etc.). See SACRIFICE, and cp TAXATION AND TRIBUTE.

HEBEL (חֶבֶל), Josh. 19 29 RVmg. See AHLAB, n.

HEBER (חֶבֶר, but חֵבֶר in Nu. 26 45 ; ΧΑΒΕΡ [BAL] ; see NAMES, § 70).

1. The husband of JAEL (*q.v.*), and head of a Kenite sept which separated from the main body of the tribe (see KENITES), and in the course of its nomadic wanderings went as far north as a certain sacred tree near Kedesh (see ZAANAIM, THE PLAIN OF) ; Judg. 4 11 (οἱ πλησίον [B]) 17 21. In Judg. 5 24 (χαλεβ [A]) he has been introduced by a glossator. WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 174, cp 193) connects קיני with *Kiną*, mentioned in the Pap. Anastasi, and apparently situated E. of Megiddo (see Jensen, *ZA* 10 355 *f.*, and cp AMALEK). Thus there is an apparent coincidence between Heber of *Kiną*, and the eponym of the neighbouring tribe of Asher (see 2 below).. See ENGANNIM, JETHRO.

2. The eponym of an Asherite clan ; Gen. 46 17 (P) (χοβωρ [A], -βολ [*D*], -βορ [L]) ; Nu. 26 45 (χοβερ [BAFL]) ; and 1 Ch. 7 31 *f.* (χαβερ [B *v.* 31], ιεχοβερ [L]). The clan is called the **Heberites** in Nu. 26 45 (הַחֶבְרִי ; χοβερ(ε)ι [BAFL]). Jastrow connects this name with the Ḥabiri of the Amarna tablets (cp his view on MALCHIEL, *q.v.*) ; *JBL* 11 118 *ff.*, 126 *f.* ; so also Hommel, *ANT*, 235 260 n. This is problematical. See ASHER, § 1.

3. A clan in Judah, the 'father' of Socoh (1 Ch. 4 18 : αβεισα [B], αβερ [AL]).[1] See SOCOH, 1.

4. A Benjamite (1 Ch. 8 17 ; αβαρ [BA], αβερ [L]).

5. 1 Ch. 5 13. See EBER (3).

6. 1 Ch. 8 22. See EBER (4).

7. Lk. 3 35. See EBER (1). S. A. C.

HEBREW LANGUAGE.[2] The name *Hebrew* (Lat. *Hebræus* ; Gr. ΕΒΡΑΙΟϹ) is a transcription of *'ebrāyā*, the Aramaic equivalent of the original OT word עִבְרִי, *'ibrī*, pl. *'ibrīm*, which is the proper gentilic name of the people who also bore the collective name of Israel or Children of Israel (B'nê Israel). The name of Israel with its sacred associations in the patriarchal history is that by which the OT writers prefer to designate their nation ; and this circumstance, combined with the fact that the term Hebrews is frequently employed where foreigners are introduced as speaking or spoken to (*e.g.*, Ex. 2 6 1 S. 4 6 9 Gen. 40 15 Ex. 3 18), has led to the conjecture that the name of Hebrews (men from the other side, *scil.* of the Euphrates) was originally given to the descendants of Abraham by their Canaanite neighbours, and continued to be the usual designation of the Israelites among foreigners, just as the Magyars are known to other Europeans as Hungarians (foreigners), as we call the High-Dutch Germans (warriors), or as the Greeks gave the name of Phœnicians to the people that called themselves Canaanites.[3] A closer view of the case, does not confirm this conjecture.

1. Name Hebrew.

[Stade's theory, however,—that the Israelites were called Hebrews, after their passage of the Jordan, in contradistinction to the other West-Jordanic peoples, though connected with a historical theory not borne out by the (later) Israelite tradition —is still maintained by its author, *Akad. Reden*, '99, p 110. As to the Ḥabiri of Am. Tab., Wi. (*Kohut Memorial Studies*, 604 *ff.* ; cp *GI* 1 18 *ff.*) defends the view that the people so-called are nomads from the other side of the Jordan, such as the Suti or pre-Aramaic Bedawins of the Syrian desert. These nomads were the *earlier* 'Hebrews.' But cp Hommel, *AHT*, 230 *ff.*, 258 *ff.*] Nor has the word Hebrew been hitherto found in the early monuments of other Eastern nations [unless indeed the Habiri of the Am. Tab., who give such trouble to Abd-ḫiba of Jerusalem, may be identified with the Hebrews—a theory which in its newer form deserves consideration]. The identification proposed by Chabas which finds the Hebrews in the hieroglyphic Apuriu is more than doubtful,[4] whereas the name of Israel appears on the stone of Mesha, king of Moab (*l.* 7), and perhaps has been deciphered on Assyrian monuments.[5] [On the occurrence of this name in an old Egyptian inscription, see EXODUS i., §§ 2, 9.]

The form *'ibrī* is, in the language of Semitic grammarians, a relative noun, presupposing the word *'Eber* as the name of the tribe, place, or common ancestor, from whom the Hebrews are designated. See EBER.

Accordingly we find Eber as a nation side by side with Assyria in the obscure poetical passage Nu. 24 24, and Eber as ancestor of the Hebrews in the genealogical lists of Gen. 10 *f.* Here we must distinguish two records.[6] According to Gen. 11 (and Gen. 10 24) Eber is the great-grandson of Shem through Arphaxad, and the ancestor of Terah through Peleg Reu, Serug, and Nahor. These are not to be taken as the names of individual men. Several of them are designations of places or districts near the upper waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and among other circumstances the place at the head of the series assigned to the district of Arrapachitis (see, however, ARPHAXAD), through which a migration from Ararat to the lands occupied by the Semites in historical times would first pass, suggests the probability that the genealogy is not even meant to exhibit a table

1 Of the form *fa'ālil* (Wright's *Arab. Gram.*, § 305).

1 For these forms we may compare the way in which the river חָבוֹר is in one place transliterated χαβωρ and in another αβωρ.

2 Hebrew literature is dealt with in the following articles:—POETICAL LIT., HISTORICAL LIT., PROPHETICAL LIT., LAW LIT., WISDOM LIT., EPISTOLARY LIT. On the labours of the Masoretes see WRITING, TEXT.

3 See especially Ges. *Gesch. der heb. Sprache u. Schrift*, 9 *f.* ; more recently Kautzsch in Riehm's *HWB*.

4 See EGYPT, § 61 ; EPHRAIM, § 1.

5 Schr., *KG* 359 536 ('78), defends this not undisputed reading; cp AHAB § 4.

6 See De Goeje in *Th. T.*, '70, p. 243 ; and We. in *Jahrbb. f. D. Theol.*, '76, p. 395.

of ethnological affinities, but rather presents a geographical sketch of the supposed early movements of the Hehrews, who are personified under the name of Eher. If this is so, we can hardly venture to assert (with some scholars) that the author of the list (the Priestly Writer) extended the name of Hehrews to all descendants of Terah.[1]

The case is different with another (doubtless older) record of which a fragment seems to be preserved in Gen. 10 21 25-30. Here there is no intermediate link between Shem and Eber. Sons of Shem and sons of Eher appear to be co-extensive ideas, and to the latter are reckoned not only the descendants of Peleg (Aramzeans, Israelites, Ishmaelite Arabs, etc.), hut also the South Arabian tribes of Joktan.

As to the etymological origin of the name of Hebrews we have an early statement in Gen. 1413, where 𝔊ADL renders 'Abram the Hebrew' [see Di.] by 6 περάτης, 'the crosser.'[2]

Grammatically more accurate, while resting on the same etymology, is the rendering of Aquila, ὁ περαΐτης 'the man from the other side' of the Euphrates, which is thb explanation of Jewish tradition *(Ber. R.,* and Rashi); cp Ew. *GI*(3) 1 407 *f.* (ET, 1284).

Steiner, however, 'takes *'ēber* in the Arabic sense of a river hank, and makes the Hebrews 'dwellers in a land of rivers' (*Bib.-Lex.* 2 613). This goes well with Peleg (watercourse), as in Arabia we have the district Falag, so named because it is furrowed by waters (Sprenger, *Geog. Arab.* 234). Cp EBER.

By the Hebrew language we understand the ancient tongue of the Hebrews in Canaan—the language in which the OT is composed, with the exception of the Aramaic passages (Jer. 10 11 Ezra 4 8-6 18 7 12-26 Dan. 2 4-7 28). We do not find, however, that this language was called Hebrew by those who spoke it. It is the *Zip*—*i.e.* speech—*of* ***Canaan*** (Is. 19 18), or, as spoken in southern Palestine, יהודית, *Jewish* (2 K. 18 26 [|| Is. 36 11] Neh. 13 24). The later Jews call it the *holy tongue* (לשון הקדש) in contrast to the ***profane*** Aramaic dialect (commonly though improperly enough called Syro-Chaldaic) which long before the time of Christ had superseded the old language as the vernacular of the Jews. This change had already taken place at the time when the expression 'in Hebrew' (ἑβραϊστί) first occurs (Prologue to Sirach); and both in the Apocrypha and in the NT the ambiguous term, naming the language after those who used it, often denotes the contemporary vernacular, not the obsolete idiom of the OT. The other sense, however, was admissible (*e.g.*, Rev. 9 11, and so frequently in Josephus), and naturally became the prevalent one among Christian writers who had little occasion to speak of anything but the OT Hebrew.[3] See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE.

2. Name 'Hebrew language.'

Hebrew is a language of the group which, since Eichhorn, has generally been known as Semitic, the affinities of the several members of which are so close that they may fairly be compared with a sub-group of the Indo-Germanic family—for example, with the Teutonic languages.

3. Semitic languages.

The fundamental unity of the Semitic vocabulary is easily observed from the absence of compounds (except in proper names) and from the fact that almost all words are derived from their roots in definite patterns *(measures)* as regular as those of grammatical inflection. The roots regularly consist of three consonants (seldom four or five), the accompanying vowels having no radical value, but shifting according to grammatical rules to express various embodiments of the root idea.

The triliteral roots are substantially common to the whole Semitic group, subject to certain consonantal permutations, of which the most important are strikingly

[1] The Terahites, according to other testimonies, are Aramzeans (Gen. 22 20 *f.*; Dt. 26 5); but the Priestly Writer, who cannot be pre-exilic, makes Aram a separate offshoot of Shem, having nothing to do with Eber (Gen. 10 22 *f.*).

[2] Cp Jerome, ***Quest.*** *Hebr.*, on the passage, and Theodoret, *Qu.* LXI. *in Gen.*

[3] The term 'Hebrew language' seems to have originated with the Grreks or Hellenists. Philo, however, calls the language of the OT Chaldee *(De Vita Mosis,* 2 5 *f.*; cp Jerome on Dan. 1). On the use of the expression 'Hebrew language' in the Talmud, see Berliner, *Beiträge zur heb. Gr.* 5 (Berlin, '79).

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analogous to those laid down by Grimm for the Teutonic languages.

There are in Arabic four aspirated dentals, which in Hebrew and Assyrian are regularly represented by sibilants, as follows:—

Arabic *th* = Hebrew-Assyrian *š*; Ar. *dh* = Heb.-Ass. *z*: Ar. *ẓ* = Heb.-Ass. *ṣ*; Ar. *ḍ* = Heb.-Ass. *ṣ*.

In most of the Aramaic dialects the first three of these sounds are represented by *t*, *d*, and *ṭ* respectively, while the fourth is usually changed into the guttural sound ע. But it would appear from recent discoveries that in very ancient times some at least of the Aramaic dialects approximated to the Hebrew and Assyrian as regards the treatment of the first three sounds, and changed the fourth into ק (cp ARAMAIC, § 2, beginning, and see below, § 6).[1]

4. Their inflection.

Derivation from the roots and inflection proceed partly by the reduplication of root letters and the addition of certain preformatives and afformatives (more rarely by the insertion of formative consonants in the body of the root), partly by modifications of the vowels with which the radicals are pronounced. In its origin almost every root expresses something that can be grasped by the senses.

The mechanism by which words are formed from the root is adapted to present sensible notions in a variety of *nuances* and in all possible embodiments and connections, so that there are regular forms to express in a single word the intensity, the repetition, the production of the root idea—the place, the instrument, the time of its occurrence, and so forth. Thus the expression of intellectual ideas is necessarily metaphorical, almost every word being capable of a material sense, or at least conveying the distinct suggestion of some sensible notion. For example, the names of passions depict their physiological expression; 'to confer honour' means also 'to make heavy,' and so on.

The same concrete character, the same inadequacy to convey purely abstract thoughts without a substratum appealing to the senses, appears in the grammatical structure of the Semitic tongues.

This is to be seen, for example, in the absence of the neuter gender, in the extreme paucity of particles, in the scanty provision for the subordination of propositions, which deprives the Semitic style of all involved periods and reduces it to a succession of short sentences linked by the simple copula *and*.

The fundamental element of these languages is the noun, and in the fundamental type of sentence the predicate is a noun set down without any copula and therefore without distinction of past, present, or future time. The finite verb is developed from nominal forms (participial or infinitive), and is equally without distinction of time. Instead of tenses we find two forms, the perfect and the imperfect, which are used according as the speaker contemplates the verbal action as a thing complete or as conditional, imperfect, or in process.

It lies in the nature of this distinction that the imperfect alone bas moods. In their later stages the languages seek to supply the lack of tenses by circumlocutions with a substantive verb and participles.

Other notable features (common to the Semitic tongues) are the use of appended suffixes to denote the possessive pronouns with a substantive, or the accusative of a personal pronoun with a verb, and the expression of the genitive relation by what is called construction or annexation, the governing noun being placed immediately before the genitive, and, if possible, slightly shortened in pronunciation so that the two words may run together as one idea. 4

A characteristic of the later stages of the languages is the resolution of this relation into a prepositional clause.

These and other peculiarities are sufficient to establish the original unity of the group, and entitle us to postulate an original language from which all the Semitic dialects have sprung.

Of the relation of this language to other linguistic stems, especially to the Indo-Germanic on the E. and the North-African languages on the W. we cannot yet speak with certainty: but it appears that the present system of triliteral roots has grown out of an earlier biliteral system which, so far as it can be reconstructed, must form the basis of scientific inquiry into the ultimate affinities of the Semitic group.[2]

[1] [See **Cook**, *Aramaic Glossary*, *s.* ז, צ, ק, ש.]

[2] Renan, *Hist. des Langues Sém.*, sketches the history of research in this direction. Noteworthy are the remarks of Lagarde, *Symmicta*, 121. On survivals from the biliteral stage, see Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 96.

Before the rise of comparative philology it was a familiar opinion that Hebrewwas the original speech of mankind.

5. Age of Hebrew.

Taken from the Jews, and as already expressed in the Palestinian Targum on Gen. 11 1, this opinion drew its main support from etymologies and other data in the earlier chapters of Genesis, which, however, were as plausibly turned by Syriac writers in favour of their own tongue.[1]

Till recent times many excellent scholars (including Ewald) claimed for Hebrew the greatest relative antiquity among Semitic tongues. It is now, however, generally recognised that in grammatical structure the Arabic, shut up within its native deserts till the epoch of Islam, preserved much more of the original Semitic forms than either Hebrew or Aramaic.

In its richer vocalisation, in the possession of distinct case endings,[2] in the use for feminine nouns of the afformative *t*, which in the northern dialect has passed through *h* (originally audible as in Egyptian Arabic) into a mere vowel, in the more extensive range of passive and modal forms, and in other refinements of inflection, Arabic represents no later development, but the original wealth and primitive subtlety of Semitic speech, as appears not only from fragmentary survivals in the other dialects, but also from an examination of the process of decay which has brought the spoken Arabic of the present day into a grammatical condition closely parallel to the OT Hebrew.

Whilst Arabic is in many respects the elder brother, it is not the parent of Hebrew or Aramaic. Each member of the group had an independent development from a stage prior to any existing language, though it would seem that Hebrew did not branch off from Aramaic so soon as from Arabic, whilst in its later stages it came under direct Aramaic influence.

[On the relation which Hebrew bears to the other Semitic languages, see Wright, *Comp. Gram.* . Driver, ***Tenses*** (*App.* iii.); and Nöldeke's art. 'Semitic Languages' in *EB*(9), published separately in German, with some additions (***Die sem. Sprachen***, '87; (2), '99).]

The Hebrew spoken by the Israelites in Canaan was separated only by very minor differences (like those of our provincial dialects) from the speech of neighbouring tribes. We know this so far as the Moabite language is concerned from the stone of Mesha; and the indications furnished by proper names, as well as the acknowledged affinity of Israel with these tribes, make the same thing probable in the case of Ammon and Edom. More remarkable is the fact that the Phœnicians and Canaanites, with whom the Israelites acknowledged no brotherhood, spoke a language which, at least as written, differs but little from biblical Hebrew. This observation has been used in support of the very old idea that the Hebrews originally spoke Aramaic, and changed their language in Canaan. An exacter study of the Phœnician inscriptions, however, shows differences from Hebrew which suffice to constitute a distinct dialect, and combine with other indications to favour the view that the descendants of Abraham brought their Hebrew idiom with them. In this connection it is important to observe that the old Assyrian, which preceded Aramaic in regions with which the book of Genesis connects the origins of Abraham, is

6. Earliest Hebrew.

1 Theodoret (***Quest. in*** *Gen.* 11), Barhebræus, and others cited by Assemani, *Bib.* ***Or.*** iii. 1 314. The same opinion appears among the Babylonian Jews (Rab in *Synh.* 38 *b*). Conversely, Jacob of Sarug concedes the priority of Hebrew (see *ZDMG* 25 520). The Arabs, whose language is in many points older than either, yield priority to Hebrew (Ahulfeda, *HA* 18), or to Syriac (Tabari, 1 220; Abu 'Isa in Ahulfeda, 148), the language of the race to which they owed their first knowledge of letters.

2 That the case endings in classical Arabic are survivals of a very ancient system of inflection can hardly be doubted. It does not necessarily follow, however, that in the primitive Semitic language these terminations were used for precisely the same purposes as in Arabic. Moreover, the three Arabic case-endings commonly called by European scholars the nominative, genitive, and accusative, do not by any means correspond exactly, as regards their usage, to the respective cases in the Indo-European languages; that is to say, the Arabic language sometimes employs the accusative where we should, on logical grounds, have expected the nominative and ***vice versā***. These apparent anomalies are probably relics of a time when the use of the case-endings was determined by principles which differed, to a considerable extent, from those known to the Arabic grammarians.

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in many respects closely akin to Hebrew.[1] [Certain inscriptions, moreover, recently discovered at Zenjirli, in the extreme N. of Syria, are written in a dialect which exhibits many striking points of resemblance to Hebrew, although it would seem, on the whole, to belong to the Aramaic branch.[2]]

As the origin of Hebrew is lost in the obscurity that hangs over the early movements of the Semitic tribes, so we know very little of the changes which the language underwent in Canaan. The existence of local differences of speech is proved by Judg. 12 6;[3] but the attempt to make out in the OT records a Northern and a Judæan dialect, or even besides these a third dialect for the Simeonites of the extreme S.[4] has led to no certain results. In general it may be said that the OT text supplies inadequate data for studying the history of the language. Semitic writing, especially a purely consonantal text such as the OT originally was, gives an imperfect picture of the very grammatical and phonetic details most likely to vary dialectically or in course of time.

The later punctuation (including the notation of vowels: see below, § 9, and WRITING) and even many things in the present consonantal text, represent the formal pronunciation of the Synagogue as it took shape after Hebrew became a dead language—for even 𝔊 has often a more primitive pronunciation of proper names (cp NAMES, § 5 *f.*). This modern system being applied to all parts of the OT alike, many archaisms were obliterated or disguised, and the earlier and later writings present in the received text a grammatical uniformity which is certainly not original. It is true that occasional consonantal forms inconsistent with the accompanying vowels have survived—especially in the books least read by the Jews—and appear in the light of comparative grammar as indications of more primitive forms. These sporadic survivals show that the correction of obsolete forms was not carried through with perfect consistency; but it is never safe to argue as if we possessed the original form of the texts (cp WRITING).

The chief historical changes in the Hebrew language which we can still trace are due to Aramaic influence.

7. Hebrew yields to Aramaic.

The Northern Israelites were in Immediate contact with Aramæan populations and some Aramaic loan-words were used, at least in Northern Israel, from a very early date. At the time of Hezekiah Aramaic seems to have been the usual language of diplomacy spoken by the statesmen of Judah and Assyria alike (2 K. 18 26). After the fall of Samaria the Hebrew population of Northern Israel was partly deported, their place being taken by new colonists, most of whom probably had Aramaic as their mother-tongue. It is not therefore surprising that even in the language of Judæa increasing signs of Aramaic influence appear before the Exile.[5] The fall of the Jewish kingdom accelerated the decay of Hebrew as a spoken language. Not indeed that those of the people who were transported forgot their own tongue in their new home, as older scholars supposed on the basis of Jewish tradition: the exilic and post-exilic prophets do not write in a lifeless tongue. Hebrew was still the language of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (13 24) in the middle of the fifth century B.C.[6] After the fall of Jerusalem, however, the petty Jewish people were in daily intercourse with a surrounding Aramæan

1 See Stade's essay on the relation of Phœnician and Hebrew, *Morgenländische Forschungen* ('75), with Nöldeke's criticism, *ZDMG*, 29 325; also the latter's article, 'Sprache, hebräische,' in *BL*, 5 362 *ff.*

2 One of these inscriptions, set up by Panammii, king of Ya'di, probably dates from the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century B.C. Two other inscriptions set up by a king named Bar-Rekūb, belong to the latter half of the eighth century. See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2; in addition to the works on the subject which are there specified, the reader may consult Lidzbarski's ***Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*** (Weimar, '98), p. 440 *f.*

3 On the difficulty of drawing precise inferences from this narrative see Marq. *ZATW* '88, pp. 151-155.

4 Bottch. ***Lehrb. d. hebr. Sprache***, 1 13 *f.* ('66).

5 Details in Ryssel, ***De Elohistæ Pentateuchi Sermone*** (Leipsic, '78), the most important collection of materials since Gesenius, ***Gesch. der hebr. Spr. u. Schrift*** ('15).

6 An argument to the contrary drawn by Jewish interpreters from Neh. 8 8 rests on false exegesis.

population, and the Aramaic tongue, which was the official language of the western provinces of the Persian empire, began to take rank as the recognised medium of polite intercourse and letters even among the tribes of Arabic blood—the Nabataeans—whose inscriptions in the Ḥaurān are written in Aramaic. Thus Hebrew as a spoken language gradually yielded to its more powerful neighbour, and the style of the latest OT writers is not only full of Aramaic words and forms but also largely coloured with Aramaic idioms, whilst their Hebrew has lost the force and freedom of a living tongue (Ecclesiastes, Esther, some Psalms, Daniel). The Chronicler no longer thoroughly understood the Old Hebrew sources from which he worked, while for the latest part of his history he used a Jewish Aramaic document, part of which he incorporated in the book of Ezra. Long before the time of Christ Hebrew was the exclusive property of scholars.

About zoo B.C., Jesus the son of Sirach (Ben Sīrā), a Palestinian Jew, composed in Hebrew the famous treatise known in the West as Ecclesiasticus. A large portion of the original text has .recently come to light, unfortunately in a mutilated condition. Though Ben Sīrā uses a considerable number of late 'words, mostly borrowed from the Aramaic, the general character of his Hebrew style is decidedly purer and more classical than that of some parts of the OT (*e.g.*, Ecclesiastes), and 'it is specially to be noted that the recovered fragments, as far as is known at present, contain not a single word derived from the Greek. See ECCLESIASTICUS.

Several other books of the Apocrypha appear to be translated from Hebrew originals—Judith, 1 Macc.—the last according to the express testimony of Jerome. It is certain that the OT canon contains elements as late as the epoch of national revival under the Maccabees (Daniel, certain Psalms), for Hebrew was the language of religion as well as of scholarship. As for the scholars, they affected not only to write but also to speak in Hebrew; but they could not resist the influence of the Aramaic vernacular, and indeed made no attempt to imitate the classical models of the OT, which neither furnished the necessary terminology for the new ideas with which they operated, nor offered in its forms and constructions a suitable vehicle for their favourite processes of legal dialectic. Thus was developed a new scholastic Hebrew, 'the language of the wise' (לשון חכמים), preserving some genuine old Hebrew words which happen not to be found in the OT, and supplying some new necessities of expression by legitimate developments of germs that lay in the classical idiom, but thoroughly interpenetrated with foreign elements, and as little fit for higher literary purposes as the Latin of the mediaeval schoolmen. The chief monument of this dialect is the body of traditional law called the Mishna, which is formed of materials of various dates, but was collected in its present form about the close of the second century A.D. (see LAW LITERATURE).

8. Scholastic Hebrew.

[A remarkable feature in the Hebrew of the Mishna is the large use made of Greek and even of Latin words.

That these words were actually current among the Jews of the period and are not mere literary embellishments (as is sometimes the case with Greek words used by Syriac authors) appears from the fact that they often present themselves in strangely distorted forms—the result of popular mispronunciation.]

The doctors of the subsequent period still retained some fluency in the use of Hebrew; but the mass of their teaching preserved in the Gemāra is Aramaic.[1]

The language of the Mishna has been described by Geiger, *Lehr- und Lesebuch zur Sprache der Mischnah* (Breslau, '45); L. Dukes, *Die Sprache der Mischna* (Esslingen, '46) and *Zur rabbinischen Sprachkunde* (Vienna, '51); J. H. Weiss, *Mishpat L'shôn ham-Mishna* (Vienna, '67).

[1] See Bacher, *Die Aggada der babylonischen Amoräe* (Strassb'g, '79), for many illustrations of the Hebrew scholarship of the Gemarists

During the Talmudic period nothing was done for the grammatical study of the old language; but there was a traditional pronunciation for the synagogue, and a traditional interpretation of the sacred text. The earliest monument of Jewish interpretation is the Septuagint; but the final form of traditional exegesis is embodied in the Targums or Aramaic paraphrases, especially in the more literal Targnms of Onkelos and Jonathan, which are often cited by the Talmudic doctors. Many things in the language of the OT were already obscure, and the meaning of words was discussed in the schools, sometimes by the aid of legitimate analogies from living dialects,' but more often by fantastic etymological devices such as the *Notarikon*, or use of analogies from shorthand.

9. Grammatical study.

The invention and application of means for preserving the traditional text and indicating the traditional pronunciation are spoken of elsewhere (see WRITING, TEXT).

The old traditional scholarship declined, however, till the tenth century, when a revival of Hebrew study under the influence of Mohammedan learning took place among the Arabic-speaking Jews (Saadia of the Fayyūm, Menahem ben Sarug, etc.).[2] Then, early in the eleventh century, came the acknowledged fathers of mediaeval Jewish philology,—the grammarian Judah surnamed Ḥayyūǵ, discoverer of the system of triliteral roots,[3] and the lexicographer Abulwalīd Merwān ibn Ganāḥ (Rabbi Jonah), who made excellent use of Arabic analogies as well as of the traditional material.[4]

A succession of able scholars continued their work, of whom the most famous are Abraham ben Meïr of Toledo, suknamed Ihn Ezra—also written Aben Ezra—(1092-1167), a man of great originality and freedom of view; Solomon Isaaki of Troyes, called Rashi (*i.e.*, R[abbēnu] Sh[ĕlōmōh] Y[iṣḥāḳi]) and sometimes by error Jarchi—*i.e.*, of Lunel (יָרֵחַ 'luna')—(died 1105), whose writings are a storehouse of traditional lore; and David Ḳimḥi of Narbonne, called Radak (*circ.* 1200), whose commentaries,' grammar, and lexicon exercised an enormous and lasting influence. Our own authorised version bears the stamp of Kimhi on every page.

In the later Middle Ages Jewish learning was cramped by a narrow Talmudical orthodoxy; but a succession of scholars held their ground till Elias Levita and others of his age transmitted the torch to the Christian universities.

[The *Jewish Encyclopædia*, now in preparation, will for English readers give an adequate account of the Jewish scholars and their work. The portion dealing with Philology will be contributed by Prof. G. F. Moore.] W. R. S.—A. A. B.

HEBREWS (הָעִבְרִים), Gen. 40 15 etc. See above and cp ISRAEL, § 1.

HEBREWS (EPISTLE). The NT writing usually known under the name of the Epistle to the Hebrews, or, less correctly, as the Epistle of Paul the apostle to the Hebrews, bears in the oldest MSS no other title than the words ΠΡΟϹ ЄΒΡΑΙΟΥϹ [so Ti. WH, etc.], 'To the Hebrews.' This brief heading embraces the whole information as to the origin of the epistle on which Christian tradition is unanimous. Everything else—the authorship, the address, the date—was unknown or disputed in the early church, and continues to form matter of dispute in the present day. As far back as the latter part of the second century, however, the destination of the epistle 'to the Hebrews' [though it cannot be proved for Rome at so early a date] was acknowledged alike in Alexandria, where it was ascribed to Paul, and in Carthage, where it passed by the name of Barnabas; and there is no indication that it ever circulated under another title. At the same

1. Title.

[1] See B. Rash hash-Shānā, 26 *b*; Del. on Ps. 55 23 [24] and Is. 14 23.

[2] The connecting link between the Masoretes and the grammarians is Rabbi Aaron ben Mosheh hen Asher, whose *Dikduke hat-T'amim* has been published by Baer and Strack (Leips. '79).

[3] See his *Two Treatises*, edited by Nutt, London, '70.

[4] His *Book of Roots*, in Arabic, edited by Neubauer, Oxford., 1875.

HEBREWS, EPISTLE

time we must not suppose, as has sometimes bcen supposed, that the anthor prefixed these words to his original manuscript. The title says no more than that the readers addressed were Christians of Jewish extraction, and this would be no sufficient-address for an epistolary writing (13 22) directed to a definite circle of readers, a local church or group of churches to whose history repeated reference is made, and with which the author had personal relations (13 19 23). The original address, which according to custom must have stood on the outside of the folded letter, was probably never copied, and the universal prevalence of the present title, which tells no more than can be gathered (as a hypothesis) from the epistle itself, seems to indicate that when the book first passed from local into general circulation its history had already been forgotten.

With this it agrees that the early Roman church,—— where the epistle was known about the end of the first century, and where indeed the first traces of the use of it occur (Clement, and *Shepherd of Hermas*)—had nothing to contribute to the auestion of authorship and origin except the negative opinion that the book is not by Paul.

2. Authorship: history of opinion.

Caius and the Muratorian fragment reckon but thirteen epistles of Paul ; Hippolytus (like his master Irenæus of Lyons) knew our book and declared that it was not Pauline.

The earliest positive traditions of authorship to which we can point belong to Africa and Egypt, where, as we have already seen, divergent views were current by the end of the second century. 1. The African tradition preserved by Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*, 20), but certainly not invented by him, ascribes the epistle to Barnabas.

Direct apostolic authority is not therefore claimed for it ; but it has the weight due to one who 'learned from and taught with the apostles,' and we are told that it had more currency among the churches than 'that apocryphal shepherd of the adulterers' (the Shepherd of Hermas). This tradition of the African church holds a singularly isolated position. Later writers appear to know it only from Tertullian, and it soon became obsolete, to be revived for a moment after the Reformation by the Scottish theologian Cameron, and then again in our own century by the German critics, among whom at present it is the favourite view [see below, §§ 4, 11].

2. Very different is the history of the Egyptian tradition, which can be traced back as far as a teacher of the Alexandrian Clement, presumably Pantænus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 6 14).

This 'blessed presbyter,' as Clement calls him, sought to explain why Paul did not name himself as usual at the head of the epistle, and found the reason in the modesty of the author, who, in addressing the Hebrews was going beyond his commission as apostle to the Gentiles.' Clement himself takes it for granted that an epistle to the Hebrews must have been written in Hebrew, and supposes that Luke translated it for the Greeks.

Thus far there is no sign that the Pauline authorship was ever questioned in Alexandria, and from the time of Origen the opinion that Paul wrote the epistle became more and more prevalent in the East.

Origen rests on the same tradition, which he refers to 'the ancient men ; but he knows that the tradition is not common to all churches. He feels that the language is un-Pauline, though the admirable thoughts are not second to those of the unquestioned apostolic writings. Thus he is led to the view that the ideas were orally set forth by Paul, but that the language, arrangement, and some features of the exposition are the work of a disciple. According to some, this disciple was Clement of Rome ; others [Clement and his school] named Luke ; but the truth, says Origen is known to God alone (Eus. 6 25 cp 3 38). It is not surprising that these limitations of the traditio; had less influence than the broad fact that Origen accepted the book as of Pauline authority.

In the West this view was still far from established in the fourth century ; but it gained ground steadily, and, indeed, the necessity for revising the received view could not be qnestioned when men began to look at the facts of the case.

Even those who, like Jerome and Augustine, knew the variations of tradition, were unwilling to press an opposite view ; and in the fifth century the Pauline authorship was accepted at Rome, and practically throughout Christendom, not to be again disputed till the revival of letters and the rise of a more critical spirit.

It was Erasmus who indicated the imminent change of opinion.

Erasmus brings out with great force the vacillation of tradition and the dissimilarity of the epistle from the style and thoughts of Paul in his concluding annotation on the hook. He ventures the conjecture, based on a passage of his favourite Jerome, that Clement of Rome was the real author. Luther (who suggests Apollos) and Calvin (who thinks of Luke or Clement) followed with the decisive argument that Paul, who lays such stress on the fact that his gospel was not taught to him by man but was by direct revelation (Gal. 1 11 *f.*), could not have written Heb. 2 3 *f.* where the author classes himself among those who received the message of salvation from the personal disciples of the Lord on the evidence of the miracles which confirmed their word.

The force of tradition seemed already broken ; but the wave of reaction which so soon overwhelmed the freer tendencies of the first reformers, brought back the old view. Protestant orthodoxy again accepted Paul as the author, and dissentient voices were seldom heard till the revival of free biblical criticism in the eighteenth century. As criticism strengthened its arguments, theologians began to learn that the denial of tradition involves no danger to faith, and at the present moment, scarcely any sound scholar will be found to accept Paul as the direct author of the epistle, though such a modified view as was suggested by Origen still claims adherents among the lovers of compromise with tradition.

The arguments against the Alexandrian tradition are in fact conclusive.

3. Not by Paul.

It is probably unfair to hamper that tradition with Clement's notion that the book is a translation from the Hebrew. This monstrous hypothesis received its *reductio ad absurdum* in the attempt of J. H. R. Biesenthal to reconstruct the Hebrew text (*Das Trostschreiben des Apostels Paulus an die Hebräer, kritisch wiederhergestellt*, etc., '78). Just as little, however, can the Greek be from Paul's pen.

The un-Pauline character of the style, alike in the words used and in the structure of the sentences, strikes every scholar as it struck Origen and Erasmus.

The type of thought is quite unique. The theological ideas are cast in a different mould ; and the leading conception of the high-priesthood of Christ, which is no mere occasional thought but a central point in the author's conception of Christianity, finds its nearest analogy not in the Pauline epistles but in John 17 19. The Old Testament is cited after the Alexandrian translation more exactly and exclusively than is the custom of Paul, and that even where the Hebrew original is divergent. Nor is this an accidental circumstance. There is every appearance that the author was a Hellenist whose learning did not embrace a knowledge of the Hebrew text, and who derived his metaphysic and allegorical method from the Alexandrian rather than the Palestinian schools.[1]

The force of these arguments can be brought out only by the accumulation of a multitude of details too tedious for this place ; but the evidence from the few personal indications contained in the epistle is easily grasped and not less powerful.

The argument from 2 3 *f.*, which appeared decisive to Luther and Calvin, has been referred to already (§ 2). Again, we read in 13 19 that the writer is absent from the church which he addresses, but hopes to be speedily restored to them. This expression is not to be understood as implying that the epistle was written in prison, for 13 23 shows that the author is master of his own movements.[2]

The plain sense is that the author's home is with the church addressed, but that he is at present absent, and begs their prayers for a speedy return. The external authority of the Alexandrian tradition can have no weight against such difficulties. If that tradition was original and continuous, the long ignorance of the Roman church and the opposite tradition of Africa are inexplicable. No tradition, however, was more likely to arise in circles where the epistle was valued and its origin forgotten. In spite of its divergences from the

1 For the Alexandrian elements in the epistle. consult the list of passages in Hilgenfeld's *Einleitung* 384, n. (Leipsic, '75). A large mass of valuable material is collected in J. B. Carpzov's ***Sacra Exercitationes in Ep. ad Heb. ex Philone Alexandrino*** (Helmstadt, 1750). [Von Soden (***Handcomm.*** 4) gives additional instances of dependence on Philo, and proves the literary influence also of the Wisdom of Solomon; cp Plumptre in ***Expositor***, 1st ser. vol. i. ('74).]

2 In 10 34 the true reading is not 'of me in my bonds,' but 'on them that were in bonds' (τοῖς δεσμίοις συνεπαθήσατε). The false reading, which was that of Clement of Alexandria, is probably connected with the tradition that Paul was the author.

standard of Pauline authorship, the book has manifest Pauline affinities, and can hardly have originated beyond the Pauline circle, to which it is referred, not only by the author's friendship with Timothy (13 23), but also by many unquestionable echoes of the Pauline theology, and even by distinct allusions to passages in Paul's epistles.[1]

In an uncritical age these features might easily suggest Paul as the author of a book which [doubtless, because its Pauline origin was universally believed in Alexandria] took its place in MSS immediately after the recognised epistles of that apostle, and contained nothing in its title to distinguish it from the preceding books with similar headings, 'To the Romans,' 'To the Corinthians,' and the like.[2] A similar history, as Zahn has pointed out, attaches to the so-called second epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

When we see that the tradition which names Paul as author does not possess an authentic historical basis. we

4. Other suggestions.

are necessarily carried on to deny historical authority to the subsidiary conjectures or traditions which speak of Luke and Clement of Rome.

The history of the Alexandrian tradition shows that these names were brought in merely to lessen the difficulties attaching to the view that Paul wrote the book exactly as we have it.

The name of Lnke seems to be a conjecture of the Alexandrian Clement, for it has no place in the tradition received from his master.

Origen attaches no importance to either name. Some had mentioned one, and some the other• God alone knows the truth. We have no reason to think more'highly of these suggestions than Origen did. Indeed, no Protestant scholar now proposes the name of Clement, whose extant epistle to the Corinthians shows his familiarity with the epistle to the Hebrews, and at the same time excludes the idea that he composed it. The name of Luke has still partisans—Delitzsch carefully collected linguistic parallels between our epistle and the Lucan writings (*Comm.* '57; ET, '68-'70). The arguments of Delitzsch are generally met with the objection that our author must have been a born Jew, which from his standpoint and culture is in the highest degree probable, though not perhaps absolutely certain. In any case we cannot suppose that Luke wrote the epistle on Paul's commission, or that the work is substantially the apostle's; for such a theory takes no account of the strongly-marked individuality of the book in thought and method as well as expression.

The theory that Luke was the independent author of the epistle (Grotius and others) has no right to appeal to 'antiquity, and must stand entirely on the very inadequate grounds of internal probability afforded by language and style.

If Alexandria fail us, can we suppose that Africa preserved the original tradition? This is a difficult question. The intrinsic objections to authorship by Barnabas are not important.

The so-called Epistle of Barnabas was not written by our author; but then it is admittedly not hy Barnahas. The superior elegance of the style of our epistle as compared with that of Paul is not inconsistent with Acts 14 12; nor is there, as we shall see presently, any real force in the once favourite objection that the ordinances of the temple are described with less accuracy than might be looked for in Barnabas, a Levite and one who had resided in Jerusalem (see below, § 8). On the other hand, it is hard to believe that the correct account of the authorship of our book was preserved only in Africa, and in a tradition so isolated that Tertullian seems to he its only independent witness. How could Africa know this thing and Rome be ignorant? Zahn, who is the 'latest exponent of the Barnabas hypothesis, argues that in the West, where the so-called epistle of Barnabas was long unknown, there was nothing to suggest the idea of Barnabas as an author; that the true tradition might perish the more readily in other parts of the church after the name of Barnabas had been falsely attached to another epistle dealing with the typology of the ceremonial law; and finally, that the false epistle of Barnabas, which was first so named in Alexandria may there have carried off the true title of the epistle to the Hebrews after the latter was ascribed to Paul. That is not plausible, and it is more likely that an epistle which calls itself λόγος παρακλήσεως (Heb. 13 22) was ascribed to the υἱὸς παρακλήσεως (Acts 4 36) in the same way as Ps. 127 was ascribed to Solomon 'the beloved of the Lord' (2 Sam. 12 24 f.), from the allusion in 127 2, than that this coincidence of expression affords a confirmation of the Barnabas hypothesis.

In short, the whole tradition as to the epistle is too uncertain to offer much support to any theory of authorship, and if the name of Barnabas is to be accepted, it must stand mainly on internal evidence, See further below, § 11.

5. Original readers:[1] epistle's use of OT.

Being thus thrown back on what the epistle itself can tell us, we must look at the first readers, with whom, as we have already seen, the author stood in very close relations.

Until comparatively recently there was a general agreement among scholars that the church addressed was composed of Hebrews, or Christians of Jewish birth. We are not, however, entitled to take this simply on the authority of the title, which is hardly more than a reflection of the impression produced on an early copyist—an impression the justice of which is now seen to be more than doubtful. It is plain, indeed, that the writer is at one with his readers in approaching all Christian truth through the OT.

He and they alike are accustomed to regard Christianity as a continuous development of Judaism, in which the benefits of Christ's death belong to the ancient people of God and supply the shortcomings of the old dispensation (4 9 9 15 13 12). With all the weight that is laid on the superiority of Christianity, the religion of finality, over Mosaism, the dispensation which brought nothing to its goal, the sphere of the two dispensations is throughout treated as identical.

This, however, is no less the position of Paul and of Acts. Not only Jews by birth, but Gentiles also, are reckoned as belonging to the people of God, children of Abraham, heirs of the promise, as soon as they become believers in Christ.

The OT is the book of this the true people of God: it is the original record of the promises which have been fulfilled to it in Christ; and the institutions of the Old Covenant equally with the histories of the ancient people are types for Christian times.

The difference between Paul and the author of our epistle is only one of temperament. With respect to the two stages, Paul brings into bolder prominence the differences, the incompatibilities, which render compromise impossible, and compel a man either to abide in the one or to make the decisive forward step to the other. Our author, on the other hand, lays stress rather on their common features, with the object of pointing out the advance they show from the imperfect to the perfect. Moreover, as an Alexandrian, he is bolder in the freedom, rendered possible by the allegorising method, with which he adapts OT prescriptions to NT times. In the same degree in which our author comes behind Paul in originality and force of character does he rely in a more academic and thoroughgoing manner on the absolute and supreme authority of the OT for Gentile Christians also.

The whole tendency of the epistle, however, is against the theory that it was originally addressed to Jewish Christians.

6. Not Jewish Christian.

That the readers were in no danger of relapsing into participation in the Jewish sacrifices, that the tenor of the epistle in like manner forbids the assumption that they had consistently followed the ceremonial observances that had their centre in the temple ritual, has been shown conclusively by the original author of the present article. Nowhere is any warning raised against taking part in the worship of the temple, against the retention of circumcision, or against separation from

[1] An unambiguous proof that our author had read the epistle to the Romans seems to lie in 10 30. This is the one OT citation of the epistle which does not follow the LXX (Dt. 32 35); but it is word for word from Rom. 12 19. [The proof is not, however, conclusive. Dependence on Romans cannot be shown elsewhere in the epistle, and this particular citation is found exactly as it is in Onkelos.] Further signs of dependence on Romans and Corinthians (which require sifting) have been collected by Holtzmann (*Einl.* 332); see also Hilgenfeld's *Zt.* 94 *f.*

[2] The place of the epistle in MSS varies. The order of EV is that of the Latin Church, the oldest Greek codices placing it before the pastoral epistles. The Latin order, which expresses the original uncertainty of the Pauline tradition, was formerly current even in the East.

[1] [§§ 5-9 of the present article have undergone very considerable revision, the view that the epistle was originally addressed to Jewish Christians being here abandoned.]

those who are not Jews. Nor could any such warning be necessary in the case of readers who so plainly were at one with the author of the epistle with regard to the Alexandrian allegorizing methods. Robertson Smith concedes that at least their ritualism seems to have been rather theoretical than practical, and goes on to say—and with truth—that among men of this type (of the Hellenistic Diaspora and of such a habit of thought as enabled them readily to sympathise with the typological method of our author) there was no great danger of a relapse into practical ceremonialism. They would rather be akin to the school of Judaism characterised by Philo (*De Migr. Abr.* 16, ed. Mangey, 1 450), who neglected the observance of the ceremonial laws because they took them as symbols of ideal things.

Over and above all this, however, we learn quite clearly from the admonitions of the letter itself, what were the dangers that threatened its readers.

Its theoretical expositions constantly end in exhortations to hold fast to the end their confession, their confidence, the firm convictions with which they had begun their Christian life, to draw near with boldness to the throne of grace in full assurance **of** faith, to serve God acceptably, earnestly to seek an entrance into rest, and so forth. On the usual assumption that the readers were Jewish Christians who were in danger of going back to Judaism, these are precisely the objects which they would have hoped to realise by taking this step. The exhortations expressed in such terms **as** these would not have been appropriate to their case.

Still more does this hold good **of** the negative precepts of the epistle. Assnming that they had thoughts of returning to Judaism, how could they have felt themselves touched by a warning not to depart from the living God **(3 12)**, not to reject him that is from heaven' **(τὸν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν, 12 25)**, not to despise **so** great salvation (2 3), not to sin willingly **(10** 26), not to tread under foot the Son of God, not to reckon the blood of the covenant an unholy thing, not to do despite to the spirit of grace **(10 29)**? How could they be expostulated with as if their proposed action proceeded from **ἀπείθεια (3 18 4 11)**, or from an evil heart of unbelief **(3 12)**, or as if they were being hardened in the deceitfulness of sin **(3 13)**, or in danger from regard to outward show, **and** from clinging sin **(12 1)**? How could the OT (Dt. **29** 18 [17]) figure of the root of bitterness **(12 15), or,** still more, that of Esau (12 16), appeal to them?

Such expressions as these can refer only to an open apostasy from Christianity out of very unworthy motives, and if applied to a proposed return to Judaism on religious motives working upon a pious but unenlightened conscience would be harsh, unreasonable, and tactless. The reproaches would seem so unjust to the person addressed as to lose all their force.

Further, the remonstrance in 6 1 *f.* would even be absolutely meaningless, for the points there named are for the most part positions that are common to Jews and Christians, and none of them touches upon what is distinctive of Christianity as contrasted with Judaism.

Nowhere does our author speak ***a*** word of warning against participation in heathen sacrifices. As causes of the apostasy that is feared, no prominence is given nor indeed is any mention made of any inclination to legalism. Indeed it was the exact opposite of this that was the temptation of the Israelites in the wilderness with whom the readers are compared **(3 1-4** 13). Apart from the references to moral infirmity in **12 1 3** the only positive fault that the author mentions in connection with the lesson drawn from his doctrine to use with diligence the specifically Christian way of access to God **(10 19 *f.*)** is a disposition to neglect the privileges of social worship (10 25). This, again, is plainly connected, not with an inclination to return to the synagogue, but with **a** relaxation of the zeal and patience of the first days of their Christian profession *(6* +$ 10 32 *f.* 12 1$), associated with **a** less firm hold than they once had of the essentials of Christian faith, a less clear vision of the heavenly hope of their calling **(3 12 4 11 5 12).**

The writer fears lest his readers fall away not merely from the higher standpoint of Christianity into Judaising practices, but from all faith in God and judgment and immortality (3 12 6 1 *f.*).

What, in fact, threatens to alienate the readers of the epistle from Christianity is the character of the outward circumstances in which they are placed. In this their case resembles that of Israel in the wilderness. This comes clearly into view in the second part of the epistle, in which the theological arguments are practically applied.

At the very outset **of** this second part (10 32-34) we learn that the readers have been passing through sore persecutions. How long these have lasted is not said; hut the present attitude of the readers is different from what it had been. Once they had kept steadfast; hut now their endurance threatens to give way; they are in danger of casting away their confidence. In chap. **11** they are pointed to the examples of a faith that triumphed over every obstacle, and exhorted to a similar conflict, even unto blood, inasmuch as Jesus has gone before them as the beginner and ender of faith **(12 1 *f.*)**. The writer grants that their circumstances are such as niay well make hands listless and knees feeble and souls weary and faint (12 3 12 *f.* 6 12); but the proper course is to take all this as **παιδεία (12 4-11)**, to remember the persecuted and imprisoned with true fellow-feeling **(13** 3), to find strength in recalling the memory of their departed teachers **(13 7)**, to go forth **ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς**—*i.e.*, in the allegorising style of the epistle, to quit the world (see below)—with Jesus, bearing his reproach **(13 13).**

Now it is quite true that troubles of the kind indicated might very well tend to tempt back to Judaism those who, originally Jews, had experienced on account of their Christianity persecution that contrasted with the religious freedom they had enjoyed as Jews. In that case, however, their Jewish character would certainly have appeared otherwise also—which, as we have seen, is not the case—or the theoretical ground-work on which the hortatory part proceeds must have aimed at depreciating the Jewish religion and bringing it into irreconcilable antithesis to the Christian. This is certainly not the tenor of chaps. 1-10. On the contrary, the close connection of Christianity with the old Covenant, and the high significance of the latter, is elaborated in every way; it is so at the very outset (1 1), and again in **22** 3 2-6 and elsewhere.

The argument in chaps. **7-10** is not intended to prove the abrogation of the law: it assumes it and proceeds upon it as an acknowledged fact: The elaborate description of the OT sacrificial system in 8 1-5 **9** 1-10 10 1-3 is at no point accompanied with a warning against participation in it. The author draws conclusions as to the glory of the new covenant from the significant ordinances of the old, which are regarded as shadows of the other; but his argumentation has not for its aim the desire to detach the readers from Judaism any more than has Philo's manner of proving from the OT the truth of his philosophy and ethics, which he regards as constituting its kernel.

The author knows no better way to prove the truth ***of*** Christianity than simply by showing that it is in every respect the complete fulfilment of all that was prefigured and promised in the OT, the record of the pre-Christian revelation of God.

This manner of using the OT in argument must not, however, be held to imply on the part of the readers a previous acquaintance with the OT, such as would have been possible only in the case of Jews. **A** similar line of argument is addressed in Gal. ***3f:*** 2 Cor. 3 10 *f.* to the Pauline, and admittedly Gentile, Christian communities of Galatia and Corinth; Philo also, addressing pagan readers, takes all his proofs from the OT.

The view that those originally addressed in the epistle were Jewish Christians, although supported by the ancient tradition implied in its superscription, must thus be given up. With this, the difficult problem of finding a local habitation for such a community disappears.

The following are the hypotheses as to the place **of** abode of the readers of the epistle that have been offered.

7. At Jerusalem? 1. To some writers 'the emphatic 'all' in **13** *24*, the admonitions in 10 25 13 17, have suggested the possibility that the Hebrews addressed were but part, a somewhat discontented part, of a larger community in which Gentile elements had a considerable place. This appears a strained conclusion (Phil. 4 21 1 Thes. 5 26), distinctly contrary to the general tone of the epistle, which moves altogether outside of the antithesis between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. We must think not of a party but of a church, apd such a church can be sought only in Palestine, or in one of the great centres of the Jewish dispersion.

That the epistle was addressed to Palestine, or more specifically to Jerusalem, has been a prevalent opinion from the time of Clement of Alexandria, mainly because it was assumed that the word Hebrews must naturally mean Jews whose mother-tongue was Aramaic. The

term has this restricted sense, however, only when put in contrast to Hellenists. In itself, according to ordinary usage, it simply denotes Jews by race, and in Christian writings especially Jewish Christians.

There are several things in the epistle that seem to exclude Palestine, and above all Jerusalem. The Hellenistic culture of the writer and the language in which he writes furnish one argument. Then the most marked proof of Christian love and zeal in the church addressed was that they had ever been assiduous in ministering to the saints (6 10). This expression may conceivably have a general sense (1 Cor. 16 15 ?); but it is far more likely that it has the specific meaning which it generally bears in the NT—viz., the collection of alms for the church in Jerusalem.

At any rate it was clearly understood in the first age of Christianity that the Judæan church took alms and did not give them, receiving in temporal things an acknowledgment for the spiritual things they had imparted (Rom. 15 27). In fact, the great weight laid in the epistles of Paul on this—the only manifestation of the catholicity of the church then possible (Gal. 2 10)—alone explains the emphasis with which our author cites this one proof of Christian feeling.

Again, the expressions in 2 3 already referred to imply that the readers did not include in their number direct disciples of Jesus, but had been brought to Christ by the words and miracles of apostolic missionaries now dead (13 7).

This conversion, as it appears from 10 32, was a thing of precise date immediately followed by persecution (note the aorists φωτισθέντες—ὑπεμείνατε). Accordingly we cannot suppose those addressed to represent a *second* generation in the Palestinian Church; we are referred to some part of the Diaspora.

Against these difficulties—which have led some of the defenders of the Palestinian address, as Grimm (who, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, '70, proposes Jamnia) and Moulton (*New Testament Commentary for English Readers*, vol. iii., '79), to give up Jerusalem altogether, whilst others, as Riehm, suppose that the Hellenists of Jerusalem (Acts 6 1) are primarily addressed [and B. Weiss thinks of the epistle as having been a circular to Palestine generally]—it is commonly urged that the readers are exposed to peculiar danger from the persecutions and solicitations of unbelieving Jews, that they are in danger of relapsing into participation in the Jewish sacrifices, or even that they appear to have never ceased to follow the ceremonial observances that had their centre in the temple ritual.

The capital argument for this is drawn from 13 13, where the exhortation to go forth to Jesus without the camp is taken as an injunction to renounce fellowship with the synagogue and with the ceremonies and ritual of Judaism. This exegesis, however, rests on a false view of the context which does not include *v.* 9, and expresses by a figure that Christians (as the priests of the new covenant) have no temporal advantage to expect by their participation in the sacrifice of Christ, but must he content to share his reproach, renouncing this earthly country for the heavenly kingdom (cp 11 16 25-27 with 13 14 Phil. 3 20).

Altogether, this view of the situation of the first readers of the epistle appears distorted or exaggerated.

It is obvious that our Hebrews were familiar with the law, and had a high regard for the ordinances of temple worship. In particular it appears that they had not fully understood how the mediatorial functions of the OT were superseded by the mediatorship of Christ. Their ritualism, however, seems to have been rather theoretical than practical. Had they been actually entangled in the daily practice of superseded ordinances, the author, whose insight into the true worth of these ordinances is clear, and whose personal relations to the Pauline circle are obvious, could hardly have been so nearly one of themselves as appears in 13 19, and at any rate could not have failed to give an express precept on the subject. On the contrary, he is in thorough sympathy with the type of doctrine on which their church was formed (13 7); the easy way in which he touches on the 'meats and drinks and divers washings' of Judaism seems to show that on this head he could count on carrying his readers along with him; and 13 9 hardly refers to sacrifices or to Levitical laws of clean and unclean, but rather to some such form of asceticism (cp 5 4) as is spoken of in Rom. 14 [or, still more probably, to the question discussed in 1 Cor. 8-10, about the eating of meat that has been offered to idols].

Nowhere does our author speak a warning against participation in sacrifices; nowhere does he touch on the burning questions that divided the Pharisaic Christians of Jerusalem from the converts of Paul.

8. Alexandria.

2. This accordingly has led other critics to think of one or other of the centres of the Diaspora. Hofmann suggests Antioch; Ewald,[1] Ravenna; but Rome and Alexandria are the places for and against which most has been said. One argument for Alexandria on which great stress has been laid must certainly be dismissed. Wieseler (*Untersuchung über den Hebräerbrief*, 2 ['61]), combining the arguments against a Palestinian address with the impression, which we have seen to be without sufficient foundation, that the readers lived in the neighbourhood of a Jewish temple, seeks them among the Egyptian Jews who frequented the schisniatical temple of Leontopolis. See HERES, CITY OF.

Wieseler tries to show that in his description of the temple and the functions of the high priests our author diverges from the Judæan pattern and follows peculiarities of the Egyptian temple. This argument, however, rests on a series of improbable assumptions. The supposed peculiarities of Onias's temple are proved by arbitrary exegesis from passages of Philo, who apparently never thought of that temple at all. Nor can it be shown that it had ever such a reputation as to play the part which Wieseler assigns to it.

Moreover, our author's supposed ignorance of the Jerusalem ritual is not made out.

In the true text of 10 11 the high priest is not mentioned, and in 7 27 the phrase καθ' ἡμέραν does not mean 'daily,' but 'on every appointed day,' that is, ever again and again.

It is more difficult to understand why in 9 4 the golden θυμιατήριον, that is, the censer or incense-altar,—for the usage of the word does not determine which is meant,—is assigned to the Holy of Holies. A passage from the almost contemporary *Apocalypse of Baruch* (6 7, see ed. Charles, p. 168), however, to which Harnack has directed attention (*St. Kr.*, '76, p. 572 *f.*), similarly connects the censer with the Holy of Holies, and seems to show that our author here proceeds on a current opinion and has not simply made a slip.[2]

For Alexandria no further arguments can be adduced. The use in chap. 11 of 2 Macc., an Egyptian Apocryphon [and of the Book of Wisdom, perhaps also of Philo's writings], and the general sympathy of the argument with Alexandrian thought, can at best be adduced as proving something with regard to the writer, but not with regard to the readers. Against Alexandria, on the other hand, is the whole history of the epistle. It was in Rome that it first became known; in Alexandria, when evidence of its presence there becomes forthcoming during the last third of the second century, men have ceased to be aware that Paul is not its author. If, however, the original recipients of the epistle were not Jewish Christians (above, § 5 *f.*) there is no need to think of Alexandria, which presented itself to men's minds only in the search for a place where a community of Jewish Christians might be conceived to have existed.

Among Continental scholars the disposition at present is to favour the Roman address.

9. Probably Rome.

It is true that as long as the Jewish character of the addressees is maintained there is a great deal to be said against regarding Rome as their home. In that case one must, to begin with, assume that, even in the post-Pauline period, either the Roman church consisted mainly of believers who had been born Jews (which even for the Pauline period is justly called in question by the most recent investigators), or that, assuming the Roman church to have been a mixed one, the letter was originally directed to a Jewish section of the Roman Christians. This is not quite plausible, especially since we find in the epistle no trace of the division of parties alluded to by Paul in his epistle from Rome to the Philippians.

As soon, however, as the Gentile character of the addressees is conceded, everything else fits admirably with the assumption that the epistle was directed to

1 *Das Sendschreiben an die Hebräer und Jakobus Rundschreiben, übersetzt und erklärt* Gottingen, '70.

2 The Syriac word in Baruch is *Pirmā*. To the passages cited by Harnack to establish for this word the sense of censer, not incense altar, may be added Bar Ali, ed. Hoffmann, No. 2578; Barhebr. *Chron. Eccl.* 507; Ezek. 8 11 (Pesh. and Syr. Hex.).

Rome, where it was read as early as in the days of Clem. Rom. The salutation by 'those of Italy' (οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας : 1324) permits the inference that not only the entourage of the writer, but also thereaders, had some relations with Italy. As the writer, as well as 'those of Italy,' is away from his own home, it is not too much to infer that both are in the same case—that both the writer and those who join in the salutation have their home in Italy. The Roman church had, as presupposed of the readers here, received the gospel through intermediary persons. From the beginning also it had had to suffer persecution. The atrocities of Nero had been confined to Rome. Chap. 13 7 could apply very specially to Peter and Paul. If it be thought that the same episode is referred to in 10 33, the word θεατριζόμενοι ('made a gazing-stock') would he intended to be taken literally. 1 Cor. 49, however, leaves room also for a less literal meaning. There is much to he said for the view that there were two persecutions, in the midst of the second of which the readers at present are, although as yet there has been no actual shedding of blood (cp Von Soden, *Hebr.* vi.).

On this assumption we should have to think, if Rome be the place, of the reign of Domitian (others suggest that of Trajan). The many coincidences between our epistle and that to the Romans are explained most easily in this way. That Hippolytus no longer has any knowledge about the author of the letter is no objection to the view at present being set forth. The address of the epistle was doubtless lost soon after it had been received. It would not take long for the name of the writer also to drop into oblivion, especially when the church was passing through such troublous times. It is impossible to tell whether the writer's hope of one day revisiting the afflicted church was ever renlised.

10. Date. It has generally been argued that the epistle to the Hebrews, which describes the temple services in the present tense, must necessarily have been written before they ceased to be performed. It has been shown in the most conclusive manner, however, from the similar use of the present tense in Rabbinical writers as well as in Josephus and elsewhere, that this argument goes for nothing—especially as our Alexandrian theologian is dealing, not with external facts, but with truths which continue valid whether the temple he standing or not—and the most recent writers, since Holtzmann's discussion of the subject in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, 2623 *f.*, generally admit that the epistle may have been written after the fall of the temple. If this be so it can hardly be questioned that the most natural view of the apostle's argument, as it comes to a point in such passages as 8 13 9 9, is that the disappearance of the obsolete ritual of the old covenant is no blow to Christian faith, because in Christ ascended into glory the Church possesses in heavenly verity all that the old ritual presented in mere earthly symbol. It was the ruin of the Jewish state and worship that compelled Christianity to find what is offered in our epistle—a theory of the disappearance of the old dispensation in the new.

For attempts to determine the date of the epistle more precisely, see the close of the preceding section.

11. Literary and theological character. The author shows himself fully aware of the intellectual movements of the Christianity of his time (so far as these are known to us). He is acquainted with the theology, and with some of the letters, of Paul; he shares Paul's view that the followers of Christ are the people of God, the true successors of the people Israel, but freed from all the external ordinances imposed upon the latter in the OT. Within the Christian community he recognises no distinction between Jew and Gentile. The whole problem as to these distinctions has for him disappeared. In seeking to arrive at an intelligent view of the Christian redemption, and at a right appreciation of the relation of the New Covenant to the Old, from which it proceeded and in which it passed through its initial stages, he follows a path entirely his own, and shows himself to be an original thinker in no way dependent on Paul. 1 Peter, Ephesians, and the writings of 'Luke' show closer affinities with his epistle. Their authors seem all to have been influenced by him; or at least they move in the same sphere—a region of thought which he alone, however, has systematically surveyed and is able to set forth with classical exactness. The movement of primitive Christianity which finds its highest expression in the Fourth Gospel and 1 John is only the ripest fruit of a growth to the maturing of which his way of looking at things contributed most, next to Paul. The epistle of Clement of Rome shows his dominating influence no less, though in a much more mechanical way; the one is the shadow of the other.

The author is the most 'cultured' of all the primitive Christian writers, with the possible exception of 'Luke.' He has a rich vocabulary at his command, and uses it with great skill. His epistle is full of rhetoric, and has the character of an urgent address more than of a letter. Cp EPISTOLARY LITERATURE.

The epistle is constructed in accordance with the rules of the later Greek rhetoric: 1 1-4 13, προοίμιον πρὸς εὔνοιαν with statement of the πρόθεσις; 4 14-6 20, διήγησις πρὸς πιθανότητα; 7 1-10 18, ἀπόδειξις πρὸς πειθώ; 10 19-13 21 ἐπίλογος, deducing the practical conclusions and pressing them home.

The writer is master of the Greek OT, down to minute details, and has thoughtfully and intelligently considered the Jewish ritual system. He is acquainted with Hellenistic literature (Wisdom of Solomon; cp § 3, n. 1) and, whether as a diligent disciple or as an independent intellectual kinsman of Philo, understands the Alexandrian method of spiritualising literal facts and appreciating their significance. His main interest, however, is in religion, not in mere speculation, although in immediacy of experience and in spiritual depth he cannot compare with Paul.

Although we may not know his name, we have what is better, a piece of spiritual self-portraiture by his own hand—one of the most precious possessions of Christendom, a picture full of character, clearly and finely drawn. Perhaps the eye of Luther was not mistaken in reading the signature as that of Apollos; all that we know of Apollos—his origin, his individuality, his relation to Paul—admirably agrees with the self-portraiture of this anonymous writer.

This Apollos—or whoever he may he—was the leader of those Alexandrian thinkers whose vocation it was to present Christianity in such a form as would admit of its being appropriated by the ancient world of culture, but who at the same time, as the process went on, exceeding their vocation, so involved the simple religious kernel in speculations that interest was more and more concentrated on this until at last—must it be said?—the kernel was lost sight of and disappeared. For this last result, however, Apollos cannot he held responsible; on the contrary, in universal history he has the noble distinction of having been the first to lead Alexandria to Bethlehem.

12. Literature. A full account of the older literature will be found in Delitzsch's *Commentary;* and in the great work of Bleek (*Der Brief an die Hebräer erläutert durch Einleitung, Uebersetzung, und fortlaufenden Commentar:* Abth. I., *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung*, Berlin, '28; Abth. II., *Uebersetzung und Commentar*, '36, '40), which has formed the basis for all subsequent work on the epistle, and is an indispensable storehouse of material for the student. Bleek's ultimate views on the exposition of the book may be gathered from the briefer posthumous work edited by Windrath (Elberfeld, '68). To the recent commentaries cited in the course of the article may be added those of Ebrard ('50; ET, Edinburgh, 53); Tholuck(3) ('50, ET, Edinburgh, '42); Lüneinann (?) (Göttingen, '67); H. Kurtz (Mitau, '69); B. Weiss in Meyer's *Comm.*; Westcott(2) ('92); A. B. Davidson ('82). For the doctrine of the epistle the most elaborate work is Riehm's very useful *Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefs* (Ludwigsburg, '58-'59); with which, in addition to the general works on NT theology by Weiss, Reuss, Beyschlag,

Stevens, and others, the reader may compare Ritschl's *Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche*(2), 159 *f.* (Bonn, '57), Pfleiderer's *Paulinismus*, chap. 9 (Leipsic, '73, '90), *Urchristenthum* (Berlin, (2), '87), and (for the latest advocate of Barnabas) Ayles, *Destination, Date, and Authorship of the Ep. to the Hebrews* ('99). An excellent summary of the present state of the critical questions hearing on the epistle is given by Zahn in the art. 'Hebraerbrief' in PREP). W. R. S.–H. v. S.

[Harnack ('Probabilia üb. die Adresse u. den Verfasser des H.-briefs,' *ZNTW* 1 16 *ff.* [1900]) accepts the results of Zahn (*Einl.* 2 110 *ff.*) as decisive, viz. that the epistle was addressed to a small circle of Christians (a *Hausgemeinde*) within a large and complex Christian community—the Roman—and most ingeniously argues that the author of the epistle was Prisca, the wife of Aquila. See PRISCA.]

HEBRON (חֶבְרוֹן, 'league' [BDB], χεβρων [BAL]), one of the oldest and most important cities of S. Jndah, supposed to have been founded seven years before Tanis (Nu. 13 22, see ZOAN),[1] is the mod. *el-Ḫalīl* (see below), situated about midway between Beer-sheba and Jerusalem.

1. History. Little is known of the history of Hebron. According to Josh. 15 13 *f.* it was taken by CALEB [*q.v.*, § 2], who overthrew its three chieftains AHIMAN (1), SHESHAI, and TALMAI [1] (see ANAKIM), and changed its name from Kirjath-arba (קִרְיַת־אַרְבַּע) to Hebron. This move may probably form part of the 'Calebite' migration from Kadesh in Muṣri to the N., fragmentary notices of which may be discovered in JE (see EXODUS i., § 6; KADESH i., § 3).[2] Since other clans besides Caleb shared in this move (see JERAHMEEL, KENITES), one is tempted to conjecture that the new name of Kirjath-arba was derived from the confederation of these allies.

On this view the immigrants were of Miṣrite origin, a supposition which may illuminate some obscure details in the patriarchal legends which centre around Hebron (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). If, too, our interpretation of the genealogy in 1 Ch. 2 34 *ff.* he correct (see JARHA, SHESHAN), we actually possess a record of a marriage alliance with older inhabitants of the district.

Earlier than this we can scarcely ascend. The identification of Hebron with the *Khibur* in the lists of Rameses III., suggested by Sayce (*RP*(2) 6 32 39, *HCM* 333, cp 336 *f.*) is most improbable (cp Moore, *Judg.* 24 n.), nor are we obliged to connect the name with the Ḫabiri of the Am. Tab., who overran Canaan in the fourteenth century B.C. On the other band, it is just possible that Kirjath-'Arba' (the earlier name of Hebron) is no other than the *Rubûte* mentioned in the same records.[3]

Under David Hebron attained considerable prominence. He had already been on friendly terms with its inhabitants (cp 1 S. 30 31), and on his departure from ZIKLAG he made it his royal city and the base of his operations against Jerusalem (2 S. 2 1-3; see DAVID, § 6). Here he is said to have reigned for seven years, his position being rendered secure by alliances with the surrounding districts (cp DAVID, § 11, col. 1032). The conquest and occupation of Jerusalem gave the opportunity for those who had chafed under David's rule to revolt. Absalom, who had spent some time at the court of his grandfather Talmai[4] in GESHUR (*q.v.*, 2), made Hebron his centre, and was supported by such prominent S. Judæan officers as Ahithophel (cp GILOH) and Amasa. The result of the rebellion is well known, and when—at a later time—another revolt occurred, the whole of this district supported the king (2 S. 20 2; see SHEBA [ii., 1]).[5]

Hebron was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 10), and remained Jewish (cp Neh. 11 25) until it was seized by the Edomites in their movement northwards (see EDOM, § 9). It was recovered again by Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5 65 Jos. *Ant.* xii. 86). During the great war it was taken by Simon Giorides, but was recaptured and burnt by Cerealis, an officer of Vespasian (Jos. *BJ* iv. 979).

2. Traditions. A place of such importance could not be without its traditions, and in the patriarchal representations we find it closely connected with the figure of ABRAHAM (*q.v.*, A [i.]). His sori. however (see ISAAC, § 5, end), belongs rather to the more southerly district, and though the 'vale of Hebron' (עֵמֶק חֶבְרוֹן) is once associated with Jacob (Gen. 37 14), it is probable that either the text is corrupt (see JOSEPH, ii., § 3, where 'Beeroth' is proposed; cp also EPHRATH, 1), or else 'Hebron' has been inserted by a harmonising redactor.[1] Nor does the cycle of Samson-legends contain any perfectly safe reference to Hebron, for in Judg. 16 3 we should very possibly read SHARUHEN [*q.v.*]. But what better expression of Hebron's primæval sanctity could there be than Abraham's altar (Gen. 13 18, J), or than the cave of MACHPELAH [*q.v.*] where Abraham and Isaac[2] were said to have been buried; or than the ancient 'oaks' (rather 'oak') connected with the name of MAMRE? Accordingly we find Hebron recognised in the time of David as pre-eminently the holy city of Judah[3] (2 S. 5 3 15 7).

Hehron gave its name to a family of Levites (see next art., and cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v.]), and P makes it a city of refuge (Josh. 21 13), and assigns it to the b'ne Aaron (1 Ch. 6 55 [40]).

Later generalising tradition believed that Caleb's conquest of Hebron[4] was due to the initiative of Joshua (Josh. 15 13), or inconsistently made its capture part of a great S. Palestinian campaign in which Joshua took the leading part (Josh. 10 *ff.*); see JOSHUA.

3. Modern town. From the time of Josephus onwards the traditional tombs of the patriarchs formed the great attraction of Hebron, and the name 'Castle of Abraham' from being applied to these structures by an easy transition was applied to the city itself till in the time of the crusades the names of 'Hebron' and 'Castle of Abraham' were used interchangeably. Hence since Abraham is known among the Mohammedans as *Ḫalīl Allah*, 'the friend of God,' their name for Hebron is 'the town of the friend of God,' or briefly *el-Ḫalīl*.

The modern town lies low down on the sloping sides of a narrow valley, to the W. of which on the hill *Rumeideh* lay the ancient Hebron. Still farther to the W. is the traditional 'oak of Abraham' (see MAMRE). To the E. of the hill is the *'Aïn Sara*, the probable scene of the murder of Abner (see SIRAH, WELL OF). The environs are very fertile. Vineyards and plantations of fruit-trees, chiefly olive-trees, cover the valleys and arable grounds, and it has therefore been customary to seek for ESHCOL [*q.v.*, 1] in the neighbourhood (for another view see NEGEB). The chief antiquities of the place consist of ruins of ancient walls on the hill Rumeideh, two large reservoirs (Birket el-Ḳâzzâzin and B. es-Sulṭân)—the latter of which has been identified with the pool mentioned in 2 S. 4 12—and the famous Ḥarâm which, tradition states, encloses the grave of Machpelah. On the sites of Hebron see *PEFQ*, '81, pp. 266-271, and on the contents, etc., of the Ḥarâm see Conder, *PEFQ*, '82, p. 197 = *Survey of W. Pal., Memoirs*, 3 333 *ff.*; cp *Tentwork*, 2 79-86. S. A. C.

HEBRON (חֶבְרוֹן; χεβρων [BADFL]).

1. b. Kohath, b. Levi (Ex. 6 18 [P], Nu. 3 19 [P], 1 Ch. 6 18 [3] 23 12), eponym of the **Hebronites** (הַחֶבְרֹנִי; ὁ χεβρων(ε)ι(ς) [BAFL]; Nu. 3 27 [P], 26 58 [P] χεβρων [A], 1 Ch. 26 23, χεβρων [BAL] 30 *f.*) or Bne Hebron (1 Ch. 15 9 23 19); see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (v.). Hebron (see preceding art., § 2) was a Levitical city. According to

[1] Josephus says (*BJ* iv. 9 7) that it was founded before Memphis and was 2300 years old.

[2] Cp Caleb's expedition to Hebron in the oldest account of the story of the spies (Nu. 13); see Bacon, *Trip. Trad. Ex.* 177 *ff.* Hebron appears, appropriately enough, in the Calebite genealogical lists (1 Ch. 2 42).

[3] So Hommel, *AHT* 231, n. 3; see, however, REHOBOTH. The view that the name Kirjath-arba ('city-four'?) is derived from the circumstance that four patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam) were buried here, or that the town was divided into four quarters—as was formerly the case with the mod. *el-Ḫalīl* (*ZDMG* 12 487; Baed.(3) 135 speaks of seven quarters)—may he mentioned here.

[4] The name is identical with that of one of the 'sons of Anak' expelled from Hebron.

[5] The view adopted above rests upon the belief (*a*) that 2 S. 13-20 has been heavily redacted; (*b*) that the rebellion of Absalom happened early in David's reign (cp JOAB, 1), previous to his wars (2 S. 8 10; cp SHOBI); and (*c*) that the revolt of SHEBA (ii., 1) has been artificially appended to the rebellion (see *AJSL* 16 159 *f.* 164 166 *ff.* [1900]).

[1] So Kue. (*Hex.* § 13, n. 7) Kautzsch-Socin, Holzinger.

[2] The redactor includes Jadob; cp Gen. 37 14 above.

[3] Note that in 1 K. 3 4 Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2 1) reads 'Hebron' for 'Gibeon' (see GIBEON, § 2).

[4] In Judg. 1 10 the deed is ascribed to Judah; but see Moore, *ad loc.*

1 Ch. 26 30 *f.* both Hashabiah and Jerijah were Hebronite Levites. The latter's name and position is substantiated by 23 19; but the enumeration of the four Levitical subdivisions in 26 23 suggests that לחברוני as applied to Hashabiah (*v.* 30) is simply a blunder for לַעֲמְרָמִי (to the Amramites), or לָעֻזִּיאֵלִי (to the Uzzielites); observe that in *v.* 29 the Izharites are mentioned.'

2. In 1 Ch. 2 42 Hebron figures in the Calebite genealogy. See HEBRON i., § 1, n. 2. S. A. C.

HEBRON, RV EBRON (עֶבְרֹן), Josh. 19 28, an error for ABDON (*q.v.*, i.).

HEDGE. 1. The word for a thorn-hedge is מְסוּכָה, *mĕsūkah* (‖ חֵדֶק, *ḥēdek*, see BRIAR, 6; Mic. 7 4†; 𝔊 differs) or מְשׂוּכָה, *mĕsūkkāh*; φραγμός (‖ גָּדֵר, *gādēr*, see below; Is. 5 5†). See AGRICULTURE, § 5.

2. גָּדֵר, *gādēr*, and גְּדֵרָה, *gĕdērāh*, are frequently rendered 'hedge' in AV; RV substitutes 'fence' in all cases, except in Ps. 89 40, where 'hedge' is retained, and in 1 Ch. 4 23, where GEDERAH [*q.v.*], 2] is given.

3. φραγμός ('hedge' in Mt. 21 33 Mk. 12 1 Lk. 14 23, 'partition' in Eph. 2 14) is 𝔊's rendering of מְשׂוּכָה; also of גדר in Nu. 22 24 Ezra 9 9 Ps. 62 3 [4] 80 12 [13] Prov. 24 31 Eccl. 10 8, and of גדרה in Ps. 89 40 [41] Nah. 3 17.

HEGAI (הֵגַי), keeper of the harem of Ahasuerus (שֹׁמֵר הַנָּשִׁים, Esth. 2 8 γαι [BKALP], *v.* 15 [B℞c.a Lβ]); in *v.* 3 called הֵגֶא (so Ba., Ginsb.) **Hege**, RVmg., RV HEGAI (BAKL om.). The name is probably Persian; Rodiger compares Ἡγίας, the name of a courtier of Xerxes (Ctesias, *Pers.* 24).

Marq. *Fund.* 71, however, noticing that in 2 3 Esth. Lα has γωγαιου and in *ib.* 8 βουγαιῷ, identifies the name with BIGVAI [*q.v.*].

In *v.* 14 (Γαι [B℞c.a Lβ], Γαιος [℞*], Τε [A]), SHAASHGAZ (שַׁעַשְׁגַז, *susagazi* [Vg.], *šangašgšīr* [Pesh.]), the keeper of the concubines (שֹׁמֵר הַפִּילַגְשִׁים), would appear to be a different personage, although 𝔊BKL reads γαι[ος], thus identifying him with Hegai.

HEIFER. See generally CATTLE.

The EV rendering of (1) פָּרָה, *pārāh*, in Nu. 19 2 5, etc., Hos. 4 16. In Nu. *l.c.* for the ritual of the 'red heifer' (פרה אדמה, *pārāh 'ădummāh*) see CLEAN, § 17.

2. עֶגְלָה, *'eglāh*, Gen. 15 9 Judg. 14 18 Jer. 46 20 Hos. 10 11; cp עגלת בקר, *'eglath bāķār*, Dt. 21 3 1 S. 16 2 Is. 7 21, and see EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH.

3. δάμαλις, Heb. 9 13 (referring to Nu. 19 2), cp Tob. 1 5, and see CALF, GOLDEN, § 2, n. 1.

HELAH (חֶלְאָה; αλαα [A]), a wife of ASHHUR, the father of Tekoa; 1 Ch. 4 5 7 (*v.* 5, αωδα [B], ελαα [L]; *v.* 7, λοαδας [B*], θο. [Bb], ελεα [L]). See NAARAH.

HELAM (חֵילָם; in *v.* 17 חֵלָאמָה, Ḳrē חֵלָמָה; αιλαμ [BA], of which χαλαμακ [B], χαλααμα [L], inserted in *v.* 16 after του ποταμου, are misplaced variants),[2] a place 'beyond the river' (*i.e.*, W. of the Euphrates), near which the Syrians under Hadadezer are said to have been defeated by David (2 S. 10 16 *f.*[3]; χαλααμα [L]); probably Aleppo, the Halman of the Assyrian Inscriptions. 𝔊 seems to have read the name in Ezek. 47 16 (ηλ[ε]ιαμ [BAQ]), and assuming this to be correct we might infer that Helam lay between the territory of Damascus and that of Hamath, probably not far from SIBRAIM [*q.v.*], which is mentioned just before. This may have been the view of the translator of 𝔊 in Ezekiel; but it would be hasty to assume its correctness. The place associated with the traditional defeat of the Syrians (see DAVID, § 8 6) must have been some famous and ancient city. Such a place was Aleppo, which is mentioned in Egyptian records between 2000 and 1000 B.C., and by Shalmaneser II. (860-824 B.C.), to whom it surrendered without a siege, whereupon Shalmaneser sacrificed to Dadda the god of Halman. (So G. Hoffm., *Phon. Inschr.* 39; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 314; Peters, *Nippur*, 177.) T. K. C.

HELBAH (חֶלְבָּה, 'fat'; cp AHLAB; χεβλα [B], σχεδιαν[1] [A], ελβα [L]), a Canaanite town within the nominal territory of Asher (Judg. 1 31, and Josh. 19 25 emended text, see HALI). Schrader (*KAT*, *ad loc.*; cp *KB* 2 90 *f.*) and Delitzsch (*Par.* 284) compare the Maḫalliba of the Prism inscription of Sennacherib, and, with Moore, we cannot doubt that they are right. Maḫalliba is a Phœnician town mentioned with Sidon, Bit-zitti, Sariptu, Ušu, Akzibi. and Akko, and, to judge from the order of the names, must have lain between Sariptu (Zarephath) and Ušu (see HOSAH). If we may assume that AHLAB (*q.v.*) and Helbah are variations of the same name, this Assyrian inscription gives us reason to think that Helbah is nearer the correct form than Ahlab. T. K. C.

HELBON (חֶלְבּוֹן, χελβω[ν] [BQ], χεβρων [A]), the wine of which is noticed by Ezekiel (27 18) as one of the articles exported from Damascus to Tyre, is surely the present Halbiin 13 m. NNW. of Damascus in the E. offshoots of Antilibanus. Ḥalbūn, whose antiquity is indicated by the Greek inscriptions found in it, lies at the top of the fertile wādy of the same name, the upper end of which not only bears the marks of ancient vineyard terraces, but also still has the vine as its staple produce, and is famed for producing the best grapes in the country (Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, 1 323 *f.*). An inscription of Nebuchadrezzar (IR. 65, cp JAVAN, § 1 *g*) speaks of the dedication of wine from '(the country of) Hi-il-bu-nim' and another Assyrian list of wines (II. *R.* 44) includes the wine of Hil-bu-nu.

Strabo (15 735) describes the Syrian wine from Halubôn, οἶνον ἐκ Συρίας τὸν Χαλυβώνιον as drunk in the court of Persia. The Χαλυβων of Ptol. v. 15 17 is hardly the same place (see COT 2 121). Cp further *ZDPV* 8 37, Del. *Pur.* 281, Waddington, *Inscr.* 25,526. G. A. S.

HELCHIAR, AV Helchias (χελκ(ε)ιου [BAL]), 1 Esd. 8 1 = Ezra 7 1, HILKIAH.

HELDAI (חֶלְדַּי) [probably to be vocalised Ḥoldai or Huldai; cp readings below, and HULDAH], or perhaps more correctly חֹלֶד, Ḥōled, 'weasel'; cp again HULDAH, and note the form HELED (rather Holed) below, also the Sab. name חלד, in DHM *Ep. Denk.* 35); otherwise we might explain 'long-lived'; see NAMES, §§ 67 *f.*

1. b. Baanah the Netophathite, one of David's heroes, in Ch. one of his twelve captains (1 Ch. 27 15, χολδεια [B], -δαι [A], ολδια [L], *HOLDAI* [Vg.]). The name also appears under the shortened form HELED (1 Ch. 11 30, חֵלֶד, χθαοδ [B], χοαδδ [℞],[2] ελαδ [A], αλ. [L], *HELED* [Vg.]), and the corrupt HELEB (2 S. 23 29, חֵלֶב om. B, αλαφ [A], αλλαν [L], *HELED* [Vg.]).

2. One of a deputation of Babylonian Jews, temp. Zerubbabel, see JOSIAH 2, ZERUBBABEL (Zech. 6 10, ολδα [Aq.], *HOLDAI* [Vg.]; in *v.* 14, by an error (די became ם or ם), HELEM, חֵלֶם, which 𝔊 misunderstands[3]; ελεμ [Aq. Theod.], *helem* [Vg.], ܚܠܡ [Pesh. in both]).

HELEB (חֵלֶב), 2 S. 23 29. See HELDAI, 1.

HELED (חֵלֶד), 1 Ch. 11 30. See HELDAI, 1.

[1] If we omit the parenthesis in *v.* 31 ('even of the Hebronites . . . Gilead'), the close similarity between 30*a* and 32*a* becomes very striking.

[2] Jos. (Ant. vii. 6 3), following L but misunderstanding the expression τὸν Σύρον, makes χαλαμας the name of the Syrian king.

[3] In the parallel passage 1 Ch. 19 חלם is omitted in *v.* 16; but in *v.* 17 it has been corrupted into אליהם ('unto them') and also (corruptly) repeated in ויערך אליהם (the latter is omitted, however, by L and the Gr. of the *Compl. Polyg.*).

[1] There is a place of this name in 3 Macc. 4 11, four schœne from Alexandria (Strabo).

[2] XBAOA and *XOAAA* apparently originate from *XOAOA* and XOAAΔ—*i.e.*, חֹלֶד—which is probably the correct vocalisation here.

[3] *v.* 10, τῶν ἀρχόντων [B℞AQΓ]; *v.* 14, τοις ὑπομένουσιν [B℞AQΓ], τοις πομενουσιν; Αὐπ. αὐτόν [Ba.b]. In *v.* 14 Symm. apparently read חֹלֵם (τῷ ὁρῶντι ἐνύπνια).

HELEK (חֵלֶק), a Manassite and Gileadite clan (Josh. 17 2, κελεζ [B], φελεκ [A], ελ. [L]; Nu. 26 30, χελεγ [B], -εκ [AL], -εχ [F]; patronymic הַחֶלְקִי, **Helekite**, Nu. **2630** (χελεγει [B], -εκι [AFL]). Cp LIKHI.

HELEM (הֵלֶם). **1.** A name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii. and n.) (1 Ch. 7 35).

ובן־הלם אחיו is represented by *καὶ βαλααμ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ* [B], *και υἱὸς* && *ἀδ.* *d*. [A], *καὶ υἱοὶ ιασουλ ἀδελφοῦ αὐ.* [L]. In *v.* **32** the name is HOTHAM (*q.v.*, 1).

2. A Babylonian Jew, temp. Zerubhabel (Zech. 6 14, *τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν* [BℵAQΓ]), miswritten for HELDAI; cp HELDAI, 2.

HELEPH (חֵלֶף; μοολαμ [B], μελεφ [A], μεελεφ [L]), a place-name (?) in Naphtali (Josh. 19 33†).

חלף, however, does not look much like a place-name; hence **5** regards מ as part of the name. The text is corrupt, and 𝔊B suggests the (probable) remedy. מחלף (𝔊B read מחלם) has arisen out of a dittographed בְּבֶלֶם, the letters of which were transposed, and partly corrupted. 'From Heleph' should therefore be omitted, and the derivation of ALPHÆUS (*q.v.*) from 'the place-name Heleph' abandoned. T. K. C.

HELEZ (חֶלֶץ, חֵלֶץ) probably should be חִלֵּץ, an abbreviated name, '[God] has delivered,' 5 50; χελλης [BℵAL]).

1. The Pelonite or PALTITE [*q.v.*] (1 Ch. 27 10, *χεσλης* [B]; 1 Ch. **1127**, *ελλης* [L]; 2 S. **2326**, *σελλης* [B, -ς precedes], *ελλης* [A], *χαλλης* [L]).

2. A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 39, *αλλαν* [L]). Cp Elusa (BERED i.).

HELI. 1. (*ELI*) ancestor of Ezra (4 Esd. 1 1), see ELI.

2. (*ηλει* [Ti. WH]) the father of Joseph, Mary's husband according to Lk. 3 23 (called Jacob in Mt. 1 16). See GENEALOGIES ii. The commentators have misunderstood a Talmudic passage (Jer. Talm. *Chag.* 77 *b*) to mean that Miriam or Mary was known as ברת עלי, 'daughter of Eli.' The mistake **is** set right by G. A. Cooke, *Expos.*, Oct. '95, 316 *ff.*

HELIAS (*HELIAS* [ed. Bensly]), **4** Esd. 7 39 AV; RV ELIJAH.

HELIODORUS (ηλ[ε]ιοδωρος [VA]; but in 37 ιλιοδωρος [V*], and so 𝔊V in *vv.* 8, 13, and 5 18). The chancellor (*ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων*) of Seleucus IV., Philopator, whom he murdered, and hoped in vain to succeed (App. *Syr.* **45**; cp Liv. **4124**); 2 Macc. 3 1-**41.** The picturesque story of the horse with the terrible rider dashing into the temple precinct, and trampling the sacrilegious officer of the Syrian king under foot, is well known; Dante in poetry (*Purgat.* **20113**) and Raphael on the walls of the Vatican have given it fresh life. According to the author of the so-called 4 Macc., who turns the story to account for edification, it was APOLLONIUS [*q.v.*, 1] who attempted **to** plunder the Jewish temple.

The story may have a historical kernel; Jason of Cyprus was often well informed (see MACCABEES, SECOND, **§ 3**). We know that the priests of Delphi, when their treasures were threatened by Xerxes, knew how to protect them (Herod. 8 37 *ff.*); cp also the story in Paus. 10 23.

That Heliodorus was the 'chancellor' (RV; see 2 Macc. 10 11 13 2 3 Macc. 7 1; and cp 1 Macc. 3 32 2 Macc. 37 13 23; similarly Polyb., Jos.) and not the 'treasurer' (AV *χρημάτων* with Cod. **19**, etc., for *πραγμάτων*) is shown by an inscription in which Heliodorus, son of Æschylus, of Antioch, the *σύντροφος* (or intimate friend, cp MANAEN) of King Seleucus Philopator, is described as *ἐπὶ τῶν πρα[γμάτων] τεταγμένον.*

There is also another inscription referring to the same Heliodorus who is, according to Homolle and Deissmann, the Heliodorus) of the Jewish story. If so, Heliodorus deserved a better fate than to be immortalised as a robber of temples. Let us leave the name of the author of the attempted outrage uncertain. See Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 171-75 ('95).

HELIOPOLIS. See ON.

HELKAI (חֶלְקָי, abbrev. from Hilkiah), head of the priestly B'ne Meraioth (or Meremoth) in the time of the high-priest Joiakim (see EZRA ii., §§ 6 *b*, 11), Neh. 12 15 (Bℵ*A om., *ελκαι* [ℵc.a mg. inf.], *χελκιας* [L]).

HELKATH (חֶלְקַת, 'portion'? Josh. 19 25, ελεκεθ [B], χελκαθ [A], ελ. [L]; or חֶלְקָת, ib. 21 31, χελκατ [B], θελκαθ [A], χαλ. [L]), once, by a textual error, HUKOK (חוּקֹק, 1 Ch. 6 60 [75], ικακ [B], ιακ. [Aa], ακωκ [L]), an unidentified Asherite locality.[1] The name, if correct, is virtually identical with the forms *ḥaḳaru*, *ḥuḳrua*, etc. ('district'), which occur no fewer than eight times in Shishaks list (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 170 *f.*).

It is to be noted that Josh. 19 25 is the oldest of the three passages cited (Addis), and that it does not describe **a** boundary, but consists only of **a** list of towns.[2] Most probably it should be emended' thus: 'And the territory of their inheritance (גבול נחלתם, as in *v.* **41**) was Helbah (see HALI), etc.,' unless indeed we suppose the name to be incomplete (cp. HELKATH-HAZZURIM). P in Josh. **21 31** may have had the text before him in a corrupt form. That the Asherite list (19 24 *ff.*) is composite and fragmentary is shown by Addis (*Doc. Hex.*, 1230; cp REHOB [i, 2]). S. A. C.

HELKATH-HAZZURIM (חֶלְקַת הַצֻּרִים, μερισμος των επιβουλων [BAL]), the scene of the encounter between the men of Joab and Abner (2 S. **216**). Whatever its meaning may be, Budde (*Ri. Sa.* 240) and Lohr (*Sam.* **129,** n. 1) plausibly see in *vv.* **14-16** a typical etymologising explanation of a name which has become corrupt and enigmatical. Observe further that the skirmish has no obvious bearing upon the rest of the chapter, since Joab's words in *v.* **27** refer not hither (as RVmg. suggests), but to *v. 26* (cp Driver, *ad loc.*). It would be unreasonable to assume that Abner's invitation (*v.* 14) was the sole cause of the fight; a battle would surely have ensued between the contending parties under any circumstances. Moreover, as Budde has observed, *v.* 17 follows immediately upon *v.* **13** *a*, and therefore it is quite possible that the original scene of the skirmish was neither at Gibeon, nor even in its neighbourhood. 'Which is in Gibeon' (אשר בגבעון) (=16 6) may well be **a** gloss; a later writer knew, of course, that Gibeon was not destitute of pools (see Jer. **41** 12 *b*).

With regard to the name, most moderns follow Schlensner, and read ח׳ הַצִּדִּים (after 𝔊, cp Dr., **ad** *loc.*). Against this, however, see H. P. Smith, who (with Thenius) points ח׳ הַצָּרִים; 'there is no question of *plotters* or *liers-in-wait*, hut of determined *enemies'* (cp *ἐπίβουλος* for צַר, Est. 7 6 [ℵc.a mg.]). It is also possible to read ח׳ הַחֹצְרִים, 'field of the reapers'; or ח׳ החצרים 'field of the men of Hazor' (or 'nomads'? see HAZOR).[3] But in ch. **2** we may plausibly distinguish (*a*) **a** fragmentary account of a battle against Abner and all Israel, the scene of which is Gibeon (12, 13 a . . . 17, 28 *f.*), and (6) a narrative wherein Abner is supported by Benjamites only (13 *b*-16, **18-24; cp.** 25 *a*, 29 *a*, 31).[4] Now in (6), *v.* **24** finds Abner at the hill of Adummim, before the valley of Zeboim (on text, see GIBEAH, § 2 [6]). It is therefore conceivable that the 'field of blades' (retaining the MT; cp RVmg.) is connected with Josh. 5 2 *f.*,[5] and that it lay in the neighbourhood of the Gibeah-hā'ărālōth (see GIBEAH, § 2 1). If *so*, the vanquished followers of Abner fled from Gilgal along by the ascent of Adummim to their homes in Benjamin. S. A. C.

HELKIAS (χελκ[ε]ιας [BAL]), 1 Esd. 1 8 = 2 Ch. 35 8, HILKIAH.

HELL, an unfortunate and misleading rendering of the Heb. *šĕ'ōl* (שְׁאוֹל,—on etym. cp Jastrow, *Bab.-Ass. Rel.* **560**; 𝔊 *ᾅδης* cp HADES), for which the RV (partially)[6] and Amer. Vers. (wholly) substitute SHEOL. In the NT 'hell' renders (1) *ᾅδης* (Mt. 11 23 etc.); (2) the derivative of *τάρταρος* (2 Pet. 2 4† RVmg. TARTARUS), and (3) *γέεννα* (Mt. 5 22 etc., see GEHENNA, HINNOM). See generally ESCHATOLOGY.

HELLENISM. The writer of the article GENTILES closes with a reference to the epoch-making declaration of Paul that in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Greek'

[1] Guérin's identification with *Yerkā*, 8½ **NE.** of Acco, is extremely improbable.

[2] Hence 𝔊B's 'from Helkath' is incorrect.

[3] *V.* **16a** may imply **a** reading הַצִּדִּים. With respect to the first suggestion above it **may** be noticed that if √חצר is Ass. and Aram. rather than Heb., the use of חלקה itself is equally noteworthy (see FIELD, **3**).

[4] See *AJSL*, 1900, p. 148 *ff.*

[5] Perhaps another ætiological legend.

[6] See the revisers' preface.

(Gal. 3 28). How this distinction of 'Jew and Greek' arose, he has himself partly indicated; how far it is an absolute one, has to be considered in the present article.

References to the Greeks are not wholly wanting in the OT. Thus JAVAN (*q.v.*) is the Heb. term for the Ionians and Greeks generally; in Zechariah and Daniel it even stands for the Græco-Macedonian world-empire.

1. Greeks in the OT.

In **Is.** 9 12 [11] 𝔊BNAQ speaks of the Syrians of the East and the Greeks of the West **as** destroyers of Israel; but in the original it is Aram and the Philistines—a fact that shows that the translator lived in the days of the Diadoché when the Greeks were the chief danger for the Jewish people. The *μάχαιρα ἑλληνική*, too, of Jer. 26(46) 16 27 (50) 16, is due to **a** misunderstanding of the Hebrew, which is naturally to be ascribed to **a** period when the thought of the sword of the Greeks was often present to the Jews.

Of the OT Apocrypha, the books of the Maccabees manifest intimate acquaintance with the Greeks.

Thus 1 Macc. begins with the statement that Alexander the Macedonian defeated Darius and reigned over Greece in his stead, while the Macedonian empire is in 1 Macc. 1 10 called *βασιλεία Ἑλλήνων*; armies raised by the Syrian king are called Greek in 2 Macc. 13 2, and by Greek cities in 2 Macc. 6 8 are meant Macedonian colonies. With Greece proper, however, the Jews were not unacquainted. We find references to Athenians and Spartans in 2 Macc. 6 1 9 15 1 Macc. 12-14, and a long list of Greek cities in 1 Macc. 15 23; nay, according to 1 Macc. 12 6, Jonathan the Hasmonaan greets the Spartans, whose alliance he seeks against the Syrians, as brothers.

The name 'Greeks,' however, now acquires **a** special sense in the mouth of Jews: the inhabitants of a city are distinguished in *2* Macc. 4 36 into Jews and Greeks (cp **11** 2 3 Macc. 3 38); Greek is equivalent to anti-Jewish, heathen (2 Macc. 4 10 15 6 9 11 24); and in *2* Macc. 4 13 Hellenism is parallel to ἀλλοφυλισμός (RV 'alien religion'), as summing up all that a Jew could attain only by abandoning the principles of his fathers (*2* Macc. *6 24* 4 Macc. 18 5).

2. Secondary application of name.

Hellenism thus no longer denotes what is characteristic of the Greek people or makes use of their language, but what represents heathen as opposed to Jewish religion and morals, and promotes heathen error. The idolatry that confronted the Jews of Palestine and more than ever those of the Diaspora was now always in Greek forms; for the Greek kingdoms of the Diadochi included almost the whole world, and, at least in the cities, had with wonderful rapidity secured for Greek civilisation **as well** as for the Greek language an unquestioned supremacy, and heathenism was **a** danger to Israel only in so far as there lay behind it Greek civil power and Greek life. Hence **it** is natural that it soon became customary, even for those who themselves spoke Greek, to oppose anything **as** hurtful if only it was Greek, and to identify Greek with anti-Jewish.

In the NT we see completed the development by which 'Greeks' (Ἕλληνες) was substituted for 'gentiles,' Ἀλλόφυλοι, and mankind was divided, from the most important, the religious, point of view, into Jews and Greeks. The original meaning of the word, however, **is** not yet quite forgotten.

Ἑλληνιστί, ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ (Acts 21 37 Jn. 19 20 Rev. 9 11, cp. the interpolation in Lk. 23 38) mean simply 'in the Greek language'; and Acts 20 2 makes Paul journey from Macedonia into Greece, thus using 'Greece' in the older sense, whilst Luke himself is no less at home in these matters than the apostle of the Gentiles. When too in Rom. 1 14 **Paul** calls himself a debtor to Greeks and barbarians, to wise and foolish, he is following **a** classical usage; and even in Col. 3 11 where to Greek and Jew are added barbarian and Scythian, we seem to have an echo of the same usage (see BARBARIAN).

In Col. 3 11, however, alongside of the antithesis of Greek and Jew, we have that of uncircumcised and Jew, and so we find, almost everywhere in Paul, 'Greek' used as a name for uncircumcised, no doubt representing *a* terminology already prevailing in the Jewish world.

Even Titus, though a Christian, is reckoned to the Greeks as being uncircumcised (Gal. 2 3, cp Rom. 1 16 2 10 10 12 1 Cor. 1 24 12 13). Quite similar is the usage in Acts where the most characteristic passages are 16 1 3 17 4 18 4; and, as by 'Greek women' in Bercea (17 12) we are to understand heathens, so also in the story of the Syrophœnician (Mk. 7 26).

Thus in the NT the distinction between 'Jews and Greeks' is used in exactly the same sense as the Jewish distinction between 'heathen and Israelites,' as 'nations (ἔθνη) and chosen people (λαός)' respectively. Cp Wisd. 15 14 *f.*, and many passages in the NT (*e.g.*, Mt. 10 5 Mk. 10 33 Lk. 21 24 Acts 26 23 Rom. 3 29 1 Tim. 3 16 Rev. 16 19). The adjective ἐθνικός, 'heathen' (Mt. 18 17 3 Jn. 7), and Paul's phrase 'live as do the nations' (ἐθνικῶς ζῆν [Gal. 2 14]), are used to describe **a** life regardless of the prescriptions of the Jewish law. It is significant, however, for the standpoint of Paul that he uses both 'nations' (ἔθνη) and Greeks (Ἕλληνες) even of Christians, if they are of heathen origin.

The same man who in 1 Cor. 5 1 treats the ἔθνη as **a** community separated from his readers by a great gulf, and reminds them in 1 Cor. 12 2 of the time when they *were* ἔθνη, writes, *e.g.*, to the Roman church, 'I speak to you that are Gentiles' (Rom. 11 13, cp Gal. 2 12 14 Eph. 3 1). The same man who divides mankind (1 Cor. 10 32) into the three classes, Jews, Greeks, and Christians (church of God), divides the called (1 Cor. 1 24) into Jews and Greeks, **an** apparent inconsistency that is to be explained in his case only by the fact that for him circumcision and uncircumcision, Jew and Greek, had really ceased to exist alongside of the 'new creature' (Gal. 3 28 5 6 6 15), and it was only by a sort of accommodation to the imperfect conditions of the present that such distinctions could any longer be regarded.

The Fourth Gospel occupies an exceptional position; it never once mentions the ἔθνη, and five times applies the term ἔθνος to the Jews. Thrice indeed it mentions the Ἕλληνες; but in one passage (12 20) they are men who had gone up to the feast of passover at Jerusalem, and in the other (7 35 *bis*) not only are they the supposed objects of Jesus' teaching, but in the beginning of the verse 'the Diaspora of the Greeks' are the goal of a tour to be made by him. It is therefore most probable that in this gospel Ἕλληνες are Greek-speaking Jews living in Greek cities, called elsewhere Hellenists (cp Acts 6 1). In Acts 9 29 11 20 also Ἕλληνες is a variant for Hellenists.

That to almost all the writers of the Hebrew OT Greek was an unknown language, will hardly be questioned by any one. Daniel is the only book that has adopted one or two Greek words in Aramaic form (3 5 7 10 15; see DANIEL ii., § 11). Even the parts of the OT that are later than Daniel were still in some cases (such **as** 1 Macc. Ecclus. and Psalms of Sol.) written in Hebrew; though to secure a wider circulation they had, like the already canonised books, to be translated into Greek.

3. Jews' acquaintance with Greek

Greek, however, was certainly the common language of the men **who** wrote *2*, *3*, and **4** Macc. and Wisd. of Sol. The Jews settled outside of Palestine lost almost completely their original tongue, and used Greek even in religious worship; and the Hellenistic literature that sprang up between *250* B.C. and 100 A.D., which had its most famous representatives in Philo and Josephus, and was in no sense confined to Alexandria and its neighbourhood, is Greek in language, only with a Semitic flavour. (See HISTORICAL *LIT.*, §§ 20 *22*). Indeed, had not a reaction against the Hellenising tendency begun after the catastrophe of *70* A.D., Hebrew would then perhaps have succumbed to Greek even in Palestine and amongst its theologians. To suppose, however (as, *e.g.*, G. B. Winer supposes, because of Mk. 7 24 Jn. 7 35 12 20), that Jesus used the Greek language, is quite out of the question, although as a Galilean, belonging to a province where language was very much mixed, he must have understood some Greek words, and in particular must have been able, like other Palestinians, to read Greek inscriptions on coins (Mt. 22 20 *f.*). The earliest notes on his history may have been in the Aramaic dialect that he himself used; but none of our four gospels is a translation from Aramaic. Although they make use in part of such translations, they have all been written from the first in Greek, and the author of the Third gospel, as of Acts, may have been a born Greek who knew no Hebrew. The epistles of NT are one and all originally Greek. Biesenthal (*Das Trostschreiben des Ap. Paulus an die Hebräer*, '76) stands alone in recent times in venturing to deny this in the case of the eminently smoothly written epistle to the Hebrews (cp HEBREWS, § 11). Even the Apocalypse,

notwithstanding the abundance of its Hebraistic defects of style, cannot have had a Hebrew original.

The necessary consequence of the employment of the Greek language was that the influence of the Greek spirit and of Greek forms of thought made itself felt. Even parts of the Greek version of the OT marked by grbss literality of rendering do not fail to betray this influence. How much more plainly must it reveal itself in the originally Greek writings of Jewish or Christian origin! Involuntarily the Jews appropriated from the rich vocabulary of the Greek language expressions for conceptions that would always have lain beyond the scope of Hebrew.

4. Greek ideas.

There is, *e.g.*, no Hebrew word corresponding to φιλοσοφία, φιλοστοργία and most of the compounds of φίλος; or for σπερμολόγος and ὁλόκληρος; or for ἀθανασία and ἀφθαρσία (see IMMORTALITY).

On the other hand, old Greek expressions acquire new significations corresponding to Jewish conceptions such as δικαιοσύνη and πίστις.

This linguistic change, the most important stage of which is reached in Paul, begins with the oldest parts of the LXX (cp J. Freudenthal, *Die Fl. Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft* [4 Macc.] 26 *f.* ['69]; E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, '89; A Deissmann, 'Beitr. z. Sprachgesch. der griecbischen Bibel' in *Bibelstudien*, 55-168 ['95]).

The increasing prevalence of the Greek language may be convenientiy seen in the abundance of Greek proper names even amongst Jews of Palestine.

In Maccabæan times sprang up the custom of giving Hebrew names a Greek form, Eliakim, *e.g.*, becoming Alcimus (see ALCIMUS, and NAMES, § 86); then we find combinations of a Greek and a Hebrew name as in Saul-Paul; and then, as in the case of at least two of the original apostles, Philip and Andrew, we have pure Greek names. That so authoritative a court as the chief council at Jerusalem was for the Jews, could from about 130 B.C. bear the official name of συνέδριον, only at a later day hebraised into Sanhedrin, is specially significant for the hold that the Greek language had acquired even at the headquarters of Hebrew life.

The spread of the Greek language brought with it a spread of Greek civilization; nay, the latter sometimes led the way. In the OT Apocrypha, but more fully in the NT, we have abundant evidence how dependent life in all phases was on Greek custom and Greek institutions.

5. Greek civilization.

Greek coins such as the talent, mina, and drachma superseded the old Hebrew; even Roman coins like the *as*, the *quadrans*, and the *denarius* meet us in Hellenised forms. Nor is it otherwise in the case of measures of length and capacity, and this also already in the LXX; the chronological system of their Greek neighbours also exerted its influence on the Jews. The latter were well acquainted, too, with the military affairs of the Greeks: mention is made of rams (κριός) (2 Macc. 12 15 Ps. Sol. 2 1, alongside of 'engines of war') and spearmen —even δορυφορία (2 Macc. 3 28)—and chiliarchs are not yet displaced by Roman institutions accommodated to Greek usage, such as σπεῖρα for cohort (Acts 10 1 21 31 27 1; cp 2 Macc. 8 23 12 20 22 Judith 14 11). In accordance with Greek tastes we find inns conducted by an inn-keeper (Lk. 10 34 *f.*), here and there over the country; Greek luxury has invented the sideboard of Simon (κυλίκιον *i.q.* κυλικεῖον, 1 Macc. 15 32) and the mosquito-net of Holofernes (κωνώπιον, Judith 16 19); and even the humble handkerchief σουδάριον (*e.g.* Lk. 19 20) reached Palestine through the Greeks. 2 Macc. 4 12 shows how in clothing, too, Greek usage, such as the wearing of broad-brimmed hats (πέτασος), was contending with long-established custom (see CAP). The *tympanon*, both as musical instrument (Judith 8 7, cp Ex. 15 20 𝔊) and as instrument of torture (2 Macc. 6 19), was of Greek origin, as was the well-known cymbal of 1 Cor. 13 1.

In the description of forcible attempts at Hellenising under Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4; cp 1 Macc. 1 14 4 Macc. 4 20), great indignation is expressed at the founding of a gymnasium and an *ephebeion* within the holy city (cp CAP). Here the priests betook themselves to dancing in the palaestra and to throwing the discus (see DISCUS), practices almost as abominable in the eyes of the writer as taking part in the Dionysos festival (2 Macc. 6 7) or the games at Tyre, when a sacrifice was offered to Heracles. The NT writers, however, do not show the same sensitiveness. Rev. 7 9 describes the saints in figurative language borrowed from the prize fights of the Greeks, and so **Paul** is not unwilling to connect Christian ideas with the proceedings on the race-course or in the circus, and to draw his illustrations from such sources.

Nowhere else can he have become acquainted with the prize-runners and boxers whom in 1 Cor. 9 24-27 he sets as patterns for his readers; and the figurative description of the Christian life as a race or a contest is a special favourite with him (*e.g.* Gal. 2 2 5 7 Phil. 1 30 2 16), in which respect later writers have followed his example (Heb. 12 1 2 Tim. 2 5 4 7 1 Tim. 4 10 6 12). Even the sanguinary spectacles of the amphitheatre are so familiar to him that he calls an unusually violent encounter with an Ephesian mob a θηριομαχεῖν (1 Cor. 15 32).[1] According to Acts 19 29-31 he was even willing to enter the Ephesian theatre, although to be sure not for artistic gratification. In 1 Cor. 4 9 he declares that his fate has made him a spectacle (θέατρον) for angels and men (cp Heb. 10 33); and in 4 Macc. 6 17 we have the word δρᾶμα similarly used.

There must be deep reasons for the fact that at the very time when Pharisaism was so passionately combating the popular amusements of the Greeks, and when it hardly forgave even its patron Agrippa I. his theatre-building in Berytus, Paul the Christian, brought np in Tarsus and labouring among Greeks, speaks of those amusements, when occasion offers, quite ingenuously as something morally inoffensive. At least it was nowhere necessary in the NT to sound any warning of danger threatening in that direction.

Much more important than all this is the question that remains. What did the Jewish or the Christian writings appropriatk from Greek thought? How far have the literature, philosophy, and religion of the Greeks influenced those of the OT or the NT? In the Hebrew parts of the OT this influence must certainly not be ratedvery high. Only in the case of Ḳōhéleth (Eccies.) is the question important.

6. Greek thought in OT.

Cornill, *e.g.*, regards it as certain (*Einl.* § 42) that the mind of this author, who could but imperfectly combine radical pessimism with his ancestral religious faith, became, as it were, simply intoxicated under the stimulation of Hellenic thought. Wellhausen is more guarded in confining himself (*IJG*(1) 196 n.; (2), 230 n.; (3), 237 n.) to 'undefined and general influences' that may have reached the Preacher from Greek philosophy.

In reality we can no more prove any direct acquaintance on his part with, say, the system of Heraclitus or with Epicureanism (cp Tyler, Plumptre, Pfleiderer), than with Greek literature generally. Whatever may seem to have a Hellenic ring in his thought or his allusions, such as the individualistic idea of the soul of man, may very well belong to the age in which he lived (cp ECCLESIASTES, § 10).

In the LXX, including the Apocrypha, traces of Greek philosophy are more frequent; but as a rule they are not of such a kind that we should venture to explain them in any other way than in the case of Ecclesiastes. The tendency of the LXX to avoid anthropomorphic expressions (*e.g.*, 'see the salvation of God' for 'see Yahwè,' Is. 38 11; cp Ex. 24 10), the use of the divine name 'existing one' (Jer. 14 13 39 [32] 17;[2] cp Ex. 3 14 𝔊), the mention of the sons of the Titans[3] and giants (Judith 16 6 [8], the way in which a divine power is spoken of as encompassing the holy place, and God as its ἐπόπτης and βοηθός (2 Macc. 3 38 *f.*)—such features betray the influence of the philosophic and religious ideas of Hellenism. Anything, however, like real acquaintance with these founded on actual study, we have no right to affirm.

Wisd. Sol. and 4 Macc. are an exception. In the latter this appears in the very opening words.

Notwithstanding that 4 Macc. sings the praises of an imperturbability peculiarly Jewish, the familiarity of the writer with Greek philosophy is everywhere apparent. He knows the Greek cardinal virtues, he makes use of the Stoic phrase 'to live in ἀταραξία' (8 26, μετὰ ἀταραξίας), he actually quotes from a Greek Stoic writer (7 22; see the work of Freudenthal cited above, § 4).

1 [But see M'Giffert, *Apostolic Age*, 280.]

2 [It is possible, however, that ὁ ὤν is really a corruption of the interjection ὦ which represents אֲהָהּ in Aq. and Sym. of 32 17.]

3 The Titans appear also in 𝔊 of 2 S. 5 18 22.

It is in Wisd. Sol., however, that the Hellenistic colouring becomes most prominent when we compare it with Ecclus. In fact Wisd. Sol. aims at effecting a reconciliation between Greek philosophy and the religious spirit represented in the OT. Just as its conception of the deity and the supplementary conceptions of Wisdom and Logos, almost counting as personifications mediating between God and the world, show Platonic influences; so are its ethics and psychology set forth under the forms of the popular philosophy of the age.

According to 87 wisdom teaches the four cardinal virtues; in place of a creation out of nothing we have the assumption of an original substance; the body is viewed as a prison for the soul, the latter as pre-existent and immortal, life a trust from God—all ideas derived from Hellenism.

Before turning our attention to the NT we must lay emphasis upon the fact that this absorption of Hellenic elements by Jewish thought, even in Palestine, reaches much further than can be shown from writings that could in any sense be called biblical, and that much in the NT and early Christianity can be explained only on this supposition.

7. In other writings. Those Jews who, from the third century B.C., thought to diffuse Jewish piety by means of Greek verses, whether attributed to Orphens or to the Sibyl (see APOCALYPTIC, § 86 *ff.*), or to Hystaspes, combined with prose writers like Philo, to break a way for the freeing of Jewish life and thought from its exclusiveness, and so helped to bring about the conditions necessary for its more complete reformation. The ideas of Satan and demons, of the kingdom of heaven and of the world, of hell and the life of the blest, which lie ready made in the NT, if they naturally rested on a thoroughly Jewish basis, were not without contributions from Greek theology (cp ESCHATOLOGY, and the several articles). So Essenism can be understood only when regarded as a blending of Jewish and Greek ideas (cp **ESSENES**), and the gnosis of the later Jews, older than Christianity though it was, even surrendered to Hellenism. Accordingly the possibility must, to begin with, be kept in view, that NT writers have been influenced by ideas originating in such ways.

8. In the NT. At the present time, however, there is more danger of overestimating than of underestimating the Hellenistic elements in later Judaism and the earliest stages of Christianity. Books, for example, like Winckler's ***Der Stoicismus eine Wurzel des Christenthums*** ('78), or M. Friedlander's *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums* ('94), generalise from certain perfectly just observations in this direction in a most unguarded manner; not a single idea derived from a Greek source can be attributed to Jesus, and it may almost be regarded as the strongest evidence of the trustworthiness of the Synoptic account of him that, in respect of their contents, they too know of no approach to Hellenism. Such parallels to the Synoptic speeches of Jesus as have been hunted out in Greek—or Latin—writers are accidental consonances.

Still more un-Hellenic in both subject and spirit is the Apocalypse of John; yet it is not improbable that the mysterious figure of the dragon pursuing a woman with child (ch. 12) is to be traced ultimately to the Greek myth of the Pythic dragon and the pregnant Leto (see A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 119 *f.* ['91]).

9. Paul. In the case of Paul, contact with the Greek world unquestionably goes deeper. Socrates the church historian (*circa* 440) felt justified (316) in crediting the apostle with a knowledge of numerous sayings of the Greek classical writers, relying in so doing on Acts 17 28 1 Cor. 15 33 Tit. 1 12. The metrical form of the passages in question is indeed enough to show that they are drawn from the poetical literature of the Greeks, and as a matter of fact Acts 17 28 has been found in Aratus and the Stoic Cleanthes, Tit. 1 12 in Epimenides and Callimachus, 1 Cor. 15 33 in Menander and Euripides. If, however, the Pastoral Epistles are the work of an unknown writer about 100 A.D., Tit. 1 12 proves nothing regarding the culture of Paul; whilst Acts 17 is in no sense a stenographic report of a speech of Paul in Athens; it is the historian that puts it in the mouth of his hero; and that this writer is a Greek of no mean culture, whose memory could have supplied him with still other quotations of like nature, is already clear on other grounds. Hence there remains only 1 Cor. 15 33. Here, however, there is no introductory formula, and it is at least doubtful whether Paul in using the verse knew whence it came; it is not by such means that an acquaintance of Paul with Greek literature can be established. If, according to Acts 17 18 *f.*, Paul discussed in Athens with Epicnreans and Stoics, this does not prove that he had read their writings. When, *e.g.*, Ramsay (*St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 237 *ff.* ['95]) treats the account in Acts 17, of how Paul at Athens forthwith adopted the Socratic method of free discussion in the Agora, and became for the time an Athenian, as evidence that Paul had, at least in part, the same 'education' as those Athenians, this may be too rash a conclusion; what we really have here is the author of Acts showing his *own* knowledge, his *own* 'education,' and his *own* fine historical feeling.

Those go too far on the other side, however, who, like Hausrath (***Der Apostel Paulus***, 11 *ff.* ['72]), would deny Paul any influence from the Greek learning that surrounded him at Tarsus from his youth up. We know only that writing presented difficulties for him, not simply or particularly writing in Greek. The absence of real quotations from Greek authors in what he has written, shows not, 'that, apart from the Apocrypha, Paul had never had a Greek book in his hand,' but simply that Christ had become to him all in all, and that he would allow nothing but words of God a place in his heart and on his lips. He may very well have been trained in the Greek schools even if his style 'has little grace to show'; few Jewish Greeks, even when their Greek 'school education' is beyond question (Philo, Josephus), can surpass him in grace or even in power over the language. The fact itself that Paul was acquainted with the OT in the Greek translation of the LXX, and knew much of this version by heart, counts for something here; and the very probable points of contact between him and Philo (*e.g.*, Col. 1 15 *f.*) permit us to conclude that he had made himself acquainted also with other books written in Greek; he must have had a vernacular knowledge of both Greek and Aramaic, and received both a Jewish and a Greek education.

How far this education, which he certainly after his conversion did not care to extend, wrought as a leaven in the formulation of that magnificent system of thought by which he songht to fuse together Judaism and the Gospel, it is hard to say. His universalism, his cosmopolitanism, his doctrine of freedom, notwithstanding cognate ideas and expressions in Greek literature, need not have been derived thence, or at least may have bcen only suggested there: they are the outcome of hi's struggle to effect an adjustment between what he inherited and what he himself experienced.

If, *e.g.*, he mentions and correctly uses allegories and types drawn from names (1 Cor. 10 6 11 Gal. 4 24), although this was a plant that flourished on Greek soil, it was not there that he made its acquaintance, but in his Jewish schools of theology. Other features of resemblance between his ideas and those of Greek philosophers may have reached him through the same channel.

In the main, however, Paul is original, and cannot be understood on any other supposition. The ascetic, unworldly character of his ethic corresponds to the temper of the age he lived in; so also the proneness to the mysterious, and the high estimate of knowledge, and of the intellectual element in religion, is common to him with his whole environment. Hence there remain,

as representing the direct influence of Hellenism on his theology, only minor secondary features. The denomination, however, of the good as τὸ καλόν (Rom. 7 18 21 2 Cor. 13 7 Gal. 4 18 6 9 1 Thess. 5 21), the emphasis laid on virtue (ἀρετή; Phil. 4 8), the classification of nian as pneumatic, psychic, and sarcic, the glorification of the Stoic moderation (αὐτάρκεια; Phil. 4 11); such features are no accidental points of contact between Paul and Greek thought; and the appeal to 'nature itself' and its teachings (1 Cor. 11 14; cp the frequent 'against nature,' or 'according to nature') has a specifically Greek sound. Notwithstanding all this, however, we are never able to detect any traces of direct borrowing from Greek literature. Paul may have acquired what he had through intercourse with Greeks or even through the medium of the Alexandrian religious philosophy (cp, *e.g.*, Lightfoot, 'St. Paul's preparation for the ministry,' in *Biblical* **Essays**, 199 *ff.* ['93]; Hicks, 'St. Paul and Hellenism,' in *Studia Biblica* **et** *Eccles.* **41-14** ['96]).

Nor is there anything essentially different in the case of the NT books that stand closely related to Paul.

10. Remaining parts of NT. We feel that we have moved more out of a Hebrew into a Greek atmosphere in the Pastoral Epistles, in Hebrews—which is beyond doubt dependent' both in form and in contents on the Alexandrians (*e.g.*, 13 13 14)—and in the Catholic Epistles; the Epistle of James, even if, with Spitta, we should class it with the Jewish writings, must have had for its author a man with a Greek education. It was a born Greek that wrote Acts. If his Hellenic character does not find very marked expression it is merely due to the nature of his work; no pure Jew would have uttered the almost pantheistic-sounding sentence, 'in God we live and move and have our being' (17 28). In the Fourth Gospel, finally, the influence of Greek philosophy is incontestable. Not only is the Logos, which plays so important a part in the prologue (1 1-18), of Greek origin; the gnosticising tendency of John, his enthusiasm for 'the truth' (without genitive), his dualism (God and the world almost treated as absolute antithesis), his predilection for abstractions, compel us to regard the author, Jew by birth as he certainly was, as strongly under the influence of Hellenic ideas. Here again, however, we must leave open the possibility that these Greek elements reached him through the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy; just as little can his Logos theory have originated independently of Philo, as the figure of the Paraclete in chaps. 14-16 (see J. Réville, *La doctrine du Logos dans le quatrième Évangile*, Paris, '81). Cp JOHN [SON OF ZEBEDEE], § 31.

We must conclude with the following guarded thesis. There is in the circle of ideas in the NT, in addition to

11. Result. what is new, and what is taken over from Judaism, much that is Greek; hut whether this is adopted directly from the Greek or borrowed from the Alexandrians, who indeed aimed at a complete fusion of Hellenism and Judaism, is, in the most important cases, not to be determined; and primitive Christianity as a whole stands considerably nearer to the Hebrew world than to the Greek.

Cp **E. Hatch,** ***The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages on the Christian Church,*** '90; **A. F.** Dähne *Gesch. Darstellung der jüd.-alex. Rel.-philosophie,* '34; **C.** 'Siegfried, ***Philo von Alexandr.,*** **'70, esp. p.** 303 *ff.*; M. Heinze, ***Die Lehre vom Logos in der griech. Philosophie,*** **'72; H.** Bois, *Essai sur les origines de la philosophie Judéo-alexandrine,* '90; **H. J. Holtzmann,** ***Lehrbuch der NT Theol.,*** **'97.** A. J.-T. K. C.

HELMET (*ḳōba'*, קוֹבַע, or *kōba'*, כּוֹבַע).

The pronunciation with initial k is sustained by the Aramaic form of the word Ḳūbā'ā. **We may perhaps compare the word** *kubba'ath*, **'cup,'** Ass. *Ḳabu'tu* **Ar.** *ḳub'at*. *Ḳōba'* **occurs in** 1 S. 17 38 **and** Ezek. 23 24 (? **sed** 𝔊 and Cornill), **whereas we find** כּוֹבַע **in** 1 S. **17 5 Is. 59 17 Jer. 46 4 Ezek. 27 10** 2 **Ch. 26 14.** 𝔊**'s equivalent is** περικεφαλαία, **a designation which is not found in the classical period, hut is not infrequent in** Polybius.

Helmets made of bronze were worn by distinguished men and leaders in war (as Goliath and David, 1 S. 17 5 38); but we can infer from Jer. 46 4 and 2 Ch. 26 14 that helmets—probably of leather or felt—were worn also by the ordinary warrior. It is impossible to determine the precise material or form, yet it is probable that the helmet of the common Israelite soldier consisted simply of a solid cap adorned perhaps with horse-hair tassels as well as with a prolonged flap or cheek-piece to cover the side of the face or ears. Max Muller (**As.** *u. Eur.* 302 *ff.* 325 *ff.* 361 *ff.* 375-378 380 *f.* **384)** gives copious illustrations of the various forms of helmets and caps worn by the Bedouin, Syrian, and Hittite warriors. The Hittite head-gear was mostly a round and flat covering with prolongations at the side and at the back of the head, sometimes surmounted by a tassel. Frequently there is a band tied behind the ear and back of the head and passing round the forehead in front of the cap (see the figures in *As. u. Eur.* pp. 232, 323); the LXX therefore was guided probably by a right instinct in selecting the term περικεφαλαία as the most apt term to designate a kind of head-gear which covered not only the head but also a portion of the cheek and neck. Probably the kings and nobles, in order to distinguish their persons as leaders, wore a taller'covering made of bronze like that of the Egyptian monarchs. Among the Hittites, however, the head-covering of the leaders was often considerably broader at the top than at the base. See ***As. u.*** **Eur.** p. **361.**

On the other hand, the helmet worn by the Assyrians and Babylonians was loftier than that which was in vogue among the Syrians and Hittites and was pointed at the summit. There was also a side piece for the protection of the ears (see illustrations, *s.v.* GREAVES), resembling the φάλαρα, flaps or cheek-pieces (παραγναθίδες), of the ancient Greeks.

The Cypriote helmet figured in Warre-Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiqq.*, p. 79, fig. 158, presents a close analogy. For the different forms of Greek helmet the reader is referred to the article 'Arms and Armour' in that work. The Greek helmet presented varieties and complications of detail, as well as adornment in the form of crests, altogether unknown among the plainer and more modest accoutrements of Egypt and Western Asia.

The helmet, like the coat of mail, is metaphorically employed by the writer of Is. 59 17, the helmet designating salvation, an image which is borrowed by Paul (Eph. 6 17 1 Thess. 5 8). Cp TURBAN. **O. C.** W.

HELON (חֵלֹן; χαιλων [BAF], χελ. [L]), a Zebulunite (**Nu 1 9 2 7 7 24 29 10 16** [P]).

HELPER (παρακλητος), Jn. **14 16** RV^mg., EV COMFORTER, See PARACLETE.

HEMAM (הֵימָם, αιμαν [BADEL]), b. Seir the Horite (Gen. 36 22), called in 1 Ch. 1 39 HOMAM (הוֹמָם, ημαν [L]). Probably with 𝔊 (cp Vg. *HEMAN* in Gen.) we should read HEMAN (see below).

HEMAN (הֵימָן, αιμαν [BAL]), one of the three sons of MAHOL [*q.v.*] who were renowned for their wisdom, 1 K. 4 31 [5 11] (αιναν [B], ημαν [A]). The name appears again in 1 Ch. 2 6 (αιμουαν [B]) among the sons of the Judahite Zerah. The same legendary personage, however, is intended; the clan of Zerah was Edornite before it became Judahite (see Gen. 36 13 17). Possibly (as **S. A.** Cook suggests) the name 'Heman' may be identified with the Edomite HEMAM (הימם); more probably, however, HEMAN and ETHAN, 2, are both corrupt forms of תֵּימָן, TEMAN, one of the oldest districts of Edom, sometimes used poetically as a synonym for Edom. The whole force of the passage (1 K. 4 31) depends on this. See MAHOL.

In post-exilic times Heman, like Ethan, gives his name to one of the guilds of singers (see PSALMS). According to'the Chronicler he took part in the dedication of the temple (2 Ch. 5 12, RV; cp 1 Ch. **16 41** *f.* 25 6 [αιμανει B]). A levitical genealogy **is** produced for

him; he becomes the grandson of Samuel, and traces his origin to Kohath, son of LEVI (see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 ii. *a*, iii. *c*). In this connection it may be remarked that Samuel himself is represented in 1 S. 1 1 as grandson of Jeroham, a shortened form of JERAHMEEL (*q.v.*, § 3; cp JEROHAM, 1). The double heading of Ps. 88 assigns that psalm first to the sons of Korah and then to Heman (αιθαμ [A]) the Ezrahite. Heman was indeed, according to 1 Ch. 26, a Zarhite (= Ezrahite); but this made him of the tribe of Judah; as a singer he was a Korahite. There is thus a confusion of two representations implied in this heading.

In 1 Ch. 25 4 *f.* (αιμανει [B] once in w. 4) a little section full of difficulty, is devoted to Heman. He is called the 'king's seer' (just like his ancestor Samuel, hut also like Asaph and Jeduthun), and is said to have had fourteen sons and three daughters.[1] The difficulty lies in the words which follow 'the king's seer,' and in the closing names in the list of Heman's sons. These are as follows:—Giddalti, Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth (גִּדַּלְתִּי, רֹמַמְתִּי־עֶזֶר, ישבקשה, מלתי, הותיר, מחזיאות). Ewald[2] long ago suggested that these names might be so rendered as to form, in combination, a poetical couplet,—'I have given great and majestic help,' 'I have spoken in abundance oracles.' One word (ישבקשה) he omitted; later scholars have sought to repair his omission by rendering 'to him that sat in distress' (see also NAMES, § 23). The theory was plausible as long as it was supposed that the Chronicler was in the habit of framing uncommon names in the interest of edification. Now however, that the evidence for this supposition is beginning to break down elsewhere,[3] we are bound to be more strict in criticising Ewald's suggestion. It is safe to maintain not only that the rendering is extremely unnatural, hut that the clause produced by combining the last four names is execrable Hebrew. This objection cannot he raised against the reading proposed by Kau.[4] in lieu of 'Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah,' viz., חָנֵּנִי יָהּ חָנֵּנִי אֵלִי אָתָּה—*i.e.*, 'Have pity upon me, O Yahwè, have pity upon me; thou art my God'; still we must ask, How comes such a passage to he introduced just here, even as a marginal note? 'Eliathah' is no doubt an impossible name; hut is there no better theory to account for it?

Certainly there is a better one. Josbbekashah (ישבקשה) and Mahazioth (מחזיאות) are corruptions of the same word, and Mallothi (מלתי) and Hothir (הותיר) are corrupt fragments of it. Again and again we find different corruptions of the same word side by side, and this is the case here; or rather, there are two words in construction, viz., בְּנֵי קֹרַח. As for Giddalti and Romamti-ezer, the former is miswritten for Gedaliah (גדליה), the latter for a dittographed Jerimoth (ירימות) and Azar'el (עזראל), a variant to Uzziel in *v.* 18). Gedaliah was introduced as a correction of the corrupt Eliathah (אליאתה). 'Hanani' is really a dittographed Hananiah, and is to be omitted. In *v.* 5 להרים קרן ('to lift up the horn'!) is miswritten for לְזַמֵּר רַחֲמָיו, 'to praise his compassion.' 'All these'—viz., Bukkiah, Mattaniah, Uzziel, Shebuel (Samuel ?), Jerimoth (Jeroham ?), Hanani, Gedaliah—were the sons of Heman, the king's seer (who prophesied?) with words of God to praise his compassion. God gave to Heman seven (שבעה) sons and three daughters.' The seven sons are called, quite correctly 'sons of Korah' (Joshbekashah, etc.!), *i.e.*, members of the Korahite guild. This is a sign that the Chronicler draws here from a Midrashic source (cp 2 Ch. 20 19, and WRS *OTJC*(2), 205, n. 2). T. K. C.

HEMATH, RV **Hammath** (חַמַּת, μβχημα [B], αιμαθ [A], εμαθ [L]), 'the father of the house of Rechab' (1 Ch. 2 55†). Elsewhere Jonadab is the 'father' of the Rechabites, and if any one can dispute this title with him it is Hobab, 'the father-in-law of Moses.'

The Chronicler must have known of Hobab; and if so he must mean Hobab. The easiest solution of the problem is to suppose that חמת is a fragment of חֹתֵן מֹשֶׁה, 'father-in-law of Moses,' and to see in this an allusion to the phrase in Judg. 1 16. See HOBAB, JONADAB, 2, and on the Kenite connection see RECHABITES, KENITES. In 𝔊, 1 Ch. 4 12, the ἄνδρες ρηχαβ [BL] (MT 'Recah') appear among the Calebites (pointed out by Meyer, *Ent.* 147), which seems to agree with the notice in 1 Ch. 2 55. T. K. C.

HEMATH (חֲמָת), Am. 6 14, AV, RV HAMATH [*q.v.*].

HEMDAN (חֶמְדָּן, 'desirable' [?], § 77; Gray [*HPN* 641, however, suggests חֶמְרָן: cp חמיטל, and see ABIDAN; hut the analogy of most of the other names in the list suggests that the ן is not radical), a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36 26; αμαδα [ADL], αδαμα [El]); in ‖ 1 Ch. 1 41, apparently by a scribe's error, HAMRAN, AV AMRAM (חַמְרָן; εμερων [B], αμαδα [A], -αμ [L]). See DISHON.

HEMLOCK. For (1) רֹאשׁ, *rōʾš*, Hos. 10 4, see GALL, 1 and for (2) לַעֲנָה, *laʿănāh*, Am. 6 12, see WORMWOOD.

HEN (ορνις), Mt. 23 37 Lk. 13 34 (ὄρνιξ Ti.]). See FOWLS, §§ 2 4.

HEN (חֵן), one of the Babylonian Jewish delegates, temp. Zerubbabel (Zech. 6 14†). 𝔊BNAQΓ has εἰς χάριτα; so also RVmg.; 'for the kindness of the son of Zephaniah.' The text is plainly in disorder. Read probably, 'Joshua the son of Z.' (We.). See JOSIAH, 2.

HENA (הֵנַע), an imaginary name which, through a scribe's error, has found its way into the Rabshakeh's message to Hezekiah (2 K. 19 13, ανεc [B], αινα [A], -αγ [L]; Is. 37 13, αναγ [BℵᶜᵃΓ], αναβ [ℵᶜ], ανα [A], αναc [Q*], ανας [Qmg.].[1] The text stands thus, 'Where is . . . the king of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah?' (RV). Underlying this is a witty editorial suggestion that the existence of cities called הנע and nry respectively has passed out of mind (cp Ps. 96 [7]), for הֵנַע וְעִוָּה clearly means 'he has driven away and overturned' (so Tg., Sym.). To look out for names resembling Hena and Ivvah is waste of time. The context further makes it plain that only one city was mentioned. Either הנע or עוה must therefore be omitted, and a comparison of 2 K. 17 24 shows that הנע is the superfluous word. Probably הנע was *miswritten* for עוה, or rather (see AVVA) for עזה, 'Gaza.' T. K. C.

HENADAD (חֵנָדָד, ηναδαδ [BKA, note confusions of δ A and λ below]). A Levitical name (see below), the peculiarity of which requires notice. The name may be corrupt, and, if so, an easy emendation would be יוֹנָדָב Jonadab, a not unnatural name for a Levite.[2] Baethgen, however (*Beitr.* 68, n. 4) and BDB explain as חן־הדד, 'favour of Hadad' (so also § 42), cp Ph. חנצד.[3] The bearer of the name is a Levite, mentioned as the father of BINNUI [*q.v.*, 3] in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15*d*), Neh. 3 18 (ηναδαλατ [BK], ναβαδ [L]), *v.* 24 (ηναδαβ [L]), also as a signatory to the covenant (EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 9 [10] (ηναδαβ [B*ℵ], -λαβ [Bb. vid.], ηνηλαδ [A], ιωναδαβ [L]). The name occurs once again in the difficult passage Ezra 3 9, on which see Ryle, *Camb. Bible, ad loc.* (ηναaδ [B], ιωναδαβ [L]).

In Ezra 3 9 it is best, perhaps, instead of ובניו בני יהודה to read ובני יהודה[4]; the corruption would arise through a misunderstanding of the name Bani (as in Ezra 2 40, etc.), helped by the preceding בניו ואחיו. As regards Henadad, it is clear that the concluding words are out of place (cp 1 Esd. 5 57 [58], and see MADIABUN), and supported by Neh. 10 9 [10] it may he suggested that מבני חנדד was a marginal gloss to Bani which, on being taken into the text, was rounded off by the addition of the words בניהם ואחיהם הלוים. S. A. C.

HENNA (כֹּפֶר), Cant. 1 14. See CAMPHIRE.

HENOCH (חֲנוֹךְ; ενωχ [BAL]). 1. 1 Ch. 1 3, AV, RV ENOCH (*q.v.*, 1). 2. 1 Ch. 1 33, AV, RV HANOCH (1).

HEPHER (חֵפֶר, οφερ [BAL]). Cp GATH-HEPHER.

1. A Canaanite city mentioned between Tappuah and Aphek in Sharon (see APHEK, 3); Josh. 12 17 (εφερ [L]). Cp EPHRAIM, § 12, end.

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1 Klostermann, who identifies Heman and Job, sees here a coincidence with Job 42 13 (taking שִׁבְעָנָה as a dual = fourteen).

2 *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*(7), 672 ('63).

3 See, *e.g.*, BESODEIAH, BEZALEEL, ELIOENAI, HAZZELELPONI, JUSHAB-HESED.

4 *ZATW* 6 ['86] 260.

1 Compare also 2 K. 18 34 (om. B, *ava* [A], L differs) ‖ Is. 36 2 Ch. 32 om.

2 Cp 𝔊L Ezra 3 9 Neh. 10 9 (10). The manner in which the name-lists in Ez.-Neh. have been compiled and the harmonising labours of the earliest scribes will account for the circumstance that such a familiar name could ever have gone astray.

3 Not only does one expect נ (nūn with daghesh) on the analogy of חַנִּיאֵל and Hannibaal, but such a *Levitical* name is unlooked for; the case of AZGAD is different.

4 בְּנֵי, בָּנִי, or בִּנּוּי, cp Neh. 9 4 *f.* 12 8, also 7 43 (see BANI, 3), and 12 24 (see BINNUI, 2).

2. A district in Judah (?) which fell into Solomon's third prefecture, 1 K. 4 10 (φαρ[αχειν] [B], φαρ· [L]). See BEN-HESED, § 1.

HEPHER (חֵפֶר). 1. (οφαρ [BℵA], ωφαρ [L], A has [ωρ]α· φερ[ομεχογ|ραθι]). A name in the Chronicler's list of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 11 36. The passage is plainly corrupt; see ELIPHELET, 2.

2. (οφερ [BAFL]). The founder, or eponym, of a Gileadite clan, who is variously described as the son (Josh. 17 2, JE, εφερ [L]) and as the great-grandson of Manasseh (Nu. 26 32 *f.* [𝔊 36 *f.*] 27 1, P). The clan itself is called the **Hepherites** (הַחֶפְרִי, ὁ οφερ[ε]ι [BAFL]; Nu. 26 32) or 'sons of Hepher' (Josh. 17 2).

3. (ηφαλ [BA], αφερ [L]). The eponym of a family of Judah, called the 'son' of ASHHUR (1 Ch. 4 6).

HEPHZIBAR (חֶפְצִי־בָהּ, usually 'in whom is my delight,' §§ 22, 107; but analogy favours Smend's rendering, 'in whom is delight'; see, however, 1).

1. The mother of King Manasseh, 2 K. 21 1 (οψειβα [B*], αψ. [B^ab], οφσιβα [A], εψιβα [L]). The Phœn. form חפצבעל suggests that Hephzibah may he a deliberate distortion[1] of the name Hephzibaal 'delight of *baal*' (*i.e.*, either of Baal, or of a husband). The Chronicler (2 Ch. 33 1) passes over Manasseh's mother.

2. The symbolical name of restored Zion, Is. 62 4 (θέλημα ἐμόν [BℵAQ]; cp γῆ θελητή Mal. 3 12). Here, too, the reading חפציבע seems preferable; Yahwè is the *baal* or 'husband' who 'delights' in his bride Zion (*v.* 5; see *SBOT*).

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

HERALD appears three times in NT (RV^mg.) as the rendering of κηρυξ, for which EV has 'preacher' (1 Ti. 2 7 2 Ti. 1 11 2 Pet. 2 5). κηρύσσω means simply 'to proclaim'; see, *e.g.*, Jon. 3 5 (𝔊), Mt. 3 1. See MINISTRY.

In 𝔊 κήρυξ represents the כָּרוֹזָא EV, 'herald,' of Dan. 3 4. On the probable philological connection of כרז (Dan. 5 29 Aph.; 'made proclamation') with κηρύσσειν (𝔊 87 ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν), see Bevan on Dan. 5 29; Kau., *Gramm. des bibl. Aram.*, § 64 4; *NO. GGA*, '84, p. 1019. κήρυξ also occurs in Gen. 41 43 (see ABRECH), Ecclus. 20 15 4 Macc. 6 4.

HERBS. A rendering of various Hebrew terms.

1 יָרָק, *yārāḳ*, 'that which is green,' 'a garden of herbs,' Dt. 11 10 1 K. 21 2. A dinner (AV, Che., cp *Ass. arâḳu*, 'to eat'; RV^mg. 'portion' of herbs) Prov. 15 17.

2. עֵשֶׂב, *'ēsebh*, 'herbage,' including grasses and cereals, Gen. 1 11, etc.

3 and 4. דֶּשֶׁא, *déše'*, and חָצִיר, *ḥāṣîr*. See GRASS.

5 and 6. אֹרֹת, *'ōrōth* (MH אוֹרוֹת), 2 K. 4 39 (αριωθ [BAL], *herbas agrestes*). Elisha had just 'come down' to Gilgal in time of famine and sent a man to gather *'ōrōth*, 'herbs' or vegetables for a pottage. The Talmud (*Yōmā*, 18 6) explains *'ōrōth* by the word *gargîr* (גרגיר), which means 'colewort' (*eruca*). Royle (Kitto's *Bib. Cyc.*, *s.v.* 'Oroth'), indeed, insists that the *'ōrōth* must have been the fruit of some plant for which the so-called 'wild gourds' (EV) might have been mistaken. This, however, is not at all clear. The man spoken of in the story need not have confined himself to colewort. If he found a cucumber, or what he thought to be such, he would not reject it. See GOURDS, WILD.

In Is. 26 19 טַל אוֹרֹת (ἴαμα [BℵAQΓ]; *ros lucis*; EV 'dew of herbs'), if correct, means 'dew of lights' (RV^mg. 'dew of light'). See DEW, § 2 6. But 𝔊 suggests אֲרֻכָתָם, 'their healing' (see LIGHT). And in Is. 18 4 AV's rendering of עֲלֵי־אוֹר (as if עֲלֵי־אֹרֹת), 'upon herbs' (ὡς φῶς καύματος μεσημβρίας [BℵAQΓ]; *meridiana lux*), is generally abandoned; RV gives 'in sunshine.' But the text probably needs emendation (see VINE).

7. βοτάνη=דשא, *déše*, עשב, *'ēsebh*, in 𝔊; 'grass'; Heb. 6 7.

8. λάχανα=ירק, *yārāḳ*, and ירק, *yéreḳ*, in 𝔊; 'herbs,' Mt. 13 32.

For מְרֹרִים, *merōrîm*, Ex. 12 8, see BITTER HERBS.

T. K. C.

HERCULES, (Ἡρακλῆς [VA]), mentioned only in 2 Macc. 4 19 *f.* in connection with the games held in his honour at Tyre, for which JASON [*q.v.*, 2] sent 300 drachmas of silver.[2] The contest was held every fifth year, and was probably based upon the Olympic games (cp further Schur. *GVI* 2 21 *ff.*). Hercules was the

[1] Or an abbreviated form.

[2] According to Polyb. 31 20, Arr. *Alex.* 2 24 etc., it was customary for the colonies to send embassies to Tyre in honour of their deity.

Greek name for the Tyrian Melkarth[1] (מלקרת, *i.e.*, מלך קרת, king of the city), whence the Greek Melikertes (see Roscher, *Lex.*, *s.v.*). See BAAL, § 6, HELLENISM, § 5.

HERD (בָּקָר), Ex. 10 9; **Herdsman** (רֹעֶה), Gen. 13 7. See CATTLE, §§ 2*a* 6.

HERES, CITY OF, EV^mg., or, CITY OF DESTRUCTION, EV; (עִיר הַהֶרֶס; so MT, Pesh.); or, CITY OF THE SUN, EV second margin (עִיר הַחֶרֶס; so Symm., Vg., Talm., *Mĕnāḥōth* 110*a*, Saad.,[2] and some Heb. MSS), or, 'city of righteousness' (עיר הצדק [?], πόλις ασεδεκ[3] [BℵAQΓ]; αρες Aq., Theod., may be either הרס or חרס). The name which was to be given at a future day to one of five cities in Egypt, where Hebrew would be spoken and the Jewish religion practised (Is. 19 18).

Opinion is much divided as to the reading of the name, and as to the date of the section to which the clause containing the name belongs. Some critics (Dillmann, Guthe) even hold that the clause is a later addition to the section; this, however, seems an unnecessary refinement of criticism, suggested by a wish to push the date of the rest of the chapter as high up as possible. Considering that there is nothing in *vv.* 18-25 that is decidedly favourable, and much that is adverse, to the authorship of Isaiah, and that the section only becomes fully intelligible in the light of the history of the Greek period, 'it is best to interpret *v.* 17*b* as the translation of a fact of history into the language of prophecy. The meaning of the verse seems to be that early in the Greek period there were to be in Egypt colonies of Jewish worshippers of Yahwè, among whom the 'language of Canaan' was not exchanged for Greek, and that one of them would be settled in the city of Heres, or (shall we say?) of Heres. Probably Heres, not Heres, is the right reading; it is Heliopolis, the city of the Sun-god, that is meant—the city which before the foundation of Alexandria was perhaps best known to the Jews (see ON). The rare word חרס is preferred to שֶׁמֶשׁ (contrast Jeremiah's procedure, if 'Beth-shemesh' in Jer. 43 13 is correct). The reading Heres (*i.e.*, destruction) is no doubt an intentional alteration of Heres (a few MSS even read חֵרֶם = *anathema*), just as Timnath-heres (Judg. 2 9) is altered into Timnath-serah in Josh. 19 50 24 30.

𝔊's reading 'city of Zedek' (*i.e.*, 'city of righteousness'), though it is defended by Geiger [*Urschr.* 79], Bredenk., Guthe, and half accepted by Dillmann, is very improbable, and may seem to have arisen out of a desire for a distinct prediction of the temple of Onias at Leontopolis (see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3 1). צֶדֶק will then mean 'legal correctness' (cp ובחי צדק, Ps. 51 21); the *Oneion* was not at first regarded with dislike in Palestine. But ℵ*'s ασεδ [ασε, ℵ^c.a] suggests the possibility that -εκ is a later addition to ασεδ, which perhaps arose through transposition of letters; ασεδ in fact suggests חסר or הסר. On the critical questions see further Che. *Intr. Is.* p. xxvi 102 *f.*, Kittel's revision of Dillmann's *Jesaia* ('98), and Marti's commentary. To recapitulate fantastic theories which have small claim on consideration would lead the reader away from the main point (on which cp HIGH PLACE, § 9, n.).

T. K. C.

HERES, THE ASCENT OF. So RV, in Judg. 8 13, to define the road which Gideon took in returning to Succoth from the battlefield. RV partly follows certain versions, which read מִמַּעֲלֵה החרס for מִלְמַעֲלֵה החרס (MT). This, however, is not enough; we do not expect a place-name here. הֶהָרִים (Symm., 'I'heod.) would be a slight improvement.

Most probably, however, the true reading is הַמַּחֲנֶה הֶחֱרִים 'he devoted the host to destruction,'—originally a marginal correction of הַמַּחֲנֶה הֶחֱרִיד (*v.* 12, end). הֶחֱרִיד is in fact a weak

[1] So especially *CIS* 1 no. 122, where for מ׳ בעל צר the parallel Gr. has ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει; cp Baethg. *Beitr.* 20 *f.*

[2] The Oxford MS has distinctly קריה אלחרם. Derenbourg, however, emends חרם into הרס, and conjectures that Saad. gave this word the Arabicizing sense of 'crushing' (*ZATW* 9 37).

[3] On the supposed reading π. αχερες (in the Complutensian edition), see Del. on Isaiah, *l.c.*

expression (cp Jos. *Ant.* v. 6 5, διέφθειρε). For the form of the correction cp 1 K. **5** 3 [4 23], where the last two words are a correction of a preceding word, see FOWL, FATTED.

𝔊's readings are ἐπάνωθεν (τῆς παρατάξεως) Ἄρες [B, omitting an accidental repetition], ἀπὸ αναβάσεως αρες [AL]. Aq. had ἀπὸ ἀναβ. τοῦ δρυμοῦ (reading הַחֹרֶשׁ), Symm. . . . των ορον, Theod. . . . ὄρους (see Field with his quotation from Jerome in the note), Vg. *ante solis ortum*, Tg. עַד לָא מֵיעַל שִׁמְשָׁא, 'before sunrise.' T. K. C.

HERES, MOUNT (הַר־חֶרֶם). Mentioned with Aijalon and Shaalbim as still occupied by the Amorites, Judg. 1 34 *f.* Almost certainly הר is a scribe's error for עיר, so that we should read Ir-heres = IR-SHEMESH. Budde in his commentary overlooks this, but makes the valuable suggestion that Ir-heres, Har-heres (?), and BETH-SHEMESH [*q.v.*, 1] may all be identified with 'Bit-Ninib in the district of Jerusalem' (*Am. Tal.* 183 14 *f.*). If this be so 𝔊^B may be right and we can connect Heres with 'the gate Harsith' of Jer. 19 2. We may even go further and suggest as a possibility that חרם was originally vocalised differently and was a Hebraised form of Uraš, a synonym of the Ass. god Ninib (worshipped at Bit-Ninib), who is primarily the fierce morning sun (see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 458).

𝔊^AL (ἐν τῷ ὄρει) τοῦ μυρσινῶνος = בהר־הֲדַם (an anachronism, see MYRTLE); cod. **58** του δρυμῶνος (mg. τῷ ὀστρακώδει) = בהר־הֹרֶשׁ; cp Moore. 𝔊^E reads τῷ ὀστρακώδει (חרם = חרש). Conder mentions the ruins of Ibn Harith in the vale of Aijalon. Cp TIMNATH-HERES. T. K. C.

HERESH (חֶרֶשׁ; ραραιηλ [B], αρες [A], αρης [L]), an Asaphite Levite; 1 Ch. 9 15†.

The name has no וְ prefixed to it; Vg. therefore gives 'carpentarius' (חָרָשׁ), most improbably. A comparison of Neh. 11 17 (crit. emend.) shows that חרש וגלל (not found in the list in Neh.) should be רֹאשׁ הַתְּהִלָּה, 'the leader in the song of praise.' The words should have stood after 'Mattaniah . . . son of Asaph.' T. K. C.

HERESY, HERETIC, SECT. 'Heresy' and 'sect' in EV both represent αἱρεσις.

For 'heresy' in **AV** see Acts **24** 14; for 'heresies,' 1 Cor. **11** 19 Gal. **5** 20 2 Pet. **2** 1. For 'sect,' see Acts 5 **17** 15 5 24 5 **26** 5 28 22 and mg. of 1 Cor. 11 19. RV, however, gives 'a sect', in Act; **24 14** (mg. 'heresy'); 'factions' in 1 Cor. 11 19 mg. , 'parties in Gal. 5 20 mg. ; 'sects' in 2 Pet. **2** 1 mg. Both AV and RV give 'heretical' for αἱρετικός in Tit. **3** 10; RV^mg. 'factious.'

We shall treat ***afpeurs*** (heresy) and αἱρετικός (heretical) here, from a phraseological and exegetical point of view; see further HELLENISM, § 6 *f.*

1. Biblical use of αἵρεσις. αἵρεσις occurs several times in the LXX (see, *e.g.*, Lev. 22 18 1 Macc. **8 30**); αἱρετικός neither in the LXX nor in classical writers (but see Suicer). In the OT αἵρεσις means 'free choice'; but in classical literature it has also, in pre-Christian times, the more specialised sense of 'freely chosen opinion.' Thus αἵρεσις Ἀκαδημαϊκή is equivalent to 'the Platonic philosophy'—*i.e.*, Platonism. Only a short step was needed to designate the holders—in the aggregate—of such an opinion also as a αἵρεσις, though, of course, without any flavour of censure, merely in the sense of a school or party. It is in this sense of the word that Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5 9, § **171**) describes the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes as the three αἱρέσεις of the Jews *since the Maccabean period*, 'who had different opinions concerning human actions.' Following the same usage, Acts 5 17 speaks of the αἵρεσις of the Sadducees and 15 5 (26 5) of that of the Pharisees, whilst in **24 5 14 28** 22 the word is employed to denote the followers of Christ—this last, it is true, only in the mouths of unbelieving Jews. Wherever in the first century of Christianity, whether in Jerusalem or in Rome, Jewish believers in the Messiah made their appearance, and rallied to their freely chosen ideal with a zeal and a claim of separateness recalling in some respects the manner of the Essenes, they would necessarily appear to their fellow-Jews in the light of a new αἵρεσις. The accent of superciliousness which we note when Paul's accusers at Cæsarea speak of him as a leader of the αἵρεσις of the Nazarenes does not lie on the word αἵρεσις but on the genitive τῶν Ναζωραίων, 'of the Nazarenes,' the deluded followers of the false Messiah from despised Galilee (see NAZARETH). If, on the other hand, Paul in Acts 24 14 [1] in his answer to Tertullus substitutes the word ὁδός, 'way,' 'doctrine,' 'religion,' for αἵρεσις, it is not because the latter word is in itself a name of reproach, but because he regards himself as representing, not a new αἵρεσις—and, therefore, at best, only a portion of the people of God—but the nation of Israel as a whole in so far as it can claim this name.

In the genuine Pauline epistles the word αἵρεσις is met with twice: in Gal. **5** 20, where in the list of the 'works of the flesh' it is enumerated between διχοστασίαι ('divisions') and φθόνοι ('envyings'), and in 1 Cor. **11** 19, where it is used as synonymous with σχίσματα. The new religion inscribed on its banner the motto 'All ye are one in Christ Jesus,' and accordingly regarded with the liveliest aversion any breaking-up into narrower circles, and every tendency to give prominence to individual opinions of the school. This spirit had already asserted itself to such an extent that the αἱρέσεις or divergent views, the existence of which to a Greek philosopher would probably have betokened a fresh and vigorous intellectual life, were deprecated as manifestations of grave and most disquieting import. It is only in a tone of bitter irony that the apostle (1 Cor. 11 19) says 'there must needs be αἱρέσεις (or factions)' among the Corinthians, 'in order that they who are approved among them may be made manifest.' Here he has in view only those factions turning on personal questions which were so specially conspicuous in the church life of Corinth—not false doctrines or the formation of sects occasioned by these.[2] For these there is as yet no word with the force of a *terminus technicus*, otherwise Paul, who (especially in Galatia and in Colossæ) had a hard enough battle to fight against false teachers, would assuredly have made use of it somewhere in that connection. To him αἵρεσις is hateful just as schism (σχίσμα) and faction (διχοστασία) are—in other words, only as interfering with that oneness amongst the members which is so essential to the existence of Christianity.

In the post-apostolic age, as early as the time of Ignatius and Justin, as a result of the catholic tendencies of the period, the word αἵρεσις became the *terminus technicus* for heterodoxy or 'heresy'—for all doctrine that departs from the true faith, as well as for the company of the maintainers of such doctrine.

2. Use in post-apostolic age. Those who held to the church found it impossible to think of such departures as having their origin in anything but arbitrary self-will, the church being by revelation in possession of the entire truth attainable in the present æon. Hence Tertullian's definition (*De præscr. hær.* 6), 'adulteræ doctrinæ, hæreses dictæ Græca voce ex interpretatione electionis qua quis sive ad instituendas sive ad suscipiendas eas utitur.' The word has already reached this stage in 2 Pet. **2** 1 where there is a prediction of false teachers who shall bring in αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας—'destructive heresies' (RV)—by reason of which the *way* of truth (cp Acts **24 14**) shall be evil spoken of. Whether αἱρέσεις be taken here in the sense of 'separations' or in that of 'sects' or (better—note παρεισάγειν) of 'incorrect doctrines' they are, in the mind of this writer, *ipso facto* and as such,

1 [RV renders, 'After the **Way** which they call a sect, **so** serve **I** the God of our fathers,' *i.e.*, 'I serve the same God **as** my accusers, but according to a form of religion (דֶּרֶךְ, Judg. **2** 22 Jer. **32 39**) which is simpler and truer than theirs.' Jesus of Nazareth, in other words, is a reformer of Judaism, **a** restorer of the primitive religion of Israel. The 'sect of the Nazarenes therefore deserves toleration by the Romans **as** belonging to the great Jewish body.]

2 σχίσματα. Chrys. οὐ ταύτας λέγων τὰς τῶν δογμάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν

something abominable, a work of falsehood; and the additional word ἀπωλείας is simply the expression of his belief that hell, or everlasting destruction (RV^mg. 'sects of perdition') is their destined end. In like manner also Tit. 3 10 enjoins that a factions man (αἱρετικὸς ἄνθρωπος) is to be shunned if a repeated effort to bring him to a better state of mind has failed; in that case he is an irreclaimable sinner, self-condemned; cp EXCOMMUNICATION. This employment of an adjective αἱρετικός shows merely (cp αἱρεσιῶται, Just. *Dial. c. Tryph.* So) how firmly, even at that early date, the idea of all that is ungodly and against the church had attached itself to the word αἵρεσις; an idea which, further heightened by the distinction drawn between heresy and schism, remains to this day inseparably bound up with it in ecclesiastical phraseology.

On the New Heb. term מִינִים (*minim*), the origin and exact references of which are disputed, hut which many (*e.g.*, Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* ['96], 420) render 'heretics,' see H. Kraus, *Begriff und Form der Häresie nach Talmud u. Midrash* ('96); Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüd. Monotheismus* ('98); Schürer, *GJV* and *TLZ*, 24 167 *ff.* ('99).

A. J.

HERETH (יַעַר חֶרֶת) 1 S. 22 5 RV, AV HARETH (*q.v.*).

HERMAS (ερμας [Ti. WH], an abbreviated name) is one of five—Hermes being another—who 'with the brethren that are with them' are saluted in Rom. 16 14 (cp ROMANS, §§ 4, 10). They seem to have been heads of Christian households, or perhaps class-leaders of some sort.

The names Hermas and Hermes occur twice in inscriptions belonging to the province of Asia (the former in *CIG* 2 2826, the latter in *CIG* 2 2747 2825). In the lists of the seventy apostles by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus, Hermas figures as bishop of Philippi. No one any longer supposes that he was the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the date of which is about 140 A.D., though from Origen (in *Ep. ad Rom.*) onwards church-writers have expressed this view, and accordingly have given that allegorical work a place among the writings of the apostolical fathers or immediate disciples of the apostles. Against this view see *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, and Lipsius' 'Hermas,' *Bib. Lex.* 3 20 *ff.*

HERMES (ερμης [Ti. WH]) is one of five who are mentioned together in Rom. 16 14 (cp ROMANS, §§ 4, 10).

The name is of frequent occurrence among slaves, especially members of the imperial household of the first century. In Pseudo-Dorothens and Pseudo-Hippolytus Hermes is called bishop of Dalmatia. Cp HERMAS.

HERMOGENES (ερμογενης [Ti. WH]) is mentioned in 2 Tim. 1 15†, 'All that are in Asia turned away from me, of whom are Phygelus and Hermogenes.' Nothing is really known of him, though the 'list of the seventy disciples of our Lord' by the Pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre (*Chr. Pasch.*, Bonn ed. 2 121) makes him bishop of Megara, while in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* he appears (with Demas) as a hypocritical fellow-traveller of Paul.

A certain Hermogenes, a magician, figures largely along with his disciple Philetus in the Apocryphal *Passio Jacobi Majoris*; the names are obviously borrowed from 2 Tim. 1 15 2 17, and the story is a commonplace narrative of magical wonders (see Lipsius, *Apocr. Ap.-Gesch.* 3 201 *ff.*).

HERMON (חֶרְמוֹן, 'belonging to, or connected with, a sanctuary,' αερμων [BAFL]), the great mountain-buttress of Antilibanus; cp SENIR, SIRION, SION.

1. References. 'Mount Hermon' (הַר חֶרְמוֹן) occurs in Dt. 3 8 *f.* (αρμων [B*] in *v.* 9) Josh. 11 17 12 1 5 13 5 11 1 Ch. 5 23 (‖ 'Baal-hermon and Senir'); 'Hermon' alone in Josh. 11 3 (τὴν ἔρημον [B]), Ps. 89 12 [13] (αερμων [B]), 133 3, Cant. 4 8 (ερμων [B] ερμωνι[ε]ιμ [B^ℵART]) (where 'Senir' and 'Hermon' are combined). In Judg. 3 3 we find 'Mount Baal-hermon'; but comparing Josh. 11 17 (where 'Baal-gad in the valley of the Lebanon at the foot of Mt. Hermon' appears as the N. boundary of Israel), Budde rightly reads 'the Hittites that dwelt from Baal-gad which is at the foot of Mt. Hermon to the approach to Hamath' (cp also Josh. 12 7). As the ideal N. houndary of Israel Mt. Hermon appears again in Dt. 3 8 (cp Josh. 12 5).

The poetical references to Hermon are not very many; and those which apparently occur need careful testing. Ps. 42 6 [7] ('the Hermons' RV, AV HERMONITES) is considered under MIZAR, HILL OF; Ps. 89 12 [13] under TABOR (i.); Ps. 133 3 under DEW, § 2 (*d*); Cant. 4 8 under AMANA, 1, and CANTICLES, § 15 (*d*). In the first two of these passages 'Hermonim' and 'Hermon' are not genuine.

That Ezekiel (27 5) should prefer the name 'Senir' to that of 'Hermon' is remarkable; hut we must remember that the OT passages in which 'Hermon' occurs do not (unless Judg. 3 3 he an exception) represent at all an early period.

In the NT 'Hermon' is not mentioned; but neither is Lebanon; and 'Gerizim' is only referred to in John 4 20 *f.* as 'this mountain.' It would be delightful to think that Hermon was the 'high mountain' of the Transfiguration-scene; but though, as Stanley (*SP* 399) remarks, 'high upon its southern slopes there must be many a point where the disciples could be taken "apart by themselves,"' and Keim (*Jesu von Naz.* 2 585) sees no difficulty in supposing that the narrator thought of one of the spurs of Hermon, good reason has been urged by Weiss for placing the scene in Christ's usual haunts in the NW. of the Sea of Galilee (*Leben Jesu*, 2 331 *f.*).

2. Sanctity. We have still to notice a strange reference to Hermon in the Book of Enoch (6 6), where the wicked angels are said to have descended in the days of Jared ('descent') on the summit of Mt. Hermon, and to have called it Hermon, because of the oaths which they had sworn upon it. This is a proof of the persistent sacredness of Mt. Hermon, and reminds us of the statement of Philo of Byblus that the giants were named after the mountains of Syria—Casion (Mt. Casius), Libanus, Antilibanus (Hermon) and Βραθυ = בְּרוֹשׁ (?). A notable temple on the summit is referred to by Eusebius and Jerome (OS 217 39; 90 21) as the seat of pagan worship, and recent exploration has confirmed this statement. Not only have the ruins of many Roman temples been discovered round the base and sides of the mountain, but also on its highest crag there are the traces of an open-air sanctuary, and close by on the plateau is an underground chamber, hewn in the rock, perhaps a Mithræum.[1]

3. Description. Mount Hermon has in fact three craggy summits, which rise out of a plateau; hence it is usual to explain the plural noun 'Hermonim' in Ps. 42 6 [7]. 'Mount,' which is a Hebraistic expression, means in this phrase a range of mountains, stretching from SW. to NE., and separated from Antilibanus by a ravine in the N. Its modern names are *Jebel eš-Šēḫ*, 'the mountain of the (white-haired) old man,' and *Jebel eth-Thelj*, 'the snow mountain.' The latter agrees with the appellation found in the Targum (טוּר תַּלְגָּא), and is specially suitable, Hermon being widely visible in Palestine. It is rare for the snow to disappear entirely, and hence, as a rule, snow from Hermon is still, as in Jerome's time (note on Prov. 25 13), used for cooling drinks in the hot weather.

Hermon is 9166 feet above the sea-level. As one approaches it from the S., it seems to swell up like a vast dome; but it is also visible in the Jordan Valley nearly as far south as Jericho. The lower part of the mountain, says Conder,[2] consists of Nubian sandstone, which appears also in the Lebanon. The upper part is 'a very rugged and barren dome of hard grey fossiliferous dolomitic limestone.' Snow and frost combined have produced 'a sort of shingle which covers the higher slopes between the rocks and pinnacles of the mountain side.' Conder and Tristram give pleasing descriptions of the vegetation on the lower slopes; both the fauna and the flora present a remarkable contrast to those of the Jordan Valley, at the foot of the mountain. On the N. and the W. slopes are vineyards and orchards, which, however, are liable to visits from Syrian bears. On the S., the main source of the Jordan bursts from its cavern (see CÆSAREA, § 7). The oak and the poplar are the chief trees on the lower slopes; higher up, the Aleppo pine is conspicuous. Nor must we forget the famous 'dew of Hermon.' So abundant is the moisture of the night-mist on Hermon that those who encamp there

1 Conder, in Smith's *DB*(2), 1340*a*. 2 *Ibid.*

during a summer night will find their tent as completely saturated as if heavy rain had fallen (cp DEW, § 1). T. K. C.

HERMONITES (חֶרְמוֹנִים; ερμωνιειμ [BℵAR'T], ερνωμειν [R* vid.]; *Hermoniim*)—*i.e.*, dwellers on Mt. Hermon (so Kimchi, Ainsworth, etc.), Ps. 42 6 [7], AV; **RV** 'the **Hermons**'—*i.e.*, the three summits of HERMON (*q.v.*). See MIZAR.

HEROD (FAMILY OF). The ancestor of the Herodian family was Antipater, whom Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B.C.) had made governor of Idumaea (στρατηγὸς ὅλης τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1 3). The accounts of his origin are contradictory.

1. Origin of the Family.

Nicolas of Damascus represented him as belonging to the stock of Jews (ἐκ τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων) who returned from Babylon (Jos. *l.c.*); but because Nicolas was Herod's minister and apologist Josephus rejects his testimony. His own belief is that Antipater was an Idumæan of honourable family (πρωτεύων τοῦ ἔθνους; *BJ* i. 6 2; cp *Ant.* xiv. 8 1).

The Idumæans had been subjugated by John Hyrcanus in 128 B.C., and compelled to embrace Judaism.

In course of time they came to regard themselves as Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 1); though they were sometimes reminded that they were only 'half-Jews' (*Id.* xiv. 15 2, Ἡρώδῃ . . . ἰδιώτῃ τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ, τουτέστιν ἡμιιουδαίῳ. On the other hand, when it was convenient, Herod was claimed as a Jew; *Ant.* xx. 8 7, τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖον).

The stories of the servile and Philistine origin of the family, spread abroad by Jewish, and perhaps also Christian, foes, are to be rejected (*e.g.*, Just. Mart. *Dial.* 52, Ἡρώδην Ἀσκαλωνίτην; Jul. Afr. in Eus. *HE* i. 7 11; see Schür. *Hist.* 1 314 n.). The occurrence of an Antipater of Ascalon on a tombstone in Athens (*CIG* 1 115), and of a Herod of Ascalon on one at Puteoli (*CIG* 10 1746), is interpreted in favour of origin from that town by Stark (*Gaza*, 535 *f.*).

1 *a.* ***Antipater*** (*the younger*).—The history of the family begins with Antipater's son, himself also called Antipater, or Antipas—a diminutive form, perhaps used to avoid ambiguity during his father's lifetime (so Wilcken, in Pauly's *Realencyc.*, *s.v.* 'Antipatros,' no. **17**). Antipater the younger, who may perhaps have succeeded to his father's governorship,[1] threw himself devotedly into the cause of Hyrcanus II. in his struggle against the usurpation of the crown and high-priesthood by his brother Aristobulus II. in 69 B.C.

2. Antipater (the younger).

This struggle, in which Antipater enlisted the arms of the Arabian (Nabatæan) king Arĕtas (Ḥāritha), ultimately cost the Jews their independence. The bold and vigorous character of Aristobulus augured, in fact, a resumption of the national policy of the Hasmonæan house, with which the Sadducæan nobles were in sympathy. The accession of Queen Alexandra (78-69 B.C.) had marked the abandonment of this policy, and the adoption of the Pharisaic[2] abnegation of political development. (On this conflict of ideals between the two sects, see ISRAEL, § 82 *f.*; Momms. *Hist. of Rome*, ET 4 132; Id. *Prov. of R. Emp.* 2 161.) The Pharisees attempted to attain their objects under the merely nominal rule of the weak Hyrcanus, and it was among them, as well as among the legitimist Sadducees, that Antipater found support (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13).

It is unnecessary to tell at length the story of the overthrow of the Maccabee state, effected by Pompeius as a part of his policy for the organization of Syria.

The gates of Jerusalem were opened to the legions of Pompeius by the party of Hyrcanus; but the national party seized the temple-rock and bravely defended it for three months (*Ant.* xiv. 4 2 *f.*). This was in the autumn of 63 B.C. The final result of the struggle was the curtailment of Jewish territory. In conformity with the general policy of Rome in the East, of basing rule upon the (Greek)[3] urban communities, Pompeius 'liberated' from the Jewish rule all the coast towns from Raphia to Dora, and all the non-Jewish towns of the Peraea together with Scythopolis and Samaria. To all these communal freedom was restored, whilst in other respects they were under the rule of the governor of the newly-constituted province of Syria.

The purely Jewish portion of the Hasmonean kingdom was left under Hyrcanus, who was recognised as high priest, but had neither the title nor the powers of a king (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10 4). The whole country was made tributary, paying its taxes through the governor of Syria (*id. Ant.* xiv. 4 4; *BJ* i. 7 6).

It is clear that as a civil governor Hyrcanus was a complete failure, succumbing, as he did, before the first attack of Alexander, son of Aristobulus. Gabinius therefore deprived him of all his secular powers, and divided the whole country (*i.e.*, Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa) into five independent districts.

These districts (σύνοδοι, συνέδρια) were administered by governing colleges with an aristocratic organisation (Jos. *BJ* i. 8 5, ἀσμένως δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐπικρατείας ἐλευθερωθέντες, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῳκοῦντο). This was in 57 B.C. The two following years were also marked by abortive attempts on the part of Aristobulus or his son to recover the lost crown (see on the position of parties at this time, Wellh. *Prol.*, ET, 527 *f.*).

The position of Antipater at this period is described by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 8 1).

Josephus calls Antipater 'governor of the Jews' (τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητής); so also Strabo, quoted by Josephus (*ibid.* 3). This office was probably in the main concerned with finance, for the five districts above mentioned must have been connected, not with the administration of law merely, but also with the arrangements for collecting the taxes. In any case Antipater was an officer, not of Hyrcanus, whose power was at this time purely ecclesiastical, but of the Roman governor of Syria. The degree to which this was evident in practice depended entirely upon the attitude of Antipater towards Hyrcanus, and it was easy for him to act as though he were merely his first minister. Probably he owed this position to Gabinius, who in 55 B.C. 'settled the affairs of Jerusalem according to the wishes of Antipater' (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 6 4).

It is, therefore, an inversion of the facts when Josephus assigns to the initiative of Hyrcanus the services of Antipater to Cæsar in Egypt in 48-7 B.C. (*Ant.* xiv. 8 1, ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ). There was, in fact, no alternative open, once Pompeius had fallen. An additional reason for this policy was that in 49 B.C. Cæsar had attempted to use the defeated rival of Hyrcanus against the Pompeian party in Syria. The plan was frustrated by the poisoning of Aristobulus even before he left Rome, and by the execution of his son Alexander at Antioch by the proconsul of Syria, Q. Metellus Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius. Antigonus, the second son of Aristobūlus, still lived and had strong claims on Caesar's gratitude. The personal services of Antipater, however, carried the day; he fought bravely and successfully for Caesar at Pelusium and in the Delta. Hyrcanus was consequently confirmed in his high-priestly office and appointed hereditary 'ethnarch' of the Jews—*i.e.*, he was reinstated in the political authority of which he had been deprived by Gabinius. Antipater was made procurator (ἐπίτροπος: not the procuratorship of the imperial period, but an office delegated, in theory, by Hyrcanus; cp Momms. *Prov. of R. Emp.* 2 174 n.). In addition, he was granted Roman citizenship, and freedom from taxation (*immunitas*: Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8 3; *BJ* i. 9 5).

The real control of the country was in the hands of Antipater (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9 3; *BJ* i. 10 5 *f.*), who strengthened his position by appointing Phasael and **Herod** (two of his sons by Cypros, an Arabian; *Ant.* xiv. 7 3) governors (στρατηγοί)—the former in Jerusalem and the south, the latter in Galilee (*Ant.* xiv. 9 2). This is the first occasion on which we hear of Herod. He was at this time, according to Josephus (*l.c.*; cp *BJ* i. 10 4, κομιδῇ νέον), only fifteen years old. Probably we should read 'twenty-five,' for Herod was about seventy at the time of his death (*BJ* i. 33 1; see Schur. *Hist.* 1 383 n.).

Once again before his end Antipater had an opportunity of displaying that sagacity in choosing sides, to which he owed his success.

In 46 B.C., Cæcilius Bassus, a member of the Pompeian party, caused Sextus Cæsar, the governor of Syria, to be assassinated,

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1 3, however, calls him merely φίλος τις Ὑρκανοῦ. Hence Momms. *Prov. of R. Emp.* 2 174 n., wrongly says, 'Antipater began his career as governor of Idumæa': unless we suppose the 'governorship' to have been merely a vague commission of superintendence attached to the hereditary chieftainship.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 16 2, πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπέτρεπεν ποιεῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευσεν πειθαρχεῖν.

[3] For the meaning of 'Greek' in this connection, as contrasted with 'Jewish,' see Kuhn, *Die städt. u. bürg. Verfass. des Röm. Reichs*, 2 337 *f.* It signifies not nationality so much as mode of organization.

and made himself master of Syria. He was besieged in Apameia by the Caesarians under C. Antistius Vetus, who was assisted by troops sent by Antipater (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11 1 . Dio Cass. 47 27). The new governor, L. Statius Murcus, obtained no advantage over Bassus and the siege continued without result, when the assassination of Caesar, and the arrival in Syria of Gaius Cassius Longinus one of his murderers, changed the aspect of affairs. Both besiegers and besieged went over to Cassius, and the republican party was, for a time at least, dominant in the East. The *de facto* rulers of Palestine, Antipater and Herod, displayed their zeal for the party in raising the 700 talents demanded as the Jewish contribution to the republican war-chest (*44* B.c.).

In the following year, after the withdrawal of Cassius, Antipater fell a victim to poison administered at the instigation of a certain Malichos.

The object of the conspiracy is not clear. Was Malichos a leader of the Pharisaic section anxious for a reinstatement of the old theocratic government under Hyrcanus (so Matthews, *Hist. of NT Times in* ***Palestine***, 106; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11 3, **τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ἀσφάλειαν Ὑρκανοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι** νομίζων); or was he prompted merely by ambition (so Schür. *Hist.* 1 386; cp Jos. *BJ* i. 11 3, **σπεύδων ἀνελεῖν Ἀντίπατρον τὸν ἐμπόδιον αὐτοῦ τοῖς** ἀδικήμασιν, and *ihid.* 7)? Or, thirdly, was he a patriot who saw in the civil war an opportunity of getting rid of Roman dominion altogether ; including both Antipater and [if necessary) Hyrcanus, who were its representatives (cp Jos. *BJ* i. 11 8, end)? Lastly, was Hyrcanus himself possibly privy to the murder of Antipater ?

1*b*. *Herod* ***the*** *Great.*[1]—The services rendered by Herod to the cause of Cassius were rewarded by his appointment as *stratēgos* of Coele-Syria (Jos. *BJ* i. 11 *4*); it was typical of the man that he should have held this position originally under the Cæsarian governor, Sextus Cæsar (***id.Ant.*** xiv. 9 5). Already in Galilee he had given proof of his energy and ability, and at the same time of his thorough enmity to anti-Roman sentiments, by his capture and execution of Ezekias, a noted brigand chief or patriot, who for long had harassed the Syrian border (Jos. *BJ* i. 10 5). It was not long, however, before (**41** B.C., the year in which Antigonus. son of Aristobūlus II., was defeated by Herod) Herod performed another *volte-face*, the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi having thrown all the East into the power of Antonius.

3. Herod the Great.

Partly by reason of the friendship which there had been between Antonius and Antipater in the days of Gabinius, partly also no doubt by reason of the remarkable similarity in character between the Roman and the Idumæan, Herod had no difficulty in securing the thorough support of Antonius. Deputation after deputation from the Sadducaean party (Jos. ***Ant.*** xiv. 12 2 *f.*) appeared before Antonius with accusations against Phasael and Herod ; but in vain. Hyrcanus himself was fain ***to*** admit the ability of the accused.

Antonius was only consulting the interests of peace and good government in declaring both Phasael and Herod tetrarchs (***Ant.*** xiv. 13 1).

In the following year (40 B.C.) Herod experienced the strangest vicissitudes of fortune. The Parthians were induced by Antigonus to espouse his cause.

They passed from Syria into Judaea, where the legitimists (*i.e.*, the aristocrats, in the main Sadducees) rallied round Antigonus, who, seeing that Hyrcanus was hound hand and foot to the hated Idumæans, was now the real representative of the Hasmonæan line. Hyrcanus and Phasael incautiously put themselves in the power of their enemies. The ears of Hyrcanus were cut off in order to make it impossible for him ever again to hold the high-priesthood (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13 10). Phasael, happy in his knowledge that he had an avenger in his brother who was free, dashed out his own brains.

Herod himself, too crafty to he deceived by the Parthians, had made his escape eastwards with his mother Cypros, his sister Salome, and Mariamme, to whom he was betrothed ; Mariamme was also accompanied by her mother, Alexandra. These Herod deposited for safety in the strong castle of Masada by the Dead Sea (***Ant.*** **xiv. 139**). He himself made his way with difficulty to Alexandria, and at length arrived at Rome, where he was welcomed both by Antonius and by Octavian. Within a week he was declared king of Judæa by the Senate; his restoration indeed was to the interest of the Romans, seeing that Antigonus had allied himself with the Parthian enemy.

P. Ventidius, the legate of Antonius in Syria, succeeded in expelling the Parthians from Syria and Palestine (Dio Cass. 48 41) ; but neither he nor his subordinate Silo gave Herod real help in regaining Jerusalem.

Herod was in fact compelled to rest content for this year (**39** B.C.) with the seizure of Joppa, the raising of the blockade of Masada, and the extermination of the robbers (*i.e.*, patriots) of Galilee in their almost inaccessible caverns of Arbela (*Irbid*, in the *Wady el-Ḥamām*, see ARBELA, § 1). Next year he joined Antonius, then besieging Antiochus, king of Commagene, in Samosata, probably with the object of securing more effectual assistance. At Daphne (Antioch), on his homeward journey, he received news of the defection of Galilee, and the complete defeat and death of his brother Joseph at the hands of Antigonus

It was not until the following year that the fall of Samosata enabled Antonius to reinforce Herod before Jerusalem with the bulk of his army under C. Sosius, the new governor of Syria (**37 B.**c.). Herod chose this moment for the celebration of his marriage with Mariamme, to whom he had been betrothed for the past five years (*Ant.* xiv. ***1514***). The ceremony toolc place at Samaria.[1] This central district of Palestine remained loyal to Herod throughout these troublous years, and a large part of his forces was recruited therefrom.

After a three months' siege Antigonus surrendered, and was carried in chains to Antioch, where, by Herod's wish, Antonius had him beheaded[2]—the first king, we are told, to he so dealt with by the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1 2 ; Plut. ***Ant.*** **36).** This was the end of the Hasmonæan dynasty, and from this year dates Herod's reign (37 B.C.).

Herod's reign is generally divided into three periods— (1) 37-25 B.C., in which his power was consolidated ; (2) 25-13 B.C., the period of prosperity ; (3) 13-4 B.c., the period of domestic troubles.

4. Herod as king.

i. ***The*** *consolidation of Herod's power* (37-25 B.C.).—During the early years of his reign Herod had to contend with several enemies.

It is true that the immediate execution of forty-five of the most wealthy and prominent of the Sanhedrin—;.e., of the Sadducaean aristocracy, which favoured Antigonus (Jos. ***Ant.*** **xiv. 94, πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ**; cp id. *Ant.* xv. 1 2, **τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ τῆς** αἱρέσεως Ἀντιγόνου)—broke the active resistance of the rival house, whilst the confiscation of their property filled the new king's coffers.

With the Pharisaic party resistance was of a more passive nature; but the leaders of even the more moderate section, Pollio and Samæas,[3] in advising the surrender of Jerusalem, could only speak of his dominion as a judgment of God, to which the people must submit. Opposition on the part of the surviving members of the Hasmonrean house never ceased ; its mainspring was Alexandra, Herod's mother-in-law, who found an ally in Cleopatra **of** Egypt. The enmity of Cleopatra was possibly due simply to pique (*BJ* i. 14 2, end). Hyrcanus, who had been set at liberty, and was held in great honour by the Babylonian Jews, was invited by Herod to return to Jerusalem, and, on his arrival, was treated with all respect by the king.[4]

As Hyrcanus could no longer hold the high-priesthood (Lev. 21 16 *f.*), Ananel, an obscure Babylonian Jew of priestly family was selected for the post, which he occupied for a time ; but thk machinations of Alexandra soon compelled Herod to depose him in favour of Aristobūlus (III.), son of Alexandra (**35** B.C.). The acclamations of the populace, when the young Hasmonrean prince (he was only seventeen years of age) officiated at the Feast of Tabernacles, warned Herod that he had escaped one danger only to incur a greater.

Shortlyafterwards Aristobfiluswas drowned by Herod's orders in the bath at Jericho.

Cleopatra constituted a real danger for Herod during the first six years of his reign, owing to her boundless rapacity and her strange influence over Antonius. In **34** B.C. she induced Antonius to bestow upon her the whole of Phœnicia (with the exception of Tyre and

[1] For an earlier notice see above, § 2 end.

[1] Mariamme was Herod's second wife. His first wife was Doris (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 12 1 ; *BJ* i. 12 3 22 1). **By** her he had one son, Antipater.

[2] Dio Cass. 49 22 says that he was crucified.

[3] Possibly the celebrated Abtalion, and his pupil Shemaia.

[4] Jos. *Ant.* xv. 2 3 *f.* absurdly explains this as merely a piece of treachery on Herod's part.

Sidon), part of the Arabian territory (for the revenue of which Herod was held responsible), and the valuable district of Jericho (which Herod was compelled to take in lease from the queen, for 200 talents yearly; *BJ* i. 185). Loyalty, combined with prudence, enabled the harassed king to resist the fascinations of the Egyptian enchantress when she passed through Judæa (*Ant.* xv. 4 2).

When the Roman Senate declared war against Antonius and Cleopatra, it was Herod's good fortune not to be compelled to champion the failing cause. In obedience to the wishes of Cleopatra herself, he was engaged in a war with the Arabian king Malchus for no nobler cause than the queen's arrears of tribute. On the news of Octavian's victory at Actium (and Sept. 31 B.C.), he passed over at once to the victorious side (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 6 7; Dio Cass. 51 7). He did not venture to appear before Octavian until he had removed the aged Hyrcanus on a feeble charge of conspiracy with Malchus the Arabian (*Ant.* xv. 6 3). The interview upon which his fate depended took place at Rhodes.

Herod accurately gauged the character of Octavian and frankly confessing his past loyalty to Antonius, left 'it to Octavian to say whether he should serve him as faithfully. It should not be forgotten that Herod and Octavian were no strangers to each other, and that no one was better able to estimate the necessities of Herod's position during the past few years than Octavian; probably Herod was in less danger than is sometimes imagined.'

The result was that Octavian confirmed Herods royal title; and, after the suicide of Antonius and Cleopatra, restored to him all the territory of which the queen had deprived him, together with the cities of Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strata's Tower. The 400 Celts who had formed Cleopatra's guard were also given to him (*BJ* i. 20 3). These external successes were counterbalanced by domestic troubles.

These troubles had their origin in the eternal breach between Mariamme and her mother on the one side, and Herod's own mother and sister on the other. The contempt of the Hasmonæans was returned with hatred by the Idumæan Salome. The machinations of the latter bore fruit when in a paroxysm of anger and jealousy Herod ordered Mariamme to execution. Renewed conspiracy soon brought her vile mother also to her doom (28 B.C.).

The extermination of the Hasmonaean family was completed by the execution of Costobar, Salome's second husband.

Salome's first husband Joseph had been put to death in 34 B.C. Costobar, as governor of Idumaea, had given asylum to the sons of Baba, a scion of the rival house; these also were executed, and thus the last male representatives of the Hasmonæan line were swept from Herod's path (25 B.C.).

ii. ***The period of Herod's prosperity*, 25-13 B.C.**—Secure at last from external and internal foes, Herod was free for the next twelve years to carry out his programme of development. 'He was governing for the Romans a part of the empire, and he was bound to spread western customs and language and civilisation among his subjects, and fit them for their position in the Roman world. Above all, the prime requirement was that he must maintain peace and order; the Romans knew well that no civilising process could go on, so long as disorder and disturbance and insecurity remained in the country. Herod's duty was to keep the peace and naturalise the Graeco-Roman civilisation in Palestine' (Rams. *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 174).

The great buildings were the most obvious fruit of this period.

Strato's Tower was entirely rebuilt (*BJ* i. 21 5 *f.*), and furnished with a splendid harbour (see CÆSAREA, § 1). Samaria also, was rebuilt and renamed Sebaste (Strabo, p. 760). Both these cities contained a temple of Augustus, and Herod showed his zeal for the empire by similar foundations in other cities, outside the limits of Judæa (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9 5). Connected with this was the establishment of games, celebrated every fourth year, in honour of the Emperor (*Ant.* 16 5 1, τὸν ἀγῶνα Καίσαρι κατὰ πενταετηρίδα . . . ἄγειν, at Caesarea; cp id. *Ant.* xv. 8 1; also at Jerusalem, *ibid.*).[1] With this went, of course, the erection of the necessary buildings (theatre, amphitheatre, and hippodrome at Jerusalem, *Ant.* xv. 8 1; *BJ* ii. 3 1; the same at Jericho, *Ant.* xvii. 6 3 5; *BJ* i. 33 8; at Cæsarea, *Ant.* xv. 9 6). The games were necessarily after the Greek model. Even in the time of the Maccabees Hellenism in this form had infected Jerusalem (1 Macc. 1 14): see HELLENISM.

The defensive system of the country was highly developed, by the erection of new fortresses, or the rebuilding of dismantled Hasmonaean strongholds. Some of these fortresses were destined to give the Romans much trouble in the great war (*BJ* vii. 6 4, vii. 8 2 *f.*). They were designed by Herod for the suppression of brigandage (a standing evil) and the defence of the frontier against the roving tribes of the desert (*Ant.* xvi. 9 2). So successful was he in fulfilling this primary requirement, that in 23 B.C. Augustus put under his administration the districts of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa, inhabited by nomad robber-tribes, which the neighbouring tetrarch Zenodorus had failed to keep in order (*BJ* i. 20 4; cp Strabo 756, καταλυθέντων νυνὶ τῶν περὶ Ζηνόδωρον λῃστῶν). In 20 B.C., on the death of Zenodorus, Herod was given his tetrarchy, the regions of Ulatha and Panias (*Ant.* xv. 10 3; cp Dio Cass. 54 9); and he obtained permission to appoint his brother Pherōras tetrarch of Peræa. On Herod's work cp Momms. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2 182.

Much might be said of Herod's munificence both to his own subjects and far beyond the limits of his kingdom.

The Syrian Antioch (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5 3), the cities of Chios and Rhodes, the new foundation of Augustus, Nicopolis in Epirus, and many others, experienced Herod's liberality. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians counted him among their benefactors (*BJ* i. 21 11; cp *CIA* iii. 1 550). The ancient festival at Olympia recovered something of its old glory through his munificence (*Ant.* xvi. 5 3). At home, in 20 B.C., he remitted one-third of the taxes (*Ant.* xv. 10 4), and in 14 B.C. one-fourth (*Ant.* xvi. 2 5). In 25 B.C. he had converted into coin even his own plate in order to relieve the sufferers from famine by importing corn from Egypt (*Ant.* xv. 9 1 *f.*).

The greatest benefit of all, however, in the eyes of Jews must have been his restoration of the Temple, a work which was carried out with the nicest regard for the religious scruples of the nation (*Ant.* xv. 11 6). Begun in 20 B.C., it was not entirely finished until the time of the Procurator Albinus (62-64 A.D.), a few years before its total destruction (cp Jn. 2 20). Its beauty and magnificence were proverbial (cp Mt. 24 1 Mk. 13 1 Lk. 21 5).

iii. *Period of domestic troubles*, 13-4 B.C.—The last nine years of Herod's life were marked in a special degree by domestic miseries. Of his ten wives (enumerated in Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1 3; *BJ* i. 28 4), the first, Doris (col. 2026 n. 1), had been repudiated, along with her son Antipater (*BJ* i. 22 1). By his marriage with Mariamme Herod had hoped to give his position a certain legitimacy.

Mariamme's mother, Alexandra, was the daughter of Hyrcanus II., whilst her father, Alexander, was a son of Aristobūlus II. (brother of Hyrcanus): consequently Mariamme represented the direct line of the Hasmonæan (Maccabæan) family.

The political intrigues of Mariamme's mother, and the mutual enmity of Mariamme and Herods mother (Cypros) and sister (Salome), effectually frustrated these hopes. Of the three sons borne to Herod by Mariamme, the youngest died in Rome (*BJ* i. 22 2); but Alexander and Aristobūlus were fated to die on the gibbet at that very Sebastè which, thirty years before, had seen Herods marriage with their mother.

Salome had in the second tragedy also a large share, notwithstanding the fact that Berenice, the wife of Aristobūlus,[1] was her own daughter (by Costobar, see above, i. end). The recall of the banished Antipater, son of Doris, brought a more deadly intriguer upon the scene (14 B.C.; *BJ* i. 23 1). Under the combined attack of Antipater and Salome, the two sons of Mariamme incurred the suspicions of the king. The reconciliation effected by Augustus himself (*Ant.* xvi. 4 5: in 12 B.C.) at Aquileia, and two years later by Archelaus, the Cappadocian king (*Ant.* xvi. 8 6), had no long continuance. The elements of discord and intrigue were reinforced by the arrival at Herod's court of the Lacedæmonian adventurer Eurykles (*BJ* i. 26 1 *f.*). The brothers were again accused of treason, and Augustus gave leave to Herod

[1] Cp Suet. *Aug.* 59 on the games and the 'Cæsareæ urbes' built by the 'reges amici atque socii.'

[1] The wife of Alexander was Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. Glaphyra and Berenice were also on terms of bitterest enmity (*BJ* i. 24 2 *f.*).

to deal with them as he saw fit. They were tried at Berytus before C. Sentius Saturninus, the governor of Syria (*BJ* i. 27 2), and condemned to death. The execution took place at Sebastè (7 B.C.).

Antipater, whose life, says Josephus, was a 'mystery of iniquity' (*BJ* i. 24 1), next plotted with Pherōras to remove the king by poison. Herods days, indeed, were already numbered, as he was afflicted with a painful and loathsome disease (*BJ* i. 335). He lived long enough, however, to summon the arch-plotter from Italy, and to bring him to trial before Quinctilius Varus, then governor of Syria, and finally to receive the emperor's permission for his execution (*BJ* i. 33 7).[1]

Herod is said to have contemplated the wholesale massacre of the chief men of Judaea, in the hippodrome of Jericho, in order that his funeral might be accompanied by the genuine lamentations of the people; but Salome released them during his last days (*Ant.* xvii. 6 5). We may reasonably doubt whether Jewish tradition has not intensified the colours in which the closing scenes of the hated king's life are painted (*Ant.* xvii. 8 1).

Herod died in 4 B.C., five days after the execution of Antipater. 'There is probably no royal house of any age in which bloody feuds raged in an equal degree between parents and children, between husbands and wives, and between brothers and sisters' (Momms. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2 180).

We cannot here discuss the question whether Herod is rightly called 'the Great.'[2] Certainly it is not easy to be strictly fair towards him; but so much must be clear, that, judged by the standard of material benefits conferred, few princes have less reason to shrink from the test. In addition to the benefits of his rule at home, there were gains for the Jews of the Dispersion in Asia Minor. By his personal influence with Agrippa, he obtained safety for their Temple contributions, exemption from military service, and other privileges (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6 4 *f.*). In estimating these services, Herod's position in the imperial system must be remembered.

Herod was only one of a large number of 'allied kings' (*reges socii*), whose use even of the royal title was dependent upon the goodwill of the emperor, and their exercise of royal authority no less so.[3] In the most favourable case, their sovereign rights were strictly limited within the boundaries of their own land, so that a foreign policy was impossible. The right of coining money was limited; and as, of the Herodian line, only copper coins are known, we must correct the impression of Herod's importance derived from many of the statements of Josephus. The fact that no tribute was imposed, at least upon Judæa, made all the more imperative Herod's obligations in respect of frontier defence and internal good government.

5. Herod in the NT. The connection of Herod the Great with the NT is slight. Both Mt. 12 1 and Lk. (2 1) agree that the birth of Jesus took place during his reign; but the additional information given by Lk. as to the date has caused serious difficulties (see CHRONOLOGY, § 57 *ff.*). On the narrative of the Massacre of the Innocents, see NATIVITY.

6. The Succession. Herod made several wills. As a *rex socius*, indeed, he could not bequeath his kingdom without the consent of Rome. It had been, therefore, a distinct mark of favour that, on his visit to Rome to accuse Alexander and Aristobūlus, he had been given leave by Augustus to dispose of his kingdom as he saw fit (*Ant.* xvi. 4 5): apparently it was only on the express command of the emperor that he refrained then from abdication.

On his return to Jerusalem he announced to the people assembled in the temple that his sons should succeed him—first Antipater, and then Alexander and Aristobūlus. The first formal testament did, in fact, designate Antipater as heir, but, as the sons of Mariamme were then dead, Herod, the son of the high priest's daughter, was to succeed in the event of Antipater's dying before the king (*Ant.* xvii. 3 2). After Antipater's disgrace a second will was made, bequeathing the kingdom to his youngest son Antipas (*Ant.* xvii. 6 1). This was in its turn revoked by a will drawn up in his last hours, by which he divided his realm among three of his sons: Archelaus, to whom he left Judaea, with the title of king; Antipas, to whom he gave Galilee and Peraea, with the title of tetrarch; and Philip, to whom he gave the NE districts, also with the title of tetrarch (*Ant.* xvii. 8 1).

2. Herod *Antipas*.—(Ἡρώδης (-ῴδ. [WH]) ὁ τετραάρχης [Ti. WH], Mt. 14 1 Lk. 3 1 19 9 7 Acts 13 1: in.

7. Antipas. correctly called 'king' in Mk. 6 14, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης (-ῴδ. [WH]) [Ti. WH] (so also in Mt. 14 9, ὁ βασιλεύς); cp Mk. 6 22 *f.* Sometimes called simply Herod (Acts 4 27), as often by Josephus who also calls him Antipas [Ἀντ[ε]ίπας, an abbreviated form of Ἀντίπατρος]).

Son of Herod the Great by the Samaritan Malthacē, consequently full brother of Archelaus (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1 3). By Herod's last will he received the prosperous regions of Galilee and Peræa, with the title of tetrarch.[1] The confederation of independent Graeco-Roman communities called the Decapolis lay between the two parts of his territory which brought in an annual revenue of two hundred talents (*Ant* xvii. 11 4). He had the characteristically Herodian passion for building. In Galilee he rebuilt Sepphoris (*Ant* xviii. 2 1), and in Peræa Beth-aramptha (*see* BETH-HARAN); and after 26 A.D. he created the splendid capital named by him TIBERIAS [*q.v.*]. Little is told us of the course of his long reign (4 B.C.–39 A.D.). We may believe that he was a successful ruler and administrator; but the diplomacy which distinguished Herod the Great became something far less admirable in Antipas, as we may *see* from the contemptuous expression used of the tetrarch by Jesus in Lk. 13 32, 'Go ye, and tell that fox.'

Perhaps, however, this utterance should be restricted to the particular occasion that called it forth and should not be regarded as an epitome of the tetrarch's character; nevertheless we have an illustration of this trait in the story told by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 4 5) of his out-manœuvring Vitellius in forwarding the report of the treaty with the Parthian king Artabanus to Tiberius. Antipas certainly did not inherit his father's qualities as a leader in war.

Perhaps it was consciousness of his weakness in this respect that prompted Antipas to seek the hand of the daughter of the Arabian king Aretas; or he may have been urged to the alliance by Augustus, in obedience to the principle enunciated with reference to the intermarriage of *reges socii* by Suetonius (*Aug.* 48).

The connection with Herodias, wife of his half-brother Herod (son of the second Mariamme), gained Antipas his notoriety in evangelic tradition. The flight of the daughter of Aretas to her father involved him ultimately in hostilities with the Arabians, in which the tetrarch was severely defeated—a divine punishment in the eyes of many, for his murder of John the Baptist (*Ant.* xviii. 5 2). There was apparently no need for Antipas to divorce his first wife in order to marry Herodias; but Herodias perhaps refused to tolerate a possible rival (*Ant.* xviii. 5 1; cp *Ant.* xvii. 1 2).[2]

The story of the connection of JOHN THE BAPTIST [*q.v.*] with the court of Antipas need not be repeated here. Later, the Pharisees warn Jesus that the tetrarch seeks his life (Lk. 13 31). On the phrase 'the leaven of Herod' (Mk 8 15) see HERODIANS. Again in the

[1] Antipater's wife was the daughter of Antigonus, the last of the Hasmonaean kings (*Ant.* xvii. 5 2).

[2] Josephus, in fact, uses the title only once (*Ant.* xviii. 5 4, Ἡρώδῃ τῷ μεγάλῳ θυγατέρες Is Μαριάμμης . . . γίνονται δύο. Further on we have Ἡρώδῃ Ἡρώδου τοῦ μεγάλου παιδί). Comparison with the expression Ἐλκίας ὁ μέγας in *Ant.* xviii. 8 4 has suggested that Jos. meant by the title μέγας merely 'elder,' marking him as head of the dynasty. Similarly it is in this sense that it is applied to Agrippa I. (*Ant.* xvii. 2 2, Ἀγρίππας . . . ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμος); but Agrippa claimed the title in the other sense (cp his coins with the legend Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀγρίππας). It is therefore not impossible that Jos. deliberately abstained from giving the title, even though it was popularly in use with reference to the first Herod. The verdict that 'he was still only a common man' (Hitzig, quoted by Schür. *Hist.* 1 467) scarcely does justice to one who for thirty-four years combated the combined hatred of Hasmonæans and Pharisees, and extended his frontier to the widest limit ever dreamed of by Solomon.

[3] Cp Jos. *Ant.* xv. 6 7, where Herod recognises that he has his kingdom δόσει Καίσαρος καὶ δόγματι Ῥωμαίων.

[1] Since Herod Antipas is the only Herod who bore the title of tetrarch, we must refer to him an inscription on the island of Cos (CZG 2502), and another on the island of Delos (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 3 365 *f.* ['79]); but nothing is known about his connection with those places.

[2] According to the Mishna, *Sanh.* 2 4 eighteen wives were allowed to the king (see authorities quoted by Schür. *Hist.* 1 455 n.).

closing scene in the life of Jesus we meet with Antipas. Pilate, we are told by Lk. (23 7 *f.*), sent Jesus to the tetrarch 'as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction.'

The death of his firm friend Tiberius, and the accession of Gaius (Caligula), in **37** A.D., led to the fall of Antipas.

The advancement of Agrippa **I.** to the position of king over Philip's old tetrarchy by the new emperor was galling to his sister Herodias ; and against his better judgment Antipas was prevailed upon by her to go to Rome to sue for the royal title. The interview with Gaius took place at Baiæ. Agrippa meanwhile had sent on his freedman Fortunatus with a document accusing Antipas of having been in treasonable correspondence, not only with Seianus (who had been executed in **31** A.D.), but also with the Parthian kine Artabanus. Antipas could not. in fact, deny that his magazines contained **a** great accumulation of arms (probably in view of his war with the Arabians).

The deposition and banishment of Antipas, however, were in all probability due as much to the caprice of the mad emperor as to real suspicions of disloyalty.

His place of banishment was Lugdunum ***(Lyons)*** in Gaul (Jos. ***Ant.*** xviii. **7 2**); according to *BJ* **ii.** 96, he died in Spain,[1] and it has been suggested that his place of exile was actually Lugdunum Convenarum, at the northern foot of the Pyrenees, near the sources of the Garonne; but this will not save the statement of Josephus. A confused remark of Dio Cassius (59 8) seems to imply that he was put to death by Caligula.

3. Herod *Archelaus.*—('Ἀρχέλαος [Ti. WH] : Mt. 2 22†). Son, of Herod the Great by Malthacē, and elder brother of Antipas (*BJ* i. **33** 7). Antipas actually put in a claim for the crown against him before Augustus, on the ground that he had been himself named sole heir in the will drawn up when Herod was under the influence of the accusations made by Antipater against Archelaus and Philip (see § 6). The majority of the people, under the influence of the orthodox (the Pharisees), seized the opportunity afforded by Herod's death to attempt to re-establish the sacerdotal government under the Roman protectorate. Herod was scarcely buried before the masses in Jerusalem gathered with the demand for the deposition of the'high-priest nominated by him, and for the ejection of foreigners from the city, where the Passover was just about to be celebrated. Archelaus was under the necessity of sending his troops among the rioters. **A** deputation of fifty persons was sent to Rome requesting the abolition of the monarchy. To Rome also went Archelaus claiming the kingdom—a journey which probably suggested the framework of the parable in Lk. 19 12 *f.* Augustus practically confirmed Herod's last will, and assigned to Archelaus Judæa proper, with Samaria and Idumaea, including the cities of Cæsarea, Samaria, Joppa, and Jerusalem; but the royal title was withheld, at least until he should have shown that he deserved it (Jos. ***Ant.*** xvii. 11 4, *BJ* ii. 6 3). The city of Gaza was excepted from this arrangement, and attached to the province of Syria.

8. Archelaus.

The proper title of Archelaus was ethnarch. Mt. **2 22** uses the inaccurate expression *βασιλεύει* (and so Jos. ***Ant.*** xviii. ***43*** ***ὁ ἐπικατασταθεὶς αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς 'Ἀρχέλαος υἱὸς ὤν).*** The troops indeed had saluted him as king on Herod's death ***(Ant.*** xvii. 8 **2)** ; but he refused to accept the title until it should be confirmeh by Augustus (*BJ* ii. **1 1).** Probably in popular speech it was given as **a** matter of courtesy. The coins with HPDAOY ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ must be his, for no other member of the family bore the title; and, like Antipas, he used the family name of Herod (so Dio Cass. 55 **27** calls him **'Ηρώδης *b* Παλαιστῖνος.** Josephus never calls him Herod.)

.Of the details of the administration of Archelaus we know nothing, nor apparently did Josephus. He indeed says that his rule **was** violent and tyrannical (cp *BJ* ii. **7 3**, and ***Ant.*** xvii. 13 2, where he is charged with *ὠμότης* and *τυραννίς*). The description in the parable is apt—Lk. 19 21 (*ἄνθρωπος αὐστηρός*), and hence we can the better understand the statement in Mt. **222** respecting Joseph's fear to go to Judæa. Apparently Archelaus 'did not take the pains to handle gently the religious prejudices of his subjects.

[1] Niese, however, rejects the reading **Σπανίᾳ** or **'Ισπανίᾳ** in this passage, and restores **Γαλλίᾳ** from ***Ant.*** xviii. 7 *2*.

Not only did he depose and set up high-priests at his pleasure,[1] but he also took to wife Glaphyra, the daughter of the Cappadocian king Archelaus (probably between **1** B.C. and **4** A.D.). Glaphyra had been wife of Alexander, half-brother of Archelaus, who was executed in **7** B.C. (see **§ 4**, iii.). Her second husband was Juba, king of Mauretania, who was indeed still living when she married Archelaus. Moreover, she had had children by Alexander, and for this reason marriage with her was unlawful.

After nine years of rule the chief men of Judæa and Samaria invoked the interference of the emperor, and Archelaus was banished to Vienna (*Vienne*) in Gaul ***(Ant.*** xvii. 13 **2** ; cp Dio Cass. 55 **27**).[2]

It is to Archelaus that Strabo ***(765)*** refers when he says that a son of Herod was living, at the time of his writing, among the Allobroges, for Vienna was their capital town. If the statement of Jerome (*OS* 101 11)[3] that Archelaus' grave **was** near Bethlehem is trustworthy (cp RACHEL), he **must** have returned to Palestine to die.

The territory of Archelaus was taken under the immediate rule of Rome, and received a governor of its own of the equestrian order (***ἐπίτροπος***, *procurator*, see ISRAEL, § 90); but it was under the general supervision of the imperial legate of Syria (on the status of Judaea at this time, see Momms. *Prov. of* ***R.*** *Emp. 2* 185, n.). Forthwith, of course, the obligation to Roman tribute fell upon the territory thus erected into a province (hence, in Judæa, Jesus was brought face to face with the whole question of the compatibility or otherwise of Judaism with the imperial claims: cp Mt. 22 15 *ff.* Mk. 12 13 *ff.* Lk. 20 20 *ff.*).

4. Herod *Philip.*—['Ηρῴδης, Jos. ; ***Φίλιππος***, Mk. 6 17 ; see below.] Son of Herod the Great by Mariamme, daughter of Simon (son of Boethos),[4] whom Herod made high priest (about 24 B.C.). In spite of Mk. **617** (see below), we cannot hold that he ever really bore the name Philip; the confusion, which is doubtless primitive, arose from the fact that the son-in-law **of** Herodias was called Philip (see CLOPAS, § ***2).*** Herod's first will arranged that Philip should succeed in the event of Antipater's dying before coming to the throne (see § 6) ; but Philip was disinherited owing to his mother's share in Antipater's intrigues ***(Ant.*** xvii. **4 2**, *BJ* i. **30 7**). 'Philip' lived and died, therefore, in **a** private station, apparently in Rome ***(Ant.*** xviii. 5 1) ; for it seems to have been in Rome that his half-brother Antipas saw Herodias. It is indeed only in connection with his wife Herodias, sister of Agrippa I., that the name of this Herod occurs in the NT.

9. Herod (Philip ?).

In Mk. 0 **17** all MSS read 'his brother Philip's wife' ***(τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ)***, from which it would appear that this Herod also bore the name Philip. When, however, we find that Josephus knows only the name Herod for him (cp ***Ant.*** xvii. **13**, *η θυγάτηρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ἧς δὴ καὶ* ***ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ παῖς γεγόνει***), and that another son of Herod the Great also certainly bore the name Philip (see § 11), suspicion is aroused and this is confirmed when we find that 'of Philip' is omitted' in Mt. **14 3** by D and some Lat. MSS (followed by Zahn *Einl.* 2 309), whilst in Lk. 3 19 it is omitted by NBD. That' Lk. ·does not give the name is highly significant. An appeal to the fact that several sons of Herod the Great bore the name Herod cannot save the credit of Mt. and Mk. in this particular ; for Herod was a family and a dynastic title.[5] The coexistence in the family of the names Antipas and Antipater is also no argument, for they are in fact different names.

5. Herodias.—('Ηρωδιάς [Ti.], **-ῴδ.** [WH] : Mt.

[1] He deposed Joazar because of his share in the political disturbances, and appointed his brother Eleazar. Soon Jesus took the place of Eleazar. Finally Joazar was reinstated ***(Ant.*** xviii. 2 1).

[2] ***ὅ τε 'Ηρώδης ὁ Παλαιστῖνος, αἰτίαν τινὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβών, ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη.***

3 ***Sed et propter*** ***eandem Bethleem regis quondam Judææ Archelai tumulus ostenditur.***

4 So Jos. ***Ant.*** xv. 9 *3*. In other places Boethos is the name of her father. The family belonged originally to Alexandria.

[5] The name **was** borne not only by Archelaus (see his coins, cp § 8) and Antipas (see § 7), after their rise to semi-royal dignity hut also by two sons of Herod the Great who never attained thereto—viz., the subject of this section, the son of the second Mariamme, and also one of the sons of Cleopatra of Jerusalem (Jos. ***Ant.*** xvii. **13**, *BJ* **i. 284).**

14 3-12 Mk. 6 17-29 Lk. 3 19). Daughter of Aristobdus (Herods second son by Mariamme, granddaughter of Hyrcanus). Her mother was Bernice (Berenice), daughter of' Salome, Herod's sister. Herod of Chalcis (see § 12), Agrippa I., and the younger Aristobiilus, were therefore full brothers of Herodias. According to Josephus *(Ant.* xviii. 5 4) she was wife first of her half-uncle Herod (see preceding section), who is erroneously supposed to have been also called Philip. The issue of this marriage was the famous Salome who danced before Herod Antipas, and thus became the instrument of her mother's vengeance upon the Baptist. Herodias deserted her first husband in order to marry his half-brother Antipas, thus transgressing the law (cp Lev. 1816 Dt. 255).

10. Herodias.

In Mk. 6 22 the reading 'his daughter Herodias' (τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρῳδιάδος [WH]) is that of KBDLA. This would make the girl daughter of Antipas and Herodias, bearing her mother's name. Certainly the expression applied to her in the same verse (κοράσιον) is in favour of this : conversely, if the ordinary reading which designates the dancer as Salome is accepted, we must admit a great disparity in age between her and her first husband Philip the tetrarch if she is rightly called κοράσιον about 28 A.D. ; for Philip died in 34 A.D., at the age of sixty, or thereabouts. As the protest of John the Baptist in reference to the marriage by no means compels us to assume that the union was recent, it is scarcely possible to maintain that a daughter hy it must have been too young to dance at a banquet. In our ignorance of the chronology of the reign of Antipas a solution is not to he had; though it is always possible by means of assumptions to create a scheme that fits in with the received reading (cp Schiir. *Hist.* 2 28 n., and authorities there quoted).

It would scarcely be just to ascribe the action of Herodias solely to ambition; it was rather a case of real and intense affection. It is true that it was Herodias who goaded her husband, in spite of his desire for quiet and in spite of his misgivings *(Ant.* xviii. 7 2), to undertake the fatal journey to Rome ; but she made what amends she could by refusing to accept exemption from the sentence of exile pronounced upon her husband by the emperor. See above, § 7.

6. *Philip.* — (Φίλιππος, Lk. 3 1, Φιλίππου δὲ . . . τετρααρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας [Ti. WH].) Son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra, a woman of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1 3, Κλεοπάτρα Ἱεροσολυμῖτις).[1] He was left in charge of Jerusalem and Judaea when Archelaus hastened to Rome to secure his inheritance, but subsequently appeared in Rome in support of his brother's claims (*BJ* ii. 61). By the decision of Augustus in accordance with the terms of Herod's last will (see § 6). Philip succeeded to a tetrarchy consisting of Batanaea, Auranitis, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and the district of Panias (which last is, apparently, what Lk. 31 calls 'the Ituræan region,' though not indeed the whole. of it). Cp ITURÆA. This list is obtained by combining the different statements in Josephus *(Ant.* xvii. 81 114 xviii. 46, *BJ* ii. 63). Thus Philip's territory embraced the poorest parts of his father's kingdom — those lying E. and NE. of the sea of Galilee as far as Mt. Hermon : the annual revenue from it was estimated at one hundred talents.[2] The population was mixed, but was mostly Syrian and Greek — i.e., it was predominantly pagan.

11. Philip.

Hence Philip's coins bear the image of Augustus or Tiberius contrasting in this respect with those of Herod the Great (whicd have neither name nor image of the emperor) and those of Antipas (some of which bear the emperor's name, without his image). In addition, all the coins of Philip bear the image of a temple (the splendid temple of Augustus built by Herod the Great near the Grotto of Pan — τὸ Πάνειον — at the source of the Jordan : cp Jos. *Ant.* xv. 103, *BJ* i. 21 3).

Having been brought up, like all Herod's sons, at Rome, Philip's sympathies were entirely Roman. Owing to the non-Jewish character of his territory his Hellenistic and Roman policy was more successful than was the case with his brothers. Of the events of his thirty-seven years of rule *(4* B.C.–34 A.D.) we know indeed nothing beyond the summary given by Josephus.

'His rule was marked by moderation and quiet, and his whole life was spent in his own territory. His progresses were attended by a few chosen friends, and the seat on which he sat to give judgment always followed him ; so that when any one, who wanted his assistance, met him he made no delay, hut set down the tribunal wherever he might be, and heard the case' *(Ant.* xviii. 46).

Philip seems to have had scientific leanings, judging from the story told of his supposed discovery and proof that the sources of the Jordan were really connected by a subterranean passage with the circular lake called Phiale (Φιάλη, *Birket Rām?*), 120 stades from Caesarea (*BJ* iii. 107).

Apart from his evident administrative ability, Philip retained only one quality of his race — the passion for building. Early in his rule he rebuilt Panias (Πανιάς, Πανεάς), at the head-waters of the Jordan, and named it Caesarea; he also created the city of Julias, formerly the village of Bethsaida. See CÆSAREA, § 7 *ff.* ; BETHSAIDA, § 1. He was only once married — to Salome, the daughter of Herodias — and died without issue. After his death his territory was attached to the province of Syria, retaining, however, the right of separate administration of its finances *(Ant.* xviii. 46). Gaius on his accession (37 A.D.) gave it to Agrippa I. with the title of king.

7. Herod *Agrippa I.* — (Ἡρώδης [Ti.], -ῴδ. [WH], Acts ; Ἀγρίππας, Josephns and Coins).

Son of Aristobūlus (Herod the Great's son by Mariamme I.) and Bernice (daughter of Salome, Herod the Great's sister: Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5 4). He was called after his grandfather's friend Agrippa (see § 4).

12. Herod Agrippa I.

Shortly before the death of Herod the Great, Agrippa and his mother were sent to Rome, where they were befriended by Antonia, widow of the elder Drusus (brother of the emperor Tiberius). Agrippa and the younger Drusus (the emperor's son) became fast friends; but when Drusus died, in 23 A.D., Agrippa found himself obliged to leave Rome with nothing but the memory of his debts and extravagances. He retired to Malatha, a stronghold in Idumaea, and meditated suicide; but his wife Cypros[1] appealed to his sister Herodias, with the result that Antipas gave him a pension and the office of *Agoranomos* (controller of the market) at Tiberias. Before very long there was a quarrel, and Agrippa resumed his career as adventurer. For a time he was with the Roman governor Flaccus in Antioch; but ultimately he arrived again in Italy (36 A.D.), after running the gauntlet of his creditors (*Ant.* xviii. 6 3). He attached himself to Gaius the grandson of Antonia. An incautiously uttered wish for the speedy accession of Gaius (Caligula) was overheard and reported to the old emperor, and Agrippa lay in prison during the last six months of Tiherius.

Caligula, on his accession (37 A.D.) at once set Agrippa free, and bestowed upon him what had been the tetrarchy of his half-uncle Philip, together with that of Lysanias (viz., ABILENE [*q.v.*] Lk. 31; cp Dio Cass. 59 8), with the title of king (cp Acts 121) and the right to wear the diadem; he also presented him with *a* golden chain equal in weight to his iron fetters *(Ant.* xviii. 6 10). The Senate conferred upon him the honorary rank of praetor (Philo, *in Flacc.* § 6). Three years later he obtained the forfeited tetrarchy of Herod Antipas *(Ant.* xviii. 7 2). He adroitly used his influence with the emperor to induce him to abandon his mad design of erecting a statute of himself in the temple at Jerusalem *(Ant.* xviii. 8 7).[2] Agrippa was in Rome when Gaius fell by the dagger of Chaerea (Jan. 41 A.D.), and by his coolness at a critical moment contributed largely to securing the empire for Claudius *(Ant.* xix. 4 1 *f.*). In return for this service he received Judaea and Samaria, being also confirmed in his previous possessions ; 'he also obtained consular rank *(Ant.*

1 *Jos. Ant.* xvii. 8 1 inaccurately describes Philip as full brother of Archelaus — Ἀρχελάου ἀδελφῷ γνησίῳ.

2 The Greek cities of the Decapolis were, of course, outside Philip's jurisdiction.

1 Cypros was daughter of Phasael, whose wife was his cousin Salampsio, Herod the Great's daughter by the Hasmonæan Mariamme.

2 Apparently this abandonment was only temporary : a peremptory decree was finally sent, and the crisis was averted only by the emperor's assassination. The account given by Josephus of the manner of Agrippa's intervention differs from that given by Philo *Leg. ad Caium*, § 35 *f.*, and seems worked up on conventional lines — this romantic apocryphal element is very conspicuous in the whole account of Agrippa's life.

xix. 5 1; *BJ* ii. 11 5; Dio Cass. 60 8, *τιμὰς ὑπατικὰς ἔνειμε*). These grants were confirmed by solemnities in the Forum (cp Suet. *Claud.* 25). For his brother Herod he obtained the grant of the kingdom of Chalcis in Lebanon. In part also at least his influence must be seen in the edicts published by Claudius in favour of the Jews throughout the empire, freeing them from those public obligations which were incompatible with their religious convictions. In pntting under Agrippa the whole extent of territory ruled by his grandfather, 'it was certainly the design of Claudius to resume the system followed at the time of Herod the Great and to obviate the dangers of the immediate contact between the Romans and the Jews' (Mommsen, *Prow. of R. Emp.* 2 200).

Now began the second period in Agrippa's life, in which the spendthrift adventurer appears as a model of Pharisaic piety. He began his three years of actual rule with significant acts—the dedication in the temple of the golden chain received from Gaius, the offering of sacrifices in all their details, and the payment of the charges of a great number of Nazirites (cp Acts 21 24). 'He loved to live continually in Jerusalem, and strictly observed the laws of his country, keeping himself in perfect purity, and not allowing a single day to pass over his head without its sacrifice' (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 7 3: so in the Talmud, if the references are not in part to the younger Agrippa). His appeal to Petronius, governor of Syria, in the matter of an outrage against Judaism in the Phoenician town of Dora was based on general grounds of policy and national self-respect, and need not be traced specially to his correct attitude with regard to Pharisaism. It was undoubtedly a consequence of this attitude that, though of a mild disposition (*Ant.* xix. 7 3), he began a persecution of the Christians (Acts 12 1). James the great was sacrificed, and Peter escaped only by a miracle.

Agrippa's action against the Christians is supposed by some to have been due to the famine over 'all the world' (Acts 11 28), a generalisation which cannot be entirely defended by the *assiduæ sterilitates* that marked the reign of Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 18), or the enumeration of the occasions mentioned hy other authors (in Rome, at the beginning of his reign, Dio Cass. 60 11; in Greece, in his eighth or ninth year, Eus. *Chr.* 2 152; in Rome, in his eleventh year, Tac. *Ann.* 12 43. Cp Zahn, *Einl.* 2 415). Just as little can we defend the words *βούβρωστις . . κόσμον ἐπέσχεθε πάντα* of the inscr. of Apollonia in Galatia referring to famine in Asia Minor in 57 A.D. (*CIG* 3973; Rams. *Stud. Oxon.* IV., '96, p. 52 *f.*). The exaggeration is natural. It is indeed true that often subsequently public calamities were the signal for persecution (cp Blass, *Act. Apost. l.c.*); but the famine referred to in the prophecy of Agabus occurred in 45-46 A.D. (cp Rams. *Paul the Traveller*, pp. 49, 68), after the death of Agrippa. Nevertheless the latest date that will fit the prophecy is 41 A.D., if not earlier. Such a prophecy might well be regarded outside the Christian circle as a threat.

The outspoken Jewish sympathies of the king cost him the affection of the towns that adhered to the Romans, and of the troops organised in Roman fashion: at any rate the report of his death was received with outrageous jubilation on the part of the troops in Cæsarea on the coast (*Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοί*, Jos. *Ant.* xix. 9 1 xx. 8 7).

The striking incident recorded in the Mishna (*Sōṭā*, 7 8) is to be referred to this Agrippa rather than to Agrippa II. When at the Feast of Tabernacles (consequently in 41 A.D.) he read, according to custom, the Book of Deuteronomy, he burst into tears at the passage 'Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee which is not thy brother' (Dt. 17 15): but the people cried out, 'Be not grieved, Agrippa! Thou art our brother!'[1]

The question as to how far Agrippa was sincere in all this is difficult.

It must be remembered that Agrippa was not only a vassal king (see § 4), but a Roman citizen, belonging by adoption to the *Gens Iulia* (cp the inscr. quoted under BERENICE, and Schür. *Hist.* 2 162 n.), so that he owed concessions to the imperial system that were not in strictness compatible with his position as a Jewish monarch. This fact must have been recoguised by the strictest Jew (always excepting the fanatical Zealots), who must perforce have tacitly consented to the king's playing on behalf of the nation two contradictory parts. It is true, the difficulty with which he had to grapple was only the standing problem of his house. As compared with his grandfather, however, he had this advantage—that rival claims were silenced, or rather in his own person he combined those of both Hasmonæans and Herodians. At the same time, his long residence in Rome, where he had been in closest contact with the main-spring of the imperial machinery, had given him an insight into the possibilities of his rule far superior to that possessed by any other member of the family. Two episodes of his reign show clearly that he grasped these possibilities. On the N. of Jerusalem he began the building of a wall which, if completed, would have rendered the city impregnable to direct assault. It was stopped by the emperor on the report of C. Vibius Marsus, who, as governor of Syria, had the duty of watching the imperial interests in the protected states in his neighhourhood (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 7 2; cp Tac. *Hist.* 5 12). Of still greater significance was the conference of vassal princes of Rome assembled by Agrippa at Tiberias, viz. Antiochus of Commagene, Sampsiceramus of Emesa, Cotys of Armenia Minor, Polemon of Pontus, and Herod of Chalcis. This was rudely broken up by Marsus himself (*Ant.* xix. 8 1).

The skill with which Agrippa brought into alliance with himself the Pharisaic element, which, alike in its moderate and in its extreme forms, constituted the backbone of the nation, with the intention of finding therein a basis for a really national policy, proves him to have possessed statesmanlike qualities even superior to those of Herod the Great. His premature death prevented the realisation of his schemes; but it is at least doubtful whether we shall not be right in holding that the glory of the Herodian rule reached its real culmination in Agrippa's reign.

Of Agrippa's death we have two accounts.

According to Josephus, he went to Caesarea in order to celebrate games in honour of the emperor (*Ant.* xix. 8 2, *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας*—which can only refer to the safe return of Claudius from his victorious British expedition; spring of 44 A.D.: cp Dio Cass. 60 23; Suet. *Claud.* 17). The leading men of the kingdom were there gathered (Acts 12 20 mentions particularly a deputation from Tyre and Sidon, introduced by 'Blastns, the king's chamberlain'). On the second day of the festival, as he entered the theatre clad in a robe of silver tissue gleaming in the sun, Agrippa was saluted by his courtiers as more than mortal. The shouts of *θεός* and *εὐμενὴς εἴης*, as if to a divine being, remind us of Acts 12 22, 'a god's voice and not man's' (*θεοῦ φωνὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου*). Shortly afterwards looking upwards, the king spied an owl sitting over his head on one of the ropes, and recognised it as the messenger of doom[1] (alluding to the omen which, during his early imprisonment, portended his good fortune, *Ant.* xviii. 6 7). He was seized at that instant with severe pains, and in five days he was dead. Though more detailed, this account agrees substantially with that in the NT.

It has been suggested, however, that the two narratives are actually connected with each other, and that the intermediate stage is marked by the rendering of the story in Eusebius (*HE* 2 10), in which the owl of Josephus appears as an angel. The narrative of Acts is not without its apocryphal features.

Note especially the expression 'he was eaten of worms' (*v.* 23, *γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος*). For this there is no warrant in Josephus, who describes perhaps an attack of peritonitis (cp *διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὀδύνην, ἄθρουν δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας προσέφυσεν ἄλγημα μετὰ σφοδρότητος ἀρξάμενον*). To be eaten of worms was the conventional ending of tyrants and monumental criminals (*e.g.*, Pheretime, queen of Cyrene, Herod. 4 205; Sulla the Dictator, Plut., who gives other instances, Antiochns Epiphanes, 2 Macc. 9 9, but not in 1 Macc. 6 8; the end of Herod the Great is evidently regarded as very similar). In this way tradition, Christian and pagan, took its revenge.

12. Herod Agrippa II.

8. ***Herod Agrippa II.***—(*Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεύς* [Ti. WH], Acts 25 13; *βασ. Ἀγρ.*, 26 2. *Ἀγρ.* 6 *νεώτερος*, and after his accession *Ἀγρ.* simply, or *ὁ βασ. Ἀγρ.* in Jos. His full name, Marcus Julius Agrippa, is found on coins and inscriptions, see reff. in Schür. *Hist.* 2 191 n.).

Son of Agrippa I. and Cypros. He was only seventeen years old at the time of his father's death, and Claudius, though personally inclined to the contrary, was advised not to allow him to succeed to his father's kingdom (*Ant.* xix. 9 1).

Consequently, the whole of Palestine came under the direct rule of Rome, and was administered by procurators under the supervision of the governor of Syria (cp Marq. *Röm. Staatsv.*(2),

1 Strictly justified by Dt. 23 [7] 8 *f.*

1 *ἄγγελον τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι*: cp Acts 12 23, *παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου.*

I 411 n.). 'The Claudian government had here, as elsewhere, lighted on the right course, but had not the energy to carry it out irrespective of accessory considerations' (Momms. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2 201). The death of the elder Agrippa, in fact, had as its consequence the final absorption of all Palestine west of the Jordan (with the exception of certain parts of Galilee subsequently given to his son) within the circle of directly-governed territory (Tac. *Hist.* 59).

Agrippa II. resided in Rome, where he was able to use his influence with some effect on behalf of the Jews (*Ant.* xx. *1263).* His uncle, Herod of Chalcis, had been invested by Claudius with the superintendence of the temple and the sacred treasury, together with the right of nominating the high priest (Ant. xx. 13); on his death in 48 A.D. these privileges were transferred to Agrippa II.[1] Agrippa also received his uncle's kingdom of Chalcis (50 A.D. : *BJ* ii. 121). Four years later he surrendered this, and received in return what had been the tetrarchy of Philip (viz. Batanæa, Gaulonitis, and Tracbonitis), with Abila, which had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias (*BJ* ii. 128). This was in **53 A.D.** This realm was further enlarged by Nero, who conferred upon him the cities and territories of Tiberias and Taricheae on the sea of Galilee, and the city of Julias with fourteen surrounding villages (*BJ* ii. 132; *Ant.* xx. 84). This accession of territory was made probably in **56** A.D. (see Schur. *Hist.* 2 194 n.).

Agrippa gratified his hereditary passion for building by the improvement of his capital Caesarea (Philippi), which he named Neronias (see his coins), and by adding to the magnificence of the Roman colony of Berytus (Ant. xx. 94). In all other directions his hands were tied, and the history of the previous few years must have convinced him that it was no longer possible for a Jewish king to play any independent part. It is probable that his general policy should be ascribed to astuteness rather than to 'indolence and general feebleness' (Schur. *Hist.* 2196). By training he was far more a Roman than a Jew.[2] Occasionally, indeed, he yielded to the claims of his Jewish descent (see, however, col. 754, top); but as a rule he was utterly indifferent to the religious interests of his time and country, and the subtleties of the scribes can only have amused him.

(See Grätz, 'Agrippa II. und der Zustand Judaa's nach dem Untergang Jerusalems,' *MGWJ* 80 481-489 ['81]).

In Acts 25 13-26 32 we have an interesting account of an appearance of Paul before the Jewish king and the Roman governor Festus at Caesarea. The utterance of Agrippa in 26 28 has been well explained by B. Weiss (*Ap.-gesch.*, in 'Texte u. Untersuch. zur Gesch. der alt-Christ. Lit.' ix. 34). Inaccordance with what we know of Agrippa's character, it must be viewed as a virtual repudiation of that belief in the prophets which was attributed to him by Paul. 'King Agrippa! believest thou the prophets,' Paul had said; 'I know that thou believest' (*v.* 27). The gently ironical rejoinder amounts to this: 'on slight grounds you would make me a believer in your assertion that the Messiah has come.' (For another view see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, col. **754**, n. 1).

Agrippa did all in his power to restrain his countrymen from going to war with Rome and rushing on destruction (*BJ* ii. 164); and he steadfastly maintained his own loyalty to Rome, even after his Galilæan cities joined the revolutionary party. There was no other course to pursue. The catastrophe was inevitable; the last of the Herods could not help witnessing, and to some extent aiding it. For a time he was at Rome; but on his return to Palestine he went to the camp of Titus, where he remained until the end of the war. Probably he was present at the magnificent games with which Titus celebrated at Caesarea (Philippi) his conquest of Jerusalem (*BJ* vii. 21). On the conclusion of the war Agrippa's dominions were extended in a northerly direction. In 75 A.D. he went to Rome, and was raised to the rank of praetor (Dio Cass. *66* 15). We know that he corresponded with Josephus about the latter's *History of the Jewish War*, which he praised for its accuracy (Jos. *Vit.* 65; *c. Ap.* 19). He appears to have died in Trajan's third year (100 A.D.). He left no descendants; perhaps, indeed, he was never married. His domains were incorporated in the province of Syria.

1 There is indeed no mention of the conferring of the right of appointing the high priest; but Agrippa is found exercising it (*Ant.* xx. 8 8 11, etc.).

2 His coins, almost without exception, bear the name and image of the reigning emperor—Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

9. Berenice. —(Βερνίκη [Ti. WH]: the Macedonian form of Φερενίκη.) The oldest of the three daughters of Agrippa I. (Jos. Ant. xix. 9 1). She was betrothed to Marcus, son of Alexander the Alabarch; but he died before the marriage took place (*Ant.* xix. 5 1). About 41 A.D., being then about thirteen years old, Berenice became the second wife of her uncle Herod of Chalcis,[1] by whom she had two sons, Bernicianus and Hyrcanus (*BJ* ii. 116). When Herod died in 48 A.D. Berenice joined her brother in Rome, and black stories were circulated as to their relationship.[2] With the object of giving these rumours the lie, Berenice at length,[3] by means of her wealth, induced Polemon II., king of Cilicia, to be circumcised and to marry her; but she soon deserted him (δι' ἀκολασίαν, ὡς ἔφασαν, Jos. xx. 73) and returned to Agrippa. She accompanied him on his visit to Festus, as above related (see § 13. Acts 25 23, μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, 'with great pomp,' refers especially to her, as is clear from the order of the words). She is next heard of in Jerusalem, fulfilling a 'vow of a Nazirite' (cp Nu. 6 1 *f.*). That she inherited the personal courage which distinguished her family was shown by her brave attempt, at the risk of her life, to stay the massacre ordered by Florus, the last and worst of the procurators of Judæa (*BJ* ii. 151). Her sympathy was not allowed to blind her to the prudent course; but, like her brother, she was an ardent supporter of the Roman cause, and of the Flavian dynasty in particular (Tac. *Hist.* **281).** She was, in fact, a Jewish Cleopatra ('on a small scale,' Momms. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2 219), and Titus, as early apparently as 67 A.D., had fallen a victim to her charms; his return to Judæa from Corinth in order to concert measures with his father on the downfall of Galba was ascribed by gossip to his passion (Tac. *Hist.* 22, 'accensum desiderio Berenices reginæ'). The intimacy was renewed in Rome in 75 **A.D.** Berenice lived on the Palatine with him as his wife (Dio Cass. *6615*, πάντα ἤδη ὡς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἐποίει), and it was said that Titus bad promised to make her his consort (Suet. *Tit.* 7). He was, however, too shrewd to endanger his popularity by opposition to the public feeling, and insisted upon her departure from the capital. After Vespasian's death she returned; but Titus took no notice at all of her—she had played for an empire, and lost.[4]

14. Berenice (Bernice).

To these notices of her life we can only add the inscription found in Athens (*CIG* 361 = *CIA* 31, no. *556*): Ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν χ' καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰουλίαν Βερενείκην βασίλισσαν μεγάλην, Ἰουλίου Ἀγρίππα βασιλέως θυγατέρα καὶ μεγάλων βασιλέων εὐεργετῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔκγονον.

10. *Drusilla* (Δρουσίλλα [Ti. WH], Acts 24 24. A diminutive form, from Drusus; like Priscilla, Acts 18 2). The youngest of the three daughters of Agrippa I.,[5] born about **38 A.D.** (Jos.

15. Drusilla.

1 His first wife was Mariamme, a granddaughter of Herod the Great; by her he had one son, Aristobiilus (*Ant.* xviii. 5 4).

2 The scandal was evidently current in Roman fashionable circles (*Ant.* xx. 7 3, φήμης ἐπισχούσης, ὅτι τἀδελφῷ συνείη; cp Juv. *Sat.* 6 156 *f.*—

. . . adamas notissimus et Beronices
In digito factus pretiosior : hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
Observant ubi festa mero pede sabhata reges,
Et vetus indulget senihus clementia porcis').

3 πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιχηρεύσασα : Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7 3.

4 Dio Cass. 66 15; Suet. *l.c.*, 'Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit, invitus invitam'; Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 10. Dio Cassius alone clearly distinguishes the two occasions.

5 The second daughter, Mariamme, is not mentioned in the NT. For her career, curiously parallel to that of her sisters, see *Ant.* xx. 7 3.

Ant. xix. 9 1). She was betrothed by her father to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, king of Commagene; but he refused to be circumcised, and the marriage did not take place. After Agrippa II. received his kingdom from Claudius, he gave his sister in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, on condition of his accepting circumcision. Antonius Felix, brother of the emperor's powerful freedman Pallas, was captivated by her beauty,[1] and employed as his agent in seducing her affections one Simon,[2] a Cypriote, who had the reputation of being a magician (some would identify him with Simon Magus of Acts 8 9). Partly in order to escape the persecutions of her sister Rerenice, who was jealous of her beauty, Drusilla deserted her husband and became the third wife of Felix, who was then procurator of Judæa (for his character, see Tac. ***Hist.*** 5 9; ***Ann.*** 12 54; Suet. *Claud.* **28,** 'trium reginarum maritus'). This was in **53 A.D.** It is not always realised that Drusilla can only have been about sixteen years old at the time.

In Acts **24** 24 we read how Felix 'with his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess' (so AV; *τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικί*, WH; RV, 'with D., his wife'; marg. 'his own wife': *ἰδίᾳ* is omitted by all uncial MSS. except BC2), heard Paul 'concerning the faith in Christ' (in **58 A.D.**). Drusilla would naturally he interested (like her brother Agrippa later, Acts 25 22) to hear some account of what professed to he the fulfilment of Jewish prophecy. According to someauthorities for the western text, indeed, the interview took place at her special request (so restored in *v.* 24 by Blass, ***Act. Apost.*** ed. phil. 1895, *l.c.*, **ἠρώτα ἰδεῖν τὸν Π. καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον. βουλόμενος οὖν τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν αὐτῇ, κ.τ.λ.**; and in *v. 27* the western text **has τὸν δὲ Π. εἴασεν ἐν τηρήσει διὰ Δρούσιλλαν**—we must then suppose Drusilla to have been actuated by a spirit of revenge, like Herodias in the very similar case of John the Baptist).

Drusilla bore to Felix a son, called Agrippa, who perished in the great eruption of Vesuvius (in the reign of Titus), by which Pompeii and Herculaneum were destroyed (Jos. ***Ant.*** xx. 7 2, *ὁ νεανίας οὗτος σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ . . . ἠφανίσθη*; some take this to mean 'along with Drusilla,' but more probably it signifies his own wife).

The authority for the history of the whole Herodian family is Josephus; isolated references only are found in other writers.

16. Authorities. Of modern books dealing with the history we need only mention Schürer's great work, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*; the second edition of which is accessible in an English translation (6 **vols.**). Two vols. of **a** new edition in German have appeared (2, 3, '98). Farrar's *Herods* is **a** popular account written without sympathy or historical insight. The various 'Histories of N T Times,' both English and foreign, deal with the family, deriving their facts from Schürer. The evidence of the coins will be found in Madden's *Coins of the Jews.*

Appended is a genealogy of the Herodian family. Names printed in heavy type are those of members of the family mentioned in the NT.

17. Genealogy and index. All the names in any one upright column are names either *(a)* of sons (or daughters) or *(b)* of husbands (or wives) or (c) of fathers (or mothers) of the persons named in the adjacent columns to right or to left respectively. The numbers attached to the names are the same as those attached to them in the annexed index. W. J. W.

[1] ***Ant.*** xx. 7 2, **καὶ γὰρ ἦν κάλλει πασῶν διαφέρουσα.**

[2] But Niese here reads Ἄτομον.

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W. J. W.

HERODIANS (ΗΡΩΔΙΑΝΟΙ [Ti.]; -ρωδ- [WH]). The Herodians were the adherents of the dynasty of Herod, who made common cause with the Pharisees against Jesus, as they had previously done against John the Baptist (Lk. 13 31). Jesus, on his side, did not spare denunciation of his opponents, in whom he recognised in different forms the same corrupting power, the same 'leaven' of wickedness. 'Beware,' he said (Mk. 8 15), 'of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod' (we may disregard the slightly supported reading τῶν Ηρωδιανων).

In Mt. 16 12 'leaven' is explained to mean 'teaching' (διδαχή). The early evangelic tradition, however, seems not to have been unanimous as to the meaning of 'leaven'; in Lk. 12 1 the 'leaven of the Pharisees' is interpreted as 'hypocrisy.' We may venture then to give the phrase 'the leaven of Herod' its natural explanation; it means the vital spirit of the kingdom of Herod, just as the 'leaven' of the parable in Mt. 13 33 Lk. 13 21, means the vital spirit of the kingdom of heaven. Cp GOSPELS, § 140 (c).

At the time when the question respecting the tribute money was put to Jesus (Mt. 22 17 Mk. 12 14)—a question in putting which the 'Herodians' as well as the Pharisees were concerned—Judæa was not under any member of the Herodian family, but under a Roman procurator. Still, the Herodian spirit lived on. It was not true, as the Herodians pretended, that they scrupled about paying tribute to Caesar; what they longed for was the re-establishment of the Herodian kingdom in spite of its subjection to Rome, as representing that union of Hellenism and Judaism which seemed to enable Jews to 'make the best of both worlds.' Such a re-establishment, however, was hindered by the preachers of Messianism, and the friends of Herodianism recognised Jesus as one of these. So these 'spies,' as they are called (Lk. 20 20), put the insidious question to him, 'Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not,' simply 'that they might catch him in talk,' and accuse him to the governor.

The Herodians are referred to again in Mk. 3 6. Early in the Galilæan ministry of Jesus they are said to have joined the Pharisees in plotting his destruction. This, however, is evidently a mistake. In the country of the tetrarch Antipas there could not be a party called 'Herodians.' If Greek-speaking Jews in Galilee ever used the term Ἡρωδιανοί, they could only mean by it 'members of the household of Herod,' a meaning which, to be sure, is not unsupported in modern times, but is unsuitable in Mk. 12 13, and is not favoured by the phraseology of Josephus.[1]

It is remarkable that in Mt. 16 6 the place of the 'Herodians' is taken by the Sadducees. No stress, however, can be laid upon this; there is no evidence that there was a faction of the Sadducees which was devoted to the interests of the Herodian family. It was more natural to the evangelist to speak of the Pharisees and the Sadducees; he had no thought of suggesting that the Sadducees and the Herodians had any points in common. Still less can the Pharisees and the Herodians have had any real sympathy. There is in Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 3 4 a story that the Pharisees predicted the fall of Herod and his house and the accession of his brother Pheroras to the throne of Israel; this is rightly rejected by Wellhausen (*IJG*(3) 337 n.). Just as little could they have attached their hopes for the future to Herod or to any Herodian prince. Yet as early a writer as Tertullian (*De præscript. adv. hæret.*, Append.) speaks of those who 'Christum Herodem esse dixerunt,' and as modem a writer as Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, 226) supposes the Boethosian section of the Sadducees to be intended by the Herodians of the evangelists. Hitzig too (*GVI* 559) apparently agrees with Tertullian. These views and a similar theory of Ewald (*GVI* 4 532 547) no longer find any support.

On the name Ηρῳδιανοι cp the remarks on the form 'Christians,' CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 4. See also Keim, 'Herodianer,' in *Bib.* Lex. T. K. C.

[1] Ἡρώδειοι (*BJ* i. 16 6) = those of Herod's party, in antithesis to Ἀντιγόνειοι.

HERODIAS (ΗΡΩΔΙΑΣ), Mt. 14 6, etc. See HEROD, § 10.

HERODION (ΗΡΩΔΙΩΝ [Ti. WH]) is saluted in Rom. 16 11 as 'my kinsman,' an expression which suggests that he was of Jewish origin (cp ROMANS, §§ 4, 10). The name would indicate the freedman of some prince of the dynasty of Herod. Weizsacker (*Apost. Age*, 1 397 399) suggests that he may have worked for Christ within the household of Narcissus mentioned just afterwards (cp APELLES).

In the list of the Pseudo-Dorotheus, Herodion figures as bishop of Patras. According to the ὑπόμνημα of Peter and Paul by the Pseudo-Symeon Metaphrastes he was so consecrated by Peter, and he and Olympas were both beheaded at Rome at the time when Peter was crucified there. He is commemorated in in the Greek *Menæa* on 8th April.

HERON (אֲנָפָה), an unclean bird (Lev. 11 19 Dt. 14 18†; ΧΑΡΑΔΡΙΟΣ [BAFL]), for which RV^mg. suggests 'ibis' as an alternative rendering (Onk. אִיבוֹ). According to the Lexicons *'ănāphāh* is of quite uncertain meaning; Lidd. and Scott translate 𝔊's χαραδριός the 'stone-curlew' or thick-kneed bustard, *Œdicnemus crepitans*; but even if this be correct one hesitates to identify this bird with the *'ănāphāh*. Unless the word *'ănāphāh* is misplaced, we may with some confidence infer from the proximity of חֲסִידָה, 'stork,' that it means the *order* of herons (note 'after its kind'). At least seven species of heron are common in Palestine.

Both the Common and the Purple Herons (*Ardea cinerea* and *A. purpurea*), the Egrets (*A. alba* and *A. garzetta*), and the Squacco Heron (*A. ralloides*), as well as the Buff-backed, may often be seen fishing by the Sea of Galilee and of the Buff-hacked Heron (*A. bubulcus*), often called the' White Ibis, 'immense flocks live and breed in the impenetrable swamps of the Huleh' (Tristram *NHB* 241 *f.*).

It is this class of birds which is presumably meant by the Ass. *anpatu*, with which the Lexicons (after Friedr. Del.) naturally compare *'ănāphāh*. The Ibis, both white and black, is common in the swamps of the Egyptian Delta, and may in the winter be seen anywhere in the basin of the Upper Nile. The Egyptians held it sacred to Thoth. Ibis. however, is too definite a rendering.

T. K. C.—A. E. S.

HESED (חֶסֶד), 1 K. 4 10; AV^mg. RV BEN-HESED.

HESHBON (חֶשְׁבּוֹן; ΕΣΕΒΩΝ [BℵAQ]; *hesebon*), a town of Moah, often mentioned in the Hexateuch (JE, D, and P); in Is. 15 4 16 8 *f.* Jer. 48 2 34 45 49 3; in Cant. 7 4[5] (MT, 𝔊, but see BATH-RABBIM); and in Judith 5 15 (εσεβων [ε] ιτας [B], εσεβων [HA]). Heshbon (ησεβων, εσεβων) and the 'Hesebonitis' (εσεβωνιτις, εσσεβ. σεβ.) are named repeatedly also in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4 11 xiii. 15 4 xv. 8 5, *BJ* ii. 18 1 iii. 3 3) and εσσεβων or *Esebon* is defined in *OS* 117 29 *ff.* 253 24 *ff.* as being the contemporary εσβους or *Esbus*, 'a notable city of Arabia in the mountains facing Jericho, 20 R. m. from the Jordan.' It is the modern *Ḥesbān*, which is finely situated on the edge of the W. Ḥesbān at a height of 600 feet above the 'Ain Ḥesbān, and close to the watershed from which the W. Ḥabīs drains southwards into the Zerḳā Ma'in. The ruins, chiefly Roman, are mainly on two hills, 2930 and 2954 feet above sea level; Mt. Nebo, 5 miles to the SW. is considerably lower (2643 ft.). There are remains of a castle and of a temple, and on the east, at the base of the castle hill, a great reservoir, now ruinous and dry. 'It is a difficult thing,' remarks Post (*PEFQ*, '88, p. 190), 'for the imagination to restore to the reservoir the beauty which made the fishpond of Heshbon, a suitable simile for the eyes of Solomon's bride' (Cant. 7 4[5]). There are, of course, plenty of pools near the 'Ain Ḥesbān (see Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 340). The text, however, is open to suspicion; see BATH-RABBIM.

For the ancient history of Heshbon see MOAB, SIHON. On the modern topography see Tristram as above; and *Survey of E. Palestine*, 1 esp. 104 *ff.*, and map.

HESHMON (חֶשְׁמוֹן; ΑΣΕΜΩΝ [L], BA om.), an unidentified place on the Edomite border of Judah

(Josh. 15 27), mentioned with Moladah and Beersheba. Hence perhaps came the Hasmonæans (חַשְׁמֹנִי).

HETH (חֵת), Gen. 10 15 etc. See **HITTITES.**

HETHLON (חֶתְלֹן; the ΤΗϹ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΙΝΟΥϹΗϹ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙϹΧΙΖΟΥϹΗϹ, and Τ. ΚΑΤΑΒΑϹΕωϹ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙϹΧΙΖΟΝΤΟϹ of 𝔊BAQ do not recognise the word as a proper name; Syr. *Hethrōn*). The 'way of Hethlon' is one of a series of landmarks by which Ezekiel (47 15 48 1) defines the ideal north boundary of Canaan. In Nu. 34 7 *ff.* (post-exilic), where the boundary is on the whole the same, Hethlon does not appear. In Ezekiel it seems to lie between the point where the border leaves the Mediterranean and that at which it strikes the Hamathite frontier. If, as seems possible, Ezekiel (like Josh. 13 5) contemplates the inclusion in Canaan of Phcenicia as far N. as Gebal and of all Lebaqon, the 'way of Hethlon' may be identical with the route from the coast **up** the Eleutheros (*Nahr el-Kebīr*) round the northern slopes of Lebanon to Emesa (Him:) and Riblah. In that case we may consider Furrer's proposal (*ZDPV* 8 27) to identify Hethlon with the village of *Heitela*, N. of Tripoli, between Nahr el-Kebir and Nahr 'Akkār (Robinson, *BR* 4 576).

The scholar who warned us so pointedly against dwelling too much on possibly casual resemblances of names would not have been sorry for an excuse to abandon this hazardous conjecture (for another, see van Kasteren, *Rev. bibl.*, '95, p. 24; cp Hommel, in Hastings' *DB* 2 363). As Halévy (*Journ. As.*, Jan.-Feb. '99) has seen, הדרך and דרך, the words preceding חתלון in Ezek. 47 15 and 48 1 respectively, should be חֲדְרָךְ (see HADRACH). It follows that חתלון ('Hethlon') is a corruption of תְּתָאֲרוּן; a verb is almost, if not quite, necessary. For the reason of the choice of *this* verb. see HOR, MOUNT, 2. W. R. S.—T. K. C.

1

The name Pentateuch, found already in Tertullian and Origen, corresponds to the Jewish חמשה חומשי התורה (the five-fifths of the Torah, or Law); the several books were named by the Jews from their initial words, though, at least, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy had also titles resembling those we use —viz., 'Priests' Torah' (תורת כהנים), 'The Fifth con-[illegible]' (חמשה הפקודים, ἀμμεσφεκωδειμ, Origen, in Eus. *HE* 6 25), and 'Duplicate of the Torah' (משנה תורה). The Pentateuch, together with Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, with which it is usually united in Greek MSS, makes up the Octateuch; the Pentateuch and Joshua together have recently been named the Hexateuch. The date of the division of the Torah into five books cannot be made out; it is probably older than the Septuagint translation. See CANON, § 23 *ff.*

A. EARLIEST CRITICISM.

1. Earliest criticism. At an early date, doubts suggested themselves as to the Mosaic authorship; but it was not till the seventeenth century that these became so strong that they could not be suppressed.[2]

It was observed that Moses does not speak of himself in the first person, but that some other writer speaks of him in the third,—a writer, too, who lived long after. The expression of Gen. 12 6, 'the Canaanite was then in the land,' is spoken to readers who had long forgotten that a different nation from Israel had once occupied the Holy Land; the words of Gen. 36 31 'these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' have no prophetic aspect; they point to an author who wrote under the Hebrew monarchy. Again, the 'book of the wars of Yahwè' (Nu. 21 14) cannot possibly be cited by Moses himself, as it contains a record of his own deeds, and, when Dt. 34 10 (cp Nu. 12) says that 'there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses,' the writer is necessarily one who looked back to Moses through a long series of later prophets.

At the same time attention was drawn to a variety of contradictions, inequalities, transpositions, and repetitions of events in the Pentateuch, such as excluded the idea that the whole came from a single pen. Thus Peyrerius remarked that Gen. 20 and 26 stand in an impossible chronological context; and on the incongruity of Gen. 1 and 2, which he pressed very strongly, he rested his hypothesis of the Preadamites. Such observations could not but grievously shake the persuasion that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, whilst at the same time they directed criticism to a less negative task—viz., the analysis of the Pentateuch. For this, indeed, the seventeenth century did not effect anything considerable; but at least two conclusions came out with sufficient clearness. The first of these was the self-contained character of Deuteronomy, which in those days there was a disposition to regard as the oldest book of the Pentateuch, and that with the best claims to authenticity. In the second place the Pentateuchal laws and the Pentateuchal history were sharply distinguished; the chief difficulties were felt to lie in the narrative, and there seemed to be less reason for questioning the Mosaic authorship of the laws.

2. Astruc. Spinoza's bold conjecture that in their present form not only the Pentateuch but also the other historical books of the OT were composed by Ezra ran far ahead of the laborious investigation of details necessary to solve the previous question of the composition of the Pentateuch. Jean Astruc has the merit of opening the true path of this investigation. He recognised in Genesis two main sources, between which he divided the whole materials of the book, with some few exceptions, and these sources he distinguished by the mark that the one used for God the name Elōhīm (Gen. 1 5; cp Ex. 6 3) and the other the name Yahwè (Gen. 2-4).[1] Astruc's hypothesis, fortified by the observation of other linguistic differences which regularly accompanied the variation in the names of

1 [The general articles on the several books of the Hexateuch and on HISTORICAL LITERATURE and LAW LITERATURE, as well as the special articles on such subjects as the EXODUS and also on the different persons and places named in the Hexateuch narratives, deal with the critical investigations relative to the constitution and history of the Hexateuch and the problems connected therewith. But it would manifestly have been out of place to attempt to give under any one of these headings a connected history of the long march of Pentateuch-criticism from its earliest beginnings down to the period when the 'Graf-Wellhausen' hypothesis may be held to have met with the general acceptance of scholars,—a march with the stages of which it is nevertheless important that every serious student should be familiar. The following authoritative survey of its course, originally made in the *Ency. Brit.* (vol. 18 'Pentateuch and Joshua') in 1885, has had the benefit of a recent revision by its distinguished author.—ED.]

2 Hobhes, *Leviathan*, 33; Peyrerius, *Syst. theol. ex Præadamitarum Hypothesi*, 41 *f.*; Spinoza, *Tr. Theologico-pol.*, 7; R. Simon, *Hist. Crit. du VT*, 15-7; Le Clerc, *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande* (Amst., 1685), lett. 6.

1 *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse* (Brussels, 1753). Cp *Journ. des Sçavans*, Oct. 1767, pp. 291-305.

God, was introduced into Germany by Eichhorn (*Einl. in d. A T*), and proved there the fruitful and just point of departure for all further inquiry. At first, indeed, it was with but uncertain steps that critics advanced from the analysis of Genesis to that of the other hooks, where the simple criterion of the alternation of the divine names was no longer available.

3. Fragment hypothesis.

In the hands of the Scotsman Geddes and the German Vater the Pentateuch resolved itself into an agglomeration of longer and shorter fragments, between which no threads of continuous connection could be traced[1] ('Fragment-hypothesis'). The Fragment-hypothesis was mainly supported by arguments drawn from the middle books of the Pentateuch, and as limited to these it long found wide support. Even De Wette started from it in his investigations; but this was really an inconsistency, for his fundamental idea was to show throughout all parts of the Pentateuch traces of certain common tendencies, and even of one deliberate plan; nor was he far from recognizing the close relation between the Elohist of Genesis and the legislation of the middle books.

De Wette's chief concern, however, was not with the literary but with the historical criticism of the Pentateuch, and in the latter he made an epoch.

4. Historical criticism (De Wette).

In his *Dissertatio Critica* of 1805 (*Opusc. Theol.* 149-168) he placed the composition of Deuteronomy in the time of King Josiah (arguing from a comparison of 2 K. 22 *f.* with Dt. 12), and pronounced it to he the most recent stratum of the Pentateuch, not, as had previously been supposed, the oldest.

In his *Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik* (1806) he showed that the laws of Moses are unknown to the post-Mosaic history; this he did by instituting a close comparison of Samuel and Kings with Chronicles, from which it appeared that the variations of the latter are to be explained not by the use of other sources, but solely by the desire of the Jewish scribes to shape the history in conformity with the law, and to give the law that place in history which, to their surprise, had not been conceded to it by the older historical books.

Finally, in his *Kritik der Mosaischen Geschichte* (1807), De Wette attacked the method then prevalent in Germany of eliminating all miracles and prophecies from the Bible by explaining them away, and then rationalizing what remained into a dry prosaic pragmatism. De Wette refuses to find any history in the Pentateuch; all is legend and poetry. The Pentateuch is an authority not for the history of the time it deals with, but only for the time in which it was written; it is, he says, the conditions of this milch later time which the author idealizes and throws back into the past, whether in the form of narrative or of law.

De Wette's brilliant *début*, which made his reputation for the rest of his life,[2] exercised a powerful influence on his contemporaries. For several *decennia* all who were open to critical ideas at all stood under his influence.

Gramberg, Leo, and Von Bohlen wrote under this influence, Gesenius in Halle, the greatest Hebraist then living, taught under it: nay, Vatke and George were guided by De Wette's ideas and started from the ground that he had conquered, although they advanced beyond him to a much more definite and better established position, and were also diametrically opposed to him in one most important point, of which we shall have more to say presently.[3]

Meantime a reaction was rising which sought to direct criticism towards positive rather than negative results.

5. Literary criticism.

The chief representatives of this positive criticism, which now took up a distinct attitude of opposition to the negative criticism of De Wette, were Bleek, Ewald, Movers, and Hitzig. By giving up certain parts of the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy, they thought themselves able to vindicate certain other parts as beyond doubt genuinely Mosaic, just in the same way as they threw over the Davidic authorship of certain psalms in order to strengthen the claim of others to bear his name. The procedure by which particular ancient hymns or laws were sifted out from the Psalter or the Pentateuch was arbitrary; but up to a certain point the reaction was in the right.

De Wette and his followers had really gone too far in applying the same measure to all parts of the Pentateuch, and had been satisfied with a very inadequate insight into its composition and the relation of its parts. Historical criticism had hurried on too fast, and literary criticism had now to overtake it. De Wette himself felt the necessity for this, and from the year 1817 onwards—the year of the first edition of his *Einleitung*—he took an active and useful part in the solution of the problems of Pentateuchal analysis.

The Fragment-hypothesis was now superseded; the connection of the Elohist of Genesis with the legislation of the middle books was clearly recognized, and the book of Joshua was included as the conclusion of the Pentateuch.

6. Supplement-hypothesis.

The closely-knit connection and regular structure of the narrative of the Elohist impressed the critics; it seemed to supply the skeleton which had been clothed with flesh and blood hy the Yahwist, in whose contributions there was no such obvious conformity to a plan. From all this it was naturally concluded that the Elohist had written the *Grundschrift* or primary narrative, which lay before the Yahwist and was supplemented by him ('Supplement-hypothesis').[1]

This view remained dominant till Hupfeld in 1853 published his *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung*.

7. Hupfeld.

Hupfeld denied that the Yahwist followed the context of the Elohistic narrative, merely supplementing it by additions of his own. He pointed out that such Elohistic passages in Genesis as clearly have undergone a Yahwistic redaction (*e.g.*, chaps. 20-22) belong to an Elohist different from the author of Gen. 1. Thus he distinguished three independent sources in Genesis; and he assumed further, somewhat rashly, that no one of them had anything to do with the others till *a* fourth and later writer wove them all together into a single whole. This assumption was corrected by Noldeke,

8. Nöldeke.

who showed that the second Elohist is preserved only in extracts embodied in the Yahwistic book, that the Yahwist and 'second' Elohist form one whole and the *Grundschrift* another, and that thus, in spite of Hupfeld's discovery, the Pentateuch (Deuteronomy being excluded) was still to be regarded as made up of two great layers. Noldeke[2] has also the honour of having been the first to trace in detail how the Elohistic *Grundschrift* runs through the whole Hexateuch, and of having described with masterly hand the peculiar and inflexible type of its ideas and language. In this task he was aided by the valuable material collected in Knobel's commentaries.[3]

The work of synthesis, however, did not hold even pace with the critical analysis; indeed, the true scope of the problem was not as yet realized.

9. Synthesis.

As regards the narrative matter it was forgotten that, after the Yahwistic (*i.e.*, JE's), the Deuteronomic, and the priestly versions of the history had been happily disentangled from one another, it was necessary to examine the mutual relations of the three, to consider them as marking so many stages of a historical tradition, which had passed through its successive phases under the action of living causes, and the growth of which could and must be traced and historically explained. Still greater faults of omission characterized the critical treatment of the legal parts of the Pentateuch. Bleek,[4] the oracle in all such matters

[1] Alex. Geddes, *Crit. Remarks on the Heb. Script.* 1800; J. S. Vater, *Comm. üb. den Pent.* (1802-5).

[2] [De Wette scarcely maintained the high position as a critic which he conquered by his early writings. What the causes of this were, and what were De Wette's services to the general critical and theological movement, have been described by Che. *Founders*, '93.]

[3] H. Leo, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des jüdischen Staats*, '28; C. P. W. Gramberg, *Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des A T*, '29-'30; P. v. Bohlen, *Die Genesis*, '35; W. Vatke, *Biblische Theologie*, '35; J. F. L. George, *Die älteren jüdischen Feste*, '35.

[1] Bleek, in Rosenmüller's *Repertorium*, 1822, and in *St. Kr.*, 1831; Ewald, *St. Kr.*, 1831; Tuch, *Genesis*, 1838; especially De Wette in the various editions of his *Einleitung*.

[2] *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A T*, '69.

[3] *Gen.*, '52; *Ex.-Lev.*, '57; *Num. Dt. Josh.*, '61.

[4] For critical sketches of Bleek, Ewald, and Hitzig see Che. *Founders*.

of the German school of 'Vermittelungstheologen' (the theologians who tried to mediate between orthodoxy and criticism alike in doctrine and in history), never looked beyond the historical framework of the priestly laws, altogether shutting his eyes to their substance. He never thought of instituting an exact comparison between them and the Deuteronomic law, still less of examining their relation to the historical and prophetical books, with which, in truth, as appears from his *Introduction*, he had only a very superficial acquaintance. Ewald, on the other hand, whose views as to the Priestly Code were cognate to those of Bleek, undoubtedly had an intimate acquaintance with Hebrew antiquity, and understood the prophets as no one else did. But he too neglected the task of a careful comparison between the different strata of the Pentateuchal legislation, and the equally necessary task of determining how the several laws agreed with or differed from such definite data for the history of religion as could be collected from the historical and prophetical books. He had therefore no fixed measure to apply to the criticism of the laws, though his conception of the history suffered little, and his conception of prophecy still less, from the fact that in shaping them he left the law practically out of sight, or only called it in from time to time in an irregular and rather unnatural way.

10. True method.

Meanwhile, two Hegelian writers, starting from the original position of De Wette, and moving on lines apart from the beaten track of criticism, had actually effected the solution of the most important problem in the whole sphere of OT study. Vatke (on whom see Cheyne's book already mentioned) and George have the honour of being the first by whom the question of the historical sequence of the several stages of the law was attacked on a sound method, with full mastery over the available evidence, and with a clear insight into the far-reaching scope of the problem. Their works made no permanent impression, however, and were neglected even by Reuss, although this scholar had fallen at the same time upon quite similar ideas, which he did not venture to publish.

11. Reuss.

The following propositions were formulated by Reuss in **1833** (or, as he elsewhere gives the date, in 1834), though they were not published till 1879. 1. L'élément historique du Pentateuquepeut et doit être examine à part et ne pas être confondu avec l'élément légal. 2. L'un et l'autre ont pu exister sans redaction écrite. La mention, chez dauciens écrivains, de certaines traditions patriarcales ou mosaiques, ne prouve pas l'existence du Pentateuque, et une nation peut avoir un droit coutumier sans code écrit. 3. Les traditions nationales des Israelites rernonteut plus haut que les lois du Pentateuque et la redaction des premieres est antérieure à celle des secondes. 4. L'intérêt principal de l'historien doit porter sur la date des lois, parce que sur ce terrain il **a** plus de chance d'arriver à des résultats certains. Il faut en consequence procéder à l'interrogatoire des témoins. 5. L'histoire racontée dans les livres des Juges et de Samuel, et même en partie celle comprise dans les livres des Rois, **est** en contradiction avec des lois dites mosaiques ; donc celles-ci étaient inconnnes à l'époque de **la** redaction de ces livres, à plus forte raison elles n'ont pas existé dans les temps qui y sont décrits. 6. Lqs prophètes du 8e et du 7e siècle ne savent rien du code mosaique. 7. Jérémie est le premier prophète qui connaisse une loi écrite et ses citations rapportent au Deutéronome. 8. **Le** Deutéronome (**4** 45-28 68) est le livre que les prêtres prétendaient avoir trouvé dans le temple, du temps du roi Josias. Ce code est la partie la plus ancienne de la legislation (rédigée) comprise dans le Pentateuque. 9. L'histoire des Israelites, en tant qu'il s'agit du développement national determine par des lois écrites, se divisera en deux périodes, avant et après Josias. 10. **Ézéchiel** est antérieur à **la** redaction du code rituel et des lois qui out définitivement organisé la hiérarchie. 11. Le livre de Josué n'est pas, tant s'en faut, la partie la plus récente de l'ouvrage entier. 12. Le rédacteur du Pentateuque se distingue clairement de l'ancien prophbte Moyse. (*L'histoire sainte et la loi*, 23 *f.* [Paris, '79].)

12. Attempts of Graf.

The new ideas lay dormant for thirty years when they were revived through a pupil of Reuss, K. H. Graf. He too was deemed at first to offer an easy victory to the weapons of 'critical analysis,' which found many vulnerable points in the original statement of his views. For, while Graf placed the legislation of the middle books very late, holding it to have been framed after the great captivity, he at first still held fast to the doctrine of the great antiquity of the so-called Elohist of Genesis (in the sense which that term bore before Hupfeld's discovery), thus violently rending the Priestly Code in twain, and separating its members by an interval of half a millennium. This he was compelled to do, because, for Genesis at least, he still adhered to the supplement hypothesis, according to which the Yahwist worked on the basis laid by the (priestly) Elohist. Here, however, he was tying himself by bonds which had been already loosed by Hupfeld ; and, as literary criticism actually stood, it could show no reason for holding that the Yahwist was necessarily later than the Elohist. In the end, therefore, literary criticism offered itself as Graf's auxiliary. Following a hint of Kuenen's, he embraced the proffered alliance, gave **up** the violent attempt to divide the Priestly Code, and proceeded without further obstacle to extend to the historical part of that code as found in Genesis those conclusions which he had already established for its main or legislative part. Graf himself did not live to see the victory of his cause. The task of developing and enforcing his hypothesis was left to others, primarily to the great Leyden critic, A. Kuenen.[1]

B. GRAF-WELLHAUSEN HYPOTHESIS.

13. Grafian hypothesis.

The characteristic feature in the hypothesis of Graf is that the Priestly Code is placed later than Deuteronomy, so that the order is no longer Priestly Code, Yahwist (JE), Deuteronomy, but Jehovist (JE), Deuteronomy, Priestly Code. The method of inquiry has been already indicated ; the three strata of the Pentateuch are compared with one another, and at the same time the investigator seeks to place them in their proper relation to the successive phases of Hebrew history as these are known to us from other and undisputed evidence. The process may be shortened if it be taken as agreed that the date of Deuteronomy is known from 2 K. *22* (see **DEUTERONOMY, §§** 2 *ff.*); for this gives us at starting a fixed point, to which the less certain points can be referred:

The method can be applied alike to the historical and to the legal parts of the three strata of the Hexateuch. For JE gives legislative matter in **Ex. 20-23, 34,** and Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code embrace historical matters ; moreover, we always find that the legal standpoint of each author influences his presentation of the history, and ***vice versa.*** The most important point, however, is the comparison of the laws, especially of the laws about worship, with the statements in the historical and prophetical books.

14. Laws : First period : JE.

1. the principallaw-book embodiedin JE, the so-called Book of the Covenant, takes it for granted in Ex. 20 **24-26** that altars are many, not one. Here there is no idea of attaching value to the retention of a single place for the altar; earth and rough stones are to be found everywhere, and an altar of these materials falls into ruins as easily as it is built. Again a choice of materials is given, presumably for the construction of different altars, and Yahwè proposes to come to his worshippers and bless them, not in ***the*** place where he causes his name to be celebrated, but at every such place. The law adopted in JE therefore agrees with the customary usage of the earlier period of Hebrew history ; and so too does the narrative, according to which the patriarchs wherever they reside erect altars, set up cippi (*maṣṣēbōth*), plant trees, and dig wells.

The places of which these acts of the patriarchs are related are not fortuitous, they are the same places as were afterwards famous shrines. This is why the narrator speaks of them ; his interest in the sites is not antiquarian ; it is due to the practical importance they held in the worship of his own day. The **altar** which Abraham built at Shechem is the same on which

[1] K. *H.* Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des AT*, '66', essays by Graf, in Merx's *Archiv*, **1225** *ff.* **466** *ff.* ; A. Kuenen in *De Godsdienst van Israel*, 2 vols., '69-'70 (ET **'74-'75).** and his essays in *Th.T*, '77-'**84.** See also [especially] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*(3), '99.

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sacrifices still continued to be offered. Jacob's anointed stone at Bethel was still anointed, and tithes were still offered at it in fulfilment of vows, in the writer's own generation.

The things which a later generation deemed offensive and heathenish—high places, *maṣṣēbōth*, sacred trees, and wells—all appear here as consecrated by patriarchal precedent, and the narrative can be understood only as a picture of what occurred daily in the first century (or thereabout) after the division of the kingdoms, thrown back into the past and clothed with ancient authority.

15. Second period: D.

2. The Deuteronomic legislation begins (Deut. 12), just like the Book of the Covenant, with a law for the place of worship. Now, however, there is a complete change; Yahwè is to be worshipped only in Jerusalem. The new law-bdok is never weary of repeating this command and developing its consequences in every direction. All this is directed against current usage, against 'what we are accustomed to do at this day'; the law is polemical and aims at reformation. This law therefore belongs to the second period of the history, the time when the party of reform in Jerusalem was attacking the high places.

When we read then, that King Josiah was moved to destroy the local sanctuaries by the discovery of a law-book, this book, if we assume it to be preserved in the Pentateuch, can be none other than the legislative part of Deuteronomy in a shorter form (see further, DEUTERONOMY).

16. Third period: P.

3. In the Priestly Code all worship depends on the tabernacle, and would fall to nothing apart from it. The tabernacle is simply a means of putting the law of unity of worship in a historical form; it is the only legitimate sanctuary; there is no other spot where God dwells and shows himself, no other where man can approach God and seek his face with sacrifice and gifts. But, while Deuteronomy demands, the Priestly Code presupposes, the limitation of worship to one sanctuary. This principle is tacitly assumed as the basis of everything else, but is never asserted in so many words; the principle, it appears, is now no novelty; it can be taken for granted. Hence we conclude that the Priestly Code builds on the realization of the object aimed at in Deuteronomy, and therefore belongs to the post-exilic period, when this object had been fully secured.

An institution which in its origin must necessarily have had a negative significance as an instrument in the hands of polemical reformers is here taken to have been from the first the only intelligible and legitimate form of worship. It is so taken because established customs always appear to be natural and to need no reason for their existence.

17. Priesthood: in Dt.

The abolition of the local shrines in favour of Jerusalem necessarily involved the deposition of the provincial priesthood in favour of the sons of Zadok in the temple of Solomon. The law of Deuteronomy tries to avoid this consequence by conceding the privilege of offering sacrifices at Jerusalem to the Levites from other places; Levites in Deuteronomy is the general name for priests whose right to officiate is hereditary. This privilege, however, was never realized, no doubt because the sons of Zadok opposed it. The latter, therefore, were now the only real priests, and the priests of the high places lost their office with the destruction of their altars; for the loss of their sacrificial dues they received a sort of eleemosynary compensation from their aristocratic brethren (2 K. 23_9). The displacing of the provincial priests, though practically almost inevitable, went against the law of Deuteronomy; but an argument to justify it was

18. In Ezekiel.

supplied by Ezekiel (Ezek. 44). The other Levites, he says, forfeited their priesthood by abusing it in the service of the high places; and for this they shall be degraded to be mere servants of the Levites of Jerusalem, who have not been guilty of the offence of doing sacrifice in provincial shrines, and thus alone deserve to remain priests. If we start from Denteronomy, where all Levites have equal priestly rights, this argument and ordinance are plain enough; but it is utterly impossible to understand them if the Priestly Code is taken as already existing. Ezekiel views the priesthood as originally the right of all Levites, whilst by the Priestly Code a Levite who claims this right is guilty of baseless and wicked presumption, such as once cost the lives of all the company of Korah. On the other hand, the position of the Levites, which Ezekiel qualifies as a punishment and a degradation, appears to the Code as the natural position, which their ancestors from father to son had held from the first. The distinction between priest and Levite, which Ezekiel introduces expressly as an innovation, and which elsewhere in the OT is known only to the author of Chronicles, is, according to the Code, a Mosaic institution fixed and settled from the beginning. Ezekiel's ideas and aims are entirely in the same direction as the Priestly Code, and yet he plainly does not know the Code itself. This can only mean that in his day there was no such Code, and that his ordinances formed one of the steps that prepared the way for it.

19. P.

The Priestly Code gives us a hierocracy fully developed, such as we find after the exile. Aaron stands above his sons as the sons of Aaron stand above the Levites.

He has not only the highest place, but a place quite unique, like that of the Roman pontiff; his sons minister under his superintendence (Nu. 3_4); he himself is the only priest with full rights; as such he wears the Urim and Thummim, and the golden ephod; and none but he can enter the holy of holies and offer incense there.

Before the Exile there were, of course, differences of rank among the priests; but the chief priest was only *primus inter pares;* even Ezekiel knows no high priest in the sense of the Priestly Code.

The Urim and Thummim were the insignia of the Levites in general (Deut. 33_8), and the linen ephod was worn by them all, whilst the golden ephod was not a garment, but a metal-plated image, such as the greater sanctuaries used to possess (Judg. 8_{27}, Is. 30_{22}). Moreover, down to the Exile the temple at Jerusalem was the king's chapel and the priests were his servants, even Ezekiel, who in most points aims at securing the independence of the priests, gives the prince a weighty part in matters of worship, for it is he who receives the dues of the people, and in return defrays the sacrificial service. In the Priestly Code, on the other hand, the dues are paid direct to the sanctuary, the ritual service has full autonomy, and it has its own head, who holds his place by divine right.

Nay, the high priest represents more than the church's independence of the state; he exercises sovereignty over Israel.

Though sceptre and sword are lacking to the high priest, his spiritual dignity makes him the head of the theocracy. He alone is the responsible representative of the commonwealth; the names of the twelve tribes are written on his shoulders and his breast. An offence on his part inculpates the whole people and demands the same expiation as a national sin, whilst the sin-offerings prescribed for the princes mark them out as mere private persons compared with him. His death makes an epoch, the fugitive manslayer is amnestied, not on the death of the king, but on the death of the high priest. On investiture the high priest receives a kingly unction (whence his name, 'the anointed priest'); he wears the diadem and tiara of a monarch, and is clad in royal purple, the most unpriestly dress possible. When now we find that the head of the national worship is as such, and merely as such—for no political powers accompany the high-priesthood—also the head of the nation, this can only mean that the nation is one which has been deprived of its civil autonomy, that it no longer enjoys political existence, but survives merely as a church.

In truth the Priestly Code never contemplates Israel as a nation, but only as a religious community, the whole life of which is summed up in the service of the sanctuary. The community is that of the second temple, the Jewish hierocracy under that foreign dominion which alone made such an hierocracy possible.

The pattern of the so-called Mosaic theocracy, which does not suit the conditions of any earlier age, and of which Hebrew prophecy knows nothing even in its ideal descriptions of the commonwealth of Israel as it ought to be, fits post-exilic Judaism to a nicety, and was never an actual thing till then. After the Exile the Jews were deprived by their foreign rulers of all the functions of public political life; they were thus able, indeed compelled, to devote their whole energies to sacred things, in which full freedom was left them. The temple became the one centre of national life, and the prince of the temple head of the spiritual commonwealth, while, at the same time, the

administration of the few political affairs which were still left to the Jews themselves, fell into his hands as a matter of course, because the nation had no other chief.

20. Sacred dues in P. The material basis of the hierarchy was supplied by the sacred dues.

In the Priestly Code the priests receive all sin-offerings and guilt-offerings, the greater part of the cereal accompaniments of sacrifices, the skin of the burnt-offering, the breast and shoulder of thank-offerings. Further, they receive the male firstlings and the tithe of cattle, as also the firstfruits and tithes of the fruits of the land. Yet with **all** this they are not even obliged to support at their own cost the stated services and offerings of the temple, which are provided for by a poll-tax. The poll-tax is not ordained in the main body of the Code; but such a tax, of the amount of one-third of a shekel, began to be paid in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 10 32 [33]), and in a novel of the law (Ex. 30 15) it is demanded at the higher rate of half a shekel per head. That these exorbitant taxes were paid to or claimed by the priests in the wilderness, or during the anarchy of the period of the judges, is inconceivable. Nor in the period of the kingship is it conceivable that the priests laid claim to contributions much in excess of what the king himself received from his subjects; certainly no such claim would have been supported by the royal authority. In 1 S. 8 15 the tithes appear as paid to the king, and are viewed as an oppressive exaction, yet they form but a single element in the multiplicity of dues which the priests claim under the Priestly Code. Above **all,** the fundamental principles of the system of priestly dues in the Code are absolutely irreconcilable with the fact that, as long as Solomon's temple stood, the king had the power to dispose of its revenues **as** he pleased.

The sacred taxes are the financial expression of the hierocratic system; they accord with the condition of the Jews after the exile, and under the second temple they were actually paid according to the Code, or with only minor departures from its provisions,

21. Before the Exile. In pre-exilic times the sacred gifts were paid not to the priests but to Yahwè; they had no resemblance to taxes, and their religious meaning, which in the later system is hardly recognizable, was quite plainly marked. They were in fact identical with the great public festal offerings which the offerers consumed in solemn sacrificial meals before Yahwè, that is, at the sanctuary. The change of these offerings into a kind of tax was connected with an entire transformation of the old character of Israel's worship, which resulted from its centralization at Jerusalem. In the old days the public worship of the nation consisted essentially in the celebration of the

22. Early religious feasts. yearly feasts; that this was so can be plainly seen from the prophets—from Amos. but especially from Hosea. Accordingly the laws of worship are, confined to this one point in JE, and even in Deuteronomy. After the Exile the festal observances became much less important than the *tāmīd*, the regular daily and weekly offerings and services; and so we find it in the Priestly Code. Apart from this, the feasts (especially the paschal feast) underwent a qualitative change, which claims special attention (see FEASTS, § 9 *ff.*).

The conclusions reached by comparing the successive strata of the laws are confirmed by a comparison of the

23. The Narratives. several stages of the historical tradition embodied in the Pentateuch. The several threads of narrative which run side by side in the Pentateuch are so distinct in point of form that critics were long disposed to assume that in point of substance also they are independent narratives, without mutual relation. This, however, is highly improbable on general considerations, and is seen to be quite impossible when regard is paid to the close correspondence of the several sources in regard to the ***arrangement*** of the historical matter they contain. It is because the arrangement is so similar in all the narratives that it was possible to weave them together into one book; and besides this we find a close agreement in many notable points of detail. Here, too, analysis does not exhaust the task of the critic; a subsequent synthesis is required. When he has separated out the individual documents the critic has still to examine their mutual relations, to comprehend them as phases in a living process, and in this way to trace the gradual development of the Hebrew historical tradition. In the present article, however, we cannot say anything of the way in which the Deuteronomist views the Hebrew history (see HISTORICAL LIT., § 7), nor shall we attempt to characterize the differences between J and E (see GENESIS, § 4 *ff.*), but limit ourselves to **a** general comparison between the narrative of JE and that of the Priestly Code.

Bleek and his school viewed it as a great merit of the latter narrative that it strictly observes the difference

24. JE and P narratives contrasted. between various ages, mixes nothing Mosaic with the patriarchal period, and in the Mosaic history never forgets that the scene lies in the wilderness of wandering. They also took it as a mark of fidelity to authentic sources that the Code contains *so* many dry lists, such a mass of unimportant numbers and names, such exact technical descriptions of details which could have no interest for posterity. Against this view Colenso[1] proved that just those parts of the Hexateuch which contain the most precise details, and so have the air of authentic documents, are least consistent with the laws of possibility.

Colenso, when he wrote, had no thought of the several sources of the Hexateuch; but this only makes it the more remarkable that his criticisms mainly affect the Priestly Code. Noldeke followed Colenso with clearer insight, and determined the character and value of the priestly narrative by tracing **all** through it an artificial construction and a fictitious character.

The supposed marks of historical accuracy and dependence on authentic records are quite out of place in such a narrative as that of the Pentateuch, the substance of which is not historical but legendary. This legendary character is always manifest both in the form and in the substance of the narrative of the Yahwist (JE); his stories of the patriarchs and of Moses are just such as might have been gathered from popular tradition.

In JE the general plan of the history is still quite loose; the individual stories are the important thing, and they have a truly living individuality. They have always a local connection and we can still often see what motives lie at the root of them.' But even when we do not understand these legends they lose none of their charm; for they breathe a sweet poetic fragrance, and in them heaven and earth axe magically blended into one.

The Priestly Code, on the other hand, dwells as little as possible on the details of the several stories; the pearls are stripped off in order that the thread on which they were strung may be properly seen.

Love and hate and all the passions, angels, miracles, and theophanies, local and historical allusions, disappear; the old narrative shrivels into a sort of genealogical scheme,—a hare scaffolding to support a pragmatic construction of the connection and progress of the sacred history. In legendary narrative, on the other hand, connection is a very secondary matter; indeed it is only brought in when the several legends are collected and written down. When, therefore, the Priestly Code makes the connection the chief thing, it is clear that it has lost **all** touch of the original sources and starting-points of the legends. It draws therefore, not from oral tradition, but from hooks; its dry excerpts can have no other source than a tradition already fixed in writing. In point of fact it simply draws on the Yahwistic narrative. The order in which that narrative disposed the popular legends is here made the essential thing; the arrangement, which in the Yahwist (JE) was still quite subordinate to the details, is here brought into the foreground; the old order of events is strictly adhered to, but is so emphasized as to become the one important thing in the history. Obviously it was the intention of the priestly narrator to give by this treatment the historical quintessence of his materials freed of all superfluous additions. At the same time, he has used **all** means to dress up the old naïve traditions into a learned history. Sorely against its real character, he forces it into a chronological system, which he carries through without a break from Adam to Joshua. Whenever he can he patches the story with things that have the air of authoritative documents. Finally, he rationalises the history after the standard of his own religious ideas and general culture; above **all,** he shapes it so that it forms a framework, and at the same time a gradual preparation for the Mosaic law. With the spirit of the legend, in which the Yahwist (JE) still lives, he bas nothing in common, and so he forces it into conformity with a point of view entirely different from its own.

The middle position which the legal part of Deuter-

[1] *The Pentateuch* **and** *Book of Joshua Critically* **Examined,** pt. 1 ('62). For a sketch **of** Colenso **see** Che. *Founders*.

onomy holds between JE and' the Priestly Code is also characteristic of the Deuteronomic narrative,' which is founded throughout on JE, but from time to time shows a certain leaning to the points of view characteristic of the priestly narrator.

25. Narrative of D, etc.

The order of the several parts of the Hexateuch to which we have been led by all these arguments is confirmed by an examination of the other historical books and the books of Chronicles. The original sources of the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings stand on the same platform with JE ; the editing they received in the Exile presupposes Deuteronomy ; and the latest construction of the history as contained in Chronicles rests on the Priestly Code. This is admitted (see HISTORICAL LIT., § 7) ; the conclusion to be drawn is obvious.

We have now indicated the chief lines on which criticism must proceed in determining the order of the sources of the Hexateuch, and the age of the Priestly Code in particular—though, of course, it has not been possible at all to exhaust the argument.

26. Objections to Grafian hypothesis.

The objections that have been taken to Graf's hypothesis partly rest on misunderstanding. It is asked, for example, what is left for Moses if he were not the author of the Torah.

27. Antiquity of Torah.

Moses may have been the founder of the Torah, though the Pentateuchal legislation was codified almost a thousand years later ; for the Torah was originally not a written law, hut the oral decisions of the priests at the sanctuary—case-law, in short by which they decided all manner of question; and controversies that were brought before their tribunal (cp LAW AND JUSTICE, §§ 1 4); their Torah was the instruction to others that came from their lips, not at all a written document in their hands guaranteeing their own status, and instructing themselves how to proceed in the sacrificial ritual. Questions of clean and unclean belonged to the Torah because these were matters on which the laity required to he birected ; but, generally, the ritual, so far as it consisted in ceremonies performed by the priests themselves, was no part of the Torah. Whilst, however, it was only at a late date that the ritual appeared as Torah as it does in the Priestly Code, its usages and traditions are exceedingly ancient, going back, in fact, to pre-Mosaic and heathenish times.

It is absurd to speak as if Graf's hypothesis meant that the whole ritual is the invention of the Priestly Code, first put into practice after the exile.

All that is affirmed by the advocates of that hypothesis is that in earlier times the ritual was not the substructure of a hierocracy, that there was in fact no hierocracy before the exile, that Yahwè's sovereignty was an ideal thing, not visibly embodied in an organization of the commonwealth under the forms of a specifically spiritual power. The theocracy was the state; the old Israelites regarded their civil constitution as a divine miracle. The later Jews assumed the existence of the state as a natural thing that required no explanation, and built the theocracy over it as a special divine institution.

There are, however, some more serious objections taken to the Grafian hypothesis. It is, indeed, simply a misstatement of facts to say that the language of the Priestly Code forbids us to date it so late as post-exilic times.

28. Deuteronomic redaction.

On the other hand, a real difficulty lies in the fact that, whilst the priestly redaction extends to Deuteronomy (Dt. 1 3), it is also true that the Deuteronomic redaction extends to the Priestly Code (Josh. 20).

The way out of this dilemma is to be found by recognizing that the so-called Deuteronomic redaction was not a single and final act, that the characteristic phrases of Deuteronomy became household words to subsequent generations and were still current and found application centuries after the time of Josiah. (See further, HISTORICAL LIT., § 7). Thus, for example, the traces of Deuteronomic redaction in Josh. 20 are still lacking in the Septuagint; the text, we see, was retouched at a very late date indeed (cp JOSHUA, § 18 ; Bennett *SBOT* 'Heb.,' notes).

Of the other objections taken to the Grafian hypothesis only one need be mentioned here—viz., that the Persians are not named in the list of nations in Gen. 10.

This is certainly hard to understand if the passage was written in the Persian period ; but the difficulty is not insuperable. The Persians, for example, may have been held to be included in the mention of the Elamites, and this also would give the list the archaic air which the priestly writer affects.

At any rate, a residue of minute difficulties not yet thoroughly explained cannot outweigh the decisive arguments that support the view that the Priestly Code originated in and after the Exile. Kuenen observes with justice that 'it is absolutely necessary to start with the plain and unambiguous facts, and to allow them to guide our judgment on questionable points. The study of details is not superfluous in laying down the main lines of the critical construction; but, as soon as our studies have supplied us with some really fixed points, further progress must proceed from them, and we must first gain a general view of the whole field instead of always working away at details, and then coming out with a rounded theory which lacks nothing but a foundation.'

Finally, it is a pure *petitio principii*, nothing more, to say that the post-exilic age was not equal to the task of producing a work like the Priestly Code.

The position of the Jews after the Exile made it imperative on' them to reorganize themselves in conformity with the entire change in their situation. Now the Priestly Code is all that we should expect to find in a constitution for the Jews after the Exile.

29. Post-exilic needs.

It meets the new requirements as completely as it fails to satisfy the conditions which a law-book older than the Exile would have had to satisfy. After the final destruction of the kingdom by Nebnchadrezzar, they found in the ritual and *personnel* of the temple at Jerusalem the elements out of which a new commonwealth could be built, in conformity with the circumstances and needs of the time. The community of Judaea raised itself from the dust by holding on to its ruined sanctuary. The old usages and ordinances were reshaped in detail ; but as a whole they were not replaced by new creations ; the novelty lay in their being worked into a system and applied as a means to organize the 'remnant' of Israel. This was the origin of the sacred constitution of Judaism. Religion in old Israel had been a faith which gave its support to the natural ordinances of human society; it was now set forth in external and visible form as a special institution, within an artificial sphere peculiar to itself, which rose far above the level of common life.

30. Production of P.

The necessary presupposition of this kind of theocracy is service to a foreign empire, and so the theocracy is essentially the same thing as hierocracy. Its finished picture is drawn in the Priestly Code, the product of the labours of learned priests during the Exile. When the temple was destroyed and the ritual interrupted, the old practices were written down that they might not he lost. Thus in the Exile the ritual became matter of teaching, of Torah ; the first who took this step, a step prescribed by the circumstances of the time, was the priest and prophet Ezekiel (see EZEKIEL i. § 4, ii. § 21 *f.*). In the last part of his book Ezekiel began the literary record of the customary ritual of the temple ; other priests followed in his footsteps (Lev. 17-26); and so there arose during the captivity a school of men who wrote down and systematized what they had formerly practised. When the temple was restored this theocratic zeal still went on and produced further ritual developments, in action and reaction with the actual practice of the new temple; the final result of the long-continued process was the Priestly Code.

[The student who has read and assimilated the foregoing sketch will be qualified to estimate the progress which has been made since the lonely Jewish thinker of Amsterdam (Baruch Spinoza) propounded his doubts on Genesis, and since Jean Astruc, professor of medicine but also student of the Pentateuch, opened the 'true path' of critical investigation. Now, however, we are in a different position from that at which Kuenen had arrived when he rewrote his *Onderzoek* and Wellhausen when he wrote his illuminative *Prolegomena*. The criticism of the Hexateuch is approaching a fresh turning-point, and the students of to-day need to be warned that new methods will be necessary to carry the discussion of

critical problems nearer to definite solutions. A *purely* literary criticism has had its day, and biblical archæology and the comparative study of social customs have forced us to undertake a more searching examination of the contents of the Hexateuch, which is leading to a complication of critical problems not before dreamed of. With the problems we hope that we are catching a glimpse of the new methods to be applied in their solutions. These new methods will best be learned by observing the practice of the critical workers. Bndde's *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1-12 5) *untersucht* is not a recent book (it appeared in **1883)**; but a student of method may learn much from it. With more complete satisfaction, however, we may mention Stade's admirable essays on 'Cain's Sign,' on the 'Tower of Babel,' and on the 'Torah of the Sacrifice of Jealousy,' now reprinted in his *Akademische Reden und Abhandlungen* **(1899)**. The introduction to the Hexateuch by Steucrnagel will, it may be hoped, furnish many fruitful hints; but the present writer looks forward with higher hopes to Gunkel's expected commentary on Genesis. From many articles of the present work the student will be able to gather how the present writer views'the task that lies before us in Genesis, and by what means we should attempt to accomplish it. Gunkel will doubtless do much more, and for Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers the student will be in safe hands if he begins under the tuition of Baentsch. To Deuteronomy and Joshua reference is made below.

To say more just now about the road which the students of to-day will have to traverse would be unwise. It would be tantamount to doing the work superficially which in a longer or shorter time the investigators of to-day—both those who have worked their way out of purely literary criticism and those who, have the advantage of beginning their journey at the point now reached by critics—may modestly but confidently hope to accomplish. Let our last word be this: Hexatcuch criticism is passing into a new phase. This phase is largely due to archæology and the comparative study of social customs, but in part also to the further developments of Hebrew philology and textual criticism. Let the student therefore devote the utmost pains to the critical study of Biblical archaeology, and of the Hebrew texts, for without a better knowledge of what the texts really contain and of the circumstances in which these texts arose no secure step in advance can be taken by Hexateuch criticism.

A word, too, may be said on the present position of the study of that part of the Hexateuch which relates to the laws. The immense labour bestowed on the adaptation of the old Hebrew laws is becoining more and more manifest. The Oxford *Hexateuch*[1] indicates the nature of some of the newer problems which are at present engaging the attention of workers, especially in the department of the legal literature. Together with Holzinger's (German) Introduction to the Hexateuch it can be confidently recommended to all thorough students. It is gratifying to know that defenders of religious truth (even in the Roman church[2]) are finding out that criticism of the 'Books of Moses' is no enemy to religion. In fact, the wonderful ways by which God led the people of Israel towards the light of life may be studied in that strangely composite work, the Hexateuch, with as much benefit to edification as in the Psalms or the prophecies, and recent works on the religion of Israel (*e.g.*, vol. ii. of Duffs *Old Testament Theology*[3]) do not neglect to use the main results in pictures both of the popular and of the higher religion of Israel. The bibliographies to be found at the end of the articles on the books of the Hexateuch are so carefully selected that not much more need be said. A really satisfactory history of the religion of Israel still has to be written, and when we have reached the fresh starting-point for which we are looking, this much desired book will be written. T. K. C.]

J. W.

HEZEKI, RV HIZKI (חִזְקִי; αζακ[ε]ι [BA], εζεκια [L]), b. Elpaal in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. *β*); 1 Ch. 8 17†; cp *JQR* 11 103, § 1.

HEZEKIAH (חִזְקִיָּהוּ [usually], חִזְקִיָּה [in 2 K. 18 14-16, which comes from a separate record], also יְחִזְקִיָּה [no. 1 in Hos. 1 1 Mic. 1 1] and יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ [no. 1 in Is. 1 1 and constantly in 2 Ch.]; see also JEHIZKIAH; the vocalization of the two latter forms is anomalous'; εζεκιας [BAL]). The name Ḥizkiyāhū is written Ḥazaki[i]au in Assyrian; cp also the name יחזק on a seal [see *JAs.*, Feb.-Mar. **1883**, p. 134 (no. 7)]. It means 'Yahwè has strengthened,' or 'is strength'; cp EZEKIEL, and the plays upon the name in Ecclus. 48 17 22 [Heb. text].

1. King of Judah (? 720-691; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 36). Of the reign of this king little is known with certainty.

1. His policy. He certainly ascended the throne at a youthful age. M'Curdy[1] makes him only fifteen at his accession; he was, by general admission, certainly under twenty-five (the age given by the Redactor in 2 K. 18 2 [cp KINGS, § 4]), we may even confidently say, under twenty. Elsewhere (see ISAIAH i., § 6) reason has been given for supposing that Hezekiah may have been early influenced by the preaching of Isaiah, and unlike his father have responded to the prophet's demand for 'faith.' The kings' of Judah, however, did not possess absolute power, and Hezekiahs action was in the main dictated by the political party which happened to be predominant among the nobles. His personal relation to Isaiah was therefore of comparatively slight significance, and it is but a conjecture that the (probable) dismissal of SHEBNA (*q.v.*) and the alarm produced by the Assyrian invasion led to something in the nature of a reform which consisted partly in the requirement of a higher standard of morality from the judges (Is. 1 17 23 3 15) and partly in the abolition of certain idolatrous objects at Jerusalem, such as the brazen serpent (2 K. 18 4). A much larger measure of iconoclasm is ascribed to Hezekiah in 2 K. 18 4-7, where the compiler of Kings (to whom the passage in its present form is due) assigns the reformation to one of the first years of Hezekiah's reign (cp *v.* 22 and 2 Ch. 29 3).

The language, however, which the compiler uses is so strongly suggestive of the influence of Deuteronomy (reign of Josiah) that we cannot venture to take it as strictly historical. There is no sound evidence that Isaiah attacked either the *Maṣṣēbāhs* or the *Ashērāhs*, much less the *Bāmōth* or high places.[2] The destruction of these ohjects seems a detail transferred to Hezekiah's times from those of Josiah, to which it properly belongs.

[1] ***The Hexateuch** according to **the RV arranged** in **its con. stituent** Documents **by** members of the **Society** of Historical **Theology**, Oxford*, J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby (London, 1900).

[2] See, *e.g.*, M. J. Lagrange, 'Les sources du Pentateuque,' ***Revue** biblique*, 7 10-32.

[3] Prof. Duff's view of Deuteronomy, however differs from that which is still most prevalent among critics. Cp Steuernagel's commentary, and the Oxford *Hexateuch*. These three hooks show that the origin of Deuteronomy is one of the problems which need a more thorough investigation. Steuernagel's *Joshua* may also he recommended.

[1] *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 2 250. This implies dating Hezekiah's accession in 720 or 719. Similarly Wi. and C. Niebnhr (720) assume that Merodach-baladan's embassy (2 K. **20** 12-19 = Is. **39**) was seat on Hezekiah's accession, which took place (*ex hyp.*) not long after his own (cp **Schr.** *COT* 2 25). M'Curdy's assumptions are different, and need testing. Most scholars, with We., prefer 715. The question is not settled. On the doubtful statement 'in the fourteenth year' (2 K. 18 13 = Is. **36** 1) see Di. *Jes.* 313; Duhm, *Jes.* 235; **Kau.** in Kamph. *Chronologie*, 94; Che. *Intr. Is.* 217 *f.*; and cp CHRONOLOGY, § 36, and Dr. *Isaiah*(2), 13 *f.*

[2] Is. 17 7 *f.* is an interpolation. See Stade, *ZATW* 3 13, who is scarcely answered by König, *Hauptprobleme*, 70. Steuernagel's answer to Sta., We., and Smend is not critical enough (*Ent. des deut. Gesetzes*, 100 ['96]). Hezekiah's supposed edict for a reformation remains as improbable as before, and should not be mixed up with a discussion of the 'original Deuteronomy.'

The removal and destruction of the brazen serpent is not to be explained away.[1] That Hezekiah did away with this much misunderstood object (see NEHUSHTAN) is credible, and this may even be the whole historical kernel of the story of the reform of the cultus, which the Chronicler (after his fashion) has still further elaborated (2 Ch. 29-31).

2. Campaigns. (a) Philistine campaign.—It is less doubtful to what period Hezekiah's successful campaign against the Philistines is to be referred (2 K. 188). According to Stade (*GVI* 1624) and Kittel (*Hist.* 2371), the account is to be taken in connection with Sennacheribs statement that he deprived Hezekiah of certain cities, as a punishment for his rebellion, and attached them to the territories of three Philistine kings (*KB* 294 *f.*). Hezekiah, it is suggested by these critics, may not have submitted tamely to this, and may even have enlarged his own territory at the expense of the Philistines after Sennacherib's departure. This is too arbitrary a view. The cities which Sennacherib wrested from Hezekiah are probably cities which Hezekiah had previously taken from the Philistines.

(6) Assyrian *campaign.*—The other events of Hezekiah's reign, so far as we know them, are treated elsewhere (see ISAIAH i., § 5 *ff.* ; MERODACH-BALADAN ; SENNACHERIB ; EGYPT, § 66; ISRAEL, § 34). To supplement these notices, it is only necessary to point out here: (1) that a thorough criticism of 2 K. 1813-1937 (=Is. 36 *f.*) in connection with the Assyrian annals raises the character of Hezekiah considerably ; he was a true hero, who, unlike the cowardly Luli of Sidon, stuck to the post of duty, and only gave way when all hope had fled, and Jerusalem was 'like a booth in a vineyard or a lodge in a cucumber-field' (Is. 18); and (2) that great caution must be used in reconstructing the history of Jewish religion on the basis of the imperfectly-known facts of the close of the Assyrian invasion.

Much that has been assigned to Isaiah's pen belongs to a later age, and presupposes a glorification of Isaiah which that great prophet and lover of truth would certainly have deprecated. The circumstances under which Jerusalem was liberated from the blockading Assyrian force were not such as to promote a spiritual religion such as Isaiah would have approved. It is by no means certain that Sennacherib retired in consequence of a pestilence in his army; the evidence is as unsatisfactory as possible, and the story may have been developed out of the words of Isaiah in 1714, 'At eventide behold terror ! before morning he is no more ! This is the portion of those that spoil us ; and the lot of those who rob us.'

If Sennacherib's army had been almost destroyed, is it likely that Hezekiah would have sent a special envoy with tribute to Nineveh (*KB* 296 *f.*)? It is much more probable that the inability of Sennacherib to meet Taharka was due to the receipt of bad news from Babylon. In the failure of historical information, nothing was more natural, especially in the light of Isaianic prophecies (supposed to have been literally fulfilled), than to postulate a plague as the cause of his retreat. See SENNACHERIB.

To quote on the other side the story of the priest-king Sĕthōs (Herod. 2 141) is extremely unsafe, considering Herodotus's ill-fortune in the matter of popular Egyptian stories, and the mythological connections of the detail of the field-mice gnawing the quivers of the invaders.[2]

The only doubt is whether there may not have been a second invasion of Sennacherib, which may perhaps have been abruptly terminated by a pestilence.

On one point, however, it is safe to adhere still to the older critical view. The fact that Jerusalem escaped being taken when all the other fortified cities fell before the Assyrians, and, as Sennacherib states, 200,150 Judaeans were led into captivity, must have enhanced the prestige of the temple (cp ISRAEL, § 34; DEUTERONOMY, § 13). The religious reaction under Manasseh would rather promote than hinder this. The misinterpretation of Is. 2816[1] may have begun very early.

3. Hezekiah's song. That Hezekiah composed a song in the style of the Psalms, is *a priori* most improbable. The song in Is. 38 is, both on general and on linguistic and phraseological grounds, of post-exilic origin (see ISAIAH ii., § 15). Nor can we venture to accept the statement in Prov. 251 that 'Hezekiah's men' collected the proverbs contained in Prov. 25-29 (cp PROVERBS). Hezekiah has hardly earned the title of the 'Pisistratus of Judah.' On the reign of Hezekiah see especially Stade, *GVI* 1603-624; and cp ISRAEL, § 33 *f.* T. K. C.

2. חִזְקִיָּה, RV HIZKIAH, the son of Neriah of the seed of David (1 Ch. 323 εζεκια [BA], -ς [L]).

3. Ater-Hezekiah (Neh. 721 = Ezra 216 = 1 Esd. 515, Neh. 1017); see ATER (1).

4. An ancestor of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. 11 AV HIZKIAH, εζεκιου [BℵAQ]). Since the genealogy is traced back so far, it has been supposed that he must have been some renowned person, perhaps the king. It is probably accidental that no other prophet's genealogy is carried above the grandfather. No reference is made in Kings to a brother of Manasseh named Amariah ; but the chronology is not opposed to the hypothesis which is regarded as probable by Kuenen (ii., § 78, n. 1, cp also Keil Hi., Steiner). Ibn Ezra also accepts; but Abarbanel rejects it. See Gray, *Exp.*, July 1900, pp. 76 *ff.*

HEZION (חֶזְיוֹן ; αζαηλ [AL], αζειν [B]), an Aramaean king, father of Tab-rimmon, and grandfather of Benhadad I. (1 K. 1518). The name, however, is plainly corrupt.

Winckler (*AT Unters.* 60 *ff.*) restores חֲזָאֵל, Hazael, in accordance with 'SAL. Others (*e.g.*, Ew., *Hist.* 324, n. 5, The. and Klo.) prefer חֶזְרוֹן, Hezron, of which they take 1171, Rezon, in 1123 to be another form, basing this view upon 1 K. 1123 (εσρωμ [B], -ων[ι], om. A); but εσρωμ points rather either to חֶצְרוֹן Ḥeṣrōn, or to רְצוֹן (cp REZON). Probably Wi. is right. T. K. C.

REZIR (חֵזִיר 'boar,' the pointing ֵ may be intentional, to avoid a connection with חֲזִיר [NO., *ZDMG* 40 162 ('86)]. Neub. compares Talm. Targ. חיזורא, חֲזוּרָא, 'pomegranate,' 'apple' [*Acad.*, Dec. '87, p. 411b]; cp RIMMON. The בני חזיר are mentioned upon a Hebrew inscription dating shortly before the Christian era [Chwolson, *Corp. Inscr. Heb.* no. 6; cp Dr. *TBS* xxiii. *f.*]. Cp perhaps *Ḥiziri*, Am. Tab. 159, and the Bab. n. pr. *Ḥamziru* [Muss-Arnolt]).

1. A priest, to whom, according to the Chronicler, the seventeenth of the twenty-four lots fell in David's time, 1 Ch. 2415 (χηζειν [B v. 14], ιεζειρ [A], χηζ. [L]).

2. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 1020 [18] (ηζειρ [BℵA], αζηρ [L]). S. A. C.

HEZRO (חֶצְרוֹ ; 1 Ch. 1137 and 2 S. 2335 Kt.) or **Rezrai** (חֶצְרַי ; 2 S. 2335, Kr.) or, more probably, Hezron (Klo., Marq.), one of David's thirty, a native of Carmel, in Judah.

𝔊 has : in Ch. ησερε ὁ χαρμαδαι [B], ησεραι ὁ χ. [ℵ], ασαραι ὁ καρμηλι [A], εσρει ὁ χερμελλι [L] ; in 2 S. ασαραι ὁ καρμήλιος [BA], [δαμι ὁ] εσσερι, καρμαλι [ὁ αφαρει] [L].

HEZRON (חֶצְרוֹן ; ασωρων [B], εσρωμ [A], εσρων [L]), one of the points which mark the S. border of Judah in Josh. 153, mentioned between Kadesh-barnea and Addar (?) ; in the ‖ passage, Nu. 344, Kadesh-barnea is followed by HAZAR-ADDAR (חֲצַר־אַדָּר ; επαυλιν αραδ [BAFL]). There may have been two places, Hazar or Hezron, and Addar, close to one another. The site is uncertain ; Saadia in his translation takes it to be Raphia. See, however, HAZAR-ADDAR.

REZRON (חֶצְרוֹן, 'enclosure,' εσρωμ [AL] ; cp חָצֵר, court-yard, village, and see above).

[1] See Stade, *ZATW* 39 ('83).

[2] Hommel's statement (*Gesch. des alten Morgenlandes*, 142 ['95]) 'A plague (or, as Herodotus symbolically expresses himself, 'swarm of field-mice') fell upon the Assyrian host so that Sennacherib had to return (with no results to show) to Nineveh,' and M'Curdy's in *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 2298 *ff.*, 428, seem to need modification. It has not been proved that mice were a symbol of plague-boils. In 1 S. 5 *f.* the plague and the mice are two distinct punishments. On the mythological affinities of the field-mice of Sĕthōs, see A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 111-114. See EMERODS, MOUSE.

[1] The laying of the foundation-stone is future (read יֹסֵד), and the promised benefits are only for those who have what Isaiah would recognise as faith. Cp Is. 86 *f.*

1. b. Perez b. Judah (Gen. 46 12, ασρωμ [A], -ν [D]; Nu. 26 21, ασρων [BFL], αστρων [A]; Ruth 4 18 *f.*, εσρων [B. and A in *v.* 19], εζρων [L]; 1 Ch. 2 5, αρσων [B*], εσρων [B^{a?b? mg.}]; 4 1 αρσων [B], εσρων [L]; Mt. 1 3 Lk. 3 33, εσρωμ AV ESROM; **Hezronite** חֶצְרוֹנִי, Nu. 26 21, ασρων[ε]ι [BAFL]). This relationship is late and is a modification of the older scheme which appears in 1 Ch. 2 9. Here Hezron (εσερων [B*], εσρων [B^{ab}]) is the 'father' of the two clans Jerahmeel[1] and Chelubai (= Caleb), and in this connection his name is probably as symbolical as those of Caleb's wives (see AZUBAH, 1), since 'Hezronites' seems to mean 'the inhabitants of חֲצֵרִים—nomad encampments'—so WRS *J. Phil.* 9 91 (see HAZOR). Caleb and Jerahmeel in David's time inhabited the *negeb* of Judah (cp, *e.g.*, 1 S. 30 29), and it was not until later times that they migrated northwards. Hence it is natural that upon their subsequent adoption into the tribe of Judah, they should be genealogically represented as the offspring of the tribal eponym by making their father a son of PEREZ [*q.v.*]. The genealogical fragment 1 Ch. 2 18-24 which connects Hezron with Gilead, etc., may represent post-exilic relations, or perhaps simply implies that Gilead had a nomadic origin (*vv.* 18 21 24 *f.* εσερων [B], εσρωμ [A], -ν [L and A in *v.* 25]); cp 1 Ch. 5 10. See also CALEB-EPHRATAH.

2. A son of Reuben (Gen. 46 9 ασρων [ADL], Nu. 26 6 ασρων [BFL], -μ [A], Ex. 6 14 ασρων [BAF], -μ [L], 1 Ch. 5 3 -ν [L], αρσων [B], εσρων [A]; **Hezronite,** חֶצְרֹנִי, Nu. 26 6, ασρων[ε]ι [BAFL]).

HIDDAI (הִדַּי; αδδαοι [B*], αδροι [B^{ab}], αθθαι [A], αδδαι [L]), one of David's thirty: 2 S. 23 30 = 1 Ch. 11 32, HURAI (*q.v.*).

HIDDEKEL (חִדֶּקֶל; τιγρις [AEL in Gen.], τιγρης [𝔊 87 in Dan.], τιγρις εδδεκελ [Theod. in Dan.]; but ενδεκελ A with cy—*i.e.*, Symmachus—written above it]; ܕܩܠܬ ,דִּגְלַת; Ass. *Diklat* (?), Bab. *Diglat*), the river of Eden 'which goeth eastward to Assyria' of Gen. 2 14, 'the great river' of Dan. 10 4, is undoubtedly the TIGRIS. The name of this river, in the pre-Semitic writing of Babylonia, was MAŠ-TIG-GAR, a group of signs, which in this connection denoted an idea whose audible expression was Idigna or Idignu. As applied to the river, it was regarded by the Babylonian scribes as denoting the river they called Diglat. This form of the name is clearly preserved in the Greek of Pliny, *NH* 6 127, διγλιτω, Aramaic *Deḳlat*, Arabic *Diglat* and διγλαθ (Jos. *Ant.* i. 13).

The suggestion has been made that Diglat is formed from Idigna, by dropping the initial vowel (for which many parallels can he produced), and adding the Semitic feminine (F. Delitzsch, *Parad.* 171). The Hebrew and modern Arabic have not this t. The former substitutes for the g the closely related ḳ, a change which may also he indicated in the Assyrian, if that really was Diḳlat. The presence of the initial Hi, in the Hebrew, has been accounted for by the prefixing of the Hebrew article to a form beginning with I. This scarcely accounts for the h, without further explanation. The Samaritan, however, has חדקל. The modern Arabic follows the local form *Digleh*.

That the sign MAŠ had among its phonetic values Ḫi, Hi, i, is a legitimate suggestion, but has no support. It denoted, among other ideas, 'the hank of a river,' and as such was read Aḫi. Thus Aḫitiggar, or with a change of r to l, for which many parallels could he found, Aḫitiggal, Ḫidiḳal, is a natural progression.

The same group of signs, however, not only denoted the river Tigris, but, with the same pronunciation, was translated by the Babylonian scribes as *nagû*, 'a district,' *nadbaku*, 'a gully or wady,' and finally was an ideogram for the verb *zābu* 'to flow,' which furnished the names of the two Zabs, tributaries of this river. Thus, if Tiggar was the early pronunciation of this group of signs it may have been a me-Semitic name that perhaps clung to the upper reaches of the stream, where the' Medo-Persian invaders first became acquainted with the river. At any rate, it seems more than coincidence that the Old Persian name should be Tigrā, a feminine form. The existence of a similar Old Persian word *tigri* (the Zend *tighri*) for 'arrow'[1] may perhaps help the change.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the other ancient writing of the name was ḪAL-ḪALA, the cuneiform signs of which are very suggestive–of four 'arrows' following one another, and yet, on the other hand, probably represent an old pictorial indication of 'running water.' At the same time, the Babylonians translated these signs by *garāru*, 'to flow,' when used otherwise than as the name of the river. Another old name for this river, or some part of it, was the Ammu. At bottom we may suppose the old writing MAS-(Aḫi ?)-TIG-GAR to have been also phonetic and either directly, or by way of suggestion, the parent of Ḫiddekel, Diglat, and Tigris.

C. H. W. J.

HIEL (חִיאֵל, if the letter ח is correct, perhaps for חִי־אֵל, 'El lives,' § 35; αχ[ε]ιηλ [BA], ܚܝܐܝܠ [Pesh.]; unless on account of 𝔊 and Pesh., חיאל may be considered to be for אחיאל, cp Bathg. *Beitr.* 156, and חאב for אחאב on an inscription from Safā [see AHAB]), the Bethelite[2] (בֵּית־הָאֱלִי), who in the days of Ahab 'built' (*i.e.*, fortified?) Jericho, and who 'laid the foundation thereof at the cost of (the life of) Abiram (בַּאֲבִירָם) his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof at the cost of (the life of) Segub (בִּשְׂגוּב) his youngest, according to the word of Yahwè which he spoke by Joshua the son of Nun' (1 K. 16 34). Several interesting questions arise out of this passage: (1) as to the name and period of the 'builder' of Jericho (§ 2); (2) as to the manner in which he lost his two sons (§ 3); and (3) as to the relation of the passage to Josh. 6 26 (Joshua's curse on the 'builder' of Jericho) (§ 1). Let us take the last of these first.

1. Relation of the story to Josh. 6 26. Comparing the two passages, we find that the phraseological evidence favours the view that the passage in Josh. is the later (see Kit. *Hist.* 2 213, n. 1). It is also probable that 1 K. 16 34 (which is not found in 𝔊^L) was introduced from some other context; the closing words would naturally be inserted later, to provide a point of contact with Josh. 6 26. In 𝔊^{BAL} the fulfilment is narrated in Josh. (οζαν [B*], αοζαν [B^{a mg.}], 6 αζαν [AL]).

2. Who was Hiel? Next, as to the person intended. The notice is very obscure; what has a Bethelite to do with the building or refortification of Jericho? According to Ewald (*GVI* 3 490) Hiel was a 'rich man of an enterprising turn of mind.' The building of a city, however, is an unusual enterprise for a private person, and such a distinguished man ought to have had a genealogy. Next, we notice that the second part of the Hebrew for 'the Bethelite' (האלי) contains nearly the same letters as Hiel (חיאל). This suggests that Hiel may have been a variant of Hiel, and have been transformed into Beth-hā'elī, when the two readings had come to stand side by side. But who *is* Hiel? Not a Bethelite, but some one important enough to do without a patronymic. It is a probable conjecture that *Jehu* (possibly from יְהוֹאֵל ?) is disguised as Hiel, and that the notice of his rebuilding Jericho originally stood after 2 K. 10 33.[3] JEHU [1] built or refortified Jericho because he had been deprived of so much territory by Hazael, and had to protect what was left. The change of 'Jehu' (Jĕhōēl ?) into 'Hiel' and the transference of the notice to the story of Ahab arise out of the embarrassing fact that the story of Elijah represented that prophet as having been sent to Jericho (2 K. 2 4).

Lastly, as to the fate of Hiel's or Jehu's two sons.

[1] The introduction of Ram (a mere fragment of 'Jerahmeel,' Che.) is erroneoiis.

[1] As asserted by Strabo xi. 14 8, and others (Curtius, 49).

[2] Tg. gives בית מומי, Pesh. ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ; Ar. بيت الاصنام, all in agreement with the Rabbinical tradition (Rashi, etc.) which connects בית־האלי with אלה ('a curse'), Jericho being the 'house of a curse.'

[3] This view is due to C. Niehuhr (*Gesch.* 1 332 *f.*), except that he cannot see that the sons mentioned have anything to do with Jehu; nor is he quite full enough on the disguising name Hiel.

The writer of the notice makes Hiel (Jehu) responsible for their deaths, and the inserter of the gloss, 'according to the word of Yahwè which he spoke by Joshua,' supposed the deaths to have been judgments upon Hiel (Jehu) for his impiety in breaking the taboo laid upon the site of Jericho by Joshua. Of this taboo, however, we have no early record, and the explanation is certainly not natural. The key to the passage is supplied by the comparative study of primitive customs. It is not the ordinary sacrifices of children that we have before us (so Kue. *Ond.*(2) 1 233 = *Hex.* 240), but a special kind of sacrifice to the local supernatural powers such as has been practised in many countries.

3. The sacrifice of Hiel's (Jehu's) sons.

This can hardly fail to have suggested itself to many readers of Tylor's ***Primitive Culture*** (1 104 *ff.*), and has for many years been held by the present writer. From Tylor's instances it is enough to quote the Japanese belief (17th cent.) that 'a wall laid on the body of a willing human victim would be secure from accident; accordingly when a great wall was to be built, some wretched slave would offer himself as foundation, lying down in the trench to be crushed by the heavy stones lowered upon him.' Similarly at Algiers 'when the walls were built of blocks of concrete in the sixteenth century, a Christian captive named Geronimo was placed in one of the blocks and the rampart built over and about him.'[1] At Shanghai, when the bridge leading to St. John's College was being built, an official present threw into the stream first his shoes, then his garments, and finally himself, 'and as his life went out, the workmen were enabled to go on with their building.' In India, to this day, engineers and architects have to reassure the natives at the commencement of any great undertaking, to prevent them from anticipating a sacrifice of human victims (Sewell). It is still more important to notice that the American explorer, J. H. Haynes, in excavating the zikkurrat of the temple of Eel at Nippur (the oldest yet found) discovered many skulls built in with the bricks.[2]

It is probable that in primitive times these foundation-sacrifices were customary in Palestine as well as in Babylonia, and that they even lingered on in northern Israel. Even if we believe that Hiel (Jehu) sacrificed his two sons in the usual way (*i.e.*, not adopting the precise practice referred to by Tylor), we must at any rate suppose that he sprinkled the foundation-stones and the side-posts of the gates (cp Ex. 12 7 22 *f.*) with his children's blood, just as Arabian husbandmen, when they build, are still wont to sprinkle the blood of a peace-offering upon the stones.[3]

That he selected his firstborn and his youngest sons as the sacrificial victims, is in accordance with the principle implied in 2 K. 3 27 Mic. 6 7.[4] The only biblical critic who has explained the passage by folklore is Winckler (*Gesch.* 1 163, n. 3); but the present article is independent of his work. [Cp Ki. *Kön.* 136.]

T. K. C.

HIERAPOLIS (ιεραπολις, ιερα πολις [WH; Str. 629]), a city in Phrygia, mentioned incidentally in Col. 4 13 along with the neighbouring Laodicea. It occupied a shelf, 1100 ft. above the sea, springing from the mountains bounding the Lykos valley on the NE. The modern village *Pambûk Kalesi* ('cotton castle,' from the lime of the springs) lies close to the site. The hot calcareous springs, and the chasms filled with carbonic acid gas, were and are still remarkable features.[5] The water of the springs falls over the cliffs, 100 ft. or more in height, above which the city stood, and the snowy white stalactites present the appearance of a frozen cascade. The *Plutonium*, a hole from which mephitic vapour issued, was filled up by the Christians between 19 A.D. (Strabo's visit) and 380 A. D. : this appears in legend as the subjugation of Echidna (Snake = Satan) by the Apostles Philip and John.

[1] *Cornhill Magazine*, Feb. 1887 (quoted by Trumbull).
[2] Peters, *JBL* 16 11 ['96]; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 48 ('96). On p. 46 the author vaguely remarks that there is a 'suggestion' of the idea of the foundation sacrifice in the curse pronounced by Joshua. (See also Frazer, *Journ. Phil.* 14 156 *f.* ['85]).
[3] Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 136.
[4] Cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 464.
[5] Strabo says (629), καταντικρὺ Λαοδικείας Ἱερὰ πόλις, ὅπου τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὸ Πλουτώνιον, ἄμφω παραδοξολογίαν τινὰ ἔχοντα. He calls the chasms χαρώνια, 579; cp Vitr. viii. 3 10.

As contrasted with the Seleucid foundation of Laodicea. 6 m. to the S., Hierapolis was the focus of Phrygian national feeling and religious ideas. As Ramsay points out, it exemplifies a phenomenon common in Asia Minor. The sacred cities of the early period generally grew up in a locality where the divine power was most strikingly manifested in natural phenomena. A sacred village (ἱερὰ κώμη) arose near the sanctuary (cp Ephesus), and this developed into a city of the native character, with the name Hieropolis.

Wherever native feeling is strong, the form of this name is Hieropolis, 'City of the Sanctuary'' but where Hellenic feeling and education spreads, the Greek' form Hierapolis, 'Sacred City,' is introduced. The difference in form corresponds to a difference in spirit. According to the former the sanctuary, according to the latter the city, is the leading idea.

The great goddess of Hierapolis was the Mother Leto (Str. 469 *f.* ; see PHRYGIA). Hence the warnings issued in Col. 3 5 16 Eph. 4 17-19 5 3 *f.* The churches in the Lykos valley were not founded by Paul personally (see COLOSSE, § 2). That of Hierapolis may have been the creation of Epaphras (Col. 4 12 *f.*). Justinian made it the metropolis of a group of bishoprics.

See Ramsay, ***Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor***, 84; ***Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia***, I. chap. 3. W. J. W.

HIEREEL (ιερεηλ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 21, JEHIEL, i. 10.

HIEREMOTH.
1. (ιερεμωθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 27 = Ezra 10 26, JEREMOTH., 10.
2. (ιερεμωθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 30 = Ezra 10 29, JEREMOTH, 12.

HIERIELUS (ιεζριηλος [A], ιεζοριηλος [B]), 1 Esd. 9 27 = Ezra 10 26, JEHIEL, i. 11.

HIERMAS (ιερμα [B], -ς [A]), 1 Esd. 9 26 = Ezra 10 25, RAMIAH.

HIERONYMUS (ιερωνυμος [VA]), one of the commandants (στρατηγοί) of a district in Palestine in the time of Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 12 2).

HIGGAION (הִגָּיוֹן), coupled with Selah, Ps. 9 15 [17], (ωδη [BKART]). A derivation from הגה 'to moan, muse' (cp AV^mg. 'meditation'), is as unsatisfactory as the EV rendering ('solemn sound') of the same word in Ps. 92 3 [4], for which Wellh.-Furness ('Psalms,' *SBOT*) substitutes 'with resounding chords.' Cheyne (*Ps.*(2)) emends the text in both passages.

In Ps. 92 3 [4], with 𝔊, he reads בְּקוֹל נְעִימֹת כִּנּוֹר, 'to the sweetly-sounding notes of the lyre. In Ps. 9 15 [17] (for הגיון סלה) he reads הֶגְיוֹן לִבָּם, 'the meditation of their heart,' and regards it as a marginal correction of the partly corrupt תָּכִין לִבָּם of MT in Ps. 10 17, which intruded into the text of another column of the archetype (cp a similar suggestion in HARHAIAH).[1] Cp SHIGGAION, SELAH.

HIGH PLACE, as a translation of Heb. *bāmāh* (בָּמָה, pl. בָּמוֹת).[2] In the literal sense 'heights,' only in the plural and only poetical (2 S. 1 19 25; cp Ezek. 36 2, where however the text is questioned).

1. Poetical use.

The literal sense is found chiefly in certain phrases : to ride or stalk over the 'heights of the earth' (Dt. 32 13 Is. 58 14 Am. 4 13 Mic. 1 3, cp Hab. 3 19), or stand upon them (2 S. 22 34 = Ps. 18 33 [34]); 'heights of the sea' (mountainous waves, Job 9 8); 'cloud heights' (Is. 14 14); cp Assyrian *bamāti ša šadê*, 'mountain heights' (Del. *HWB* 177 *b*).[3]

In prose (sing. and pl.)[4] *bāmāh* is always a place of worship.

In this use 𝔊—which frequently transliterates (cp, *e.g.*,

[1] So far as the reading הגיון לבם in Ps. 10 17 is concerned, Gr. and Hal. have a claim to priority. תכין לִבָּה (Hi., We., Du.) does injustice to the parallelism.
[2] The other words occasionally rendered in EV 'high place' (שְׁפִי, מָרוֹם) are not used in the specific sense of *bāmāh*.
[3] Other etymologies such as that במה is an Indo-European loan-word (βωμός; J. D. Michaelis), or that it originally meant not 'height' but 'enclosure' (Thenius, Böttcher), need not be discussed. On the origin of the word see below § 7.
[4] Sing. 1 S. 9 *f.* 1 K. 3 4 (Gibeon), 2 K. 23 15 (bethel), Is. 16 12 Jer. 48 35 Ezek. 20 29.

I S. 9 12)—renders in Pent. στῆλαι [1] in the Prophets generally βωμοί, in the Hist. Books ὕψη, ὑψηλά; Aq. and prob. Sym. ὑψώματα, ὑψηλά, Vg. consistently *excelsa*; Pesh. *'alawāthā*, 'high places,' sometimes *pěrakkē*, 'idol shrines.'

2. As a place of worship.

The connection of the notion 'place of worship' with the primitive meaning 'high place' is well illustrated by I S. 9 10-25; the town (Ramah) lay on the side of the hill, with its spring of water at the foot of the hill below it, and the place of sacrifice (the 'high place') above it on the summit.[2] That mountain and hill tops were the common places of sacrifice we have abundant evidence in the OT.

See Hos. 4 13 9 1 *f.* (cp 2 S. 24 16 *ff.*), Jer. 17 2 2 20 36 Ezek. 6 13 20 27-29 I K. 14 23 2 K. 16 4 17 10 etc.[3]

In the older prophets 'high place' (במה) is synonymous with 'holy place, sanctuary' (מקדש); see Am. 7 9 Is. 16 12, also Lev. 26 30 *f.* Such places were very numerous; we know of many from the historical books, and may with all confidence assume that every city, town, and village had its own (cp 2 K. 17 9 11 23 8). Some of these sanctuaries, like those at Bethel, Gilgal, and Beersheba, had a wider fame, and were frequented at festival seasons by worshippers from near and far.

As a place of sacrifice,[4] the *bāmāh* had its altar (Hos. 8 11 10 1 8 12 11 [12] etc.); further, according to a Canaanite custom adopted by the Israelites, a stone stelb (*maṣṣēbāh*) and a wooden post or pole (*ăshērāh*); see Hos.

3. The sacred things.

3 4 10 1 Dt. 12 2 *f.* Ezek. 6 3-6 13 Lev. 26 30 *f.*; cp Philo Byblius, frag. 1 7 (*FHG* 3 564 B).[5] Often there was also a sacred tree, as at Gibeah where Saul sat in council (see SAUL) 'under the tamarisk tree in the *bāmāh*' (I S. 22 6);[6] see also Hos. 4 13 Dt. 12 2 Jer. 2 20 Ezek. 6 13 etc.[7] At Ramah there was a hall (לִשְׁכָּה, cp λέσχη) in which the sacrificial feast was held (I S. 9 22), and doubtless such an adjunct was common; the greater sanctuaries may have had, like that in Jernsalem, several such rooms. In some places there was also an idol or idols (Hos. 4 17 8 4-6 10 5 11 2 13 2 14 3 [4] 8 [9] Mic. 1 7 Is. 2 8 18 20 Ezek. 6 3-6 9 13 Lev. 26 30 *f.*),[8] such as the bull images of Yahwè at Bethel and Dan (I K. 12 26-30) and the serpent idol at Jerusalem. (2 K. 18 4);[9] where this was the case there would necessarily be a sacellum or small shrine to protect the idol, which was often made wholly or in part of precious metals (Judg. 17 5, בית אלהים, cp I S. 31 9); there was such a structure at Shiloh, in which the ark of Yahwb was kept, with a servant of the priest as æditus (I S. 3 3), and probably at Nob (I S. 21).

It is possible that the more primitive agalmata, the stone stelès, obelisks, or cones, were sometimes sheltered by a cella with open front, as we occasionally see it upon Phoenician coins; but of this there is no direct evidence.[10] Small tents or tabernacles may have been used for a similar purpose; David provided such a shelter for the ark (2 S. 6 17 I K. 2 28-30; cp Ex. 33 7 *ff.*), and 2 S. 7 2-7 shows that at a comparatively late time there were those who thought that a tent was a more suitable dwelling for Yahwè than a house. Ezek. 16 16 speaks of *bāmōth* (𝔊 εἴδωλα) made of clothing stuffs, a patchwork of divers colours, by which tents or canopies are perhaps to be understood (Targ., etc.); see also Hos. 9 6 2 K. 23 7.[1]

The later Jewish distinction of public and private *bāmōth*, and descriptions of them (*Mish. Meg.* 1 10; *Mish. Zebachim*, 14 10; *Tos. Zebach.* 13 11 *ff.*) are of no authority for the times with which we are concerned.

All the worship of old Israel was worship at the high places; to them the tithes were brought (Gen. 28 20-22 Am. 4 4); at them all sacrifices, stated and occasional, by the individual, the family or clan, or the larger sacral community, were offered (I S. 9 11 *ff.*; and in general Dt. 12 5-8 11 13 17, whose prohibitions are testimony to the former practice);[2] there transactions requiring a solemn sanction were ratified before God (Ex. 21 6 22 8 [7] 28 [27] etc.), and there councils were held (I S. 22 6 𝔊). To the high places the troops of dervish-like *nĕbī'īm* resorted to work up the prophetic ecstasy by music and whirling dances (I S. 10 5 10).[3] At the great high place at Gibeon Solomon offered his hecatombs and practised incubation (I K. 3 3 *ff.*). Of the worship at the high places of Israel in the eighth-century Hosea paints for us a vivid picture; the joyous gatherings on festival days—new moons, sabbaths, annual feasts—when the people appeared in gala dress (2 13 [15] 15 [17]); the sacrifices and libations (9 4), and offerings of corn and wine and oil, of flax and wool, of figs and raisin-cakes, in gratitude for the fruits of the year (2 5 [7] 8 [10] *f.* 12 [14] 3 1); in times of scarcity the 'cuttings in the flesh' to move the obdmate god (7 14 𝔊, cp I K. 18 28);[4] the licentious intercourse of men and women, in which the priests and the consecrated women (קדשות, religious prostitutes; see CLEAN, § 1, col. 837, IDOLATRY, § 6, SACRIFICE) set the example—a rite hallowed by sacrifice (4 13 *f.*, cp 11; and see what is narrated by a late writer of Eli's sons, I S. 2 22); the divination (rhabdomancy? 4 12). In similar terms Jeremiah and Ezekiel describe the worship of their time.

4. The cultus.

5. Seventh-century writers.

In writers of the seventh and the sixth centuries the word *bāmōth* (always plural, even when a single holy place is meant)[5] is used with the predominating connotation 'sanctuaries of a heathenish or idolatrous cult'; thus Jer. 7 31 19 5 32 35 (Melek), cp 17 3 (𝔊 om.) Ezek. 6 3-6 13 Lev. 26 30 *f.*[6] The deuteronomic author and the subsequent editor of Kings apply the name to the sanctuaries of Judah outside of Jerusalem, which they unhistorically represent, not as holy places older than the temple of Solomon, but as originating in the apostasy of Rehoboam's time (I K. 14 22-24 2 K. 23 5, cp 8 *f.*), and as having been, after their destruction by Hezekiah, rebuilt by Manasseh (2 K. 21 3); also to the shrines of other gods in Jerusalem (2 K. 23 8) or its vicinity (I K. 11 7 2 K. 23 13, on the Mt. of Olives); and particularly to the holy places of the northern kingdom (on which more fully below, § 4). In the same way כהני הבמות, 'high-place priests,' is an opprobrious title for the priests of the cities of Judah (in distinction from the priesthood of Jerusalem; 2 K. 23 9, cp 8 = Levites Dt. 18 6), who are also called כְּמָרִים, 'pagan priests' (2 K. 23 5; see CHEMARIM), and for the priests of Israel, whose illegiti-

1 With this translation cp the inscription on the stelè of Mesha king of Moab, ואעש הבמת זאת לכמש.

2 Such has been in all ages the usual situation of towns in Palestine; Benz. *HA* 37 3; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 157 470 *f.*, (2) 172 489 *f.*

3 On holy mountains among the Semites, and in particular among the Hebrews, see Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 2 231 *ff.*, and art. 'Hohendienst' in *PRE*(2) 6 181 *ff.* On the subject of sacred mountains in general, Andrian, *Höhencultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker*, '91; Beer, *Heilige Höhen der Griechen und Römer*, '91. See also NATURE WORSHIP, § 4.

4 Note the verbs זבח and הקטיר, 'slaughter' and 'burn fat,' as the standing description of the high-place worship, I K. 3 2 *f.* 22 43 [44] 2 K. 12 3 [4] 14 4 15 4 35 16 4 23 5 etc.

5 See MASSEBAH and ASHERAH.

6 Read בבמה 𝔊BL; MT ברמה; 𝔊A ἐν Ραμμα.

7 See NATURE WORSHIP.

8 In some of these passages domestic idols may be meant; so probably in Is. *ll.cc.*

9 See IDOL, § 4; and on the ephod of Gideon and Micah, and at Nob, see EPHOD, §§ 2, 4.

10 See Per.-Chip. *History of Art in Phœnicia*, 1 276 *f.* and fig. 199; cp Philo Bybl. fg. 17, *FHG* 3 564 B.

1 Note also the names Oholah and Oholibah, Ezek. 23 4 *ff.*, and Oholibamah, Gen. 36 2. Tents were used not only as portable sanctuaries in camps (*e.g.*, by the Carthaginians, Diod. Sic. 20 65), but also, in certain cults, even in temples (*e.g.*, of Beltis at Ḥarrān, En-Nedim in Chwolsohn, *Sabier*, 2 33), and in some mysteries (Maury, *Religions de la Grèce*, 3 494); cp also the ναὸς ζευγοφορούμενος, Philo Bybl. *FHG* 3 567 A.

2 See further SACRIFICE, and TITHE.

3 See PROPHET.

4 See CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH, § 1.

5 Exceptions 2 K. 23 15 Ezek. 20 29.

6 It is noteworthy that the word does not occur in Dt.

macy is emphasized (1 K. 12 32 13 2 33 2 K. 23 20), as well as for the priests of the heathen colonists of Samaria (*ib.* 17 32). In this period the stigma of heathenism thus everywhere attaches to the word.

6. The bāmōth-temples.

In several places (none earlier than the end of the 7th cent.) we read of a בֵּית בָּמוֹת (sing.,' plur. בָּתֵּי בָּמוֹת),[1] —*i.e.*, a temple of an idolatrous cult; thus, 2 K. 17 29 32, the old temples of the Samaritans, in which the alien colonists set up their images and worshipped Yahwb after their fashion; 1 K. 12 31, the temples which Jeroboam I. built in rivalry to the temple of Yahwb at Jerusalem; further, 1 K. 13 32 2 K. 23 19.

In other cases בָּמוֹת alone (always plur.) seems to he used in the same sense; note the verbs בָּנָה, 'build' (1 K. 14 23 2 K. 17 9 21 3 Jer. 7 31 19 5 32 35), and נָתַץ, 'pull down, demolish' (2 K. 23 8 15, cp Ezek. 16 39),[2] though by themselves these verbs do not necessarily imply an edifice, being used, *e.g.*, of an altar.

In the passages just cited the word *bāmāh* has lost the physical meaning 'high place' altogether; the *bāmōth* spoken of were in the cities of Israel and Judah (2 K. 17 9 23 15), in one of the gates of Jerusalem (2 K. 23 8), in its streets or open places (Ezek. 16 24 *f.* 31 39, where רמה [|| גב] is equivalent to במה, if indeed the text should not be so emended);[3] the *bāmōth* of the Melek cult were in the valley of Hinnom (Jer. 7 31 etc.); see MOLECH. We often read of *bāmōth* on hills (*e.g.*, Ezek. 6 3 1 K. 11 7), and under green trees (*e.g.*, 1 K. 14 23); observe also that the sacrifices are always said to be offered בבמות (*in* or *at* the *bāmōth*), never על (*on*), and contrast Is. 16 12. It has been thought that the *bāmōth* in valleys, cities, etc., were artificial mounds, taking the place of the natural 'high places,' the summits of hills and mountains, such as are found among various peoples.[4] This is in itself possible enough; but evidence of it is lacking in the OT; even in Ezek. 16 24 *f.* 31 39 it is doubtful whether this is the prophet's meaning.

7. History: pre-deuteronomic.

The history of the high places is the history of the old religion of Israel. Here we have only to do with the attitude to them assumed by the religious leaders and reformers.[5] Most of the high places were doubtless old Canaanite holy places which the Israelites, as they gradually got possession of the land, made their own (see Dt. 12 2 *ff.* 2 K. 17 11 etc.); the legends in Genesis which tell of the founding of the altars of the more famous sanctuaries by the forefathers, Jacob-Israel and Abraham, often in connection with a theophany or other manifestation of Yahwè's presence at the spot, are at once a recognition that these holy places were older than the Israelite invasion of Palestine and a legitimation of them as altars of Yahwb; the name *bāmāh* itself was probably borrowed from the Canaanites. There can be little doubt that the cultus at the high places was in the main learned by the Israelites from the older occupants together with the agriculture with which it was so closely interwoven (cp ISRAEL, § 26 *f.*). Not only were the rites the same as those with which the Canaanites worshipped their baals, but it is probable that at the beginning the worship was actually addressed to the baals, the givers of the fruits of the soil (cp BAAL, § 5 *f.*).

Later, when Canaan had become completely the land of Israel, and thus Yahwb, Israel's God, whose old seats were in the distant south, became the God of the land, the cultus was addressed to him;[1] bnt as its character was not changed, the consequence was that Yahwb was worshipped as a baal. It is thus easy to understand how, to a prophet like Hosea, the religion of his countrymen should seem to be unmixed Canaanite heathenism (2 5 [7] cp 8 [10] 12 [14] *f.* 16 [18] *f.* 13 1 etc.), and how, from the same point of view, the religious reformers of the seventh century should demand the abolition of the high places as the first step to restoring the true religion of Yahwè.

From the standpoint of Dt. and the deuteronomistic historians, the high places were legitimate places of sacrifice until the building of the temple at Jerusalem (1 K. 3 2); after that they were forbidden.[2] The history, however, shows that they continued to be not only the actual, but also the acknowledged sanctuaries of Judah as well as Israel down to the seventh century. The building of the temple in Jerusalem had neither the purpose nor the effect of supplanting them. The author of KINGS (who reckons it a heinous fault) records of all the kings of Judah from Solomon to Hezekiah that they did not do away with the high places. The oldest collections of laws, in Ex. 34 24-26, assume the existence of these local sanctuaries; Ex. 20 24-26 formally legitimates their altars. The prophets of the ninth century contend (against the foreign religion introduced by Ahab) for the worship of Yahwb alone in Israel; to Elijah the destruction of the altars of Yahwb (high places) is a token of complete apostasy (1 K. 19 10-14); he himself repairs the fallen altars on the sacred mountain Carmel (18 30). Amos and Hosea assail the cultus at the high places as corrupt and heathenish, like the whole religion of their contemporaries; but it is the character of the worship and the worshippers, not the place, that they condemn; the worship in Jerusalem pleases the prophets no better (Is. 1 10 *ff.*; cp 28 7 *f.*, which is at least applied to Judah). Hezekiah is said to have removed the high places (2 K. 18 4 22 2 13);[3] but it is hardly probable (see HEZEKIAH. § 1) that the king's reforms went beyond an attempt to suppress the idolatry against which Isaiah so incessantly inveighed;[4] the mention of the high places is from the hand of the deuteronomic author, who thus conforms the account of Hezekiahs good work to that of Josiah (2 K. 23) and to the deuteronomic law. Certainly the high places were in their full glory in the reigns of Hezekiahs successors Manasseh and Amon.

8. Deuteronomy and Josiah's reforms.

One of the chief aims of Deuteronomy is to restrict the worship of Yahwb to the temple in Jerusalem. All other places of sacrifice—which are significantly described as the places where the Canaanites worshipped their gods—are to be razed; no similar cult is to be offered to Yahwb (12 2-8 and many other places).[5] Within the limits of his little kingdom Josiah (621) carried out the prescriptions of the new law-book.

We are told that he also destroyed the high places at Bethel and in the other cities of Samaria (2 K. 23 15 19 *f.*). In the weakness of the moribund Assyrian empire such an action is conceivable (cp 2 K. 23 29 *f.*); but the author of 2 K. 23 15-20 is hardly a competent witness.

That the people of the Judæan cities and villages saw unmoved the altars at which their forefathers had worshipped Yahwb for centuries torn down, the venerated

1 Never בית במה; cp בית במת, Mesha *l.* 27 (Is. 15 2), *n. pr.* *bc.*

2 Oftener the more general words השמיד, נשמד, נשם (Niph.), אבד. In 2 K. 23 15 the text is in disorder; שׂרף did not originally refer to the במה.

3 [גַּב, *vv.* 24 31 39t EV, 'eminent place,' the mound upon which stands the altar (Bertholet, *etc.*), or a cupola or 'vaulted chamber' (RVmg.) for heathen worship (Davidson). AVmg.'s rendering after Vg. and 𝔊BAQΓ, etc., is needless.]

4 [See Gesenius, Preface to Gramberg, *Religions-ideen des A T* 1 pp. xix-xxi.]

5 See also HEXATEUCH, § 14 *ff.*

1 Stade's view, that the high places were ancestral tombs, and that the cult which was supplanted by that of the national god Yahwè was that of a tribal hero (*GVI.* 1 449 *ff.*), is perhaps true of some of them; there is no reason to believe that this was the universal development.

2 For the Jewish attempts to reconcile this theory and the practice of the times of the Judges, Samuel, and David, with the existence of the tabernacle of P, see *Mish. Zĕbāchīm*, 14 4 *ff.*, *Tos. Zĕbāchīm*, 13; further, the numerous passages from the Talmuds and Jewish commentators collected by Ugolino in his *Thesaurus*, 10 559 *ff.*

3 According to Chron.,—in conflict with its sources,—other good kings had done the same before(:! Ch. 14 3 [2], Asa, cp 15 17; 17 6, Jehoshaphat).

4 See the notice in 2 K. 18 4*b*, and cp NEHUSHTAN and IDOLATRY, § 9.

5 See DEUTERONOMY, § 13.

symbols of the deity destroyed, the holy places profaned, the priests forcibly removed to Jerusalem—their whole religion plucked up by the roots—is not to be imagined; their temper may be guessed from the reception which one preacher of the new model met in his native town of Anathoth (Jer. **11**). When, in **608**, Josiah fell in battle against Pharaoh Necho, a swift and sweeping reaction set in. Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah, as well as the author of Kings, give abundant evidence that the old cults flourished in full vigour down to the destruction of Jerusalem in **586** (cp ISRAEL, § 36 *ff.*).

It is commonly believed that the Exile accomplished what the covenant and the reforms of Josiah had failed permanently to achieve.

9. The Exile and the Restoration. The population of Judah, it is assumed, was carried away to Babylonia; and when after fifty years a new generation returned to Palestine, they had no motive for restoring the old local cults whose continuity had thus been so long interruoted. Moreover, those who came back were 'men of a new mind'; the propensity to polytheism, idolatry, and a superstitious and sensuous worship had been eradicated; the one great end of the returning exiles was to re establish the p r ligion of Yahwè on it t f tl deuteronomic law.

This representation of the effect of tl catastrophe of 586 rests n cc ti s f th hi f both 'Exile' the restoration which arc is erroneous (cp ISR u § 41 *ff.*). J and Ez arc our ti t d per of 597 wrought no a ndt either in those who were rrie y or in those were b hi d; fi J 4 see tl the events of the disastrous ye so far r tl p hr away th led directly to a r v of cults. The Jews who were left in land- t e were the g te part of the old population of h- certainly c ied to ip Yahwè after the manner of heir fathers; and tl y small respect to the ic laws is by the attitude which at a later time, the representatives of the take towards Evidence of the survival or revival in the Persian period of the cults ich were put under the ban of is perhaps to be in Is. 73 *ff.* 65 7 66 17 *f.* 9, is e g in 17 8.[1] So far was the that sacrifice could be offered to wè only in one from being universally after the Exile, that in the second century B.C. a temple after the model of that in J [so far as the internal arrangements were concerned] was t by th Egyptian at Leontopolis, with a priesthood of uni legitimacy.[2] In the p tition wh Onias sses Ptolemy and Cleopatra fc per is build this pl (Jos. *Ant.* iii 3 1, § *ff.*), one of the ur ged that Egyptian J s—lil se in Cœlesyria d Phœnicia—have (l also J 1: t. iii 2 the proper yp e, and th account arc at variance one another, as the al are on account f the multitude s d differences in their d u; he asks therefore, to be allowed to ild a t ft the pattern of J the J s in E t may be i by having one common place of ip. Thi testimony none the less if the letter as was composed by Josephus or by preceding historian In view of ll things we may well hesitate to believe that the old i ice of sapp for ever with the Exile. The rc s probably gradual

1 [See Che. *Intr. Is.* n 3. Smend's interpretation of Is. 27 9 (heathen lt tol ted of necessity, by the Jews in the land to Yahwè) is hardly probable—ED.] In Is. 57 Duhm and Che. find tt f J i th zeal t the S i and tl Jews who tl c with them. I is questionable er the application of these passages should be restricted to the Samaritans.

2 *Mĕnāchōth*, 109*b*; cp Is. 19 18 *ff.* See Schür. *GJV* 2 544-456; Willrich, *Juden und Griechen*, u.s.w., 126 *ff.*; Büchler, *Tobiaden und Oniaden*, 239 *ff.* Even in the Mishna the validity of the sacrifices offered in the temple of Onias is somewhat grudgingly acknowledged (*Mĕnāchōth*, 13 10).

and is hidden from us in the obscurity which hangs over the centuries of the Persian and Greek period.

10. Literature. Spencer, *De legibus ritualibus*, 2 23, § 1 *ff.*; Blasius Ugolinus in his *Thesaurus*, 10 559 *ff.* (*De Excelsis*; cases of apparent violation of the deuteronomic law of the single altar, with Jewish comment on the same); Baudissin, 'Höhendienst, *PRE*(2) 6 181-193 (literature, 193); Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen*, 120 *ff.*; We. *Prol.*(4) 17 *ff.*; Stade, *GVI* 1 446 *ff.*; Piepenbring, 'Histoire des lieux de culte et du sacerdoce en Israel,' *Rev. d'Hist. des Rel.* **24** 1-60, 133-186 ('91); Hoonacker, *Le lieu du culte dans la législation rituelle des Hebreux* ('94); Nowack, *HA* 2 7 *ff.*; v. Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätte* ('98). See also, on the critical questions, the literature under the articles on the books of the Hexateuch. G. F. M.

HIGH PRIEST (הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל), Lev. 21 10 etc. See PRIEST.

HILEN (חִילֵן), 1 Ch. 6 58 [43]. See HOLON. 1.

HILKIAH (חִלְקִיָּה, חִלְקִיָּהוּ [so in nos. 4-7]), 'Yahwè is my portion'; cp HELKAI; χελκ[ε]ιας [BAL]). Cp CHELCIAS, Sus. 2 29 63; Bar. 1 1 7.

1. The chief priest under Josiah, mentioned in connection with the repairs of the temple and with the event which made the king a definite adherent of purified Yahwism (2 K. 22 4 *ff.*). That Hilkiah 'forged' the book which he stated (*v.* 8) that he had 'found' is an impossible theory (WRS *OTJC*(2) 363). What led Hilkiah to say that he had 'found the book of direction' (EV 'the book of the law') is not recorded. He may merely have meant 'Here is the best and fullest law-book, about which thou hast been asking.' מצאתי need not mean 'I have found for the first time.' It is possible that the seeming connection of the 'finding' of the law-book with the arrangement about the temple-money may be simply due to the combination of two separate reports. At any rate, Shaphan, not Hilkiah, must have begun the conversation on the law-book. 'In the house of Yahwè' probably means 'in the temple library.' See JOSIAH, § 1.

2. Father of ELIAKIM, 1 [*q.v.*] (2 K. 18 18: χαλ. [A; om. L in this verse], 26, 37, [חלקיה]; Is. 22 20 36 3 22).

3. Father of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 1 1).

4. In the Levitical genealogy of ETHAN [*q.v.*, 3] (1 Ch. 6 45 [30]; χελχιου [A], χελκια [L], om. B).

5. b. Hosah, a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 26 11; χελχειας [A], om. B). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (ii. *d*).

6. Father of GEMARIAH, 2 (Jer. 29 [𝔊 36] 3).

7. A priest, temp. Ezra; Neh. 8 4 (ελκεια [B], χελκ[ε]ια [אA]), 12 7 (אc.a mg. sup., om. Bא*A) 21 (om. Bא*A, ελκια [אc.a mg. inf.]); in 1 Esd. 9 43, EZECIAS, RV EZEKIAS (εζεκιας [BA]).

T. K. C.

HILL, HILL-COUNTRY. See MOUNT; cp GIBEAH.

HILLEL (הִלֵּל, a well-known Jewish name in Rabbinical times), father of ARDON (ii., 1) the judge, a native of PIRATHON (*q.v.* 1), Judg. 12 13 15 (ελληλ [B], ελληχ [B*vid. in *v.* 15], σελλημ [A, C precedes], ελλημ [L]).

𝔊A, and 𝔊L if correct, point to some form like הלם, 1 Ch. 7 35 (cp HELEM).

HIN (הִין, on etym. cp *ZDMG*, 46 114), Ex. 29 40 etc. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

HIND (אַיָּלָה, אַיֶּלֶת), Gen. 49 21 etc. See HART.

HINNOM, VALLEY OF (גֵּי הִנֹּם), or **Valley of the son** (also, **children) of Hinnom** (גֵּי[א] בֶן־[בְּנֵי־] הִנֹּם),

1. Name. also called simply **The Valley** (Jer. 2 23 31 40 [so too *Ass. Mos.* 10 10], cp 2 Ch. 26 9 Neh. 2 13 15 3 13 'the valley gate'), one of the valleys round about Jerusalem.

(*a*) Vss. φάραγξ [υἱοῦ] εννομ [BאAQL] (*con-*)*vallis ennom* [Vg.]. The shorter designation גֵּי הִנֹּם is found only in Josh. 15 8*b* 18 16*b* Neh. 11 30 (om. BאA), in Josh. *l.c. vv.* 8*a* 16*a*, the longer and usual form is used. 𝔊BAL reads φ. [υἱοῦ] εννομ, but φ. [υἱοῦ] ονομ [B in 15 8] σονναμ [B in 18 16]. (*b*) בן is transliterated in 2 Ch. 28 3 (γαιβενθομ [B], γηβεεννομ [A], φάραγγι βεεννομ [L], *vallis Benennom* [Vg.]), 2 Ch. 33 6 (γη βεεννομ' [A], γη βενεννομ [L] and γε βανε εννομ [B]). 𝔊B's rendering points to גֵּי בְנֵי הִנֹּם, 'Valley of the *sons* of Hinnom,' which is found *once*

in the MT, 2 K. 23 10 (Ketib). The Ḳerē and Vss. (φ. υἱοῦ ενναμ [BL], φ. υἱ. εννομομ' [A]) read בֶּן־. Cp also Josh. 18 16*a* *v. filiorum ennom* (Vg.). (*c*) For φάραγξ, νάπη occurs in Josh. 18 16u (BAL), and also ενομ [L], and the transliterated γαι *ib.* 166 (γαιεννα[μ] [BL] γ. οννομ [A]). In Jer. 19 6 גיא is represented by πολυάνδριον.

2. Origin. Bottcher, Graf, and Ges.-Buhl derive הנם from Ar. *hanna*, 'to sigh, whimper'; but the word is much more probably an unmeaning fragment of a name. The true name was hardly that of a person (so Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 172), for in Jer. 7 32 19 6 the name is altered to 'valley of slaughter'; originally therefore it had some agreeable sense. Considering the use made of the valley we may further assume that the true name had a religious reference, and may with some probability emend בן־הנם into בֶּן־נַעֲמָן, 'pleasant son' (Che.), and suppose that a syncretistic worship of TAMMUZ and Melech (see MOLECH) was practised in the valley. This helps us to understand the horror felt by Ezekiel (if the view of GOG and MAGOG is correct) at the worship of 'Tamniuz-Lord.'

3. References. The first occurence of *gē hinnōm* (?) is probably in Is. 22 5 (cp *v.* 1), where no less a writer than Isaiah has been thought to mention it. The occurence, it is true, is gained by emending the text; but a parallel emendation is called for in Zech. 14 5 (see VISION, VALLEY OF). The most notable reference, however, is in 2 K. 23 10, where we read that Josiah 'defiled the Topheth which is in the valley of the sons of Hinnom' (see above, § 1*b*), 'that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech'; so that, if Ben Naaman was the name of the divinity originally worshipped in the 'valley,' the awful Molech (or rather Melech) had acquired a precedence over Ben Naaman. Probably too, as Geiger suggested,' the phrase 'the graves of the common people' (*v.* 6) should rather be 'the graves of ben-hinnom'[2] (*ben na'aman* 9). The text, thus corrected, shows that the burying-place of *ben-hinnom* was at any rate near the gorge of KIDRON (*q.v.*). It was in this valley, according to the Chronicler, that Ahaz and Manasseh sacrificed their sons (2 Ch. 28 3 33 6). Jeremiah (7 31) speaks of the 'high places of the Topheth, which is in the valley of ben-Himmon (?)'; in the ‖ passage (32 35) he calls them 'the high places of Baal.' The abominations there practised were the cause of the change of name announced by the prophet (Jer. 7 32 19 6). See further ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 10 *ff.* 63 (3) 70 (iii. *f.*) 81 (3, iii.); TOPHET.

4. Identification. Opinions differ as to the site of this valley. The question is complicated, and it is not easy to decide it with confidence. 'Whatever view is taken of the position of the valley of Hinnom, all writers concur in its extending to the junction of the three valleys of Jerusalem below Siloam—*i.e.*, there must be one spot below Siloam which all agree in making a portion of the valley of Hinnom' (Warren). The point on which geographers are divided is whether the valley is the Wādy er-Rabābi (the west and south valley), the Tyropceon (the centre valley), or the Kidron (east valley). The first view is supported by Robinson, Stanley, Barclay, Baed.-Socin, and Buhl; the second by Robertson Smith (*Enc. Brit.*(9), 'Jerusaleni'; cp *RS*(2), 372), Sayce (*PEFQ*, '83, p. 213), and Birch (*PEFQ*, '78, p. 179*f.*); the third by Sir C. Warren[3] (*Recovery of Jerus.*, 307; Hasting's *DB* 2 387). Cp JERUSALEM, § 10 *f.*

Let us collect some of the data. 1. According to P the Valley entered into the boundary of Judah and Benjamin (see Josh. 15 8 18 16), and so much at least is clear, that the border-line runs through NEPHTOAH, the Mount (הָהָר), the Valley of Hinnom, En-Rogel, and En-shemesh.

In describing the border of Judah from E. to W. (Josh, 15 8) 'the Mount' is spoken of as 'before (עַל־פְּנֵי) the valley of Hinnom westward' and 'at the end of the plain of REPHAIM (*q.v.*) northward.' Similarly in 18 16, which proceeds in the reverse direction, 'the Mount' is still 'before' the valley but is mentioned first. It would seem that either (*a*) עַל־פְּנֵי does *not* (exceptionally see CHPRITH, col. 740, n. 3) mean the east, or (6) the words defihing the position of 'the Mount' are an inaccurate gloss.

2. In Jer. 19 2 the *gē ben-Hinnom* is said to be 'by the entry of the gate HARSITH' (Harsuth?). Wherever this gate was, its name does not mean 'east.' If it is the same as the 'Dung-gate' (חרסות may even be a corruption of השפות, see Neh. 3 13), it was at the end of the Tyropceon valley.

3. We have also to note what is said of the position of the 'Valley Gate' (rebuilt by Uzziah: 2 Ch. 26 9 γωνιαν [B^{ab mg.}], πύλην γωνίας τῆς φαρ. [B*A], π. αγγαι [L]). It faced the 'Dragon Well' (Neh. 2 13; perhaps EN-ROGEL [*q.v.*], see also DRAGON, 4 [g]), and was distant a thousand cubits from the 'Dung-gate' (Neh. 3 13; πύλην της φαρ. [BA], π. γαι [L]), beyond which came the 'Fountain Gate,' and the 'King's Pool.'

Of discussions on the site of the Valley of Hinnom we may mention Sir C. W. Wilson's in Smith's *DB*(2) ('93) and Sir C. Warren's in Hastings' *DB* ('99). At present the majority of scholars adhere to the view expressed by the former, that the true Valley of Hinnom is the Wādy er-Rabābi; but cp JERUSALEM, col. 2423.

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

HIPPOPOTAMUS (בְּהֵמוֹת, θηρία [BℵA], κτηνη [Aq., Theod.]; see BEHEMOTH, § 1), Job 40 15, RV^{mg.} Ten verses (*vv.* 15-24) or distichs are devoted in Job 40 to a description of an animal which is most probably the hippopotamus (*H. amphibius*), though there are elements in the description which appear to some to require a mythological explanation (see BEHEMOTH, § 3). Sa'adya, it is true, the only old interpreter who ventures on an identification, renders Behemoth by the Arabic word for rhinoceros, and Schultens, unmoved by the arguments of Bochart, identifies it with the elephant. Most commentators, however, since Gesenius, have taken the side of Bochart, who has, as they believe, clearly shown (1) that the animal is described as amphibious, (2) that the juxtaposition of Behemoth and leviathan here accords with the close association of the hippopotamus with the crocodile in ancient writers (*e.g.*, Herod. 2 69-71, Diod. 1 35, Plin. *HN* 8 25 [39]) as chief among the tenants of the Nile, and (3) that the description, apart from one or two difficult clauses, exactly suits the hippopotamus. Some commentators (*e.g.*, Del.) would also find the Behemoth or hippopotamus in Is. 30 6; but this is not a probable view (see BEHEMOTH, § 1).

We now turn to the details of the description. Verses 15*b* and 20,

> 'He eateth grass like the ox' . . .
> 'Surely the mountains bring him forth food;
> Where all the beasts of the field do play,'

refer to the fact that the hippopotamus is graminivorous, and inoffensive towards other animals. In *vv.* 16-18 we have a powerful picture of his muscular strength, on the ground of which he is to he regarded as among the most wonderful of God's creatures (*v.* 19*a*).[1] Verse 19*b* is difficult, but (unless we emend the text [see BEHEMOTH, vol. i. col. 521, *middle*]) must allude to the animal's tusks, with which he shears his vegetable food:

> '(God) who made him so that he should apply his sword'

(*so* Di.).

Verses 21 *f.* describe his favourite haunts, and *v.* 23 refers to the most wonderful fact of all—that the animal is equally at home on land or water, it is puzzling, however, to find the Jordan mentioned.[2] Verse 24 is generally taken interrogatively; hut Di., referring to the fact that the Nubians of the present day openly attack the hippopotamus with harpoons, understands an actual description.

1 *Jüd. Zt.* 2 259; there are traces of the reading in Tg.

2 For the inappropriate בני העם the Chronicler (2 Ch. 34 4) substitutes הַזֹּבְחִים לָהֶם.

3 Eus. OS 300 12, identifies the φάραγξ εννομ with the Valley of Jehoshaphat; cp Jer., OS 128 10.

1 [Verse 17 should probably run, 'He cleaves marsh plants as with a chisel (אגמון כמעצר יחצב); the sinews of his neck (ערפו) are knit together.—T. K. C.]

2 Di. and Du. think that 'Jordan' may he used as a kind of appellative. [For a critical emendation of the text see JORDAN, § 2 (3).]

'They take him though he be on the watch
(literally 'in his **own** sight'),
And pierce through his nose with snares'
(probably ropes with harpoons attached).

This is a more natural rendering of the Hebrew though it is doubtful if it suits the context so well. Bu. render; an emended text,

Who will seize him by the teeth,
And pierce his nose with a snare?[1]

The chief question that arises in connection with this animal *(Hippopotamus amphibius)* is whether it ever lived in Palestine, or whether its fame had spread to the poet from Egypt. At the present time the river-swine (as the ancient Egyptians called them) do not extend north of Dongola, between the second and the third cataracts, and even there they are rare; but both the frescoes and writings of the Egyptians and the fossil remains found in the Delta of the Nile show that in former times it inhabited Lower Egypt and was harpooned by the inhabitants. During the Pleistocene and Pliocene epochs an animal specifically indistinguishable from the hippopotamus was widely spread over southern and middle Europe, extending even into England, so that although at present there is no distinct evidence of its existing in the Jordan it is possible that it may formerly have done so.

The animals are exclusively fluviatile, and can remain under water for considerable periods—as much as ten minutes. They are fond of frequenting the reed-covered margins of the rivers, piercing tunnel-shaped paths in the closely-matted vegetation **on** the hanks. They are herbivorous. (See, further, **BEHEMOTH**, §§ 1 3.)

[There may be a safer reference to the hippopotamus in Ps. **80** 14 (13), where the reading varied between מיער and מיאר (*i.e.*, 'from the forest' and 'from the River'), see Ginsh. *Introd. to the Mas.-crit. ed. of the Heb. Bible*, 338 *ff.* The latter reading was the more popular one in Palestine in pre-Roman times; the swine of the River would naturally be the hippopotamus. Cp SWINE.] **N. M.—A. E. S.**

HIRAH (חִירָה, 'noble'? cp Palm. חיר), an Adullamite, a friend of Judah (Gen. **38** 1 12: [ε]ιρας [ADEL]).

HIRAM (חִירָם, perhaps an abbreviation of אֲחִירָם, **AHIRAM**; cp HIEL; Phœn. חרם; χ[ε]ιραμ [RKAL]).

1. Hiram I., king of Tyre, famous for the help he rendered Solomon in the building of the temple, and in the manning of his 'Tarshish-fleet' (1 K. **6** 1 [15] *ff.* **9** 26 *ff.*; see **OPHIR**, § 1), in return for which Solomon gave him twenty cities in the land of Galilee (1 K. **9** 11 *ff.*; see **CABUL**). The later tradition that the friendship between the two was strengthened by Solomon's marriage with a daughter of Hiram (Tatian, ***Coni. Græc.*, § 37**) may rest upon 1 K. **11** 1 Ps. **45** 12 [13]. David, soon after occupying Jerusalem, is said to have received cedar-wood and workmen from Hiram to help him in his building operations (2 S. **5** 11, cp 1 K. **5** 1 [15]); but Hiram was also a contemporary of Solomon's. Unless, therefore, we assume that the event referred to in 2 S. relates to the last part of David's reign, we meet with a serious chronological difficulty. Hence some conjecture that the length of Hiram's reign (969-936 **B.C.**, based upon Jos. *c. Ap.* **118**) is inexact, or that it was Hiram's father, Abiba'al, who really helped David (cp Kittel, ***Hist.* 2** 157 n.).[2] More probably Hiram's kindly offices towards Solomon have been anticipated.[3] Hiram's reputed tomb (*Ḳabr Ḥīrām* [*Ḥairān*]) is still pointed out to the E. of Tyre; the date is unknown (cp Bæd.(3), *296)*; see **APOCRYPHA**, § **14**; **CHRONICLES**, § 8, n. *3*. **S. A. C.**

2. The artificer sent by Hiram, king of Tyre (1 K. **7** 13 40 45 2 Ch. **2** 13 [12] *f.* **4** 11 16). A man of mixed race, it would appear, though 1 K. *l.c.* leaves it open to the reader to suppose that his father, as well as his mother, may have been Israelitish.[1] His name is variously given in Kings and Chronicles. In 2 Ch. **2** 13 [12] (not **4** 11), according to the common view (see Bertheau), the word אבי, 'my father' (τὸν παῖδά μου[2] ($B^{ab\,mg.}$ A^bL]) and **4** 16 אביו, 'his (*i.e.*, the king's) father' [𝔊 [καὶ] ἀνήνεγκεν; see note) is appended to Huram. Giesebrecht (*ZATW* **1** 239 *ff.*), indeed, has argued ably for the view that Huram-abi or Hiram-abi ('Hiram is my father') was the real name of the artificer sent from Tyre (אביו in 2 Ch. **4** 16 being supposed to he an error). *So*, too, Stade (*Gesch.* **1** 330, n. 2), whilst Kamphausen (Kau. *HS*) thinks that Huram-abiw[3] may have been the original form of the name, shortened in our text of Kings and of 2 Ch. **4** 11 into Hiram or Huram, and in our text of 2 Ch. **2** 13 [12] into Huram-abi. These scholars, however, seem too ready to trust the Chronicler in this point; neither form of the solution proposed seems plausible.

We are bound to consider in the first instance whether some error, either of the Chronicler or of the scribe,[4] may not be at the root of the strange name or reading Huram-abi. It appears certain that either the name of the artificer was precisely that of the Tyrian king (for which ancient parallels might be adduced), or that it was near enough to Hiram to be assimilated to this name through corruption. It might, *e.g.*, be (1) **AHOLIAB** [*q.v.*], a name which has analogies in Phœnician (אהלבעל, א׳מלך), and S. Arabian (אהלאל, א׳עתתר), and is given by P to the colleague of the artificer, Bezaleel, or (2) Huram (with a ו for י); one remembers that Bezaleel in P is called ben Uri, ben Hur.[5]

The more common form of the name is חִירָם (cp 𝔊 above) found in 2 S. 5 11 1 K. 5 1 *ff.* [15 *ff.*] 9 11 *ff.* 27 10 11 22, and Kt. in 1 Ch. 14 1 2 Ch. **9** 10, for (1); for (2) in 1 K. 7 **13** 40*b* **45.** A variant is חוּרָם (EV **HURAM**, cp פניאל and פנואל) used of no. 1 in 2 Ch. **2** 3 [2] 11 [10] *f.* 8 2 18 9 21, and Kr. in 1 Ch. **14** 1 2 Ch. 8 18 9 10; also of no. 2 in 2 Ch. 4 11*a*[6] and 11*b* [Kr.]. On 2 Ch. **2** 13 [12] 5 16, see above. Finally, the rare form חִירוֹם is met with in 1 K. **5** 10 18 [24 32] referring to no. 1, and in 1 K. 7 40*a* for no. 2. This form agrees with the Ass. *ḫirummu*, the εἴρωμος, ἱέρωμος of Jos. (the last form used to represent no. 2), and the σίρωμος of Herod. 7 98. Thus the names of the two Hirams present identical variations. Kittel on 1 Ch. **14** 1 suggests that the original form may have been Hnram (חוּרָם), which passed successively into חורום[7] and חִירוֹם (on this phonetic change see Barth, *NB*, p. xxix); hence, from a combination of these two forms, arose חִירָם. **T. K. C.—S. A. C.**

HIRCANUS (ΥΡΚΑΝΟΣ **[VA]**) 2 Macc. **3** 11, RV **HYRCANUS** [*q.v.*, **2**].

HIRE, HIRELING (שָׂכָר) Gen. **31** 8, (שָׂכִיר) Job **71.** See **SLAVERY.**

HIROM (חִירוֹם) 1 K. 7 40 $EV^{mg.}$; EV **HIRAM** (*q.v.*, **2**).

1 Reading מי הוא בשניו and אפו. Another suggestion is to read בְּצִנָּה, 'hook' (cp Am. **4** 2) for בעיניו.

2 For other conjectures cp **Ew. *Hist.* 3226**.

3 Similarly the author of 1 S. 14 47 *ff.* ascribes **to** Saul deeds which really belong to David; cp **SAUL**, § 3.

1 1 K. makes his mother of the tribe of Naphtali; 2 Ch., **of** that of Dan. To the latter belonged Aholiab.

2 This early reading found favour with the correctors of $𝔊^B$ and with one corrector of $𝔊^A$ who may possibly have been the original scribe himself. Swete gives A^b (A*?). The reading seems to be a guess, corresponding to the guess וַיָּבִאֵם presupposed by 𝔊 in 4 16 (see next note but one).

3 The name εχιας, which the artificer bears in Josephus, *Hypomnesticum*, 63, is only a corruption of εβιας (=אבי).

4 Two views seem possible. (1) The Chronicler may have misread אֳנִי חִירָם ('the fleet of Hiram') in 1 K. **10** 11, אביחירם, as if a person called Abi-Huram were the leader of 'Hiram's servants,' and changed the relative position of Abi and Hiram or Huram to prevent the mistranslation 'father of (king) Hiram'; see Che. *Exp. T* 9 471 [July, '98]). (2) For אבי and אביו we may read עַבְדִּי, 'my servant,' עַבְדּוֹ, 'his servant'; cp readings of 𝔗 in 2 Ch. **2** 13 [12]. But this seems too simple an expedient.

5 Josephus names the craftsman's father Uri(os) or Uri(as); πατρὸς δὲ Ουριου, he says ***(Ant.* viii. *34)*.** Does he think of Bezaleel's father?

6 According to Ginsb. some MSS in 4 11*a* and **8** 18 have Kt.

7 Cp the form σουρων, Eupol. *ap.* Eus., *Pr. Ev.* **9** 34 *ff.*

HISTORICAL LITERATURE

CONTENTS

The aim of the present article is to sketch the development of Israelitish and Jewish historiography from its beginnings down to the second century of our era. For fuller information about particular books the reader is referred to the pertinent articles.

The making of history precedes the writing of history, and it is often found that the impulse to write history is

1. Beginnings of Hebrew historical literature.

first given by some great achievement which exalts the self-consciousnessof a people and awakens the sense of the memorable character of what it has done. The Persian wars in Greece, the second Punic war in Rome, the empire of Charles the Great among the Germans, are familiar instances. In Israel, the national history begins with the consolidation of the tribes in a kingdom and the throwing off of the Philistine yoke. The circumstances in which this was accomplished, and the personality of the men who freed and united Israel and raised it at once to a leading place among the kingdoms of Syria, were such as powerfully to stimulate the national spirit and kindle the imagination. Internal evidence makes it highly probable that the earliest Hebrew historians wrote in the reign of Solomon (middle of the 10th cent. B.C.), and wrote first of the great events of the preceding half-century.

A large part of 2 S. 9-20 1 K. 1 *f.* is derived from such a work, the author of which was exceedingly well-informed not only about political affairs but also about the inner history of David's house and court. The story of David's youth, his relations to Saul, his romantic friendship with Jonathan, his adventurous life as a freebooter in the south, forms the natural introduction to the history of his reign. The older form of the history of Saul is probably of approximately the same age[1] (see SAMUEL ii.).

The beginnings having thus been made, the Israelite writers naturally turned to the earlier history of their people.

i. *Sources.*—Their sources, like those of the Greek logographers with whom it is natural to compare them,

2. The first comprehensive historical work.

were poems, such as the Song of Deborah, and briefer lyrics like those in Nu. 21, of which collections had been made (see JASHER, BOOK OF; YAHWE, WARS OF);[2] GENEALOGIES (*q.v.*), often representing clan-groupings; tribal and local traditions of diverse kinds, such as furnish the material for most of the book of Judges; the historical traditions of sanctuaries; the sacred legends of holy places, relating theophanies and other revelations, the erection of the altar or sacred stone, the origin of peculiar usages—for example, Bethel (Gen. 28); laws; myths of native and foreign origin; folk-lore and fable—in short, everything which seemed to testify of the past.[3]

To us the greater part of this material is not in any proper sense historical at all; but for the early Israelite as for the early Greek historian it was otherwise; our distinctions between authentic history, legendary history, pure legend, and myth, he made as little as he recognised our distinction of natural and supernatural. It was all history to him; and if one part of it had a better attestation than another, it was certainly the sacred history as it was told at the ancient sanctuaries of the land.

The sources were not equally copious for all periods. The stories of the heroes who delivered their countrymen from invaders and oppressors gave a vivid picture of the times before the kingdom. Of the crossing of the Jordan and the taking of Jericho the local traditions of Gilgal furnished a pretty full account. Of the further progress of the invasion, the struggles by which the Israelite tribes established themselves in the hill-country, the oldest historian found no tradition.[1] About the deliverance from Egypt and the adoption of the religion of Yahwè at his holy mountain a mass of legendary and mythical circumstance had gathered (cp EXODUS i., §§ 1 *ff.*); but of the wandering in the deserts S. of Palestine only the most fragmentary memories were preserved (cp WANDERINGS). Of the sojourn in Egypt, again, there was no tradition (cp MIZRAIM, § 2*b*); the gap is filled by genealogies which really represent later clan-groupings. Beyond these centuries the stream of narration suddenly broadens out; the stories of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Israel and his sons, are told with a wealth of circumstance and a vividness of colour which show that we have entered the realm of pure legend[2] (see the several articles).

ii. Limits; remains.—Whether the earliest comprehensive history of Israel began with the migration of the Terahites, or with the primeval history—the first man, the great flood—is uncertain. The literary analysis cannot decide the question, and the examination of the foreign elements in Gen. 1-11 has as yet led to no positive results. Nor is it quite certain where the history ended. The presumption is that the author brought it down to his own times; but the evidence in our historical books is not as clear as we could wish.

A considerable part of this oldest Hebrew history is preserved in the stratum of the HEXATEUCH which critics designate by the symbol J, and in the parts of Judges and Sámuel that are akin to J. It has not, indeed, come down to us intact or in its original form; redactors, in combining it with other sources, haveomitted parts, and additions to it of diverse character and age have been made. What remains, however, gives us a most favourable impression of the authors' abilities. To this writing we may apply what a Greek critic says of the early Greek historians : *λέξιν . . . ἐπετήδευσαν . . . σαφῆ καὶ κοινὴν καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυῆ, καὶ μηδεμίαν σκευωρίαν ἐπιφαίνουσαν τεχνικήν.*[3]

The early Hebrew historians did not affix their names to their works; they had, indeed, no idea of authorship.

3. Recensions. The traditions and legends which they collected were common property, and did not cease to be so when they were committed to writing; the written hook was in every sense the property of the scribe or the possessor of the roll. Only a part of the great volume of tradition was included in

[1] That the earliest Hebrew historians wrote soon after the time of David; and that they began with contemporary history and gradually went back to the remoter past is the view of Graf ('40) and of several recent scholars (Kittel, Budde, etc.).

[2] The theory that poems form the nucleus of the earliest prose narratives, the chief source of the first historians, has been much exaggerated.

[3] For a more particular account of these sources see GENESIS, § 4 *ff.*; EXODUS, § 3; NUMBERS, § 9; JOSHUA, § 15; JUDGES, § 15.

[1] Judg. 1 is in the main an attempt to fill this gap by inferences from known facts of a much later time: see JOSHUA, § 15.

[2] The same phenomenon is observed in Greek and Roman history. see Wachsmuth, *Einl.* 511, 620.

[3] 'Tdey affected a diction clear, popular, pure, concise, suitable to the subject, and making no show of artful elaboration, Dion. Halic. *De Thuc. judic.* 5.

the first books. Transcribers freely added new matter from the same sources on which the original authors had drawn, the traditions of their own locality or sanctuary, variants of historical tradition or legend. Every new copy was thus in some measure a fresh recension. When in the course of time the enrichment of the narrative directly from oral tradition became a less considerable factor, it was succeeded by the more literary process of conflation or contamination of recensions; scribes compared different copies, and combined their contents according to their own judgments or interests. The transmission of the oldest historical writings, even in its earlier stages, before the systematic redactions of R_{JE} and his successors, was thus an extremely complicated process.[1]

The problems thus presented to criticism are often insoluble; in general only those elements can be certainly recognised as secondary'which by underscoring the moral of the history or enlarging on its religious aspects in a prophetic spirit betray a different religious point of view from that of the older narrators, and even in these cases the age of the addition is often in doubt.

The oldest Hebrew history (J) was written in the southern kingdom. At a somewhat later time a similar work (E) was produced in Israel.

4. The E]history.te

The material, drawn from the common fund of Israelite tradition,[2] is in the main the same; but the local interest in E is that of the northern kingdom, and the moral and religious point of view is more advanced.

Thus, in the patriarchal legend traits offensive to a more refined age are frequently tacitly removed (cp, *e.g.*, the way in which Jacob's flocks are increased in J and in E, Gen. 30 *f.*); theological reflection is shown in the substitution of dreams and audible voices for theophanies as modes of revelation; historical reflection in the representation of the Aramæan forefathers as idolaters,' in the avoidance of the name Yahwè before Moses, and so forth.

In later recensions of the work (E,) the conduct and fortunes of Israel are judged and interpreted from a point of view resembling that of Hosea. If those critics who ascribe to secondary strata in E such chapters as I S. 7 12 15 are right, some of these editors approximated very closely to the deuteronomic pragmatism.[3]

For the period down to the time of Solomon the sources of the historians were almost exclusively oral tradition of the most varied character and contents; of records and monuments there are but few traces, and these for the most part doubtful.

5. The history of the kingdoms.

With the establishment of the monarchy this is changed in some degree. The stream of popular tradition flows on and continues to be drawn upon largely by writers of history; but by its side appears matter evidently derived from documentary sources. Records were doubtless kept in the palace.[4] From the references to them in the Book of Kings, and from the similar records of Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs we may infer the nature of their contents: the succession to the throne, the chief events of the reign (probably year by year), wars, treaties and alliances, important edicts, the founding or fortifying of cities, the building or restoring of temples, and the like.

Everything *goes* to show that these ἀναγραφαί were brief; there is no reason to imagine that the records of a reign were wrought into narrative memoirs. It is antecedently probable that the kings of Israel and Judah, like other Oriental monarchs —for example, their neighbonr Mesha of Moab—commemorated their prowess or their piety 'in inscriptions; but there is no evidence of this in the OT, nor has any such monument hitherto been recovered.

The temples also doubtless had their records, running in great part parallel to those of the kingdom. The succession in the priesthood (dated by the year of the reigning king); repairs of the temple—as under Joash and Josiah—or changes, such as the new altar of Ahaz; the intervention of the priests in the affairs of state, as in the revolution which overthrew Athaliah and brought Joash to the throne, would naturally be set down in the archives of the temple. The priestly annals may, as in other countries, have taken a wider range, and included political events and remarkable occurrences, such as earthquake, famine, pestilence. There may have been also local records of cities and towns.

It is in accordance with frequent observation in other literatures to suppose that the history of the early kingdom of which we have spoken above was carried on from age to age by successive continuators. Such a continuation seems to underlie, *e.g.*, the present accounts of the reign of Solomon and the division of the kingdom, and traces of others may perhaps be recognised in the subsequent narrative. The continuators were doubtless at the same time redactors, who supplemented the work of their predecessors from oral or written sources—as, for example, the history of Solomon is amplified and embellished from the luxuriant Solomonic legend—or abridged those parts which seemed to them less interesting or less important.

The kingdom of Israel also had its own historians, but little of their writing has come down to us; even the reign of a monarch as great as we know from foreign sources that Omri was is an absolute blank in our Book of Kings. There is, however, one portion of the Israelite historical literature that strongly appealed to later Judaean writers, and has consequently been largely preserved—viz., the lives of the great Israelite prophets of the ninth century, Elijah and Elisha. These stories are not all of the same age or origin; whether they were taken from an earlier written collection is not certain, though, on the whole, probable. They are of the highest value for the light which they throw on the political as well as on the religious history of the northern kingdom (see KINGS, § 8, and **ELIJAH**).

The relations of the two neighbour nations of the Same people to each other in peace and war must have filled a large place in the histories of both, which accordingly had much in common; but it is not probable that the attempt to unite them in a parallel history of the two kingdoms was made till some time after the fall of Samaria. In this combined history Judaean sources and the Judæan point of view naturally preponderated; but it does not appear that any effort was made to exalt Judah at the expense of Israel. The impartiality with which the author records, *e.g.*, the rebuff received by Amaziah from Joash (2 K. 14 8 *ff.*) is noteworthy. This history is the basis of our Books of Kings; but the deuteronomic redaction has here been so thorough that the attempt to reconstruct the earlier work or even to determine more exactly its age is attended with unusual difficulty.

The prophets of the eighth century interpreted Yahwè's dealing with his people upon a consistent moral principle: the evils which afflict the nation, and the graver evils which are imminent, are divine judgments upon it for its sins—the injustice and oppression that are rife, the political fatuity of its statesmen, the religious corrnption of priests and people, who desert Yahwè for other gods, or offer him the polluted worship of the baals, or affront his holiness with the sacrifices and prayers of unrighteous men. Nor was it the present generation only that had sinned: Hosea, in particular, traces the worship of the baals back to the first settlement of the Israelites in Canaan; and in every age sin must bring judgment in its train.

6. Influence of the Prophets.

The application of this principle by the writers of the seventh and sixth centuries makes an era in Hebrew historiography; narrative history is succeeded by prag-

[1] It has its complete analogy in the transmission of the text, which is indeed, but a part of the same process.

[2] The'distinctively Judæan element in J is small.

[3] See further, GENESIS, § 6 end, EXODUS ii., § 3, JOSHUA, § 6, JUDGES, § 3, iv.

[4] Direct evidence of this has frequently been sought in the titles of two officials of the court, the מוכיר (EV RECORDER) and the מופר; but it is doubtful whether rightly. See GOVERNMENT, § 21.

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matic history; not the mere succession of events, but also their interdependence and causation engages the author's interest. This step has been taken at some period in most historical literatures; what is peculiar in the Hebrew historians is that their pragmatism is purely religious.

The favour or the displeasure of God is the one cause of prosperity or adversity; and his favour or his displeasure depends in the end solely on the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of the people to the religion of Yahwè. The standard was at first that which the prophets of the eighth century had set up; later, it was the deuteronomic law. Under the impression of the deuteronomic movement, of the prophecy of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and of the events of the last half-century of the kingdom of Judah, the interest of the writers was increasingly absorbed in the lesson of the history; history was indeed for them prophecy teaching by example.

The influence of the prophets (orators) is manifested in another way; the pragmatism of the new school of historians, like that of the Greek and Roman historians, especially under the influence of Isocrates, is a rhetorical element. This appears in the amplification and heightening of the congenial portions of the older narratives, and especially in the introduction at critical points in the history of speeches by prophets—often anonymous—in which the author's own comment or reflection is effectively put into the mouth of an actor or a spectator of the action.

This pragmatic historiography is frequently called 'deuteronomistic'; on account of its affinity to Deuteronomy.[1] It flourished in the latter part of the seventh century and especially in the sixth; but the same moralising treatment of the history, the same distinctive turns of thought and phrase, recur in much later writers—*e.g.*, in the Chronicler[2]—and the fundamental principle of the school is nowhere formulated so clearly and concisely as by Josephus in the Introduction to his Antiquities (3, § 14, Niese).

7. The deuteronomistic school.

i. ***Deuteronomistic history of the two kingdoms.***—The first product of the new school of historians was a history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel from the accession of Solomon,[3] written before the fall of Jerusalem, which (in a second redaction dating from after the middle of the 6th century) we have in the Books of Kings. The author took his material from older histories such as have been spoken of above (§ 5). The purpose to enforce the moral of the history appears in the selection of material as well as in the treatment of it. It is presumably to this author that we are to ascribe the omission of all details concerning whole reigns (*e.g.*, Omri), where the recorded facts did not conform to the historical theory. The sovereign is responsible for the purity of the national religion; upon every king a summary judgment is passed from this point of view.

With hardly an exception, all have come short of the strict standard of the deuteronomic law; but this departure has degrees; some—the good kings of Judah—only tolerated the worship of Yahwè at illegitimate altars (high places); others—Jeroboam and his successors in the northern kingdom—worshipped idols of Yahwè; others still introduced foreign gods and rites. A few suppressed gross abuses such as the *ḳĕdēshīm* (see IDOLATRY, § 6); only Hezekiah and Josiah instituted thoroughgoing reforms, which were made the more imperative by the revival and importation of all kinds of heathenism under their predecessors, Ahaz and Manasseh.

The history is interpreted upon deuteronomic principles, which are clearly set forth at the beginning in the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, and are first applied to Solomon himself.

The earlier part of his reign, we are told, was prosperous; in his later years there were revolts abroad and treasons at home; after his death the kingdom was divided; the cause was that Solomon *in his old age*, under the influence of his foreign wives, introduced the worship of other gods; the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite declares the sin and denounces the divine judgment (1 K. 11).

The editor, who after the fall of Judah revised the work of his predecessor and gave the Book of Kings substantially its present form, sharpened the pragmatism throughout in the spirit of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and of the contemporary additions to Deuteronomy (esp. 4 29 *f.* and the end of 28); the Exile itself is the final vindication of the prophetic theodicy.

The rhetorical character of the new historical writing especially invited amplification; if the older authors seemed not sufficiently to have emphasised the lesson, the later ones supplied the deficiency. Such chapters as 1 K. 13 exemplify the growth of moralising legend in the youngest additions to the book. The systematic chronology also, with its calculated synchronisms, is the work of the exilic editor.[1]

ii. ***The pre-monarchic period.***—The earlier history was now taken in hand by the new school. The invasions and forays of the neighbouring peoples in the period before the kingdom were divine visitations, just like the invasions of Egyptians, Syrians, Assyrians, Babylonians in later times.[2] The sin, also, which provoked this judgment was the same, unfaithfulness to the religion of Yahwè. The stories of the judges illustrate this moral.

In a general introduction (Judg. 2 6-3 6) and in the introductions to the individual stories the author draws out the lesson: whenever Israel fell into the worship of the gods of Canaan, Yahwè gave it over into the power of its foes; when in distress it turned to him again, he raised up a champion and delivered it (see JUDGES, § 2). Those parts of the older book of stories which could not be adapted to this scheme were omitted. A chronology having the same systematic basis as that of Kings, and directly connected with the latter, was supplied (see CHRONOLOGY, § 5).

Here also more than one stage in the deuteronomistic redaction is probably to be recognised. The deuteronomistic book of Judges included Eli and Samuel, and was an introduction to the history of the kings.

In the view of the author, the deliverers formed a continuous succession of extraordinary rulers (*shōphĕṭīm*, 'judges'), differing from the kings who followed them in that their office was not hereditary, each being immediately designated by God.

The history of Saul and David (1 S. 13 *ff.*) was not subjected to so thorough a deuteronomistic redaction.

The rejection of Saul was already sufficiently motived in the prophetic source—he disobeyed the commandment of God by his prophet (1 S. 15): the glorious reign of David was, from the point of view of the pragmatic school, evidence enough of his fidelity to the religion of Yahwè. The traces of deuteronomistic hands in 1 S. 13-2 S. 21 are limited to relatively inconsiderable additions (see SAMUEL ii., §§ 2 *f.* 5 *f.*).

iii. ***Prehistoric period.***—The peculiar deuteronomistic pragmatism was from its nature little applicable to the patriarchal story or the primeval history. The wanderings, from Horeb to the banks of the Jordan, are briefly recounted from this point of view in Dt. 1-3 (cp also 9 7-10 5); but in the parallel portions of Ex. and Nu. there is no evidence of a deuteronomistic recension. The history of the conquest of Canaan as we have it in Joshua is, on the other hand, largely the work of an author of this school (see JOSHUA, §§ 4 11).

The corruption of the religion of Israel was, as Hosea had taught, the consequence of contamination with the religion of Canaan; the prophetic legislation strictly forbids alliance and especially intermarriage with the inhabitants of the land (*e.g.*, Ex. 34 12-16); the later deuteronomists demanded their extermination as the only sure way to prevent the infection (Dt. 7 2). The generations which followed Joshua had neglected these commands and reaped the bitter consequences (cp Judg. 2 1-5, late); but Joshua and the god-fearing generation, which in the might of Yahwè conquered Canaan, did God's bidding faithfully in this as in all other things. They must, therefore, have destroyed the Canaanites, root and branch; if the older histories did not so represent it, they must be corrected. This is the chief motive of the deuteronomistic account of the conquest (see esp. Josh. 10-12). We have here an instructive example of the way in which the pragmatic dogma overrides a conflicting tradition; what is said to have been has to yield to what *must* have been. The unflinching consequence with which this unhistorical representation of the conquest is carried through reminds us of the Chronicler (see below, § 15), and, with other things, suggests that the deuteronomistic redaction of Joshua is one of the later

1 Particularly to the secondary parts of that book.
2 Cp also 2 Macc.
3 This was the natural beginning under the influence of the prophets and the immediate impression of the deuteronomic reforms.

1 See KINGS, § 3 CHRONOLOGY, § 6 *f.*
2 How far this treatment may have been preformed in older recensions (E_2 R_{JE}) is a mooted point; cp JUDGES, § 14.

products of the school,[1] which continued its work long after the restoration.

Besides the productions of the deuteronomistic school of historians, we have one other work from the sixth century which possesses a peculiar interest; the life of the prophet Jeremiah, which was united with the collections of his oracles by the compiler of our book of Jeremiah. It was written from the memories of the prophet's intimate disciples, apparently not long after his death. In addition to its historical value, especially for the reign of Zedekiah and the years following the fall of Jerusalem, and its still greater value as a revelation of the personality of one of the greatest of the prophets, it is, as far as we know, the first essay in biography, and stands nearly, or quite, alone in the extant literature.[2]

8. Biography of Jeremiah.

In the Persian period, probably in the fifth century, there appeared a work which treated the ancient history from a new point of view.

9. The Hebrew 'Origines': P.

i. ***The history.***—The author's purpose was to set forth the origin of the sacred institutions and laws of the Jews, thus showing their antiquity and authority. Beginning with the creation of the world, he closed with a minute description of the territories of the several tribes in Canaan. The contents and character of this work, now generally designated by critics by the symbol P, P_2, P_G,[3] etc., are sufficiently exhibited elsewhere.[4]

The whole tendency of the book is to carry back the origin of Jewish institutions to the remote past; the sabbath was ordained at the creation; the prohibition of blood was given to Noah, circumcision is the seal of the covenant with Abraham; the developed temple ritual of the kingdom and even the temple itself with all its paraphernalia—in portable form—are Mosaic; the post-exilic high priest has his prototype in Aaron.

This is, no doubt, to some extent to be ascribed to the working of a natural and familiar process which may be observed in the older literature as well as in the later (Chronicles); it may also be surmised that there was a desire to give the laws, in the eyes of the Jews themselves, the authority of immemorial prescription or the sanctity of most solemn promulgation. Resides this, however, the question may properly be asked, whether contact with the ancient civilisation and religion of Babylonia may not have prompted the author to attempt to vindicate the antiquity of the Jewish religion, just as, somewhat later, the Hellenistic historians, especially in Egypt, were moved to do. The same influence may be suspected in the minute chronology, which in its antediluvian parts certainly stands in some connection with that of the Babylonians (see CHRONOLOGY, § 4).

ii. ***The laws.***—The Mosaic laws in the 'Origines' are doubtless to be regarded not as a transcript of the actual praxis of the author's own time, but as an ideal of the religions community and its worship, projected into the golden age of the past as Ezekiel's is projected into the golden age of the future. Whether the book was composed with the more definite aim of serving as the basis of a reform in the Jerusalem use, is not so clear; the whole character of the work seems unfavourable to the hypothesis that P_G was from the beginning a reform programme as the original Deuteronomy was.

iii. *Sources.*—The narrative portions of the work present an appearance of statistical exactness in matters of chronology, genealogy, census-lists, and the like, which led earlier scholars, who regarded *P* as the oldest stratum in the Pentateuch (cp HEXATEUCH, § 24), to infer that the author had access to ancient documentary records. This supposition is excluded both by the late date of P_G and by the character of the matter in question. See GENESIS, § 2 *f.*

[1] Perhaps it is a *second* redaction.
[2] The older legends of Elijah and Elisha, and the multitudinous prophet legends of later times are hardly to be compared.
[3] P_G, the groundwork of P, P_S, secondary extensions of P_G.
[4] See HEXATEUCH, § 24; GENESIS, § 2 *f.*; EXODUS, §§ 2 5; LEVITICUS, § 3; NUMBERS, § 10 *ff.*; JOSHUA, §§ 5 12.

The semblance of more definite statistical knowledge in P, as compared with the older historians, has an instructive parallel in the younger Roman annalists, for example, Valerius Antias,[1] and is to be explained in the same way. We have another illustration of the same phenomenon in Chronicles.

In the patriarchal story and the narrative of the exodus it is not demonstrable that the author used any other sources than the older historical works which, combined with his own, have been transmitted to us (J and E); but he doubtless had them in a more complete form, and, it may be, in a different recension. Whether in the primeval history he made a fresh draught upon Babylonian tradition—in the account of creation (Gen. 1), for example, or in the variant form of the flood legend—or whether here also he had Hebrew precursors, is a question which seems at present not to admit of a confident answer (see CREATION, §§ 3 *ff.* 11 17 *f.*; DELUGE, §§ 10 *ff.*).

iv. *Later additions.*—*P* contained many laws purporting to have been given to Moses; to these a multitude of others were added by later hands, sometimes singly, sometimes in whole collections (P_S), until the symmetry and consistency of the original work was completely destroyed; the result was the heterogeneous conglomerate which it is customary to call the Priests' Code (see HEXATEUCH, LAW LITERATURE). Late additions to the narrative parts of P also can be recognised, especially in Ex. and Nu. (see EXODUS, § 5, NUMBERS, §§ 10 *ff.*).

It has been observed above (§ 3) that copies of the same work, differing in text or in contents, were compared and combined by subsequent transcriber-editors. A process of a similar kind, on a much larger scale, was the union of the parallel histories J and E in one continuous narrative, JE.

10. Histories combined.

i. *Union of J and* E.—This task was accomplished with considerable skill; the redactor (R_{JE}) for the most part reproduces the text of his sources with little change, combining them in different ways as the nature of the case indicated. The additions of his own which he makes are akin to the later strata of the separate books, J and E; they are chiefly enlargements upon prophetic motives in the history, and have frequently a reproductive character, as, *e.g.*, in the renewal of the promises to the patriarchs.[2] The author (R_{JE}) probably lived in the second half of the seventh century. This composite work can be followed in our historical books from the creation to the reign of David; if it went farther than this, the latter part was supplanted by a history of the kingdoms written on a different plan.

JE did not at once displace the separate works J and E; they continued to circulate till a considerably later time, and later transcribers of JE may have enriched their copies by the introduction from the older books of matter which the first redactor (R_{JE}) had not included.

The deuteronomistic redaction described above (§ 6 *f.*) is based upon JE, though some of the deuteronomists used E, at least, separately.

ii. *Union of JE with D and* ***P.***—A post-exilic redaction, finally, united P with JE and D. The method of the redactor (R_P) is more mechanical than that of R_{JE}; his religious and historical point of view is that of P—especially of the later additions to P—and Chron.[3]

iii. ***Later*** *priestly editors.*—R_P very likely ended his compilation where P itself ended; but later editors not only made additions to his work, but also extended a priestly redaction over the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, sometimes restoring (from JE) passages which the deuteronomistic redaction had omitted, sometimes adding matter drawn from the midrash of their

[1] The fondness of Valerius for enormous numbers also is shared by P.
[2] On the character and method of this redaction see further, HEXATEUCH, § 24; GENESIS, § 6; EXODUS, § 3: NUMBERS, § 6; JOSHUA, § 11; JUDGES, § 14.
[3] See HEXATEUCH, § 29 *f.*; GENESIS, § 2; EXODUS, § 2; LEVITICUS; NUMBERS, § 21; JOSHUA, § 11; JUDGES, § 14.

time, sometimes combining the old version of a story with the midrash upon it. In this way the great Hebrew history, from the creation to the fall of Judah, which we possess in Gen.-2 K., gradually assumed substantially its present form. In consequence of the essentially compilatory character of the Jewish historiography, this work of the fifth or fourth century B.C. has fortunately preserved, without material change, large parts of the pre-exilic historical literature, from the tenth century to the sixth.[1]

11. History of the Jews after the restoration of the temple.

The national history of Judah came to an end in the year 586, when Judæa became a Babylonian province. During the century which followed, many writers occupied themselves with the history of the kingdoms and of the earlier ages (see above, § 7); but there was little to inspire the Jews either in Judæa or in Babylonia to write the history of their own times. It is plain that when long afterwards the attempt was made to relate the events of this period, the author had hardly any material at his command except the references to the completion of the temple in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. It is scarcely to be doubted that in the archives of the temple the succession of the priests, repairs and improvements of the edifice, and other matters, were recorded, and official documents relating to the temple and its privileges or to the city were preserved;[2] perhaps also lists of families (with their domiciles), on the basis of which the capitation tax was collected; some such material is preserved by the Chronicler. There is much less, however, than might have been expected: it is possible that the archives were partially or completely destroyed when the city was taken by the armies of Ochus, as they were almost certainly destroyed in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes.

12. Personal memoirs.

A new type of Jewish historical literature is represented by the memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra.[3] Nehemiah narrates in a plain and straightforward way, though not without a just appreciation of his own merit. what he had done for his people by restoring in the face of great difficulties the ruinous defences of Jerusalem, and by remedying many abuses which he found rife in the community.[4] Ezra tells how he conducted a colony from Babylonia to Jerusalem, and describes the sad state of things he found among priests and people, his efforts to purge the community from the contamination of mixed marriages, and finally the introduction and solemn ratification of the book of the law.[5]

The memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra were used by the Chronicler as sources for the reign of Artaxerxes, and through him considerable portions of them have been transmitted to us, though curtailed, deranged, and in parts wrought over.

13. Aramaic chronicle of Jerusalem.

To the latter part of the Persian or the beginning of the Greek period must be ascribed another of the sources of the Chronicler; an Aramaic narrative, incorporating documents relative to the building of the walls of Jerusalem and of the temple, parts of which, worked over and supplemented by the Chronicler, are preserved in Ezra 4-6. The original scope of the work can only be uncertainly guessed from the extant fragments. The conjecture that other parts of Ezra were translated into Hebrew from the same source (van Hoonacker, Howorth) is not well founded. Some interest attaches to these fragments as the first trace of historical writing in the vernacular. The experiment seems to have found little favour; Hebrew was too firmly established as the literary language.

14. The Midrash of Kings.

To the same age is to be assigned a lost work on the history of the kingdom which is frequently referred to by the Chronicler, and of which considerable parts are preserved in Chronicles. The Chronicler cites this work under a variety of names (Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, or, of Judah and Israel, etc.), and particular sections of it under special titles (Words[1] of Samuel the Seer, Nathan the Prophet, Gad the Seer,[2] and so on). Twice the book is referred to under the significant name 'midrash' (מִדְרָשׁ),—The Midrash of the Book of Kings (2 Ch. 24 27), the Midrash of the Prophet Iddo (*ib.* 13 22).

The name denotes a homiletic exposition, particularly a story teaching some edifying religious or moral lesson, and usually attaching itself more or less loosely to the words of an older text. This is the character of both the passages in connection with which the term occurs, and of many others in Chronicles *e.g.*, 2 Ch. 14 8 [7]-15 15 20 28 5-15 33 10-19, etc. Budde (*ZATW* 12 37 *ff.*) called attention to the fact that edifying stories of a kind similar to those which in Chronicles are supposed to come from the lost Midrash of Kings are found in other parts of the OT, and conjectured that the Prayer of Manasseh and the Books of Jonah and Ruth are derived from the same work, extracts from which he surmises in 1 S. 16 1-13 and 1 K. 13. The obvious resemblance is, however, sufficiently explained by the supposition that these writings, together with other pieces of the same kind in Num. and Judg., are the product of the same age and school; that they were all taken from the same book is hardly to be proved.

That the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah' which the Chronicler cites was based upon the deuteronomistic history of the kingdoms (Sam.-Kings) is beyond question. The most probable theory is that it was an edition of that work enriched by the introduction of a large element of historical midrash illustrating the moral and religious lessons which the history ought to teach, and with such changes and omissions as the additions or the author's pragmatism rendered necessary. Its relation to the canonical KINGS was thus very similar to the relation of the *Book of Jubilees* to Genesis. The author's religious point of view, ruling interests, and literary manner so closely resemble those of the Chronicler that what is to be said under this head will best be reserved for the next paragraph.

15. The Chronicle of Jerusalem.

In the early part of the Greek period, probably after 300 B.C., an author connected with the temple composed a history of Jerusalem from the time of David to the latter part of the fourth century, prefixing a skeleton of the preceding history from the creation to the death of Saul in the form of genealogies, in which are manifested interests the same as those which dominate the body of the book. This history we possess in our Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which originally formed a single continuous work.

The narrative begins with Saul's last battle, the anointing of David as King of all Israel, and the taking of Jerusalem (1 Ch. 10 *f.*); from this point to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar it runs parallel to Sam. and Kings, but deals with Judah only. From the deportation of 586 the author passes at once to the edict of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return to Palestine (2 Ch. 36 22 *f.* = Ezra 1 1 *f.*). The return and the rebuilding of the temple are then related, to the completion of the building in the sixth year of Darius; then follows immediately the commission of Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, his return at the head of a colony, and his attempted reforms in Jerusalem (Ezra 7 *ff.*); and, again without any connection, the appointment of Nehemiah as governor in the

[1] A most instructive parallel to the Jewish literature in this respect is afforded by the Christian chroniclers and historians of the Middle Ages; see, for example, the Saxon Annalist, in *Monumenta Germaniæ*, 6.

[2] The library of the Jerusalem patriarchate now contains a collection of Arabic and Turkish edicts about the holy places, beginning with the 'Testament of Mohammed.'

[3] Delitzsch (*ZLT* 31 36 ['70]) compares the beginning of the memoir literature among the Greeks and Romans. See also Wachsmuth, *Einl.* 204 *f.*

[4] A natural motive for the memoirs is the desire to acquaint the Jews in the E. with what he had found and done in Jerusalem. See NEHEMIAH.

[5] See EZRA and EZRA-NEHEMIAH. The genuineness of the Memoirs of Ezra has recently been impeached by Torrey, *Ezra-Nehemiah* ('96).

[1] *i.e.*, 'Narrative [of Samuel', etc.].

[2] See CHRONICLES, § 6 2. It is not quite clear whether this form of citation is only a convenient way of indicating the part of the extensive work in which the prophet named figured; or whether it implies a theory that each prophet wrote the events of his own time (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 8).

twentieth year of Artaxerxes, the rebuilding of the walls (Neh. 1-7), and the ratification of the law (Neh. 8-10). The narrative ends with the measures of reform which Nehemiah found necessary on the occasion of a second visit in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes; but the genealogies are brought down to the reign of the last Persian king.

The author's sources naturally varied for the different periods.

i. For the earlier part of the work he used the Hexateuch and the older historical books, the genealogical material in which he excerpted, condensed, and combined in his own way, supplementing it with constructions of his own which plainly reflect post-exilic conditions.

ii. For the history of the kingdom the ulterior source was the deuteronomistic work (Sam.-Kings); it seems probable, however, that the Chronicler used this work, not in the form in which it lies before us, but as it was embodied in the Midrash of Kings (§ 14), of which Chronicles may then be regarded as mainly an abridgment.

iii. From the fall of Jerusalem in 586 *to* the time of Alexander, the sources were the prophets Haggai and Zechariah,[1] the Aramaic history already spoken of (§ 13), the Memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra (§ 12), a list of high priests from Jeshua to Jaddua, and probably other priestly genealogies, etc. The *narrative* material all belonged to the first quarter century of the Persian period and a few years in the reign of Artaxerxes; there was evidently no continuous historical tradition, written or oral, when the Chronicler wrote; indeed, his knowledge was not sufficient to enable him rightly to arrange the fragmentary remains at his disposal.[2]

In the Chronicler's account of the first two (i. and ii.) of these three periods there are occasional historical notices not otherwise transmitted to us which seem to come from old sources.

The recension of Gen.-Kings which lay before the Chronicler or the author of the Midrash may have been different from ours, as the recension in the hands of the Alexandrian translators frequently differed from that on which MT is based. The restoration, by the last redactor of Judges, of considerable material from JE which the deuteronomistic redactor had omitted, proves that the final loss of the old Hebrew history books occurred at a comparatively late time, as so much of the classic literature perished late in the Byzantine period.

The Chronicler's work is an ecclesiastical history; the Jewish Church in Jerusalem is its subject. The whole history of the Northern Kingdom, which was included not only in the deuteronomistic Book of Kings but also in the Chronicler's immediate source, the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, is therefore omitted. The temple, the ministry, the ritual, have central importance; and special interest is shown in the prominence of the Levites on festal occasions (see CHRONICLES, § 7). The clergy are also the custodians of the law; they give instruction in it and decisions under it. The liturgy of the temple and the minute organisation of the ministry with its guilds of musicians, singers, door-keepers, etc., are attributed to David.[3] Upon the deuteronomistic pragmatism which it found in its sources the post-exilic History superimposed a pragmatism of a new type. In it also prosperity and adversity depend upon fidelity to the religion of Yahwè; but the conception of religion is clerical rather than prophetic. The ideas of theodicy and retribution are more mechanical;[4] the vindication of God's law is not only sure, it is also signal and swift.

The exhibition of this principle in history is the motive of the most radical changes made in the representation of the older books as well as in the long haggadic additions. In both, it is probable that the Chronicler was preceded by the author of the Midrash; but the same spirit appears in the Chronicler's own work in Ezra and Neh.[5]

1 The influence of Is. 40 *ff.* is also visible.
2 The derangement of Ezra-Neh. is, however, partly to be ascribed to later hands.
3 This may be connected with the belief that David composed Psalms for the temple service.
4 The influence of Ezekiel is manifest.
5 On the character of the additions and changes, see CHRONICLES, § 7 *ff.*

Taken altogether, it is as historical midrash (*i.e.*, as edifying fiction with an historical background), not as history, that Chronicles, like its lost precursor, must be regarded and judged. This type of literature enjoyed, as we shall see, an immense popularity in the Greek period among both Hebrew and Hellenistic Jews.

The first part of the Chronicle of Jerusalem, from the creation to the exile, ran parallel to the great historical work Gen.-Kings; the second, beginning with the edict of Cyrus, had no competitor. The latter was accordingly detached to serve, under the title Book of Ezra,[1] as a continuation of the older history through the Persian period. When at a later time the first part (Chronicles) was given a place in the canon, it was not reunited with Ezra, but was counted either as the last (Talmud) or as the first (Massōra) of the Kethiibim (see CANON, § 9). In the Alexandrian Bible, where a general rearrangement was effected, the original order was restored.

The oldest Greek translation of the post-exilic History is preserved to us as a torso, beginning with 2 Ch. 35 1-27 and ending abruptly with Neh. 8 12.[2] It presents the material in a different—and to some extent more original—order than MT and the later Greek version; and contains one long passage not found in either (Pages of Darius, 3 *f.*).[3]

A sketch of Jewish historical literature would be incomplete without some mention of the popular religious stories so abundant in the last three or four centuries before our era. These all have an historical setting, and doubtless passed from the beginning, as they still do with many, for veracious history. In character they do not essentially differ from the haggadic additions in Chronicles; but instead of attaching themselves to a given situation in the older history, they create their own situation. With this freedom is naturally connected a greater variety in the motive and moral of the story.

16. Popular religious stories.

i. and ii. Two of the longer tales of this class, to which we might perhaps give the name historical romances, are the books of Judith and Esther. They have in common the patriotic motive, and also that in each it is a woman who, at great peril to herself, saves her people from threatened destruction. JUDITH (*q.v.*) was probably written in Palestine, in Hebrew. The setting of the action is purely fictitious; the author's notions of history and of geography, beyond his own region, are of the most confused kind.

If any historical incident furnished the nucleus of the story, the circumstances had been thoroughly forgotten. The religious point of view, as it appears in the speech of Achior, for example, and in the stress laid on clean meats (cp Dan. 1) and the sacredness of tithes, etc., is that of correct Judaism;—it is erroneous to say of Pharisaism. The lesson of faith in God and fidelity to his law is obvious; but it is not necessary to assume that the book was written to inculcate this lesson and to encourage its readers in a particular crisis.

The considerable differences in the recensions (three Greek, Old Latin, Syriac) show that the book had considerable currency; but it never enjoyed the same popularity as its companion, Esther.[4]

A peculiar interest attaches to ESTHER (*q.v.*) as one of the very few remaining pieces of the literature of the Oriental Jews.[5] The feast of PURIM (*q.v.*), the origin of which is celebrated in the book,[6] was certainly adopted by the Jews in the E. Probably too (see ESTHER, § 7) the legend was borrowed or imitated; but this does not alter the fact that the story constructed upon it is one of the most characteristic works of Jewish fiction.

How the young Jewess Esther becomes Queen of Persia; how

1 Our Ezra and Nehemiah (cp EZRA-NEH., § 4).
2 See EZRA (THE GREEK).
3 See Torrey, *JBL* 16 168-170; cp EZRA (GREEK), § 6 1.
4 On parallels and reminiscences in Jewish literature see Lipsius in *ZWT* 10 337 *ff.* ('67). The midrashim all put the occurrence in the Asmonæan times, and several of them connect it with the Hanukka festivities as Esther is connected with Purim.
5 Tobit is the only other of which this can confidently be affirmed.
6 In the subscription to the Greek version it is called ἐπιστολὴ τῶν φρουραι (Esth. 10 11).

the proud vizier Haman is compelled to do the almost royal honour he had conceived for himself to the Jew Mordecai whom he hates most of all men; and how Esther by her address saves her people from the general massacre which Haman had planned gets the minister hanged on his own gallows and Mordecai appointed in his place, and procures a counter-edict by authority of which the Jews in Susa and the provinces slaughter their fellow-subjects without resistance,—that was something to delight the heart of a race whose peculiarities and contempt for the state religion involved it in such bitter sufferings.

When the temple was destroyed and the other feasts ceased, Purim only gained in importance, and the book connected with Purim so well expressed the feelings of the oppressed Jews that Esther became, next to the Torah, the best known and most highly-prized book in the Canon.[1]

iii. A book of very different spirit and tendency is JONAH (*q.v.*), which tells how the prophet, who was unwilling to preach to the heathen, was miraculously constrained to go, and how at his message Nineveh repented and its doom was averted, and pointedly rebukes the spirit which would have God show no mercy upon the nations. The protest against the persuasion that God's word and his compassion are for the Jews only is noteworthy. The book is not only a story about a prophet; more than any other product of its age, it breathes the prophet's spirit.[2]

iv. A similar motive is thought by many to actuate the Book of **RUTH** (*q.v.*); the author would answer those who, like Ezra and Nehemiah, were so hot against mixed marriages, by showing how the blood of a Moabite ancestress flowed in the veins of David himself.

v. One of the most pleasing of these writings is TOBIT (*q.v.*), with its attractive pictures of Jewish piety and its instructive glimpses of current superstitions, for the history of both of which it is an important source. It is a moral tale simply, without any ulterior motive other than the edification of its readers. The numerous varying recensions show that it had a wide popularity among Jews as it had afterwards among Christians. See ACHIACHARUS.

vi. *Smaller didactic stories.*—Other stories celebrate the constancy of pious Jews to their religion in spite of all efforts to turn them from it. The Gentile world-power, whether represented by Babylonian, Persian, Seleucid, or Ptolemy, appears not only as the oppressor but also as the persecutor of the Jews, prohibiting the exercise of their religion and trying to force them to worship idols and practise abominable rites.

Some of the stories tell of the miraculous deliverance of God's faithful servants, others of the triumphant fortitude of the martyrs under the most appalling tortures. To inspire a like faith and devotion in the reader; leading them to prize more highly a religion which has produced such fruits, and making them also ready, if need be, to die for their holy law, is the obvious motive of the tales.[3]

To this class belong the stories of Daniel and the three Jewish youths in Babylon, in the Book of DANIEL (*q.v.*).

Here the faithful worshippers of Yahwè are miraculously delivered from the fiery furnace and the lions' den, and endued with a supernatural wisdom which puts all the Chaldæan astrologers and magicians to shame, so that the heathen kings are constrained to confess the god of the Jews the supreme God,

In the Greek version other stories are added; Susanna and the Elders, illustrating Daniel's wisdom in judgment; Bel and the Dragon, showing how Daniel ingeniously proved to Cyrus that the gods of the Babylonians were no gods. The display of Jewish wisdom before heathen kings is the motive also of the story of the Three Pages of Darius (1 Esd. 3 1 *f.*), where a contest of wits in answer to the question, What is the mightiest thing on earth? wins for Zerubbabel permission to return and restore the temple at Jerusalem.[4]

The Greek-speaking Jews also had their story-books with similar subjects. One of these is 3 Maccabees (see

1 The entire lack of a religious element in the story was made good in the Greek translation by extensive additions.

2 Cp Ezek. 3 5 *f.* Mal. 1 11 *f.*

3 We should compare the Christian *martyria*.

4 Cp *Ep. Arist.* 45 *ff.* (Schmidt); EZRA (GREEK), § 6.

MACCABEES [THIRD]), which professes to narrate events in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator after the defeat of Seleucus III. at Raphia in 217 B.C. It may be regarded as in some sense a Hellenistic counterpart to Esther, and is one of the worst specimens of this kind of fiction.

It seems to be an elaborated variation of an older legend preserved by Josephus (*c. Ap.* 2 5). Many scholars are of the opinion that the occasion of writing the book was the persecution of the Alexandrian Jews under Caligula.[1]

Of the stories of martyr heroism, the most famous are those of the aged Eleazar and of the mother and her seven sons in 2 Macc. 6 *f.*, repeated in great detail in 4 Macc., which took their place among the most popular of Christian *martyria*.

There were doubtless many other religious stories in circulation; from a later period considerable remains of a similar literature have come down to us; *e.g.*, the tale of Joseph's wife Aseneth (see APOCRYPHA, § 12).

The glorious events of the Asmonæan age inspired more than one author to write the history of Mattathias and his sons. The oldest and by far the most important of these works is that which we have in the First Book of Maccabees (see MACCABEES [FIRST]), written in Hebrew, probably in the reign of John Hyrcanus. It covers the period from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.) to the death of Simon (135 B.C.); but it deals chiefly with the struggle with the Syrians; of the fierce and treacherous strife of Jewish parties we catch only passing glimpses. The author had probably no older written account of the events, but drew upon a tradition close to the Asmonæan house. Besides this tradition, he incorporated certain documents which were preserved in public places (14 27 *ff.*) or in the archives (cp 11 37 12 7).[2]

17. Hist. of Asmonæans: Hebrew.

The writer is sincerely religious, as are the heroes of his story. As to his method of conceiving history, we need only point out here that the action moves wholly on the earthly stage, without miracle, or prophecy. 1 Macc. is an historical source of the first value for the times of the early Asmonæans; it is deeply to be regretted that we have not similar sources for other epochs of Jewish history.

At the end of the work (16 23 *f.*) the reader is referred for information about the following period to the Chronicles of the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus. Of these Chronicles nothing has survived; it cannot even be shown that the history of Hyrcanus' rule in Josephus ultimately goes back—in whole or in part—to these Chronicles.[3]

The struggle of their brethren in Palestine had a keen interest for the Greek-speaking Jews also. Jason of Cyrene wrote a history of it in five books, beginning with the antecedents of the conflict under Onias III., and ending, if we are to judge from the summary of its contents in 2 Macc. 2 19-23, with the liberation of the city by Judas after the victory over Nicanor (cp 2 Macc. 15 37).[4] We know this work only through 2 Macc., which is professedly an abridgment of it. The original must have been very prolix, which is perhaps one reason why it was not more generally known. The character of the work is in striking contrast to 1 Macc.; it imitates and outdoes the worst types of Greek rhetorical historiography.[5] The straining for effect is tiresomely persistent. Everything is exaggerated; special divine interventions occur at every turn; and the operation of the law of retribution is everywhere emphasised (see chap. 9). There is

18. Greek.

1 See now, however, Büchler, *Tobiaden u. Oniaden*, 172 *ff.* ('99).

2 On the genuineness of these pieces; see MACCABEES (FIRST), § 8 *f.*

3 Against Bloch see Destinon, 44.

4 Schürer considers it doubtful whether Jason made an end here; but cp 2 Macc. 2 20, and see Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 66.

5 See, however, Büchler, 277 *ff.*, Niese, *Hermes*, 1900.

no evidence that Jason had any written sources; the whole character of the book suggests rather that he derived his information from the reports—confused and mingled with legend—which came[1] by various channels from Palestine. On the two epistles in 2 Macc. 1 1-2 18, and on the other critical points, see **MACCABEES** (SECOND).[2]

Other writings of a legendary character are known to us through Josephus, who, directly or indirectly, drew upon them in his history of the Greek period; among them were the account of Alexander's relations to the Jews (*Ant.* xi. 8) and the story of the Tobiadæ and Oniadæ (Joseph the tax-farmer), *Ant.* xii. 4, cp *BJ* 1 1. On the latter see Büchler (*op. cit.* preceding col. n. 1).

In the third and the second centuries B.C., most of the Hebrew historical literature was translated into Greek. Jews in the new centres of Greek culture, especially in Alexandria, became acquainted with the writings of Greek historians, and with works like those of Manetho and Berossus, written in Greek, through which the ancient history of Egypt and Babylonia from authentic sources was brought to the knowledge of the educated world. It would be strange, indeed, if they had not felt stirred to perform a like service for the history of their own nation.

19. Histories of the Jewish people by Hellenistic Jews.

i. *Demetrius.*—The earliest of these writings of which we know anything is that of Demetrius, Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων.[4] It is a chronological epitome rather than a narrative history, and was doubtless composed for Jewish readers. The author brings to the solution of the difficult problems of chronology thorough knowledge of the OT and great acumen.

The occasional explanations of other difficulties in the Scriptures show honesty as well as ingenuity. The close connection in many of these points between the Hellenistic and the Palestinian exegesis has also been remarked.

ii. *Eupolemos.*—The work of Eupolemos under a similar title was of a different nature. He narrated the history more at large, and with embellishments in the taste of his times, such as the correspondence of Solomon with the pharaoh, the legend of Jeremiah (*fr.* 24), and so on. In him also we first note the disposition to vindicate for the Hebrews the priority in philosophy, science, and the useful arts, which is so characteristic of later Hellenistic authors.

Moses was the first sage (σοφός), and the first who gave his people written laws. He taught the art of writing to the Jews; the Phœnicians learned it from the Jews, and the Greeks from them.

Eupolemos probably wrote under Demetrius Soter (*circa* 158 B.C.), and it has been surmised that he may be the same who is mentioned in 1 Macc. 8 17; in which case his book would have additional interest as the work of a Palestinian Hellenist.[5]

iii. *Artapānos.*—It was natural that Jews in Egypt should seek to connect the story of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt, of Joseph's elevation, and above all, of Moses and the exodus, with Egyptian history.

They had an additional reason for giving their version of these events in the fact that native writers had set afloat injurious accounts of the expulsion of the leprous hordes, which found only too willing credence not merely among the populace but with serious historians.[6]

The Jewish writers had no access to authentic sources of information; in the most favourable case they could give only uncritical combinations of names and

1 See Torrey, *ZATW* 20 225 *ff.*

2 The book may perhaps have been used as a Hellenistic Haggada for the Hanukka as Esther for Purim.

3 On the works described in this paragraph see Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 75 (the fragments edited, 219 *ff.*); Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 2, § 33 (5 200 *ff.*); Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, '95.

4 Freudenthal fixes the date under Ptolemy IV. (222-205); Willrich tries to prove that all this literature is much younger.

5 Against both this combination and the date given in the text, see Willrich.

6 If the account ascribed to Manetho is genuine—which has seldom been questioned—these malicious inventions began very early in the Ptolemaic period.

events taken from Egyptian history or legend (known to them through a Greek medium) with the narratives of the Pentateuch. The spinning out of these combinations is doubtless in the main pure invention.

Considerable fragments of a work of this sort have been transmitted to us under the name of Artapanos. This Persian name is with reason suspected of being a pseudonym, the glorification of the Jews being for greater effect attributed to an unprejudiced foreigner[1] who collected his information from the best Egyptian authorities. However that may be, the author shows considerable knowledge of things Egyptian and a very respectable degree of Hellenistic culture. The design of the book is plainly to magnify the forefathers of the Jews by showing that they are the real authors of the Egyptian civilisation.

Abraham, during his twenty years' sojourn, taught the Egyptians astrology;[2] Joseph first caused the fields to be properly surveyed and meted out, reclaimed by irrigation much uncultivated land, allotted glebes to the priests, and invented measures. His kinsmen, who followed him to Egypt, built the temples in Athos and Heliopolis. It is particularly in the story of Moses, however, that Artapanos develops all his art. Moses, who was named by the Egyptians Hermes and is known to the Greeks as Musæus, was the adopted son of Merris, the childless queen of Chenephres. He was the inventor of boats, the Egyptian weapons, engines for hoisting stones, for irrigation, and for war; he divided the country into its thirty-six names, and assigned to each the god which was to be worshipped in it; he was the founder of philosophy and the author of the hieroglyphic writing used by the priests. Besides all this he was a great general who at the head of an army of fellāhīn subdued the Ethiopians: built the city of Hermopolis, etc. The jealousy of Chenephres finally compelled him to flee the country; on the way he slew an Egyptian officer who lay in wait for him to kill him (cp Ex. 2 11 *ff.*). As the last example shows, the author deals very freely with the biblical narrative when it suits his purpose.

iv. *Fragments.*—We possess fragments of several other works of similar tendency to those of Eupolemos and Artapanos; the names of Aristeas and Malchos-Kleodemus may be mentioned. Of peculiar interest are some fragments of this sort which plainly come from the hand of Samaritan Hellenists. One of these (erroneously ascribed in Eusebius to Eupolemos) makes Mt. Gerizim the site of the city of Melchizedek and the temple of the most high God; and is otherwise instructive for the combination of the OT narrative with Babylonian learning: for example, Ur of the Chaldees is Camarina; Abraham brought the Babylonian astrology to Egypt, but the real father of the science was Enoch, etc.

The same aim, to exalt the Jewish people in the eyes of other races, appears in a different way in various pseudepigraphic works purporting to be written about the Jews by foreigners.[3]

v. *Pseudo-Hecatæus.*—Hecatæus of Abdera (under Ptolemy I.) had given in his *History of Egypt* a brief and unprejudiced account of the Jews; which gave occasion for forging in his name a whole book, the partiality of which for all things Jewish aroused the suspicion of ancient critics.

vi. Aridem.—The letter of Aristeas, pretending to be written by a Gentile to a Gentile, giving the history of the translation of the Hebrew law into Greek, also is palpably spurious.

In it we have a glorification of the Torah and of the LXX translation of the profound and practical wisdom of Jewish sages, of the temple and the cultus—a fabrication on a grand scale, fortified with edicts, correspondence, and all the apparatus with which fictitious history had learned to give itself the semblance of authenticity.

Among the voluminous writings of Philo at least one work dealing with the ancient history of his people demands mention here—the life of Moses. The first book, in particular, on Moses as a ruler, fairly deserves to be called the best specimen of Hebrew history retold for Gentile readers.

20. Philo of Alexandria.

1 Cp Pseudo-Hecatæus, Aristeas, the Jewish Sibyl, etc.; Freudenthal, 1 433

2 This is repeated by many Jewish writers. Abraham brought the art from Babylonia (*FHG* 3 213 A).

3 This species of literature flourished rankly in the centuries before and after our era.

It narrates the life **of** Moses from his birth to the permission to the two tribes to occupy the conquered territory E. of the Jordan (**Nu.** 32), following the Pentateuch with occasional allegorical digressions and many edifying reflections, and with those speeches by the personages at important moments without which no author of this time would have thought it possible to write history, but free from any infusion of the Hellenistic midrash which we have found in Eupolemos and Artapanos.

Philo's work differs favourably from the corresponding parts of Josephus' *Antiquities* in the point just mentioned, and also in the fact that Philo does not, like Josephus, suppress unpleasant passages, such as the worship of the golden calf which Aaron made. The second book is on Moses as a lawgiver;[1] the third, on Moses as a priest (the tabernacle and its furniture, priests' vestments, and so on).

Philo wrote also a history of the persecutions of the Jews in his own time, apparently in five books.

The first, it is inferred, was introductory; the second described the oppression of the Jews in the reign of Tiberius by Sejanus at Rome and by Pontius Pilate in Judæa; the third dealt with the sufferings of the Alexandrian Jews at the beginning of the reign of Caligula; the fourth, with the evils in which the Jews were involved by the demand of Caligula that divine honours should be paid him, and his determination to set up an image of himself in the temple at Jerusalem; whilst the last described the change in the fortunes of the Jews brought about by Claudius's edict of toleration.

Of these books only the third and the fourth have survived ***(Adversus Flaccum**, Legatio ad Caium)*. Philo was a witness of the tribulations of the Jews in Alexandria in the last year of Flaccus's administration, and was the leading member of the deputation to Caligula. Notwithstanding their tiresome preaching tone, and obvious reticence about the result of the mission—not to say suppression of its failure—the books are historical sources of high value, not only for the troubles of the Jews but also for the character of the Emperor.

21. Justus of Tiberias.[2]

The revolt against Rome in the years **66-73 A.D.** found its historians in two men who had themselves been actors in it, Justus of Tiberias and Flavius Josephus.

The work of Justus is lost—it is known to us only through the polemic in the autobiography of Josephus—and the loss is the more to be regretted because Justus would have enabled us to control Josephns's account of the events in Galilee, where we have only too good reason to distrust him. Justus wrote also a *Chronicon* or concise history from Moses to the death of Agrippa II. (in the third year of Trajan), which was used by Julius Africanus, through whom some material derived from it has been transmitted to us. Both works of Justus, like those of Josephus, were written in Greek—Josephus testifies that he had a good Greek education—for Greek and Roman readers.

22. Flavius Josephus.[3]

i. *Bell. Jud.*—Josephus (b. **37** A.D., d. end of century) first wrote the history of the war in Aramaic for the Jews in the E. Afterwards, moved (he says) by the number of misleading accounts which were in circulation, he put his own work into Greek.4 The Greek cannot, however, be a mere translation of the earlier work; for Greek and Roman readers it would need to be materially recast, and we can hardly doubt that his own part in the action was put in a quite different light. Very probably also the *résumé* of Jewish history from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Herod (bk. **i.**) was first prefixed in the Greek; the greater part of the seventh book was doubtless added at the same time. The history ends with the taking of Masada (the last stronghold of the insurgents) and the closing of the temple of Onias in Egypt, with a final chapter on the outbreak in Cyrene. The work was completed before the death of Vespasian (79 A.D.).

1 In this book the history of the **LXX** translation is repeated after Aristeas.

2 Schurer, *GJV*(2) 1 47 *ff.*, **ET** 1 65 *ff.*

3 Schürer, *GJV*(2) 156 *ff.*, ET 1 77 *ff.*; where the literature **will** be found (*Hist.* 104 *ff.*).

4 **Φλαυίου Ἰωσήπου ἱστορία Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους; *De Bello Judaico Libri Septem.***

For the agitation which preceded the war, and for the war itself, Josephus was both at the time and afterwards in a position to be exceptionally well informed; but it must be remembered that, writing for the eyes of the emperor and his officers, he was under strong temptation to put things in the way which would be most pleasing to his imperial patrons; and that he had the difficult task of giving an honourable colour to his own conduct. We know that Justus charged him with falsifying the history of the events in Galilee, and the acrimony of Josephus's reply shows that the shaft had found a vulnerable spot.

For the earlier part of the work, from Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Nero, he used substantially the same sources as in the parallel books of his ***Antiquities.*** The *Jewish War* is composed with considerable art; Josephus had a remarkably dramatic subject, and he puts his facts together in a highly effective way; the Greek style, in revising which he had expert assistance, is praised by Photius for purity and propriety.

ii. *Antiquities.*—Later in life Josephus wrote his *Antiquities*, or, rather, '*Archeology*' (Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία), the Ancient History of the Jews, in twenty books.[1]

The first ten books extend from the creation of the world to the end of the Babylonian exile (closing with Daniel). His sources here were the books of the OT, chiefly in the LXX version; but when he affirms (1 *Proem.* **3,** x. **106)** that he reproduces exactly the contents of the sacred books, without addition or omission, he claims too much—or too little.

The ***Antiquities*** was written for Gentile readers, and was intended not merely to acquaint them with the history of the Jews, but also to counteract the current prejudice against the people and its institutions, and to exhibit both in a favourable light. To this end he omitted things which might give ground for censure or ridicule, and embellished the narrative from legend and midrash. That he used the writings of Hellenistic Jews who before him had treated the history in the same way (see above, § 19) is certain; the extent to which he was dependent upon them cannot now be determined. Josephus also often refers for confirmation or illustration of the biblical narrative to foreign authors; who are sometimes cited, not at first hand, but from compilations or other intermediate sources.[2]

For the following period, from Artaxerxes **I.**, under whom he puts Esther (the latest book in the OT), the sources used were of diverse character and value.[3] From the middle of the fifth century to the beginning of the second there was no authentic historical tradition; a few stray facts and a mass of legends have to stop the gap. From Antiochus Epiphanes to the accession of Herod, Josephus's chief authority was an unknown Jewish writer who had combined his Jewish sources (1 Macc., a history of the later Asmonæans?) with Greek writers on the history of Syria (Polybius, Posidonius, Strabo). This work probably began with Alexander, and came down at least to the death of Germanicus (**19 A.D.**). To this Josephus added the fruit of his own reading in the Greek historians, some Jewish marvel-stories, and a collection of documents authenticating privileges of the Jews. For the life of Herod he drew directly on Nicolaus of Damascus, with additions from a Jewish source unfavourable to Herod. In the later part of the work the narrative becomes fuller and the sources more numerous; among them information derived from King Agrippa, and a Roman author (? Cluvius Rufus) may be recognised. The history closes with Gessius Florus (= *BJ* ii. 14 1), on the eve of the war.

iii. The ***Life,*** which in the manuscripts immediately follows the *Antiquities*, is not really an autobiography; it is an apologia, and is chiefly occupied with a relation

1 The title and the number of books are in imitation **of** Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία.

2 The ancients understood as well as the moderns this trick **of** seeming to he familiar with books they had never seen.

3 For titles of works on the sources of Josephus, see Schiirer, ***Hist.*** 1 104 *ff.* Of more recent investigations Büchler, ***Die Tobiaden*** *und* **die** *Oniaden*, '99, also *JQR* 9 311 *ff.*, ***REJ*** **32** 179 *ff.*, 39 69 *ff.*, and Unger (*SMAW*, '95 *ff.*) must be named.

and defence of the author's conduct as commander in Galilee in the earlier stage of the revolt. It supplements the *War;* but is to be used with even greater caution.

iv. The short work which we commonly call the Reply to Apion (*Contra Apionem*), but of which the true title seems to be '*On the Antiquity of the Jews*' (Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος) is a defence of the Jews against their assailants, of whom the Alexandrian grammarian and polyhistor Apion is taken as a leading representative.[1] The chief value of the book, apart from the light it throws on the 'antisemitism' of the times, lies in the copious extracts from profane writers on Oriental history which are incorporated in it.

Josephus was the author through whom the Roman and, later, for centuries, the Christian world got most of its knowledge of Jewish history. His works were translated into Latin; a Greek abridgment of the voluminous *Antiquities* was made; the mediaeval Hebrew 'Josippon' professes to be the work of Josephus, from whose writings the material is largely drawn; in modern times Josephus has been translated into all the languages of Europe. His authority as an historian stood very high, his writings were appealed to with almost as much confidence as the OT itself.

In recent times, on the contrary, he has not infrequently been judged with unjust severity. The gravest faults of the *Antiquities* are those which it shares with the Jewish Hellenistic historiography in general, and indeed with no small part of the profane history of the Alexandrian age, not the individual sins of Josephus.

To expect critical history of these writers is to look for figs on thistles. The business of the historian is to interest his readers; an effective story carries it off over all dry investigations; and legends which redounded to the glory of the race were accepted without impertinent question. It is not to be charged as a crime to Josephus that in these respects he is an author of his time and his people. On the other hand the carelessness and lack of pains with which the latter part of the *Antiquities* particularly is worked out may fairly be laid at his door; he visibly wearies of his long task before it is completed.

23. Seder Olam.

We have no extensive historical writings in Hebrew or Aramaic to set beside the productions of the Grecian Jews. Some works on particular periods have perished, or, like 1 Macc. and Josephus's *Jewish War*, have reached us only in Greek garb. The chief motive of the Hellenistic authors for retelling the ancient history of their people — to bring it to the knowledge of foreigners — was lacking. Their own need was satisfied by the Sacred Books themselves, interpreted by Targum and Midrash. The only comprehensive Hebrew work on Jewish history of which we know anything is the bald chronological epitome known as *Sēder 'Olām*. Down to the Persian period it follows the OT with occasional midrashic episodes, and with a minute determination of the chronology which is evidently the *raison d'être* of the work.[2] The six centuries and more from Nehemiah to the war under Hadrian are comprised in the second half of chap. *30.* The lack of any continuous historical tradition is here again obvious; the chronology of the Persian, the Greek, the Asmonæan, and the Herodean periods—partly in consequence of corruption of the text — is far out of the way. The work, which enjoys Talmudic authority, is attributed to R. Jose ben Halaphta (*circa* 130-160 A.D.), probably because he is often cited in it as an authority. It has undoubtedly been more than once worked over by later hands.[3]

24. Literature.

E. Schrader, art. 'Geschichtskunde bei den Israeliten,' *BL* 2 413 *ff.*; Franz Del. 'Die Formenreichthum der israelitischen Geschichtsliteratur,' *Zeitsch. f. luther. Theol. u. Kirche*, 36 31 *ff.*, '70; L. Diestel, 'Die heb. Geschichtsschreibung,' *JDT* 18 365 *ff.* ('73); R. Kittel, *Die Anfänge der heb. Geschichtsschreibung im AT*, '96 (Rektoratsrede); B. Duhm, *Die Entsteh. des AT's*, '97; see also HEXATEUCH, and the articles on the several books discussed above.

On various aspects of the general subject: F. Creuzer, *Die historische Kunst der Griechen in ihrer Entsteh. und Fortbildung*, '45; H. Ulrici, *Charakteristik der antiken Historiographie*, '33; K. W. Nitzsch, 'Romische und deutsche Annalistik und Geschichtsschreibung' in Sybel's *Zeitschr.* 11 1 *ff.* ('64); A. v. Gutschmid, 'Aus Vorlesungen iiber die Gesch. der griech. Historiographie,' *Kleine Schriften*, 4 279 *ff.* (esp. the introd. 279-298).

J. W. Loebell, 'Das reale und das ideale Element in der geschichtlichen Uberlieferung und Darstellung, in Sybel's *Zeitschr.* 1 269-331 ('59); W. Wachsmuth, 'Ueber die Quellen der Geschichtsfalschung,' *Ber. d. königl. sächischen Gesellsch. der Wiss.* 8 121-153 ('56); E. Zeller, 'Wie entstehen ungeschichtlichen Ueberlieferungen,' *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. '93 (excellent); Steinthal, 'Mythos, Sage, Märchen, Legende, Erzählung, Fabel,' *Z. für Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwiss.* 17 113 *ff.* ('87). See also Bernheim, *Lehrb. d. historischen Methode*(2) ('94); and C. Wacbsmuth, *Einl. in das Studium der alten Gesch.* ('95).
G. F. M.

HITTITES (חִתִּים), a name which occurs rather frequently in the OT, and is often connected with regions somewhat remote from one another.

1. Occurrence of name in OT.

The name is given to one of the groups of pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Southern Palestine, whose full name is B'ne Hēth (χετ); so Gen. 23 3 5 7 27 46. A single member of the group is Ḥitti (חִתִּי χετταῖος, *e.g.*, Gen. 49 29, 2 S. 11 24), and from the form, the group is commonly referred to as ha-Hitti —*i.e.*, the Hittite. So throughout Ex., Nu., Dt., Josh., Judg., Ezra, and Neh., and also 1 *K.* 9 20 (‖ 2 Ch. 8 7). The references so far given refer to the earlier period of Hebrew history, before definite steps had been taken leading to the formation of the kingdom; but Hittites are mentioned also in the later period, in the days of Saul (1 S. 26 6), David (2 S. 11 3 6 17 21 24 12 9 *f.* 23 39 χεττει [L] and a parallel passage 1 Ch. 11 41 χεττει [BN], χετθει [AL]), Solomon (1 K. 10 29 χεττιειν [B; om. A], -μ [L] 11 1 2 *K.* 7 6 and a parallel passage 2 Ch. 1 17 γεθθαίων [A]). The term *Hittīm* occurs more rarely — only twice for the earlier period, Josh. 1 4 (BA om.), Judg. 1 26 (χεττειν [B], -ιειμ [A], -ν [L], 'land of the Hittites'); and three times for the later period (1 K. 10 29 2 *K.* 7 6 and a parallel passage 2 Ch. 1 17, 'kings of Hittites'). The persistent occurrence of Hettites in the Greek transliteration in place of Hittites should not be overlooked.

In the genealogical table, Gen. 10, Ḥēth is introduced (*v.* 15 [J]) as a son of Canaan; but the mention of Heth here is evidently a gloss — though an old one — tacked on to 'Sidon, the firstborn of Canaan.'

2. Gen. 10 may be ignored.

The Greek translators, perceiving the incongruity of the use of Ḥēth for the nation alongside of gentilicia, like Jebūsī, Emōrī, etc., changed Ḥēth to Ḥittī (τὸν χετταῖον). We may indeed accept the view of Ball (*SBOT ad loc.*) and others, and regard the introduction of all the nations mentioned in *v.* 16 as a redactorial addition suggested by the gloss Ḥēth; but this will not affect the question of the inference about Hēth to be drawn from the passage. For the entire section, Gen. 10 16-19, is an independent fragment (taken from some genealogical list of Canaanites) belonging to the same stratum of tradition as that preserved in the song, Gen. 8 25-27, according to which the three divisions of mankind were Canaan, Shem, and Japheth. This wide sense of Canaan (10 19) accords well with certain passages in the OT (see CANAAN, § 2) which make Canaan a general term for the whole district between the Jordan, the Mediterranean, the wilderness in the S., and the Lebanon range in the N.; but it is to be noted that this usage is in contradiction to the more common application of the term in the Hexateuch and in passages like Judg. 3 5 Ezra 9 1 (εθει [B], εθθι [A]) Neh. 9 8 — dependent upon the Hexateuch — where the Canaanites are merely one of five, six, or seven divisions into which the district defined is divided. When it is furthermore considered that in this enumeration the Canaanites are assigned not always the first place — at times the second (Ex. 23 28 34 11) or the third (Dt. 20 17 Josh. 9 1 24 11), or even the fourth (Ex 23 23)—it is evident that no value is to be attached to the assignment of Heth as a 'son' (*i.e.*, subdivision) of Canaan. One conclusion, however, may be drawn from the variation in nomenclature: at one time the Canaanites were spread over a much larger area than was the case when the Israelites entered the country. To Israel the Canaanites still loomed up large enough; but the tradition which made them the ancestors of all the other groups occupying the highlands and valleys to the west of the Jordan, and which regarded them as one of the three great divisions of mankind, belongs to a more remote age.

3. Hittites of S. Palestine, Gen. 23.[1]

We conclude, then, that the Hittites of the OT, as an ethnic group, do not necessarily stand in a closer relation to the Canaanites than to the Amorites, Hivites, Perizzites, or any of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine.

[1] Apion died about fifty years before Josephus wrote.

[2] Cp the Alexandrian chronologist Demetrius; and note also the chronology of *Jubilees*.

[3] Azaria de Rossi, *Imrē Bīnā*, chap. 19.

[1] [On the 'Hittites' of Hebron cp REHOBOTH.]

The question confronts us here, whether in all cases where the OT mentions Hittites, the same people is meant? To put it more precisely, are the Bne Heth, of whom an interesting incident is recorded in Gen. **23** [P], identical with the group called ha-Hitti (הַחִתִּי), and enumerated among the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine, and are these Hittites the same as those found in the days of Saul, David, and Solomon?

According to Gen. **23** [P], Abraham purchases a burying-cave at Mamre from the Bne Ḥēth, who are represented as *a* settled population with Hebron as a kind of centre.

The antiquity of the tradition is hardly open to question, though the details such **as** the formal deed of purchase, **may** have been supplied by the fancy of **a** much later age, to which Abraham had already become **a** favourite subject for Midrashic elaboration. That the Hebrew tradition regards the Hittites of Hebron[1] **as** identical with those mentioned elsewhere follows from the introduction of Heth in Gen. 10 15 [J] as well as from the qualification ha-Hitti' added to the name 'of Ephron (Gen. **23** 10),[2] the chief of the B'ne Ḥēth.

These Hittites extended as far south as the edge of the desert, since we find Edomitic clans, settled around Gerar and Beersheba (Gen. **26** 34 [P], χετγαίου [E]), entering upon matrimonial alliances with Hittites.

The opposition of Isaac and Rebecca to Esau's marriages with Hittite women (*ib.*, 27 46 [R]) reflects the later sentiments expressed in the Hexateuchal prohibition (Dt. 7 3), whereas the tradition itself clearly points to there being at an early period friendly relationships between Hebrew and Edomitic clans on the one side and Hittites on the other.

4. Hittites of Central Palestine.

Bearing these two features in mind—(1) the settlement of the B'ne Ḥēth in the extreme south of Palestine, and (2) the friendly relations between them and the clans which constitute the ancestors of at least a section of the later Israelitish confederacy—it is certainly not without significance that the Hittites mentioned in the OT outside of the book of Genesis dwell in the centre or extreme north of Palestine, and that they are viewed as the bitter enemies of the Israelites. True, in the days of Saul and David, we find Hittites joining their fortunes with David (1 S. 26 6), and a Hittite occupies a prominent place in David's army (2 S. **23** 39) (see below, § 5), whilst Solomon enters into matrimonial alliances with Hittite princesses (1 K. 11 1) (see below, § 6); but these are exceptional incidents. The Hittites, together with the Canaanites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Girgashites,[3] hold the various parts of Palestine proper against the Hebrew invaders, and contest every advance. The chief passages are **Ex.** 3 8 17 13 5 23 23 33 2 Dt. 7 1 20 17 Josh. 3 10 11 3 (om. F) **12** 8 (om. L) 24 11 Judg. 3 5. An important indication of the distribution of the various groups is furnished by Josh. 11 3. The Canaanites are settled both in the E. and in the W.; Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, and Jebusites in the mountains, and the Hivites at the foot of Mt. Hermon in the N. (In 𝔊[B] the positions of the Hivites and Hittites are exchanged; but the gloss in Nu. 13 29 is a support for MT; see HIVITES, § 2.) Here, then, we find the Hittites settled in the mountainous districts of Central Palestine contesting the encroachments of the Hebrews. It is, of course, not impossible that the southern Hittites were gradually forced northward through circumstances of which we are ignorant; but a solution of the problem more in keeping with the conditions of OT nomenclature is to suppose an inexactness and vagueness in the use of the term Hittites, similar to that which characterises the use of such terms as Canaanites, Amorites, and even Philistines. A support for this view is to be found in Josh. **1** 4, where the whole district of Israel's prospective possessions, from the wilderness in the S. to the Lebanon in the N., and eastward to the Euphrates, is designated as 'the whole land of the Hittites.' It is true that these words are a gloss, and perhaps a late one, since they are not contained in 𝔊[BAL] (𝔊[F] alone inserts). Their value is not impaired, however, by this circumstance; in the opinion of the scribe who added them, 'Hittite' was a term covering *a* very large territory. Judg. **1** 26 is perhaps another instance of the vague use of the phrase 'land of the Hittites,' though here we have to reckon with the possibility of a redactional insertion referring to a Hittite empire established in NE. Syria, of which we hear much in the inscriptions of Assyrian monarchs (see below, § *6*), just as this empire is referred to in 2 K. 7 6, and probably in 1 K. 10 29. Again, when Ezekiel tells Jerusalem, 'Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite' (Ezek. 16 3 45 [om. Q*]), he is using both terms in a vague and comprehensive sense for the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine.

From such usage it follows that there is no necessary connection beyond the name between the southern Hittites and those whom the Israelites encounter in Central Palestine. Indeed one might be inclined to regard the grouping of Hittites with Canaanites, Amorites, etc., as a conventional enumeration without any decided reference to actual conditions; but such a passage **as** Josh. 11 3 is against this view.

5. S. Hittites in later times.

Since the older inhabitants of Palestine were not exterminated, it is not surprising to find a Hittite—the famous Urial—among the chiefs that constituted the following of David (2 S. 23 39 1 Ch. 11 41). The position occupied by Uriah points to a partial assimilation between Judæans and Hittites, and similarly the strange tale of David and Bathsheba (Uriah's wife), as related in 2 S. **11**, embodies a distinct recollection of a close alliance at one time between the two groups. The unfavourable light in which David's act is placed is due to an age which regarded it as a heinous crime for any Hebrew to marry a woman who was not a worshipper of Yahwè; but the age of David is still far removed from the spirit which animates Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code on this point. There is no objection against regarding these Hittites as the descendants of those whom we encounter in the days of Abraham.

6. Solomon's Northern Hittites.

The case is different, however, when we come to Solomon, whose marriages with Hittite princesses solemnize political alliances, just as does the enlargement of his harem through Moabitish, Ammonitish, Edomitish, and Sidonian concubines. Solomon but imitated the example set by the kings of Egypt, who had long been in the habit of adding to their harems representatives of the various nations whom they had conquered or with whom they had entered into political alliances. The king's harem in ancient days in a measure took the place of the diplomatic corps of our times. These Hittites cannot possibly be identical with those we encounter in the days of David; there is no room in the days of Solomon for a Hittite empire or principality in Southern Palestine. The Hittite district must have been as clearly defined, however, as that of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Sidonians (1 K. 11 1). That there was a Hittite empire, and that it was important, is implied by the statement (1 K. 10 29) that Solomon imported horses from Egypt for 'all the kings of the Hittites' (see HORSE, § 3, MIZRAIM, § 2*b*). The same Hittite power is referred to in 2 K. 7 6, where the juxtaposition of 'kings of the Hittites' with 'kings of Egypt' may be taken as a measure of the importance of this power. This reference alone might be sufficient warrant for concluding that the Hittite district is to be sought in the **N.** of Palestine, the purport of the passage being to imply that Aram was attacked simultaneously from

[1] ['Sta. (*Gesch.*(1) 143), **Bu.** (*Urgesch.* 347 *f.*), **E.** Mey. and others' (*e.g.*, Che., art. 'Hittites,' *EB*(9)) 'are quite sure that in this use of the name "Hittites" for the population of the land (cp also 26 34 *f.* 27 46 with 28 1), A (*i.e.*, the Priestly narrator, **P**) is deplorably wrong' (Di. *Gen.* 297 ['92], ironically).]

[2] Also *v.* 8, according to the Samaritan version.

[3] The order in which these nations are enumerated varies, and at times one or other—Girgashites, Perizzites, or Hivvites—is omitted, though the Greek translators usually supplied the deficiency by inserting them.

the N. and the S. A more definite conclusion, however, may be drawn from 2 S. 246. Despite the corruptness of the passage, one may be certain that it contains a reference to the 'land of the Hittites.'[1] The reference is to a land lying N. of Gilead, and we are thus brought to the region where, as we know from other sources to be mentioned presently, an extensive 'Hittite' empire flourished as early at least as 1000 B.C.

In a study of the Hittites of the OT we must therefore take into consideration the varying use of the term.

7. Summary of OT data. We must distinguish (*a*) the Hittites settled around Hebron (who maintain their identitv down to the davs of David) from (6) the 'conventional' Hittites whom tradition enumerated with other groups as opponents whom the Hebrew invaders in a severe and protracted struggle dispossessed of their land; and both these divisions must be kept separate again from (c) an extensive Hittite power (divided up into principalities) situated in the north-eastern part of Syria, beyond the confines of Palestine proper; and, lastly, there is the vague and indefinite use of the term which makes Hittite almost synonymous with (*d*) all Palestine and Syria, and thus adds another complicating element.

So far as the evidence goes, there is nothing to warrant any connection (beyond the name) between the Hittites (6) who form part of the pre-Israelitish population of southern Palestine, and the Hittites (c) whose alliance is sought by Solomon. It is the latter Hittites who play much the more prominent part in the ancient history of the East.

Thotmes I., the third king of the eighteenth dynasty, began about 1600 B.C. an extended series of Asiatic

8. Egyptian data. campaigns which eventually brought about the subjection of Palestine and Syria to the pharaohs of Egypt. Among the more formidable enemies enumerated by the Egyptian rulers is a people whose name Ḫ-t'[2] appears to be identical with the term Ḥēth or Hetti of the OT. This people occupied the mountainous districts of northern Syria, and extended to the E. as far as the Orontes, indeed at times beyond it to the Euphrates. A stronghold of the H-ta which is prominently mentioned in the inscriptions of Thotmes III. (*circa* 1500 B.C.) is Kedesh. The Ht-a did not confine themselves, however, to their mountain recesses. Joining. arms with the various nationalities of northern Palestine and the W. district, they advanced as far as Megiddo to meet the Egyptian armies. The pharaohs found their task difficult, and, even after many campaigns had been waged, the subjection of the H-ta was not definitely accomplished. The kings of Egypt advanced to Carchemish, Tunep, Hamath, and claim to have laid siege to these places; but again and again armies had to be sent into northern Syria and the Taurus region. Marash, at the extreme E. of Cilicia, appears to have resisted all attempts at conquest. The Egyptians at one time found a valuable ally in Dušratta, king of Mitanni—a district to the NW. of Assyria. This alliance between Egypt and Mitanni seems to have kept the **H-ta** in check; but it was not long before the H-ta of Marash, Carchemish, Hamath, and Kedesh regained their complete independence. In the fourteenth century the hold of Egypt upon her Asiatic possessions was loosened, and about a century later her control practically comes to an end.

It is clear from the way in which the H-ta are spoken of in the Egyptian records that the prevailing notions about them were vague. To assume that there was at this time an extensive Hittite empire is a theory that meets with serious difficulties. The district embraced by the Egyptian rulers under the designation H-ta appears to have been divided up among a varying

[1] Read אֶרֶץ הַחִתִּים, and see further TAHTIM-HODSHI.

[2] This is the transliteration now adopted by Egyptologists. The character of the vowel following t cannot be definitely determined. The spelling adopted here is Ḫ-ta (after WMM).

number of principalities, and it does not follow that the rulers and inhabitants of these principalities were even of one and the same linguistic or ethnic stock.

Our knowledge of the early history of Babylonia and of the rise of the Assyrian power is still too uncertain to

9. Cuneiform statements. enable us to say when the inhabitants of the Euphrates valley first came into contact with the Hittites. The Kaššite dynasty, which maintained its sway over Babylonia for upwards of 500 years, was of an aggressive character, and in the fifteenth century we find Babylonia joined with Egypt in a close alliance. The use of the Babylonian script and language at this time as the medium of diplomatic interchange between the court of Egypt and officials stationed in Palestine and Syria under Egyptian control points to a predominating Babylonian influence and an earlier Babylonian supremacy, during which the Babylonian language was introduced into the district in question.

The text containing an account of the western exploits of Sargon I. [see BABYLONIA, § 41] (whose date is provisionally fixed at 3800 B.C.) is of a very late date, and cannot therefore be relied upon as confirming the general tradition of an early conquest of Syria on the part of Babylonian rulers. (The name Hittite does not appear in the text referred to, the lands to the W. being embraced under the general designation of 'Amorite country.' On this point see CANAAN, §§ 7 *ff.*)

As the Asiatic campaigns of Egypt begin in the eighteenth century B.C., we must assume that the Babylonian control of Syria and Palestine belongs to an earlier time. We know enough of the history of the Kaššite dynasty in Babylonia to say that it was probably during the period of its ascendency that the control of Babylonia over the western districts was most effective, and the testimony of the Egyptian inscriptions warrants us in assuming that the Hittites were then the most powerful federation against whom the Babylonians had to contend. It is to be noted, however, that the term

10. The Ḫatti. Hittite, or Hatti, which appears to be identical with it, does not make its appearance in cuneiform literature till the days of Tiglath-pileser I., about 1100 B.C. Then it means a distinctly defined kingdom lying along the Orontes (with Carchemish as one of its important centres) and extending well into the Taurus range. Against these Ḫatti the Assyrian ruler waged a fierce campaign. According to his account it ended in a complete triumph for the Assyrian arms. In reality, however, the conquest was far from complete. The successors of Tiglath-pileser were much harassed by the troublesome Ḫatti, and it is not until the reign of Sargon (721-704 B.C.) that they finally disappear from the horizon of Assyrian history.

Curiously enough, we encounter in the Assyrian inscriptions the same vagueness in the use of the term Ḫatti that is characteristic of OT usage; Sennacherib and other Assyrian rulers, when they speak of the 'land of Hatti,' have in mind the entire region to the W. of the Euphrates, embracing the Phœnician coast and including apparently Palestine (see CANAAN, § 12). Still, there can be no doubt that the Assyrians distinguished the Hatti proper from the other principalities of Syria and Palestine; and if the testimony of the comparatively late Assyrian inscriptions could only be used for the earlier periods, the ethnic and geographical problems involved would be considerably simplified.

Fortunately, as an aid to the solution of these problems, we have a considerable number of monuments left us by

11. Hittite monuments. the Hittites themselves, and although the date of these monuments does not carry us back to as early a period as the Egyptian campaigns in Western Asia, they help us to a clearer understanding of the earlier history of the Hittites. At Carchemish and Hamath have been found remains of sculptures accompanied by inscriptions, and elsewhere in this region; as at Zenjīrlī, there are abundant traces of Hittite art. Quite recently (August, '99) a Hittite stelè has been found at Babylon, transported from a Hittite

centre by an Assyrian monarch.[1] This art is so distinctly based upon Assyrian and Babylonian models as to decide definitely the influences at work in producing the civilisation in this region. In addition to this, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia abound in remains of edifices and of works of art showing the same types and the same general traits as those of Carchemish and Hamath, whilst the inscriptions found with the edifices belong likewise to the same class.

Thanks to the researches of Jensen it may now be regarded as certain that the inscriptions cover the period 1200-800 B.C.; and it has also been made probable that the spread of the Hittites was gradual from the region of Cilicia to the N., NE., and NW., nearly to the borders of the Euxine, and W. to the Ægean.[2] It is fair to presume that the language of all the so-called Hittite inscriptions is the same, although it may be added that several styles of Hittite characters may be distinguished, some being pictorial, others branching off into conventional forms with a strong tendency towards becoming linear. These varieties, which are quite paralleled by the styles of writing in the Egyptian and Babylonian-Assyrian inscriptions, do not affect the question of the language; and, this being the case, we can understand the vagueness in the geographical use of the term Hittites among the ancients. At what period the extension of Hittite settlements began it is as yet impossible to say; but the indications are that we must go back several centuries beyond 1200 B.C. for the date. On the other hand, whilst in general the Hittite traits are clearly defined on the monuments, there are good reasons for assuming several ethnic types among those grouped under the term. From an anthropological point of view, the Mongolian, or to speak more definitely the Turanian, type seems to prevail; but, whatever the ground-stock of the Hittites of Asia Minor may have been, there is a clear indication of Semitic admixture.

12. Hittite inscriptions.

The decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions which would throw so much needed light on the ethnic problems, is now being vigorously prosecuted. After several attempts on the part of Sayce, Peiser, and Halévy, which constituted an opening wedge, Jensen has recently struck out on a new path which gives promise of leading, ere long, to a satisfactory solution of the mystery. With great ingenuity he has determined much of the general character of the inscriptions. He has identified ideographs and sign-groups for the names of countries and gods, some of which appear to be established beyond reasonable doubt. Passing beyond those limits, Jensen is fully convinced that the language of the inscriptions belongs to the Aryan stock—is in fact the prototype of the modern Armenian. This rather startling result, although it has received the adherence of some eminent scholars, cannot he said to be definitely assured, and for the present remains in the category of a theory to be further tested. The proof furnished by Jensen for the Aryan character of the Hittite language is not sufficiently strong to overcome the objection that many of the Hittite proper names occurring both in the Egyptian and in the Assyrian inscriptions are either decidedly Semitic or can be accounted for on the assumption of their being Semitic, whilst the evidence which can be brought to bear upon the question from OT references points in the same direction. Again, if, as Jensen believes, and as seems plausible, the Hittite characters are to be regarded as showing a decided resemblance to Egyptian hieroglyphs—so much so, indeed, as to suggest a connection between the two systems—there would be another presumption for expecting to find an affiliation between the Hittite language and the Semitic stock, if not indeed, as in Egyptian, a Semitic substratum. No valid conclusion can be drawn from the unquestionable relationship of the Cypriote characters to the Hittite signs, since the Cypriote syllabary is clearly the more simplified of the two, and is presumably, therefore, a derivative of the former. What we know of early Semitic influences in the proto-Grecian culture and religion of Asia Minor, speaks against an Aryan civilisation flourishing in the region covered by the Hittite monuments.

These suggestions are thrown out with all due reserve, for the problem is too complicated to warrant at present anything like a decided tone. So far as Jensen's decipherment has gone, the inscriptions—some thirty in all—contain little beyond the names and titles of rulers, lands and gods, with brief indications of conquests. Valuable as such indications would be if definitely established, it does not seem likely that our knowledge of Hittite history would be much advanced by the complete decipherment of the meagre material at our command. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that excavations in Hittite centres will increase the material, and we may also look forward to finding a bilingual inscription of sufficient length to settle definitely the still uncertain elements in the decipherment,[1] and clear the field of the many hypotheses that have been put forward. Meanwhile, bearing in mind the necessarily tentative character of all conclusions until excavations on a large scale shall have been carried on in centres of Hittite settlements, we may sum up our present knowledge as follows:

13. General result.

1. Among the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine there was a group settled in southern Palestine, known as the Hettites or Hittites. 2. When the Egyptians began their conquest of Syria, Hittites formed one of their most formidable adversaries, and continued to be prominent throughout the several centuries of Egyptian supremacy in Syria and Palestine. The chief seat of these Hittites was in the extreme N. of Palestine and extended well into Syria. The further extension of Hittite settlements brings under control not merely the district to the W. of the Taurus range, but a considerable portion of western Asia Minor (including Cilicia and Cappadocia) extending to the Euxine Sea on the N. and the Ægean to the W. The north-eastern boundary is uncertain; but it may have reached to Lake Van. After the withdrawal of the Egyptians from Asia Minor the Assyrians engage in frequent conflicts with the Hittite kingdom in the region of the Orontes, and it is not until the eighth century that they are finally reduced to a condition where they could no longer offer any resistance.

The vagueness in the use of the term Hittite, in the OT as well as in the Egyptian and Assyrian records, makes it difficult to decide whether all Hittites are to be placed in one group. The evidence seems to show that the sons of Ḥēth settled around Hebron at an early period, have nothing in common (beyond the name) with the Hittites of central and northern Palestine, and have nothing to do, therefore, with the Hittites of Syria and of regions still farther N. The Hittites of Hebron were Semites and spoke a Semitic tongue; the Hittites of northern Palestine and Syria were probably not Semitic but became mixed with Semites at a comparatively early period. Their language, likewise, appears to contain Semitic elements, and may indeed have a Semitic substratum. The Hittite script appears to have been taken over from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and in any case has strong affinities with it, though it seems also certain that it contains elements which are either original or derived from some source that is still unknown.

M. J. (Jr.)

Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia*, etc., vol. ii.,

[1] R. Koldewey, *Die Hettitische Inschrift gefunden in der Königsburg von Babylon* (Leips., 1900).

[2] At Karabel, near Smyrna, there is sculptured on a rock the picture of a Hittite warrior with a few Hittite characters.

[1] The only bilingual as yet found is a small silver boss (of Tarkondēmos) containing a rather obscure Assyrian inscription accompanied by eight Hittite characters.

'The Hittites' ('90) ; Sayce, *The Hittites* ('88) ; Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*(2) ('84) ; Lantsheere, *De la Race et de la Langue des Hittites* ('91) ; Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier* ('98), and articles in *ZDMG*, 48.

14. Literature.

HIVITES, RV 'the HIVITE' (הַחִוִּי—*i.e.*, 'the Hivvites'; οι ευαιοι [BAL]), named in the lists of tribes driven out of Palestine by the b'ne Israel (Ex. 38 17, etc., also Is. 17 9[1] *SBOT*, where, however, Cheyne now holds the reading to be impossible).

1. Name.

The origin of the name and even its existence (see below) in the true text have been disputed (see HORITE). Some critics explain from the Ar. *ḥayy*, 'family,' as if = people who live **in** חַוֹּת, Bedawin encampments (see GOVERNMENT, § 4, HAVVOTH-JAIR)—whilst Wellhausen (*CH*(2) 343) suggests that the name is derived from חַוָּה, Eve (on the meaning of which name see ADAM AND EVE, § *36*). It is at **any** rate possible that, if the reading חוי is correct, the early interpreters in the *Onomastica* were right in connecting it with חִוָּה, 'serpent' (θηρίωδες, ὥσπερ ὄφεις : OS 16464, etc.), and that the Hivites were originally the 'Snake' clan (*so*, doubtfully, Moore, *Judg.* 83*f.*).

In Gen. 10 17 (= 1 Ch. 1 15, B om., ευει [L]) the Hivites are reckoned among the sons of Canaan. Moore thinks they were a petty people of Central Palestine (*Judges*, 79); but, if *so*, the textual and critical difficulties in passages which would otherwise he of value, render it impossible to fix upon their locality.

2. Location.

In Josh. 9 7 the Gibeonites are spoken of as 'Hivites'; cp 11 19 'the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon' (𝔊BAF om. ; cp Bennett, *SBOT*). As we know, GIBEON [*q.v.*] remained for a long time in the possession of non-Israelites, but whether they were Hivites, Horites (as 𝔊BAFL suggests),[2] or Amorites (cp 2 S. 21 2) is uncertain. 𝔊 may, however, be right in reading 'Horite' for 'Hivite' in Gen. 34 2 (see SHECHEM b. Hamor ; cp HORITE), and the same emendation is required in 36 2 (see ANAH, BASHEMATH, ZIBEON).

Another error occurs in Josh. 11 3, where the Hittites must certainly be referred to in the geographical location, 'under Hermon in the land of Mizpah'; the Hivites (om. 𝔊A) and Hittites, as 𝔊B shows, have accidentally exchanged places (cp Meyer, *ZATW* 1 126, Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 81 n., Moore, *Judg.* 81 ; see HITTITES, § 4). So again in Judg. 3 3, for the 'Hivites' who dwell in Mt. Lebanon, etc., and who are named after the Zidonians, we should most probably read 'Hittites' (cp Moore, *l.c.*). It is difficult to decide whether 'Hivites' in 2 S. 24 7 (ευει [L]) is correct. The 'cities of the Hivites and the Canaanites' are enumerated after Zidon and Tyre, and by adopting the reading 'Hittites' (so Pesh.) the geographical details will agree substantially with the above-quoted passages. On the other hand, the words in question may be a gloss based on the lists in Ex. 38 etc., and it is noteworthy that the Pesh. goes a step further and adds 'Jebusites.' S. A. C.

HIZKI (חִזְקִי), 1 Ch. 8 17 RV, AV HEZEKI.

HIZKIAH (חִזְקִיָּה), Zeph. 1 1 AV, RV HEZEKIAH.

HIZKIJAH (חִזְקִיָּה), Neh. 10 17 [18] AV, RV HEZEKIAH. See ATER, 1.

HOBAB (חֹבָב), son of REUEL [*q.v.*], Moses' father-in-law (Nu. 10 29 Judg. 4 11 [a gloss? see Moore], and probably Judg. 1 16 [emended text: cp ιωαβ [A], ιωβαβ [L], see Moore]). In Nu. 10 29 he is represented as a Midianite, in Judg. 1 16 4 11 as a Kenite. Elsewhere (except in 1 Ch. 2 55, see HEMATH), JONADAB [*q.v.*], or Jehonadab, is called the founder of the Rechabites, and we may doubt (but see RECHABITES) whether the simple mode of life of the Rechabites really dates back only to the age of Jehu, and whether the Rechabites at that time really adopted a new 'father' or founder different from the reputed 'father' of the Kenites. If *so*, we may suppose Hobab to be a corruption either of Jehonadab (or Nadab) or else of Jehobab (יהובב), which is probably the fuller form of JOBAB [g. v.]. The latter alternative is the easier; accepting it, we shall proceed to emend Jehonadab and Jonadab in Jer. 35 6 8 *ff.* into Jehobab (יהובב) and Jobab (יובב) respectively.[1] Thus Jehobab the father-in-law of Moses becomes the father and legislator of the Kenites or Kechabites.

𝔊 has ιωβαβ [BAL] in Judg., οβαβ [B], ωβαβ [A], ιω. [F*], ιωβαβ [F[1] mg.L] in Nu.: see readings in Swete., We. (*Heid.*(2) 146) compares Hobab with Ar. *ḥubāb*, 'serpent'; but most connect the name with חבב, 'to love'; cp Nab. חביבו, 'beloved.' T. K. C.

HOBAH (חוֹבָה; χωβαλ [D]; χο. [L]; Joseph. ωβα), the point to which Abraham pursued CHEDORLAOMER (*q.v.*) and his allies (Gen. 14 15). It was on the left hand (*i.e.*, on the N.) of Damascus. In the Amarna Tablets, 139 59 63 146 rev. 12, *māt Ubi* is mentioned; once, to define Damascus, 'D. in the land of Ubi' (*ib.* 63). On the edge of the Syrian desert, between Damascus and Palmyra, there is a spring called *Ḥoba* which is still famous in the songs of the Bedouin. Wetzstein (in Del. *Gen.*(4) 561 *ff.*) identifies this with Hobah. The objection is the distance from Dan, where Abraham is said to have set upon the kings and defeated them. From Dan (*Tell el-Ḳāḍī*) to Damascus is fifteen hours' journey, from Damascus to *Ḥoba* more than twenty. This is not decisive, however; the narrator (if he knew the distance) may have wished to emphasise the unwearied energy of Abraham. It is likely that in ancient times so excellent a spring was even more frequented than now; for then, like other important springs on the verge of the desert, it probably had a village beside it. T. K. C.

HOBAIAH (חֳבַיָּה), Neh. 7 63 RV, AV HABAIAH.

HOD (הוֹד, perhaps shortened from אביהוד; ωδ [BA], ιηουδ [L]), in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 37†.

HODAVIAH (הוֹדַוְיָה, as if 'praise Yahwè';[2] cp HODIAH and JUDAH; ωδουια [BAL]).

1. Head of a father's house belonging to Manasseh (1 Ch. 5 24 : ιωδουια [L]).

2. h. Hassenuah, an ancestor of SALLU (1 Ch. 9 7; οδυια [B]); in Neh. 11 9, Judah (יהודה ; ιουδα [ℵL], -ας [BA]) b. Senuah is doubtless the same person. Cp SENAAH.

3. b. Elioenai, a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 24; הוֹדַיְוָהוּ Kt., הוֹדַוְיָהוּ Kr., AV Hodaiah ; οδολια [B], ωδια [L]).

4. A Levitical family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., §§ 9, 13 *d*), Ezra 2 40 (σοδουια [B], σωδ. [A]; the σ is a dittograph of the preceding ς) = Neh. 7 43, Hodevah, RVmg. Hodeiah (הודוה Kt., הוֹדְיָה Kr. ; θουδουια [B], ου. [ℵA]) = 1 Esd. 5 26 SUDIAS (σουδιου [BA]). To this family the b'ne Jeshua and' Kadmiel apparently belonged (cp also Ezra 3 9, where Hodaviah gives place to Judah, as in no. 2 *supra*, see JUDAH, 3). Since, however, Jeshua, Kadmiel, and Bani are mentioned together in Neh. 9 4 *f.* it is better to emend Ezra 2 40 etc. and read 'the b'ne Jeshua, Kadmiel, Bani, and Hodaviah.' So already in 1 Esd. 5 26 Kadmiel and Bannas, and Sudias. From a comparison of the lists i d Neh. it is probable that Hodaviah is the same as Hodiah in Neh. 8 7 etc. and Judah in Neh. 12 8. See HODIAH. S. A. C.

HODESH (חֹדֶשׁ, 'born at the feast of the new moon?' § 72 ; αδα [BA], βαδαα [L]; ܚܘܕܫ [Pesh.]), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (1 Ch. 8 9), perhaps a corruption of Ahishahar (see *JQR* 11 107, § 6). 𝔊L identifies it with BAARA of *v.* 8.

1 Read החוי for הַחֹרִי (𝔊BℵAQ οἱ ευαιοι), with Lowth, Lag., etc. (cp RVmg.). Cheyne now reads הגרשי=החרשי (see GIRSHITE).

2 Read πρὸς τὸν χορραῖον (in sing.). Vg. *ad eos* is either a corruption from *ad hevæos*, or points to the reading להם which is perhaps the more probable alternative.

1 The scribe read נ instead of ב (the first time), and inserted ד. That letters not only fell out, but were inserted by editors, is certain.

2 Le., הוֹדוְיָה.

HODIAH (הוֹדִיָּה, 'Yahwè is my glory,' cp HODAVIAH; ωδογια(c) [L]).

1. As the text stands, a Judahite, whose wife was a sister of NAHAM [*q.v.*], 1 Ch. 4 19 (τῆς ἰδουιας [B], τῆς ιουδαιας [A], ωδια [L]). 𝔊BA, however, has the better reading 'his wife Hodiah' in v. 18. Thus we see that Hodiah and Ha-Jehudijah are really the same genealogical person, who is called in v. 19 mother of 'the father of KEILAH [*q.v.*] and ESHTEMOA' [*q.v.*], and was the wife of MERED [*q.v.*]—a corrupt form which needs emendation. 𝔊L makes Hodiah the brother of Naham.

2. AV Hodijah, mentioned in lists of priests, teachers, and Levites, Neh. 8 7 9 5 [4] (om. 𝔊BℵA in both passages), 1 Esd. 9 48 (AUTEAS; αυταιας [BA]); Neh. 10 10, ωδουια [BℵA] 13 [14] (ωδουμ [Bℵ] ωδουα [A], ωδιας [L]); *v.* 18 [19] (οδουια [BℵA], ωδιας [L]). He is probably the same as HODAVIAH (4). The name apparently recurs in 1 Esd. 5 16 under the corrupt form ANNIS (so RV); see ANANIAS, 1.

HOGLAH (חָגְלָה, as if 'partridge,' § 68; εγλα [BL], αιγλα [AF], in Josh. αιγλαμ [A]), the third of the five daughters of ZELOPHEHAD, *i.e.*, Ṣalḥad (Nu. 26 33 27 1 36 11 αιγαλ [F], Josh. 17 3 P†). Though a place-name Hoglah is possible (see BETH-HOGLAH), yet some better known name is more probable for a 'daughter' of Ṣalḥad. Perhaps חגלה is a corruption of מְחֹלָה—*i.e.*, Abel-meholah. See MAHLAH.

HOHAM (הוֹהָם), king of Hebron, defeated by Joshua (Josh. 10 3; αιλαμ [BA], ελαμ [L]). According to Hommel (*AHT*, 223 n.) the name is identical with the Minæan Hauhum. See HORAM.

HOLD. A stronghold or citadel, used especially with reference to David's retreat in the cave of ADULLAM (מְצוּדָה, *mĕṣūdāh*, 1 S. 22 4 *f.* [but see HARETH], cp 24 22 [23] 2 S. 5 17; מְצָדָה, *mĕṣādāh*, 1 Ch. 12 8 16).

Both words are employed to denote the fortress of Zion (2 S. 6 7 1 Ch. 11 7), and in a general sense are used of any place of refuge or safety. See FORTRESS (beg.).

The legitimacy of the rendering 'hold' for צְרִיחַ, *ṣĕrīăḥ*, in 1 S. 13 6 (AV 'high places') Judg. 9 46 49 (EV), is not certain. The signification rock-hewn or sepulchral chamber which the word has in Nabataean (see Cook, *Aram. Gloss.*, *s.v.* צריחא) is suitable in 1 S. (cp RVmg. 'hole'), but appears less satisfactory in Judg. *l.c.*, where (unless some underground chamber, *e.g.*, the reputed *antrum* of the god BAAL-BERITH [*q.v.*] be intended) the rendering 'tower' (as in Sabaean) seems preferable (cp Moore, ad *loc.*). The text, however, may be corrupt.

See Dr. (Sam. 76), Moore Eu. *ad loc.*, and for צריח cp Earth, *AJSL*, '97, p. 273 (with lit. kited).

HOLM TREE. 1. תִּרְזָה, *tirzāh*, Is. 44 14† (𝔊 om.; Aq., Theod., αγριοβαλανον [in Qmg.]) RV, AV CYPRESS.

2. πρῖνος (*ilex*, ܦܪܢܘܣ), mentioned in Sus. 58 with the characteristic paronomasia, 'the angel of God waiteth with the sword to cut thee (πρίσαι σε [Theod.], ἵνα καταπρίσῃ σε [𝔊87]) in two'; see SUSANNAH. By πρῖνος [87 and Theod.] (cp Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* iii. 7 3 and Aq. in Gen. 14 38, the adj. πρίνινος Aq. in Ezek. 27 5) is intended probably the *Quercus Coccifera* L. and *Q. pseudo-coccifera* (Houghton). Similarly, a Syriac gloss (in Low, *Pflanz.* 72) treats it as a species of oak (בלוטא).

HOLOFERNES (ολοφερνης [BℵA]; ܐܠܘܦܪܢܐ [Syr.]), the name given to the Assyrian general in the legendary book of Judith. The name, also pronounced Orofernes, was borne by two Cappadocian princes, the one, a young son of Ariamnes, and the other a son of Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and, at one time, the friend of Demetrius I. The latter has been identified with Holoferues by Ewald (4 621) and independently by E. L. Hicks (*J. Hell. Stud.* 6 261 *ff.* ['85]). Ball, however, prefers to identify him with Nicanor the Syrian general overcome by Judas the Maccabee, and Gaster with Scaurus, the general sent by Pompey into Syria 65 B.C. According to Winckler (*AOF*(2) 273) Holophernes = Osnappar (Ašur-bāni-pal).

If the termination is genuine we may compare Artaphernes, Dataphernes, Tissaphernes, and two Median princes of the time of Esar-haddon, viz. Sidir-parna and E-parna (see Ball, *Speaker's Comm.*, *ad loc.*, and cp the Syr. form *supra*). See JUDITH, BOOK OF, and esp. Willrich, *Judaica*, 28 *ff.* (1900).

HOLON (חֹלֹן or חֹלוֹן).

1. A town in the hill-country of Judah, assigned to the Levites (Josh. 15 51 21 15, χαλου, γελλα [B]. χιλουων, ωλων [A], χειλου, ιλων [L]). It is mentioned between Goshen and Giloh. The site is unknown. In ‖ 1 Ch. 6 58 (43) it is HILEN (חִילֵן; σελνα [B], νηλων [A], χελων [L]), for which there is a *v.l.* Hilez (חילז; so the Soncino edition of the Prophets).

According to Klo. in 𝔊BA of 1 S. 17 2 (see ELAH, VALLEY OF) αυτοι = αυλων = Holon. Possibly, too, Holon is intended in Judith 15 4; see COLA.

2. A town of Moab; Jer. 48 21 (χαιλων [B], χελων [ℵA]).

HOLY (קָדוֹשׁ), Ex. 19 6; **HOLINESS** (קֹדֶשׁ), Ex. 15 11. See CLEAN, § 1.

HOLY GHOST (πνευμα αγιον), Mt. 1 18. See SPIRIT, and cp PARACLETE, PENTECOST, SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

HOMAM (הוֹמָם), 1 Ch. 1 39. See HEMAM.

HONEY (דְּבַשׁ, *dĕbaš*, same order of root letters in Aram. and Ar.; Ass. *dišpu*, 'honey,' *dašpu*, *duššupu*, 'a sweet drink'; μελι). The word *dĕbaš*[1] has three distinct senses: (1) the honey of the wild bee, (2) the honey of the domesticated hee, and (3) manufactured honey, or syrup, the *dibs* of modern Syria.

1. Varieties of Honey.

1. In the sense of 'wild honey' the word is of frequent occurrence. 'Honey out of the rock' is mentioned in Dt. 32 13 and Ps. 81 16[2] [17]; and Canaan is even described, and similarly Goshen (Nu. 16 13), as 'a land flowing with milk and honey' (Ex. 3 8 17 *passim;* cp Dt. 8 8 2 K. 18 32 Jer. 41 8).[3] Theories attaching either of the two other significations to the term *dĕbaš* as used in this phrase, have no adequate justification. It was, further, the honey of the wild bee which Samson found in the carcase of the lion (Judg. 14 8 *ff.*; see BEE), and of which Jonathan partook (1 S. 14 25 *ff.*),[4] by dipping his staff into the honey-comb (יַעְרַת הַדְּבַשׁ; cp Cant. 5 1); and wild honey (μέλι ἄγριον) was the fare of John the Baptist (Mk. 1 6 Mt. 3 4).

2. There is no direct reference to domestic bee-keeping in the OT (see BEE). Nevertheless, it would be strange, in view of the antiquity of the domestication of the bee in the East (*Am. Tab.* 138 12 speaks of honey and oil in Syria), if the Hebrews were

1 In EV invariably rendered 'honey,' except in 2 Ch. 31 5, where AVmg. has 'dates.'

2 In the latter passage Lag., 𝔊r., We., Che. read, 'With droppings (מִצּוּף for מִצּוּר) of honey'; note the parallelism.

3 [The phrase 'a land flowing (זָבַת) with milk and honey' is more poetical than its context seems to justify. It was already conventional in the time of JE. It is a reasonable supposition that it comes from ancient poetry; and, since ancient poetry is always tinged with mythology, it is not improbable that the phrase in question had a mythological origin. If it were Sanscrit, we should not doubt it. But the more sober Semitic mythology does not appear to have spoken of the sun as a cow and the moon as a bee (Goldziher, *Heb. Mythology* 28 *f.*). Nor was it imagined by the Semites that the Milky Way was specially the abode of the Sun-god (as by the Egyptians: Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 181). Probably the phrase alludes to the idealised past of human history. In the time of Nepher-cheres, says Manetho (Muller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 2 542 *f.*), the Nile flowed with honey for fifteen days. So, in the Hebrew Golden Age it may have been said, with perfect sincerity, that the land 'flowed with milk and honey. It is to such a myth that an Assyrian poet may allude, when he wishes for his king, besides the protection of the Sun-god and the Moon-god, that God may cause to flow into his channels *dispa ḥimeta*, 'honey (and) curdled milk' (Frd. Del., G. Smith's *Chald. Gen.*). Cp MARAH. T. K. C.]

4 The text (both MT and 𝔊) is here admitted to he corrupt. According to We., Dr., Bu., *v.* 25 should run, 'and there was honeycomb on the face of the field.' 'This is perhaps the best that can be done' (H. P. Smith). But how is 𝔊's πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἠρίστα to be accounted for? The continuation is, καὶ caah δρυμὸς ἦν μελισσῶνος. Klo. omits caah δρυμος as a bad gloss on יַעַר, and corrects ηριστα into εργασια or εργαται, with this result (which he too boldly adppts), 'Now the whole district was occupied with bee-keeping. [But ἠρίστα may have come in in a corrupt form from the transliterated Heb. column of a Hexaplar text and have represented ארץ.]

acquainted only with wild honey, nor could this be reconciled with the mention of honey as well as other products of cultivation in 2 Ch. **31** 5.

Apiculture is first mentioned by Philo, who says that the Essenes were fond of it (2 633, ed. Maugey). In the Mishna references to it abound. The hive (כַּוֶּרֶת) was either of straw (כּ׳ הַקַּשׁ) or of wicker (כּ׳ הַקָּנִים), doubtless plastered over, as at the present day, to keep out the excessive heat (see description of modern hives under BEE). The technical term for removing the combs when filled was רָדָה (lit. to scrape, see Levy *NHWB s.v.*, with quotation from Rashi; see also Moore's note on Judg. **14** 9, where alone in OT the word occurs). The bees, it would appear, were first stupefied by the smoke of charcoal and dung kindled in front of the hive on the מִדַּף (see *Kēlīm*, 16 7 *ap.* Surenhusius, with Maimonides' commentary). When the combs (חַלּוֹת דְּבַשׁ) were removed in this way, at least two had to he left in the hive as food for the bees during winter (*Bab. bathra*, 5 3).

3. In later Hebrew certainly, and in the OT possibly, *dĕbaš* is also used to denote certain artificial preparations made from the juice of various fruits by inspissation, like the modern *dibs*. Reference has already been made to the theory that the 'honey' with which the land of Canaan was said to 'flow' was this inspissated syrup; it has also been held that at least the honey intended for transport (Gen. **43** 11 1 K. **14** 3) and export (Ezek. **27** 17) must be so understood. The former view is unsatisfactory; to the latter, if Cheyne's emendation of Ezek. **27** 17 be accepted (see PANNAG), no objection need be offered. Stade (*Gesch.* **1** 371, n. 2), it is true, thinks that grape-syrup was unnecessary in the 'land which flowed with milk and honey.' The early inhabitants of Canaan, however, as Bliss appears to have shown, were certainly acquainted with this manufacture. His excavations at Tell el-Hesy (Lachish) revealed two wine-presses, with apparatus (as he judged) for boiling down the filtered juice (inspissation) into grape syrup.'

The first unmistakable Jewish reference to it is in Josephus (the date-syrup of Jericho; see PALM TREE); Tg. ps.-Jon. (see Dt. 88) also mentions it. In the Mishna it is called דְּבַשׁ תְּמָרִים, and we may infer that in the Mishnic period dates were the chief source of the manufacture. Since the spread of Islam, which forbids wine-drinking, the grapes of Syria have been mainly diverted to the manufacture of *dibs*. The pure grape juice is drawn off into a stone vat (see description of press under WINE), and allowed to settle, after which it is conveyed to a large copper cauldron (*khalḳūn*, or *khalḳīnĕ*. Landberg *Proverbes*, etc., 53), about three feet in diameter, in the win;-press boiling-room close at hand (cp Bliss's illustration, above). After the juice has boiled for a short time it is returned to the vat which in the interval has been thoroughly cleaned and allowed to cool. The process of boiling and cooling is repeated, after which the juice is boiled for the third and last time, the yellow syrup being constantly stirred and lifted up by means of a large perforated wooden spoon with a long handle (the *mukhbāṭ*, Landb. *op. cit.* 107). The boiling is an affair of much skill, and every village with large vineyards has several experts, who superintend the process, and from the colour, consistency, and manner of boiling recognise the moment when the process is completed. The inspissated syrup is now hurriedly conveyed to a clean stone cistern within the building, and allowed to cool before being put into vessels for conveyance to the owner's house. 'The final stage of the process is to beat the *dibs* with a stick and draw it out to make it of a firmer consistency, and somewhat lighter in colour. It is of a dark golden brown colour like maple molasses, and its taste is intensely sweet like honey' (Rev. Geo. Mackie, Beyrout, to whom the writer is indebted for most of the above details). Both Greeks and Romans were alike familiar with this process of inspissation, the products being variously known as ἕψημα, σίραιον, *sapa*, *defrutum*. The first three, according to Pliny, were prepared by boiling down the must to one-third its bulk, 'when must is boiled down to one-half only, we give it the name of *defrutum*,' *HN* **14** 11). Burckhardt also states that three hundredweight of grapes are calculated to yield a hundredweight of *dibs*. Wellstedt found the Arabs using the pods of the caroh-tree (cp HUSKS) for the manufacture of *dibs* (*Reisen in Arabien*, **1** 331 *f.*), a practice still followed in Syria (Post, *Flora*, 297).

2. Uses of Honey. Among 'the principal things for the whole use of man's life' Ben Sira fitly assigns a place to honey (39 26). It was 'eaten alone as a delicacy, as by Samson and Jonathan (cp also 2 S. 17 29 1 K. 14 3) and as a relish with other articles of food. 'A piece of broiled fish and of an honeycomb' (*dab* μελισσίου κηρίου) was doubtless a familiar combination, although absent from the best MSS of Lk. **24** 42 (and RV). But curdled milk and honey alone (EV 'butter and honey'; Is. 7 15 22) was very poor diet (see MILK). It was as a sweetener of food that, before the introduction of sugar, honey was everywhere in demand; 'the bee is little, but her fruit is the chief of sweet things' (Ecclus. **11** 3). In particular it was used for all sorts of sweet cakes (Ex. 16 31, ἐγκρίς; see also BAKEMEATS, § 3)—such cakes (πλακοῦντες) as were so much relished by the Greeks as dessert. But it is well known that honey partaken of too freely produces nausea[1] (Prov. 25 27). Honey, however, was disallowed, at least by the later legislation (Lev. 2 11 *f.*), as an ingredient of any meal-offering, because of the ease with which it ferments (cp Pliny, *HN* **11** 15), although admitted freely in other cults (see Bertholet, *KHC* on Ezek. 16 19). A drink resembling mead was known to the later Jews by a name (יינומילין) derived from the Greek οἰνόμελι, and said to have been compounded of wine, honey, and pepper (*Tĕrūm.* **11** 1 *Shabb.* **20** 2). Honey was kept in jars (1 K. 14 3, EV 'a cruse of honey'; cp Jer. **41** 8), in which probably it was largely exported through the markets of Tyre (Ezek. **27** 17). Cp PANNAG.

The medicinal uses of honey are discussed at length by Pliny (*NH* **22** 50) and were not unknown to the Jews either of Jerusalem (*Shabb.* 8 1) or of Alexandria (see addition to Gk. text of Prov. 6 8 quoted under BEE). The body of Aristobulus, Josephus informs us, was preserved from decomposition by being laid in honey (ἐν μέλιτι κεκηδευμένος, *Ant.* xiv. 7 4, § 124).

As 'the chief of sweet things,' honey is much used in similes and metaphors by Hebrew writers. The word of Yahwe to the Hebrew poet is 'sweeter than honey and the honeycomb' (נֹפֶת צוּפִים Ps. **19** 10 [11], cp EVmg.; also Ps. **119** 103). The pleasant speech of one's friends, also, is 'as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul, and health to the bones' (Pr. **16** 24, cp Cant. **4** 11). Wisdom, even, is comparable to honey (Pr. **24** 13 *f.* **25** 16 Ecclus. **24** 20), and the memory of a good man is 'sweet as honey in every mouth' (Ecclus. **49** 1, said of Josiah).

A. R. S. K.

HOOD. צָנִיף, Is. 3 23 AV. See TURBAN, § 2.

HOOK. For the words[2] (nos. 1-5, below) used with reference to fishing see FISH, § 3.

1. חוֹחַ, *ḥōaḥ*, error for חָח (𝔊 ψέλιον) Job 41 2 [40 26] (AV 'thorn'). See BEHEMOTH, § 2. Used with reference to a captive in 2 Ch. 33 11 (ἐν δεσμοῖς; but see MANASSEH).

2. חָח, *ḥāḥ*, 2 K. 19 28 (ἄγκιστρον) = Is. 37 29 (φιμός, *i.e.*, 'muzzle'), used in the pl. חַחִים, Ezek. 19 4 9 (AV 'chains,' κημός), 29 4 (παγίδες) 38 4 (om. BA, χαλινός [Q; but ascribed to Theod.] see Co. *ad loc.*). חָח is once used of an ornament, Ex. 35 22: see BUCKLE, 1.

3. חַכָּה, *ḥakkāh*, Job 41 1 [40 25], RV. 'fish-hook.' In Is. 19 8 Hab. 1 15 EV 'angle.' 𝔊 throughout ἄγκιστρον.

4. סִירוֹת דּוּגָה, *sīrōth dūgāh*, 'fish-hooks' (Am. 4 2). 𝔊 λέβητες, confusing with סִיר, 'pot.'

5. nix, *ṣinnōth* (Am. 4 2), 𝔊 ὅπλα, cp צִנָּה, 'shield.' The word, like סִיר (above), is used also of 'thorns' (see THORN).

6. וָו, *wāw*, only in descriptions of the tabernacle (Ex. **26** 32 37 **27** 17 **36** 36 38 [κεφαλίς]; Ex. 27 10 *f.* [κρίκος, which elsewhere represents קֶרֶס, a 'tache']; Ex. **38** 17 19 [ἀγκύλη, used elsewhere for לֻלָאוֹת, 'loops']). Not the capitals of the pillars (as 𝔊), hut probably tenters or hooks rising from the tops of the pillars.

7. שְׁפַתַּיִם, *sh'phăttaim*, Ezek. 40 43, a word which greatly puzzles the interpreters (cp AVmg. and RVmg.); neither 'posts' nor 'gutters' will do. The preferable reading, as Cornill has shown, is שְׂפָתָם ('their edge,' lit. 'lip'); 𝔊 γεῖσος; Aq.(2), Theod., Sym., χείλη.

'Hook' in NT corresponds to ἄγκιστρον, which is common in 𝔊 for a 'hook' (in one case, Ezek. **32** 3, used to represent חֵרֶם, NET [*q.v.*]).

[1] Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 69-71, with diagram.

[1] Cp the Rabbinic proverb quoted by Buxtorf (*Lex.*, *s.v.* דבש).

[2] סִפּוֹת, EV 'barbed irons,' Job **41** 7 [40 31], seems to be a corruption for סְפִינוֹת, 'ships'; cp @; @ AV 'thorn,' *ib.* 41 2 [40 26], should certainly be נֶזֶם, 'nose-ring' (Beer, Che.).

HOOPOE (דּוּכִיפַת, *dūkīphath;* εποψ; *upupa*, נגר טורא [Targ.], ܩܦܘܦܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ [Pesh.]), Lev. 11 19 Dt. 14 18 [16]† (υποπα [B*F], υπωπα [A]). RV, however, and the older English versions, without authority, LAPWING. It is usual to acquiesce in the traditional rendering 'hoopoe.' The *Upupa epops* is in fact, not less than the lapwing, a Palestinian bird. It winters in and near Egypt, and returns to Palestine in March.

It seeks its food in dunghills, and, it is supposed, was on this account included among the unclean birds; it is, however, freely eaten in the Levant at the present day. Possibly because of its crest (Aristoph. *Birds*, 94), it has always inspired a superstitions awe and the Arabs, who call it *hudhud*, from its cheery cry, ascribe to it the power of discovering water and of revealing secrets. In the late Jewish legends respecting Solomon the hoopoe plays a great part in connection with the queen of Sheba (see second Targ. on Esth. 1), and the story is adopted in the Qoran (sur. 27).

But it is by no means certain that *dūkīphath* is really (see Di.) 'the cock of the rock' (or 'of beauty'), or that it refers to the hoopoe's fondness for rocks and mountain-ravines (cp Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 461, 467), or to its striking crest. This odd-looking word דוכיפת is simply, apart from the final ת, a corruption (by transposition of letters) of *ḳippōd*, קִפּוֹד (Che.). That late Heb., Aram., and Arabic usage favour the rendering 'hedgehog' may be admitted; but 'zoologically there are considerable difficulties.' This discovery (as it seems) of *ḳippōd* in the list of unclean *birds* seems to show that Tristram, Houghton, and Cheyne (*Proph. Is.*[3] 1 93 2 149; *SBOT*, *Isaiah*, Eng. 64) were right in preferring 'bittern' to 'hedgehog' as a rendering of קִפּוֹד. See BITTERN.

There is of course no connection with Sansk. *kapōta*, a kind of pigeon, regarded as a bird of ill omen (*Acad.* Dec. 25, '86).

T. K. C.—A. E. S.—S. A. C.

HOPHNI (חָפְנִי; οφΝ[ε]ι [BAL]) b. Eli; brother of PHINEHAS [*q.v.*]; 1 S. 1 3 2 34 (εφΝει [A]), 4 4 11 17† (om BL). Hophni and Phinehas seem very much like Jabal and Jubal, as Goldziher should have noticed (*Heb. Myth.* 347 *ff.* [*Mythos bei den Hebr.* 232 *ff.*])—*i.e.*, Hophni has been developed out of Phinehas. Add ם to חפני, and the component letters of פינחס are complete. Possibly both have developed out of a third form (see PHINEHAS). We cannot isolate the name Hophni, and trust in Sabæan (cp, *e.g.*, חפנם) and other seeming parallels. T. K. C.

HOPHRA (חָפְרַע; ογαφρη [BℵᵃAQ]; αφρη [ℵ*]; Vg. *EPHREE;* Aq. Theod. οφρηΝ [accus.] Q margin [where σ(ύμμαχος): εκδοτō = ἔκδοτον]),[1] Jer. 44 30† is mentioned as 'the king of Egypt' after the destruction of Jerusalem. He is identical with the king called merely 'Pharaoh' in Jer. 37 5 7 11 Ezek. 29 3 etc.

The name is transcribed ουάφρις by Manetho ουάφρης (after 𝔊) by Clem. Alex. 1 332, ἀπρίης by Herodotus and Diodorus. In Egyptian his names are *Ha'a'-ĕb-rē'* (vulgar *p-rē'*)[2]—*i.e.*, 'glad is the heart of the sungod'—and *Uaḥ* (=later *ueḥ*) *-ĕb-(p)-rē'*,[3] 'confident is the heart of the sungod' (the same name as Psameṭik I.). This latter name was evidently rendered both by the Greeks and by the Hebrews. Both have assimilated the *ĕb* to the following *p*. The Hebrew transcription is rather exact.

This king, the fourth (or, according to another reckoning, the seventh, see EGYPT, § 66) of the Saïte or twenty-sixth dynasty of Manĕtho, the son of Psameṭik II. (Psammis of Herodotus) and grandson of Necho, came to the throne about 589 or 588 B.C., and reigned according to Manĕtho (in Africanus) nineteen years, according to Herodotus and Eusebius 25 years (22 Diodorus, 30 Jerome, 34 Syncellus). The monuments confirm the first number. He ruled, therefore, about 588-569 B.C. His reign fell in a very critical period, when Egypt was exposed to constant danger from Babylonia. Hophra seems to have shown energy both in building (traces in the chief temple of Memphis, in the Serapeum, at Silsileh etc.), and in foreign politics. He even attempted to check the Babylonians. Thus, according to Herodotus (2 161), he conquered the Phœnicians ('Tyrus') at sea;[1] but most likely Herodotus only means that he sent assistance to the Tyrians in their long resistance to Nebuchadrezzar.

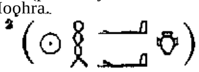
The (distorted?) statement of Herodotus, 'he led an army against Sidon,' refers evidently to the expedition planned with a view to succour besieged Jerusalem (Jer. 37 5 11). Hophra did indeed interrupt the siege for a short time; but, if Herodotus was not mistaken, we may assume Hophra's final defeat in the N. of Palestine. It does not seem that he took the offensive again after his repulse; but he gave an asylum to the many fugitives from Palestine in Egypt. Of the Babylonian attacks upon Egypt which we should naturally expect, we are ignorant; but so much is now certain—that Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's predictions of a conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar were not fulfilled.[2] A suppressed military revolution at the S. frontier of Egypt is referred to elsewhere (EGYPT, § 69). From this we can imagine in what difficulties this unmilitary country was involved through having to sustain large battalions of foreign mercenaries. These difficulties led to Hophra's ruin. The account in Herod. 2 161 may be full of doubtful anecdotes, but is probably trustworthy in a general sense. The Egyptian (or rather Libyan) mercenaries sent against Battus of Cyrene to aid the Libyan chief Adikran revolted after two defeats. Apries and the European and Asiatic mercenaries at Momemphis were overpowered by Amasis II. ('Ahmose), who, according to Herod. (2 169), left the unfortunate king alive for some time, but at last permitted an infuriated mob to 'strangle' him.[3] W. M. M.

HOR, MOUNT (הֹר הָהָר, 'Hor the mountain').

1. (ωρ τὸ ὄρος [BAFL]), the scene of the death of Aaron (Nu. 20 22-27 21 4*a* 33 37-41 Dt. 32 50† [all P]). In Nu. 33 37 the situation is defined as 'in the edge of the land of Edom,' and tradition, since Josephus, identifies it with the *Jebel Nebī Hārūn* (4800 ft.), a conspicuous double-topped mountain on the E. edge of the Wādy el-'Arabah, a little to the SW. of Petra. Trumbull (*Kadesh-barnea*, 127-139) refutes this view on grounds of 'revelation and reason'; critics, since Knobel, have taken the same view. Trumbull himself identifies Mt. Hor with the Jebel Madara, a conical mountain NW. of 'Ain Kadis (cp HALAK, MT.). Cp GUR-BAAL, and WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF.

2. (τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὄρος [B; om. τὸ ὄρος 2nd in *v.* 7 AFL], in *v.* 8 τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄρος), a point on the ideal N. boundary of Canaan, Nu. 34 7 *f.* (a post-exilic passage). According to Furrer (*ZDPV* 8 27 *ff.*) Hor is a term for N. Lebanon; but Van Kasteren thinks that it means the mountains where the Nahr Ḳāsimīyeh bends upwards (*Rev. Bib.*, '95, p. 28 *f.*). The Targums render Amanos or Amanon (= Amana?). Unfortunately the existence of the northern 'Mt. Hor' is threatened by Halévy's practi-

[1] *i.e.*, הַפָּרֶעַ (see Field). Comp. Jerome in the *Liber interpr. Hebr. nom.* (Lag. OS, 53 13): *Afree* furor alienus sive vita dissipata atque discissa (cp *Farao*: dissipans sive discooperuit eum). Targ. 'the broken one,' תַּבִּירָא, Pesh. 'the lame-one,' ܚܓܝܪܐ. The preceding 'Pharaoh' is wanting in most MSS of 𝔊 (put in by codd. 22, 36 etc.), being taken for a doublet of Hophra.

[2] 

[3] 

[1] Diod. 1 68 ascribes the conquest of Cyprus to him (Herodotus, less probably, to Amasis).

[2] The contrary has been often asserted; but merely on the basis of a vague statement of Bērōssus, on a misinterpretation of the report on the rebellion of foreign mercenaries referred to above, and on two forged inscriptions relating to Nebuchadrezzar which had been brought to Egypt from Bagdād.

[3] See EGYPT, § 69, on the question whether Amasis—who married a daughter of Hophra-Apries—was first co-regent with his predecessor. The object of this theory was to reconcile the different durations assigned to the reign of the latter (19 and 25 years); but it is not probable. A recently discovered inscription (*Rec. de Trav.* 22 2) removes some difficulties. It tells us that Apries fell in battle after having held part of the delta for nearly three years.

cally *certain* restoration of חַדְרָךְ, 'Hadrach,' for MT's impossible reading, הַדְּרָךְ, in Ezek. 47 15. In Nu. 34 8 *f.* we must obviously read מִן־הַיָּם הַגָּדֹל תְּתָאֲרוּ לָכֶם עַד חַדְרָךְ וּמֵחַדְרָךְ תְּתָאֲרוּ עַד־לְבֹא חֲמָת, 'from the great sea ye shall draw a line for you as far as Hadrach; and from Hadrach ye shall draw a line. . . .'

Di.'s proposal to read תִּתְאַו(ּ), 'ye shall desire' (cp *v.* 10)—as if suggesting that the boundary **was** only desirable or ideal—is most improbable. In *v.* 10 we **should** read וְהִתְאַרְתֶּם.

T. K. C.

HORAM (הֹרָם), king of Gezer, who sought to help Lachish, but was defeated and slain by Joshua, Josh. 10 33 (ܥܠܡ, αιλαμ [BA], ελαμ [L]). The reading of @ agrees with that which it gives for HOHAM.

ROREB (חוֹרֵב), Ex. 336. See SINAI.

HOREM (חֳרֵם, or perhaps rather חָרֵם, 'sacrosanct'; [μεγαλα]αρειμ [B], ωραμ [AL]), either the full name or the epithet of a city in Naphtali (Josh. 1938). Van de Velde identified it with *Ḥurah*, a little to the W. of Yārūn (see IRON). Guérin, however, and the *PEF* lists give the name as *Kh. el-Kūrah.* For reasons against searching modern name-lists for an echo of Horem, see MIGDAL-EL. T. *K.* C.

HORESH (חֹרְשָׁה; 𝔊BAL, Jos. [H] καινη, *i.e.*, חֲדָשָׁה), according to RVmg., Stade, Wellhausen, and others, the name of a place in the wilderness of Ziph (1 S. 23 15 *f.* 18 *f.*). Wellhausen would also read the name Horesh in 1 S. 22 5 (but see HARETH). The reference in 1 S. 23 occurs in the account of David's last interview with Jonathan, and in the description of David's retreats among the Ziphites, and in the latter passage Horesh (?) is co-ordinated, singularly enough, with the hill of Hachilah (?). This co-ordination is sometimes ascribed to an editor (see HACHILAH); but no one has doubted that both Horesh (?) and Hachilah (?) were in the neighbourhood of Ziph. Horesh is supposed (see FOREST, 1) to mean 'wood' or (comparing Ass. *ḫuršu*) 'mountain' (Del. *Heb. Lang.* 17). The meaning 'mountain' would be the more suitable for the narrative in 1 S. 23, for certainly the wilderness of Ziph was never thickly wooded (see ZIPH). It should be noticed, however, that Horesh is *not* the name given in 1 S., but Hōrĕshāh, and that experience warns **us** to look closely at the text when the locative ה is affixed to *a* proper name without any apparent reason (it is always בחרשה). Add to this that there is no certain evidence elsewhere for the existence of חֹרֶשׁ in Hebrew.[1] It is extremely probable that Hōrĕshāh (חרשה) is a corruption of ערבה; the intermediate stage is ברעה. A reference to 1 S. 2324 will make this plain. There we have the statement that David and his men were in the wilderness of Maon in the Arābah, S. of the Jĕshīmōn. 'It may reasonably be held that in *v.* 19 the original question of the Ziphites was, 'Doth not David hide himself with us in the retreats in the Arābah?' The rest of the question in MT is, of course, an editorial insertion. The Ziphites were too clever to tell Saul precisely where David was hidden. The insertion is of interest to us just now as proving that the editor read בערבה, not בחרשה.[2]

Conder has identified the supposed Horesh with the ancient site Ḥureisa, 1 m. S. of Ziph. Yet even if Horeshah were genuine, it could hardly mean 'a village or hamlet belonging to the larger town at Tell Zīf' *(PEFQ, '95*, p. 45).

T. *K. C.*

[1] On Is. 17 9 Ezek. 31 3 see Che. and Toy (*SBOT*). חרשים in 2 Ch. 27 4 is also corrupt; read either עֲרָבִים (cp Di. on Is. 15 7) or עֲרָבוֹת.

[2] When he made the insertion he had his eye on *v.* 24, where בערבה occurs, and therefore wrote 'south of' instead of 'fronting.' See HACHILAH.

ROR **HAGIDGAD**, RV Hor-haggidgad (חֹר הַגִּדְגָּד, 'the Hollow of Gidgad'; το ορος γαδγαδ [BA], τ. ο. γα. γα. [F], τ. ο. γαδιγαδ [L], Nu. 33 32 *f.* †), a station in the wilderness of WANDERING (*q.v.*); cp also GUDGODAH.

HORI (חוֹרִי, חֹרִי). 1. (χορρ[ε]ι [ADEL]). Son of Lotan, son of Seir the Horite (Gen. 36 22). Possibly a substitute for some lost clan name.

2. (σουρ[ε]ι [BAF], σουδρι [L]). Ancestor of the Simeonite Shaphat (Nu. 13 5). See SIMEON.

3. In Gen. 36 30 AV, RV 'the HORITES.'

HORITE (Gen. 36 20†), Horites (חֹרִי, חֹרִים, usually explained 'cave-dwellers,' 'Troglodytes'[1]; but Jensen [*ZA*, '96, p. 332] questions this; χορραιος, χορρει [ADEL]), the name given to the primitive population of Mt. Seir in Dt. 2 12 (AV **Horims**). It also occurs in Dt. 2 22 (AV HORIMS), Gen. 14 6 (χορδαιους [E]), and (virtually) Gen. **36** 2 (for 'Hivite' read 'Horite') 20 *f.* 29 *f.*; and it should be restored in 36 2 (see 𝔊), possibly too in 34 2 (𝔊) in preference to חִוִּי, if we take חֹרִי to be a contraction of חֲמֹרִי = חוֹרִי another form of אֱמֹרִי. D. Haigh, Stern, and Hommel *(ANT*, 264, n. 2, 267) combine 'Hori' with the Eg. *Ḥaru*, a name frequently applied to a part of Palestine, *e.g.*, on the stelé of Merenptah (cp Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 121; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 137 148 *ff.*), and Hommel identifies both with the land of *Gar* mentioned on the Amarna Tablets (but cp GUR-BAAL). WMM seems to be right in rejecting this view. 'Cave-dwellers' can only be justified if we interpret this (with WMM) as merely an epithet of the Seirites, or people of Mt. Seir. Cp Driver, *Deut.* **38**; EDOM, § 3 end. *T. K. C.*

HORMAH (חָרְמָה; ερμα [BAFL]), according to one statement was so called because the Israelites in fulfilment of a vow 'devoted' it to the *ḥērem* (חרם) or ban (Nu. 21 3; αναθεμα [BAFL]); according to another, it received its name when Simeon and Judah similarly devoted it (Judg. 1 17, αναθεμα [B], εξολοθρευσις [AL]). This, however, is merely a literary etymology, and falls to the ground together with the *misread name Hormah*, which, as we shall see, appears to he a very old corruption.

Hormah was a city of Simeon (Josh. 19 4 1 Ch. 4 30, αραμα [L]) or Judah in the remote south (Josh. 15 30, ερμαλ [A], cp *v.* 21). David sent presents to its elders from ZIKLAG—*i.e.*, Halasah (1 S. 30 30, ιερειμουθ [B], ραμμα [A]). Earlier still, a king of Hormah is mentioned among the kings of Canaan overcome by Joshua (Josh. 12 14, D(2); ερμαθ [B]); we also hear of defeats inflicted on the Israelites by the Amalekites and Canaanites, which extended locally 'as far as (the) Hormah,' Nu. 14 45 (החרמה,[2] see below; ερμαν [B]); cp Dt. 1 44 'from Seir **to** Hormah' (Di., Dr. following 𝔊). Two more references remain. According to the present text of Nu. 21 1-3 (J) the Canaanite king of ARAD (*q.v.*), who had at first defeated the Israelites, was at last overcome by them, on which occasion 'the name of the place (המקום) was called Hormah.' From this it would appear as if Arad were the old name of Hormah, and yet we are told in Judg. 1 17 (see above) that its old name was ZEPHATH (*q.v.*). How is this to be accounted for? To suppose with Bachmann that the city was twice destroyed and renamed, seems absurd. Nor is it easy (though Dillmann, Wellhausen, and others adopt this expedient) to explain Nu. 21 3 as relating by anticipation the destruction by Simeon and Judah (Judg. 1 17), in which case the king of Arad must also have ruled over Zephath.

The simplest explanation is the boldest. In Nu. 21 1, for 'the king of Arad who dwelt in the Negeb' read '(the Canaanites) who dwelt in the *Negeb* of the Jerahmeelites.'[3] The corruptions

[1] 𝔊 Vg. give 'Troglodytes' for the Sukkiim of 2 Ch. 12 3.

[2] Only here with art.; hence Targ. Jon. renders 'unto destruction.'

[3] See JERAHMEEL. האתרים should be הַר הָאֱמֹרִי, 'the mountains of the Amorites'; cp Dt. 1 20.

assumed are regular, and the whole passage receives a flood of light. It is highly probable that the writers of Judg. 1 17 Nu. 21 3 confound the names of two neighbouring places, which, being in the far south, they had never visited. The true name of the city of Hormah is probably Rahamah; it was apparently the chief town of the 'Negeb of the Jerahmeelites' (1 S. 30 29 *f.*). It is true חרמה occurs eight times; but there is evidence enough that at a very early date passages containing some remarkable word were systematically harmonized. For חרמה we should restore in all the passages except Judg. 1 17 Nu. 21 3, רחמה. The Wādy Rukhamā perpetuates the name (see JERAHMEEL). T. K. C.

HORN (קֶרֶן, κερας). Nowhere perhaps is the necessity for looking closely into seeming trifles more apparent than here. The usual explanation is unquestionable in such passages as the following:—

1 S. 2 1, 'By Yahwè my horn is exalted'; Ps. 89 17 [18] 'By thy favour our horn is exalted', Ps. 75 4 [5], 'Lift not up your horn', Jer. 48 25, 'The horn of Moab is cut off' (cp Lam. 2 3). In such passages 'horn' symbolizes power, and its exaltation signifies victory (cp 1 K. 22 11) and deliverance (Lk. 1 69, 'horn of salvation,' κέρας σωτηρίας). It will be remembered that in an oracle of Balaam the *rĕ'ēm*, or wild ox, is the emblem of an invincible warrior (Nu. 23 22); cp also Dan. 7 7.

In other passages it will not suit.

1. When we read in Job 16 15, 'I have defiled my horn in the dust' (AV), or 'I have laid my horn in the dust,' we see that there must be something amiss with the text; the language is inappropriate.[1] 'To lift up the horn' may be to increase in power, or to show a proud sense of greatness; but it is hardly safe to maintain, on the ground of a single doubtful passage, that to 'thrust it into the dust' (Di.), or to defile it in the dust, is a Hebrew phrase for feeling the sense of deepest humiliation. In Hebrew idiom, people 'roll in the dust' *themselves* (Mic. 1 10), not their 'horn.' The remedy is to examine the text, and see what errors the scribe was most likely to have committed. There are in fact two very likely errors, by emending which we obtain the very suitable sense 'I have profaned my glory in the dust.'[2] There is a similar error in Am. 6 13; where the 'horns' appear through an error of interpretation of the first magnitude. 'Have we not taken to us horns?' should be, 'Have we not taken Karnaim?' Men can he said to '*lift up* horns,' not to *take* them. Travellers have sometimes illustrated the former phrase by the silver horn which was formerly worn on the head by Druse women in the Lebanon. This, however, is a mistake. The silver horn was simply an instrument for holding up the long veil worn in the Lebanon by married women.

2. The old painters, and Michael Angelo after them, represented Moses with two horns. Ultimately perhaps this may he traced to the two horns of Am(m)on, the god of the Egyptian Thebes, which were adopted by Alexander the Great on his coins (cp 'the two-horned' in the Koran, *Sur.* 18 85). The immediate cause, however, of this mode of representation is what we may safely regard as an error of the text in Ex. 34 29 (cp *vv.* 30, 35), where Vg. very naturally renders כִּי קָרַן עוֹר פָּנָיו 'quod cornuta esset facies sua' (*so* too Aq., according to Jerome). Here the original reading must have been not קָרַן, but בָּרַק, 'lightened.' It is usual, indeed, to say that קָרַן means 'to radiate light' (𝔊 δεδόξασται), and to compare Hab. 3 4, where AV has, 'His brightness was as the light; he had horns (coming) out of his hand,' hut in mg., 'bright beams out of his side.' RV substitutes 'rays' for 'horns,' but truthfully records 'Heb. horns' in the margin. No doubt קַרְנַיִם should he בְּרָקִים, 'lightnings'; Hab. 3 is not an Arabic but a Hebrew poem. It is just possible, however, that Jerome's version 'that the face of Moses was horned' was influenced by the symbolism of Alexander's coins. It would he going rather too far off to compare the horns of the moon-god Sin, whose emblem was a crown or mitre adorned with horns, though G. Margoliouth has lately defended the very improbable reading just referred to by making this comparison, which seems to him to fit in admirably with the primitive worship of Sin recorded by the name Sinai.

3. That the term 'horn' can be used for a horn-shaped vessel, is intelligible (1 S. 16 1 13 1 K. 1 39). Such a phrase as 'horn of pigment for anointing the eyelashes' is therefore in itself possible. But was there ever a father in ancient legend who gave this name to his daughter, as Job is said to have done in MT of Job 42 14 (see KEREN-HAPPUCH)?

4. On the meaning of the expression 'the horns of the altar,' see ALTAR, § 6.

Whether the phrase bas a right to stand in Ps. 118 27*b* is extremely doubtful. Some (*e.g.*, J. P. Peters) would place the passage in the margin as a ritual gloss, and if the text is correct, this is the best view; no ingenuity can avail to explain *v.* 27*b* as a part of the text. For a critical emendation of the text[3] based on the analogy of undoubted corruptions elsewhere, see Che. *Ps.*(2); hut cp the commentaries of Del. and Baethgen. On the קֶסֶת, *keseth*, of Ezek. 9 2 *f.* 11†, see INKHORN; on the 'horns' of Dan. 7 7 *ff.*, see DANIEL, § 7; and on those of Rev. 12 3, see APOCALYPSE, § 41, etc.; also ANTICHRIST, § 4; DRAGON, § 2. On the horn as a musical instrument, see MUSIC, § 5 (*a*). See Elworthy, *Horns of Honour* (1900). T. K. C.

[1] But עֹלַלְתִּי can hardly mean this.

[2] חִלַּלְתִּי בֶעָפָר יְקָרִי. Cp Ps. 89 39 [40] *b*.

[3] זַמְּרוּ בְמָחוֹל וּבְתֻפִּים
זַמְּרוּ לְמַלְכֵּנוּ זַמֵּרוּ

HORNED SNAKE (שְׁפִיפֹן), Gen. 49 17 RVmg., AV ADDER, 4. See also SERPENT, 10.

HORNET (צִרְעָה, σφηκια [BAL], *crabro*).

Strictly the word hornet is applied to *Vespa crabro*; but it is often used for any large species of wasp. There are many species of these Hymenoptera in Palestine, but the most conspicuous is *Vespa orientalis*, which spreads from S. Europe through Egypt and Arabia to India. It is frequently very abundant. It builds its cells of clay, and they are, as a rule, very symmetrical and true.

The hornet is mentioned in the OT as the forerunner sent by Yahwè to destroy the two kings of the Amorites (Josh. 24 12, E or D_2), and to drive out the Hivites, Canaanites, and Hittites (Ex. 23 28 [E], Dt. 7 20; cp Wisd. 12 8, σφήξ, AV RVmg. 'wasp'). The old identification of צִרְעָה, *ṣir'āh*, with צָרַעַת, 'leprosy,' may be passed over; the main question is whether 'hornet' is employed literally or figuratively. A metaphorical interpretation of the term (cp Lat. *œstrus*, 'panic,' properly 'gadfly') is not favoured by the passages quoted (cp especially Ex. *l.c.*). On the other hand, a reference to the insect itself raises difficulties. Although the absence of any mention of the appearance of hornets (*e.g.*, in Nu. 21 Josh. 2 *ff.*) is not in itself an insuperable objection, the fact remains that the implied extent of their devastation is unique, indeed incredible.

Parallels have certainly been quoted as examples of the inconvenience caused by these and similar pests; but the cases adduced refer not to peoples but to the inhabitants of more circumscribed limits (towns, *e.g.*, Megara, *Ælian*, 9 28; Rhaucus, *Ælian*, 17 35 [quoting Antenor of Crete]; cp Di., *ad loc.*, and see Smith's *DB*(2) *s.v.*).

Further, hornets, though their attacks are furious when their nests are disturbed, and are continued when the foe retreats, are not wont to attack unprovoked. Hence, for example, Furrer (*ap.* Riehm, *HWB*) expresses a doubt whether 'hornet' can be the true meaning of צרעה, and Che. (*Crit. Bib.*) proposes to emend the word into צְלָצַל; cp. Dt. 28 42, 'All thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the *locust* consume.' See LOCUST.

A new line must, at any rate, be taken. צרעה (if correct) seems to refer to some enemy who made an early inroad upon Canaan. Sayce (*Early Hist. of Hebrews*) ingeniously finds a reference either to the campaign of Rameses III. (p. 286) or to the Philistines (p. 292 *f.*), and in regard to the former it is noteworthy that the Egyptian standard-bearer wore among other emblems two devices apparently representing flies (see ENSIGN, § 3). But if we may lay stress upon the fact that the hornet does not attack unprovoked (see above), it is plausible to suggest a new rendering for צרעה—viz., 'serpent' (cp Ass. *ṣiru*)—and see a reference to the uræus or sacred serpent on the crown of the pharaoh (cp Ode of Thotmes III., *v.* 11; Brugsch, *Gesch. Äg.* 354).[1] On the other hand, however, the reference may be to some local invasion which has been amplified by E or his informant. In this case a tribe, whose totem was some kind of serpent (cp ZORAH), may conceivably be intended.[2] A. E. S.—S. A. C.

HORONAIM (חֹרוֹנַיִם, Jer. 48 3, or חֹרֹנַיִם, Jer. 48 34, ωρωναιμ [BℵAQ], ορ. [ℵ in *v.* 3]), a place in Moab; the 'descent of Horonaim' (מורד חרונים, εν οδω

[1] The reference to the uræus, in the Ode of Thotmes, is due to Prof. Cheyne, who compares Is. 15 9, but on the whole inclines to suspect corruption of the text (see above).

[2] One recalls the classical legends of races that were led to their seats by a bird or animal. That such creatures were originally totems is in the highest degree probable (see Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* ['99], 295). For a parallel to the theory of a totem-ensign suggested above see M'Lennan, *Studies*, 2nd ser. 391 (on the serpent as a totem see ib. 521 *ff.*).

ωρωναιμ [ap. א*, op. א^c.a]) is mentioned in Jer. 48 5, and the 'way of Horonaim' (דֶּרֶךְ חֹרֹנַיִם, [τη] οδω αρωνιειμ [BאQΓ], ο. ωρωναειμ [Q^mg.], τ. ο. αλωνιειμ [A]) in Is. 15 5. The former phrase is illustrated by Mesha's statement (inscr. *ll.* 31 *f.*) that he 'went down' to Ḥoronēn (חורנן). Horonaim is nowhere mentioned as an Israelite city, which confirms the natural inference from Is. 15 5 that it was near the S. border of Moab, on one of the roads leading down from the Moabite plateau to the Jordan valley. Buhl (272 *f.*) thinks of some ruins near the Wady ed-Derā'a (W. Kerak); but these are described as insignificant. Josephns states that Horonaim was one of the places in Moah conquered by Alexander Jannæus (*Ant.* xiii. 15 4 xiv. 1 4). That SANBALLAT [*q.v.*] had any connection with the place has been shown to be improbable. On 'Horonaim' for the two Beth-horons, see BETH-HORON. T. K. C.

HORONITE (חֹרֹנִי, αρων[ε]ι [BאA], ανρωνει [א^vid. in v. 10], ωρωνιτης [L]), Neh. 2 10 19 13 28 (ωρανιτης [א^c.a (mg.)]; Bא*A om.]). See BETH-HORON, SANBALLAT.

HORSE (סוּס, ιππος, see below). Many interesting points arise in connection with references to the horse (*equus, caballus*) in the Bible. The philologist will find scope for all his keenness in dealing with the names of the horse; the historical student will gather valuable facts illustrating political and religious history. That the horse is one of the most important factors in a people's growth, appears once more from the OT literature, for though the prophets spoke strongly against its use, civilization could not he held back. A late prophetic writer predicts that the flock of Judah (the Jews) will become like 'finest horses'[1] in battle (Zech. 10 3), and one of the most fervently religious of the 'wise men' gives us an unsurpassable picture of the war-horse (see § 2 end). The following Hebrew words come under consideration.

1. Names. 1. סוּס, *sūs* (Ass. *sisū*, Eg. *sesmet* [see EGYPT, § 9 n.], Aram. סוּסְיָא, origin unknown), Gen. 49 17 Ex. 9 3 14 9 23 15 1 19 21 and often.

In Gen. 47 17 there is a confusion in the text. 'Horses and asses' should come together as in Ex. 9 3 at the close. In Ex. 14 9 כָּל־סוּס רֶכֶב should be rendered 'all chariot-horses' (see 2). Just so in Ass. *sisê* is a general term for horses; but add *rukûbi*, and the phrase means 'chariot-horses. In Cant. 1 9 (RV) the bridegroom compares the bride to 'a steed in Pharaoh's chariots' (סוּסָתִי, with old 'construct' form); but the figure does not suit the context and the termination ־ִי is suspicious. Not a 'mare' (Margdliouth), but 'grape-clusters' (in Solomon's vineyards) are probably meant; cp 8 11 *f.* and see Che. *Crit. Bib.* (AV 'a company of horses'; RV^mg. 'the steeds'; ἡ ἵππος; *equitatus*).

2. פָּרָשׁ, *pārāš* (in Syr., Ar., Eth., 'horse'; hence Spanish *alfaraz*, Mid. Lat. *farius*, etc.).

Not found in the sing. in this sense;[2] but this may be accidental. We certainly want a word for '*riding-horse*' = Ass. *bitḫallu*. The plur. should be פְּרָשִׁים; MT's פָּרָשִׁים presupposes the sense 'horsemen' (𝔊 ἱππεῖς, but also ἵπποι). In 1 S. 8 11 1 K. 4 26 [5 6] Is. 28 28 (interpolated; not in 𝔊) Joel 2 4 פָּרָשִׁים, 'horses' can hardly be explained away, and Haupt ('Isaiah,' Heb. *SBOT* 122 *f.*) recognises it in Is. 21 9. To read פְּרָדִים, 'mules,' would be too bold: to render 'horsemen' is not at all plausible. Schwally's decision (*ZATW* 8 191 n.) must be reversed.

3. אַבִּיר, *'abbīr*, 'strong one,' poetically (cp CATTLE, § 2 *d*); Jer. 8 16 47 3 50 11 (𝔊 ταῦροι) Judg. 5 22 (? see *JQR* 10 566).

4. רֶכֶשׁ, *rekeš*, Mic. 1 13 (see LACHISH), 1 K. 4 28 [5 8] (𝔊 ἅρμασιν, reading רֶכֶב), Esth. 8 10 (om. 𝔊) 14 (Bא*A om.; τῶν πορίων [א^c.a mg.]); 'swift beast'; RV 'swift steed'; AV in Esth. 'mule,' cp Syr. ܟܘܕܢܐ.

5. בְּנֵי הָרַמָּכִים, Esth. 8 10, possibly 'herds of horses' (cp ܪܡܟܐ), RV 'bred of the stud' (AV, RV^mg. 'young dromedaries').

The word is not explained in the Lexicons. Considering, therefore, that רֶכֶשׁ and רְכוּשׁ (though confounded hy 𝔊 in Nu. 16 32) cannot plausibly he connected, and that *rakšsu* in the Ass. phrase cited elsewhere (LACHISH) never appears by itself in the sense of horse, we must take an entirely new course. If it is true that the term סְחִיר = Ass. *suḫīru* (some kind of costly animal, a variety of the horse or perhaps of the camel) bas (no doubt rightly) been restored for מִחִיר in 1 K. 10 28 (see MIZRAIM), and in the plural compound phrase בְּנֵי סְחִירִים, in Ezek. 27 20 (see CLOTH, n.), and in the phrase בְּנֵי הַסְּחִירִים, for בְּנֵי הָרַמָּכִים,[1] in Esth. 8 10 we cannot doubt that for רֶכֶשׁ, in the four passages in which it occurs, we should read סְחִיר (*Exp. T.* Dec. '99).

6. Another naturalised Assyrian term is *murniskê* (*mûr niskê*), *i.e.*, perhaps 'splendid young (horses)'; so Del. *Ass. HWB* 473 *b*; cp 391 *b*. See also *KB* 2 134 *l.* 53, 140 *l.* 46; and Houghton, *TSBA* 5 51 ('77). Not improbably this should be restored in (*a*) 1 K. 10 25, 2 Ch. 9 24 (Cook, *Exp. T.* 10 279 *f.* [March, '99]), (*b*) for אחשתרנים[2] in Esth. 8 10 14 (Che. *Exp. T.*, Aug. '99), hut cp CAMEL, § 1, n. 1, and (*c*) Gen. 41 43, see JOSEPH, § 6.

2. OT references. The horse was kept in a stall (אֻרְוָה or אֻרְיָה, see BDB), and fed upon barley and straw (1 K. 4 26 28 [5 6 8]). It was controlled by a bit (רֶסֶן; cp χαλινός Jas. 3 3), and bridle (מֶתֶג), and urged on by a whip (שׁוֹט). The hoof is likened to a flintyrock (Is. 5 28)—a sudden'sting in the heel (עָקֵב) from the lurking scorpion unseats the rider (Gen. 49 17).

Whether its 'harness' is really referred to by נֵשֶׁק in 2 Ch. 9 24 (AV) is doubtful (see WEAPONS), nor can we safely make Ezekiel speak of 'saddle-cloths' (Co.) in Ezek. 27 20 (see above). On Zech. 14 20, see BELLS.

Passing over the references to the horse in symbolical phraseology, and its association with religious cults (see § 4), we turn to the *use* of the horse among the Hebrews. Like the Assyrians they never used it for draught purposes (the text of Is. 28 28 is faulty; see Du., Che. *SBOT*). Nor can we assume that the horse was used to any extent for riding purposes in pre-exilic times. The mention of a king's horse for state occasions, and of a royal stud (if RV's 'bred of the stud' for אחשתרנים be admitted) occurs first in the Persian period (Est. 6 8 8 10 14).

The horse known to the Hebrews was a war-horse. As such it excited mingled admiration and awe. Its strength (cp § 1 3 אַבִּיר) and swiftness (Hab. 1 8 Jer. 4 13) seemed almost supernatural, So that the early prophets complained that it was more regarded by politicians than the God of Israel himself (Is. 30 16 Ps. 20 7 [8] 33 17 147 10). The Hebrews marked its fiery trampling (שַׁעֲטָה Jer. 47 3†), its rushing and stamping (דהר Nah. 3 2 Judg. 5 22 [doubtful]), and its eagerness for the fray (Jer. 8 6). The finest expression of Jewish sentiment, however, is to be found in Job 39 19-25. The delighted wonder with which the poet describes the war-horse appeals to modern readers.

[1] Read סוּס הוֹד (or סוּסֵי).

[2] In Ezek. 26 10 פרשׁ comes probably from פרסות = פרס, a variant of [illegible] (Che., cp *v.* 11). Read מקול רכבו וגלגליו (cp 23 24). Co. doubts פָּרָשׁ, but omits to explain its presence in MT and 𝔊. Observe, however, that 𝔊^BA renders ἱππέων, not ἵππων (𝔊^Q).

[1] Most connect the רַמָּךְ of MT with Syr. ܪܡܟܐ (a loanward from old Pers.?); but Persisms are not to be accepted where an Ass. or Bab. origin is defensible. ם and מ, nand כ are easily confounded. הרכשׁ in Esth. 8 10 is therefore to be cancelled as a doublet.

[2] That the forgotten word *murniskê* was corrupted, first by misarrangement of letters, and then by confusion of letters and editorial manipulation, so that a seemingly Persian word (cp אחשורוש Ahasuerus) arose, is intelligible. א is an editorial prefix; ח = כ, ש = ס, ת = מ; the rest is clear (Che.).

The text is not in perfect order, and in *vv.* 19 *f.* a slight disarrangement seem to have occurred, which Duhm rectifies thus:

> Givest thou strength to the horse—
> His resounding, terrible snorting?
> Dost thou clothe his neck with a mane,[1]
> And cause it to spring like the locust?'

The fact that the horse of the Hebrews is a war-horse shows that its introduction among them was not of early date. For its original home we must look outside the regions occupied by the Semitic and Egyptian civilisations.

3. Introduction among the Hebrews.

The horse was not known in Egypt before the time of the Hyksos (EGYPT, § 9; Masp. *Dawn of Civ.* 32 n. 2 *Struggle of the Nations*, 51 n. 4). It is first depicted in the time of Amenhotep I., and appears among the presents sent to Egypt by Burnaburiaš of Karduniaš (*Am. Tab.* 10 rev. 12). Upon the monuments of Assyria the horse appears very frequently, and the care bestowed on its appearance (mane, tail and trappings) shows how much it was valued. 'The whole animal was more fitted for war-purposes than for those requiring speed.' They are 'not represented drawing carts, or carrying baggage of any kind.'[2] 'Like the Egyptians, the Assyrians no doubt obtained their horses from N. Mesopotamia,[3] where, in turn, they were introduced from Central Asia, whose plains and steppes seem to have been one of the earliest homes of the horse.

The Amarna Tablets give evidence of the presence of the horse in Palestine. Feudal princes, Aziru, Rib-addi, Milkili, and others of the N. of Canaan beg for chariots and horses from the Egyptian king. Abd-milki of Šasḫimi, and Amayaši, on the other hand, offer to furnish them to the king. The region around Jerusalem being unsuitable for chariots, Abd-ḫiba makes no mention of them, and asks only for troops. The odd phrase, 'servant of thy horses' (*kartabbi, kuzi*, or *guzi sisîka*), perhaps to be taken literally, is used by Japaḫi of Gezer, Jabnilu of Lachish, Pu-addi of Wurza and others (see *KB.* 5 nos. 224, 243).

The earlier OT narratives vouch for the use of this noble animal among Egyptians, Philistines, and non-Israelite tribes of the N.; but it was long before the Israelites attempted to supply their own deficiency of horses. Apart from a few untrustworthy passages (2 S. 84 151 1 K. 15)[4] horses do not appear as in use among the Hebrews until the time of Solomon (1 K. 426 [56]), who, it is stated, imported them in large quantities, with the result that in the following centuries they were not unfrequently employed in war by both Judah and Israel (see CHARIOT, § 5).

That the horse was not commonly used appears further from there being no mention of it in the earlier legal literature. It finds no place in the Book of the Covenant (Ex 21 *ff.*); it is not mentioned even in the tenth commandment (Ex. 2017 Dt. 521). It appears first in D's code, where the king of Israel is forbidden to multiply horses (Dt. 1716). The warning is aimed partly against the foreign intercourse which rendered easy the introduction of heathenish cults (see below, § 4), and partly against alliances with Egypt.

The Hebrews obtained their horses indirectly from Egypt (Is. 31 1 3 Ezek. 1715), or Assyria (Hos. 143 [4]), doubtless by hiring mercenaries; but more frequently through the Tyrians who traded directly with Armenia (Ezek. 2714, see TOGARMAH), and the adjacent regions of Kuë (E. of Cilicia), and Muṣri (N. Syria, S. of the Taurus).[5] The whole region in question has been famed for horses from the earliest times, and to a Hebrew prophet no description of an invader from the N. seems to be complete without a reference to its horses and horsemen (Jer. 473 5042 Ezek. 26 7 10

[1] רעמה, 𝔊 φόβον (Bochart φόβην). The word is philologically inexplicable. Read שְׂעָרָה (cp Job 415), which is not in Job a *nomen unitatis* (Che.). Duhm strangely רִקְמָה.

[2] Houghton, *TSBA* 551.

[3] *Ibid.*, referring to the Sumerian name of the horse (animal from the east); Hehn, *Kulturpfl.* 19 *ff.* 527 *f.*

[4] 2 S. 8 is late (see SAMUEL ii., § 4). As for 2 S. 151, there is no further reference to horses in Absalom's revolt, he himself rode a mule (189). See also ARMY, § 4. The mule or ass continued to be the ordinary animal for riding purposes, even for royal persons (2 S. 1329), and upon state occasions (1 K. 133 *f.*).

[5] We follow the emended text of 1 K. 1028 *f.* 2 Ch. 116 *f.*; see CILICIA, § 2, MIZRAIM, § 2*b*. Sargon's *sîsî muṣuri* (*KB* 78 *l.* 183) were no doubt from the above-mentioned Muṣri. Egypt itself could never have exported horses in any large quantity.

384 15). The horse of the ancient Hebrew was probably similar to the lusty, stalwart animal depicted upon the Assyrian monuments. The gentler and more domesticated 'Arab' steed, which has derived its name from the country in which it has been bred for centuries, does not seem to have been introduced until about the beginning of the Christian era.[1]

The horse is a favourite image in symbolical language (cp Zech. 18 *ff.* 61 *ff.* Rev. 62 *ff.* 1911 *ff.*; and see CHARIOT, § 13).

4. The Horse in Religion.

Evidence for the worship of the horse among the Semites (except as a borrowed cult) hardly exists. It is true the Qoran supposes *Ya'ūq* to have had the form of a horse; but another explanation is more probable (*Kin.* 208 *f.*, We. *Heid.*(2) 22 *f.*). An instance is quoted of the worship of the horse by an Arabian tribe in Baḥrein, but its name alone (the Asbadhûyûn) seems rather to point to a Persian origin of the worship (from the Pers. *asp*, 'horse'). Horse-worship appears to be implied in the Phœnician name עבדססם (*CIS* 1 68 115).

The horse, especially as related to sun-worship (CHARIOT, § 13), was worshipped in Armenia, Persia, etc.[2] Horses were sacrificed to the sun at Mt. Taletum, a peak of Taygetus (Paus. iii. 204), and annually thrown into the sea for a similar purpose at Rhodes. Considerable interest, therefore, attaches itself to the unique notice of the bronze horses and chariots of the sun which Josiah burned in the course of his reforms (2 K. 2311). This cult, obviously of foreign origin, was probably introduced at the same time as the horse, and from the same quarter. The Hebrews being unaccustomed to the care of horses, foreigners would be required to tend them, and their presence would facilitate the spread of this particular worship. D's enactment regarding the horse thus appears in a clearer light. In 2 K. 1116 reference is made to the way along which the horses were brought from the palace to the temple, alluding perhaps to their being regularly sacrificed upon the altar. For the HORSE GATE (2 Ch. 2315) see JERUSALEM, § 24 (9). A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

HORSE-LEECH (עֲלוּקָה, *'ălūḳāh*, 'sucker'; BΔΕΛΛΑ [BKAC]; *SANGUISUGA*) or EV HORSE-LEACH (Pr. 3015) [𝔊 2450].

The passage runs, 'the horse-leech hath two (*three*, 𝔊BNAC) daughters (crying) Give, give' (so EV; cp Toy). This rendering is supported by 𝔊, by the Ar. *'alaḳ*, which is used in the present day to denote a species of leech, and also by the passage in the Talm. *Ăbōdāh Zārāh*, 17 *b*, where a warning is given against drinking water from a river or pool for fear of the סַכָּנַת עלוקה—*i.e.*, the danger of swallowing a leech. The voracity of the horse-leech is proverbial; cp the Targ. on Ps. 128 [9], where oppressors are compared to the עלוקא which sucks the blood of men.

Both the horse-leech, *Hæmopis* (*Aulastomum*) *gulo*, and the medicinal leech, *Hirudo medicinalis*, are common in the streams and fresh waters of Palestine. The former, which is indigenous in Europe and N. Africa has thirty teeth or serrations on its jaws, by means of which it punctures the skin, and it adheres to the surface of the wound with the greatest tenacity by means of the sucker which surrounds its mouth. In the East a species of *Limnatis*, of small size, also occurs in the same pools as *H. gulo*. Both cause much trouble to man and cattle. They are taken into the mouth with the drinking-water and attach themselves to the back of the throat, and there cause loss of blood.

The natural history explanation of *'Ălūḳā* is not, however, the only one, and the mythological interpretation is perhaps preferable (see LILITH and VAMPIRE). A. E. S.—S. A. C.

HORSELITTER (ΦΟΡΙΟΝ), 2 Macc. 98 AV, RV LITTER [*q.v.*, 3].

HOSAH (חֹסָה; ΙΑϹΕΙΦ [B], ϹΟΥϹΑ [A], ΩϹΑ [L]), a city on the border between the territory of Asher and that of Tyre (Josh. 1929). The reading is not quite certain. The *ιασειφ* of 𝔊B suggests an identification with *Kafr Yāsīf*, a small village with an ancient well

[1] Despite the later Arabian pedigrees which in many cases reach back to the time of Solomon.

[2] For the horses of the sun in Assyria, see Jensen, *Kos.* 108 *ff.*, and for horse-worship generally, see M'Lennan, *Studies*, 2nd ser. 529 *ff.*

NE. of Acre (*PEFM* 1 146 153; cp Baed.(3) *306).* If, however, we accept 'Hosah,' it is tempting to connect it with the 'Osú in Seti I.'s list of conquered places (WMM *As. u. Bur.* 194), the Ušu of the Assyrian inscriptions (see, *e.g.*, *KB* 291; G. Smith, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, 281; *Am. Tad.* 153 18).

Ušu was certainly by the sea, and had within its walls reservoirs, on which the island-city relied for its water-supply (cp Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 128 *f.* 1, Maspero, *Hist. anc.*(4) 185). It appears probable (as Prašek first suggested; see ESAU) that Ušu was the Assyrian form of the name of the old city of Tyre on the main-laud; and if, with Smend (Riehm's *HWB*(2) 1720), we may explain the phrase 'the fenced city of Tyre' (Josh. 19 29) of the island-city, and accept the statement of Strabo (16758) that the so-called Palætyrus was thirty stadia S. of the island-city at the modern Rās el 'Ain (see TYRE), it is not impossible to identify Hosah with Ušu, as Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 429) and Moore (*Judges*, 51) suggest. The Papyrus Anastasi I. speaks of the 'land of Ušu,' so that Ušu-Hosah would be a well-defined boundary. The Usous (of Philo of Byblus), whom Porter in Smith's *DB* (following Kn. and Di.) compares with the biblical Esau, seems to be really a personification of Ušu.[1]—On Josh. 19 28 *f.* see RAMAH (6).

T. K. C.

HOSAH (חֹסָה, cp the place-name HOSAH above), a Merarite door-keeper (temp. David), who, with his sons, had charge of the west portion of the temple (1 Ch. 16 38); οσσα [B], οσα [ℵ], ωσηε [AL]; 26 10-16, ιοσσα [B], ωσα [A], -αε [L, but in *v.* 10, ισαμ]).

According to MT, his charge was 'by the gate of Shallecheth,' which critics have unwisely retained. Both in Is. 6 13 and here שלכת is very doubtful. Read here לִשְׁכַּת '(of) the chambers' (of the temple-ministers, 1 Ch. 926). 𝔊BAL, [τοῦ] παστοφορίου (לשׁכה). In *v.* 18 (which, in 𝔊BA, is almost an exact repetition of *vv.* 16 *f.*) the name appears as ιοσσα [B] or ιας [A].

S. A. C.—T. K. C.

HOSAI (חוֹזָי), 2 Ch. 33 19 AVmg., RV HOZAI.

HOSANNA (ὡσαννα, Ti.; ὡσαννα, Treg. WH. Note the variations of D, *οσσανα, bωσσανα bis, item 15 [in Mt.], *οσσαννα, aωσσα. [in Mk.], οσσανα, aωσσ. [in Jn.]; Evang. sec. Hebr., ap. Hieron., Ep. 20 ad Dam., Osanna hwrama, *i.e.*, *Osanna in excelsis*. Pesh., Syr. Curet., Syr. Sin. אושענא; Syr. Jer. הושענא).

The cry of praise of 'those that went before and those that followed' at the last entry of Jesus into Jerusalem (Mt. 219 Mk. 11 9 *f.* Jn. 12 13), and afterwards of the children in the temple (Mt. 2115). Twice (Mk. 11 9 Jn. 1213) it stands by itself; twice (Mt. 219 15) it is combined with the dative ('to the Son of David'), and twice (Mt. 219 Mk. 11 10) it is followed by 'in the highest.' We must not begin byassuming that 'Hosanna' means σῶσον δή (Theophylact), *i.e.*, 'save now'; the signification of the term can only be gathered from the gospels. Now, the gospel narratives are not favourable to the interpretation 'save now.' If a doubt be permissible whether τῷ υἱῷ Δαυειδ, 'to the son of David,' may not be a too literal translation of הושעיה נא) לבן דויד)—a legitimate Hebrew phrase (cp Ps. 72 4 8616 116 16),—yet ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, 'in the highest,' seems quite incapable of being joined to 'Hosanna,' if this term is really an ejaculation meaning 'Save now.' As Dalman remarks (*Die Worte Jesu*, 1 181), Mt. (and surely we may add, Mk.) cannot have understood ωσ. ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις otherwise than in Ps. 148 1 (𝔊) αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις—*i.e.*, of the praise rendered to God by the angels. Lk. (19 37 *f.*) supports this view. Me says that the multitude 'began to rejoice and to ***praise*** God with a loud voice,' and closes the popular song with the words ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις.

These are not, however, the only difficulties which attend the still prevalent view that Hosanna, or Osanna, is derived from הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא, 'save now,' in Ps. 11825 (see below). A careful reading of Ps. 118 will show that it was by no means the most natural psalm for the multitude instinctively to quote from, especially as it was not then the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, to which this psalm was appropriated. Nor is it unimportant to remark that the psalmist's reference in Ps. 118 25 is not to the Son of David, but to the assembled congregation whose mouthpiece he is. To these objections the present writer knows no satisfactory answer. Few, at any rate, will agree with Wiinsche (*Erläuterungen der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrash*, 241) that in Mt. 21 8, 'it is beyond doubt that either the Feast of Passover is confonnded with that of Tabernacles, or else the narrator has intentionally transferred to the former festival a ceremony properly belonging to the latter.'

In order to advance further, we must gently criticise the narrative of the entry into Jerusalem. No reference is made to this 'triumphal entry' (as it is usually called) in the accounts of the trial of Jesus, and it does not seem in accordance either with his spiritual interpretation of his Messiahship, or with his clear anticipation of the bitter end which was approaching. Dalman has already found the view of Wellhausen (*IJG*(3), 381, n. *z*) acceptable, that the facts connected with the entry of Jesus received a distinctly Messianic colouring at a later day; and when we look at the narrative of Mt., we find that its second section abundantly suffices as a description of the way in which the Christ (as since Cæsarea Philippi we may call him) made his arrival known to the poor and distressed. He went, we are told (Mt. 21 12 *ff.*) into the temple, cast out those that sold and bought there, and healed the blind and the lame (for whom there was now room), and thereupon the very children cried aloud, saying, 'Hosanna to the Son of David.' (Were they, literally, the blind and the lame? were they, literally, children?') The chief priests and scribes, indeed, were 'sore displeased,' but Jesus reminded them of the words of the Psalm (82 [3]), 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise' (𝔊 κατηρτίσω αἶνον).

This quotation may, perhaps, as Nestle has pointed out, enable us to account for the introduction into the gospel narrative (which has obviously been amplified) of the obscure word ωσαννα. The Hebrew text of Ps. 82 [3] has עֹז, 'strength,' or possibly 'praise' (hence 𝔊's αἶνον). The Tg., more literal than 𝔊, renders this by עוּשְׁנָא, *'ūšnā* ('strength'). The question arises whether the tradition that Jesus defended the songs of praise to God into which the simple-hearted children ('boys,' τοὺς παῖδας) broke by a reference to Ps. 8 2 [3] may not have suggested to a pre-canonical evangelist to put the words 'Strength (*i.e.*, praise) be ascribed to the son of David' into the mouth of the children as a short hymn. He himself read the OT in the Targum, and he introduced the significant word *'ūšnā* from the Targum into the children's hymn. The right form of the word will then be ***Osanna*** (strictly, Osen[n]a; the final *a* however has a retro-active assimilating force), not *Hosanna*. For the double *n*, *if* ***accepted,*** cp Ρεβεκκα for רִבְקָה, ***Bouoppa*** for בָּצְרָה, Μαθεκκα or Ματεκκα for מִתְקָה.

Apart from the difficulties here mentioned, the best explanation of Hosanna is that of Dalman (***Die** Worte Jesu*, 1182; cp *Gramm.* 198). It may conceivably have

[1] *See* Sayce, ***Pat. Pal.*** 218, and cp ESAU. In the fragments of Philo of Byblus preserved by Eus. (*Præp. Ev.* i. 10 10) we read of two rival brothers Samemrumus and Usöus the former of whom dwelt at Tyre and made huts of reeds: and the latter invented garments of skin. Where Usōus took up his abode we are not told; but the mythographer adds that he was the first to go to sea on the stem of a tree and that he consecrated two pillars to Fire and Wind. This'prohably means that Usous occupied the islands off the coast of Tyre, and erected on one of them the famous twin pillars of Melcarth (cp Herod. 244). So Maspero, *Hist. anc.*(4) 185.

[1] Ps 8 2 [3], if we assume the text to he correct, may naturally be interpreted with reference to childlike Jewish believers.

come from הוֹשַׁע נָא, a shortened form of הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא, 'save now.' This phrase was in liturgical use among the later Jews (see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF). Keim (*Jesus von Naz.* 3 91, n. 3) remarks truly, that Merx's explanation of Osanna from Aram. אוֹשַׁעְנָא, *'oša'nā*, 'deliver us,' agrees neither with Ps. 118 25 nor with the following dative.

It is worth reminding the reader that when a passage of a psalm or a prophecy is clearly unsuitable to the context, we are justified in considering the possibility of interpolation or corruption. Interpolation seems to he the theory called for to account for Ps. 118 26, 'Blessed in the name of Yahwi: be he that enters! we bless you from the house of Yahwi:. It is not less probable that the original form of *v.* 25 has been marred by transcriptional error. Probably we should correct thus,—

Our Redeemer is Yahwè; he has succoured us;
Our Redeemer is Yahwi:; he has prospered us.

Duhm, it is true, adheres to the MT of *v.* 25, and retains *v.* 26 as a part of Ps. 118, but without showing how *vv.* 25 *f.*, thus read, fit into the context. He holds that הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא (rendered in his metrical version 'Hosanna') was an ancient ritual exclamation. For this he refers to Jer. 2 27, 'In the time of their trouble they will say, Arise, and save us,' but קוּמָה וְהוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ is no ritual formula, and even if it were, it is a long way off from ὡσαννά. In fact, if it favours any of the current views of the origin of ὡσαννά, it is that which is now seldom defended, viz. that ὡσαννά comes from Aram. אוֹשַׁעְנָא, 'save us.'

Thayer (in Hastings, *DB* 2 419), whose name deservedly carries great weight, refers to the obscuration of the true 'etymological meaning' of Hosanna in many patristic writings. Even Clem. Alex. (*Pæd.* 1 5 12) says that it means φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἶνος, while Suidas 'or his annotator' defines it εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα, and adds that σῶσον δή is, by some, *incorrectly* given as the meaning. Augustine too (*De Doctr. Christ.* 2 11, and *Tract. in Johan.* 51 2) says that Hosanna is only a joyous interjection, and, carrying on this tradition, our own Anglo-Saxon versions render it 'Hail.' As a rule, we should not attach much importance to these authorities. When, however, we find their view confirmed by the early Christian doxological use (*Didaché*, 10 6; *HE* ii. 23 9), we may be excused for preferring the unsophisticated judgments of Clement and Augustine to the less penetrating though more erudite statement of Jerome (Ep. xx ad Damasum). The 'Glossæ Colbertinæ' combine the two views, ὡσαννά, δόξα, σῶσον δή, with which we may contrast Jerome's 'Osanna, salvifica' in the *Liber interpretationis* (OS 204 50 62 29).

See further Wetstein, *Nov. Test. Græc.* 1 460 *f.*; Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebr.*, on Mt. 21 8; Merx in Hilgenf., *NT extra can.* (2) 4 25; Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 3 91 104; Ewald, *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, 314; *GVI* 5 (2) 428; Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, 2 441 (passes lightly over difficulties); Zahn, *Einl.* 1 14. Acccording to Ewald, the words of the popular cry in Mt. 21 9, Mk. 11 9 *f.* are an 'Urlied des Christenthums'; Dean Stanley too, calls it the 'earliest hymn of Christian devotion' (cp HYMNS). But, as we have seen, Mt., and Mt. alone, gives the earliest summary of the Messianic song on the entry of Jesus, viz. ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ, 'Praise to the son of David.' The song was added 'to by Mt. himself, and still further by Mk. (cp also Lk. and Jn.); and is said (by all the evangelists) to have been uttered while Jesus was in the public way. It was originally an inspired outburst of the praise and gratitude of children, or perhaps rather of child-like believers; it became under the hands of the evangelists the acclamation of a multitude, either of Jerusalemites, or (Lk.) of disciples, or (Jn.) of pilgrims who had come up for the feast.

T. K. C.

HOSEA (הוֹשֵׁעַ; ωσηε [BAQ]; *OSEE*), the son of Bĕērī, the first in order of the minor prophets. The name ought rather to be written Hōshēă, and is identical with that borne by the last king of Ephraim. and by Joshua in Nu. 13 16 Dt. 32 44. Of the life of Hosea we know nothing beyond what can be gathered from his prophecies. That he was a citizen of the northern kingdom appears from the whole tenor of the book, but most expressly from 1 2, where 'the land,' the prophet's land, is the realm of Israel, and from 7 5, where 'our king' is the king of Samaria.

The date at which Hosea flourished is given in the title (1 1) by the reigning kings of Judah and Israel.

1. Date: editorial note. He prophesied, it is said, (1) in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. kings of Judah; (2) in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel. As Jeroboam II. died in the lifetime of Uzziah, these two determinations of the period of Hosea's prophetic activity are not strictly coincident, and a question arises whether both are from the same hand or of equal authority.

There is no doubt that the second date (Jeroboam II.) rests upon 1 4, where the downfall of the dynasty of Jehu is threatened, which justifies the inference that the incidents in the domestic life of the prophet described in chap. 1 had taken place before the death of Jeroboam. On the other hand it seems equally certain that chaps. 4-14 are in their present form a continuous composition dating from the period of anarchy subsequent to that king's death. Thus it might seem natural to suppose, with Ewald and other scholars, that the name of Jeroboam originally stood in a special title to chaps. 1-3 (which are closely connected), which was afterwards extended to a general heading for the whole book by the insertion of the words 'of Uzziah . . . and in the days of.' As Hosea himself can hardly be supposed to have thus converted a special title into a general one, the scholars who take this view suppose further that the date by Judæan reigns was added by a later hand, the same perhaps that penned the identical date in the title to Isaiah.

According to the view just described, the Judæan date merely expresses knowledge on the part of some

2. Internal indications. Hebrew scribe that Hosea was a contemporary of Isaiah. The plausibility of this hypothesis is greatly increased by the fact that there does-not appear to be anything in the book of Hosea that is clearly as late as the reign of Hezekiah. On the contrary, the latter part of the book seems to have been written before the expedition of Tiglath-pileser against Pekah in the days of Ahaz.

In that war Gilead and Galilee were conquered and depopulated (2 K. 15 29); but Hosea repeatedly refers to these districts as still forming an integral part of the kingdom of Israel (5 1 6 8 12 11 [12]). Assyria is never referred to as a hostile power. It is a dangerous ally, from which some of the godless Ephraimites were ready to seek the help which by another party was expected from Egypt (but cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), but in truth was to be found only in Yahwè (5 13 7 11 8 9 10 6 [14 3 [4]]).

The picture given in the book thus agrees precisely with what we read in 2 K. 15 of the internal dissensions which rent the northern kingdom after the fall of the house of Jehu, when Menahem called in the Assyrians to help. him against those who challenged his pretensions to the throne.

Under Pekah of Israel, and Ahaz his contemporary in Judah, the political situation was altogether changed. Israel was in alliance with Damascus, and Assyria made open war on the allies (2 K. 16). This new situation may he said to mark a crisis in the history of OT prophecy, for to it we owe the magnificent series of Isaiah's Assyrian discourses (Is. 7 *ff.*). The events which stirred Judæan prophets so deeply, however, have left no trace in the book in which Hosea sums up the record of his teaching. He foresees that captivity and desolation lie in the future; but nowhere in Hosea do we find the Assyrians spoken of otherwise than as a people to whom Israel looks for help and victory.

The traditional chronology of the kings of Judah and Israel is notoriously precarious.

A comparison of the Assyrian monuments and eponym lists with the biblical data makes it probable that the period from the accession of Zachariah, son of Jerohoam II., to the fall of Samaria must be shortened by as much as twenty years, and that the interregnum which was commonly supposed to have followed Jeroboam's death must be cancelled. This correction may be held to remove one difficulty in the title of our book, which on the current chronology assigns to Hosea some sixty years of prophetic activity. On the other hand most Assyriologists agree that the expedition of Sennacherib took place in 701 B.C. In that case Hezekiah did not come to the throne till after the fall of Samaria, which the book of Hosea predicts as a future occurrence (13 16 [14 1])—another argument against the authority of the title. There is still, however, a large element of uncertainty in the reconstruction of Hebrew chronology by the aid of monuments.

One date bearing on our book may be taken as certain—viz., the war of Tiglath-pileser with Pekah in 734—and, according to our argument, Hosea committed his prophecies to writing before that year.[1]

A more exact determination of the date of the book has been sought by comparing 8 9 *f.* with the statement on the monuments that Tiglath-pileser received tribute from King Menahem (Minḫimmi) of Samaria in 738 B.C. That Minḫimmi of the monuments is the Menahem of the OT there seems no good reason to doubt, in spite of the objections of Oppert and G. Smith; but it cannot be assumed that tribute was paid by him in 738 for the first time. The narrative in 2 K. 15 19 seems to indicate that the relations of Menahem to Assyria began earlier

[1] Some writers, including Pusey, claim a later date for the book, identifying Shalman in 10 14 with Shalmaneser IV., the successor of Tiglath-pileser. This identification is altogether arbitrary. [The closing words of 10 14 are obscure, nor is Schrader's explanation, referred to by WRS, thoroughly satisfactory. See BETH-ARBEL.]

perhaps not long after his accession, which may be dated with probability *circa* 742 B.C.[1]

To sum up, the first part of Hosea's prophetic work, of which we read in 1-3, falls (partially at least) in the years immediately preceding the catastrophe of the house of Jehu in or near the year 743. The second part of the book is a summary of prophetic teaching during the subsequent troublous reigns of Menahem and of Pekahiah his successor, and must have been completed before 734 B.C.

3. Conclusion: origin of superscription.

The conclusion thus gained from the book itself as to the date of the prophet is not favourable to the hypothesis of Ewald and others, with which we began, as to the origin and importance of the title.

Of the four kings of Judah not only Hezekiah hut also Ahaz, who did not ascend the throne till 734, is incorrectly included in 1 1, and the assumption that Hosea himself at 1 1 affixed a date —that of Jerohoam—but failed to place a similar date at the head of chap. 4, although a new period was now being dealt with, sounds highly improbable, quite apart from the consideration that from the prophet one would rather expect no date at all than a defective one.

Besides this, the form of the superscription presents difficulties. 'The word of Yahwè that came to Hosea the son of Beeri' is by no means very appropriate to the narrative chapters 1 and 3, and, so far as the remaining chapters are concerned, such a heading is intelligible only from the post-Deuteronomic period, which identified the written prophetic word with the word of Yahwè. On the analogy of Am. 1 1 and Jer. 1 1, it is therefore to be conjectured that the old Superscription may have run somewhat thus: 'words of Hosea the son of Beērī' (דִּבְרֵי הוֹשֵׁעַ בֶּן־בְּאֵרִי), where it is to be observed that דברי may also have borne the more general meaning 'Story of.' In any case it is the view of a later century as to the age of Hosea that is conveyed by the data of the superscription, In fact it is perhaps possible for us still to perceive how this view may have arisen.

From 1 4 it was possible to infer that Hosea must have lived in the time of Jeroboam, who was known to have been a contemporary of Uzziah. The name of Hezekiah, on the other hand, suggested itself to close the series of kings of Judah, as 1 7 was rightly regarded as containing an allusion to the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib, which took place under his reign.

Since, if this view be correct, the dates are only deductions of scholars from the contents of the writings, we have no longer any reason for giving an earlier date to the writing of chaps. 1-3, than to that of chaps. 4 *ff.*

The occurrences of which chaps. 1-3 speak are some of them—*e.g.* the prophet's marriage and the birth of his eldest son Jezreel—earlier than the fall of the house of Jehu; but it is not to he concluded on that account that they were committed to writing earlier than the complete narrative. There is no obvious reason why the prophet could not have written 1 4 *f.* at a later date; for the confusions immediately following the downfall of the dynasty of Jehu could not have presented themselves to him otherwise than as the last convulsions of the kingdom of Israel after it had received its death-blow in the overthrow of that royal house.

Further, the first three chapters express an understanding of the occurrences in the home-life of the prophet that he could have arrived at only after he had brought hack his faithless spouse. If, then, it is only the birth of Jezreel that can safely he dated within the period before Jerohoam's death, the restoration of Hosea's wife already brings us down to Menahem's reign, since she had borne him two more children.

More precisely, therefore, we are able to say that before 743 (before the death of Jeroboam) Hosea was already a prophet—this appears from the significant name he gave to his son—but that the production of the written book belongs to a date after 743, though before 734.

The superscription, however, is not the only element which the book of Hosea owes to later hands.[2] Apart from minor and more casual interpolations there are two distinct categories of such additions: (1) those which bring the prophecies into relation to the southern Kingdom, and so supply a painfully felt omission; and (2) those which interrupt, or round off, Hosea's predictions of the coming judgment, with promises of a time of final blessedness (of which, in the view of a later age, every prophet must of course have known).

4. Interpolations.

To the first class, over and above the interpolations of entire verses or of entire portions of verses, such as 1 7 (the allusion to the deliverance of Jerusalem in Seunacherib's time), 4 15*a* 5 5*bβ* 6 11 8 14 (cp also Am. 2 5), 10 14 end (?), and 12 1*b*, we must reckon all those changes by which 'Judah' was simply substituted for 'Israel' or 'Ephraim' in the original text—so in 5 10 (unless the entire verse be an interpolation), 5 12-14 6 4 (also perhaps wholly interpolated) 10 11 and 12 2 [3] (where clearly 'Israel' is to he read for 'Judah'; cp the play on words in 12 3 [4]).

To the second category belong 1 10-2 1 [2 1-3]—a section which interrupts the picture of the judgment contained in 1 2-2 15 [17]; 2 16-23 [2 18-25] (perhaps with the exception of 2 17 [19])—an appended description of the blessedness to come 'in that day' (viz. in Messianic times); 3 5—the promise of the return from the dispersion to the happy fatherland; 6 1-5-6 3—the penitent return after the judgment; 6 11-7 1—an utterance relating to the restoration after the Exile; 11 10 *f.*—again a promise of the home-coming after dispersion (cp Is. 60 8 *f.*); and 14 1-9 [14 2-10], an appendix (cp *n.* 2, above) pointing forward to the blessed coming time which stands in glaring contrast with 13 16 [14 1].[1]

Apart from the narrative in chaps. 1-3, to which we shall presently recur, the book throws little or no light on the details of Hosea's life. It appears from 9 7 *f.* that his prophetic work was greatly embarrassed by opposition; 'As for the prophet, a fowler's snare is in all his ways, and enmity in the house of his God.' The enmity which had its centre in the sanctuary probably proceeded from the priests (cp Am. 7), against whose profligacy and profanation of their office our prophet frequently declaims—perhaps also from the degenerate prophetic guilds of the holy cities in the Northern Kingdom, with whom Hosea's elder contemporary Amos i o indignantly refuses to be identified (Am. 7 14). In 4 5 Hosea seems to comprise priests and prophets in one condemnation, thus placing himself in direct antagonism to, all the leaders of the religious life of his nation. In such circumstances, and amidst the universal dissolution of social order and morality to which every page of his book bears testimony, the prophet was driven to the verge of despair (9 7), and only the sovereign conviction of Yahwè's essential nature, which is no other than salvation, and of his infinite power, which will surely bring salvation to pass, so upheld him that the inevitable collapse of the existing commonwealth of Israel did not mean for him that all the workings of Yahwè had. come to an end. The hypothesis of Ewald, that he was at last compelled by persecution to retire from the Northern Kingdom, and composed his book in Judæa, rests mainly on an improbable exegesis of some of the passages mentioning Judah, referred to above, which it is impossible for us now to attribute to Hosea.

5. Hosea's life.

The most interesting problem of Hosea's history lies in the interpretation of the story of his married life (chaps. 1-3). We read in these chapters that Hosea married a profligate wife, Gomer the daughter of Diblaim, and that the prophet regarded this marriage as in accordance with a divine command.

6. His marriage.

Three children were born and received symbolical names illustrative of the divine purpose towards Israel, which are expounded in chap 1. In chap. 2 the faithlessness of Israel to Yahwè, the long-suffering of God the moral discipline of sorrow and tribulation by which he will 'punish and yet bring hack his erring people are depicted under the figure of the relation of a husband to an erring mouse. The suggestion of this alleeorv

[1] See CHRONOLOGY § 35 *f.*

[2] [Prof. G. A. Smith's treatment of the question of interpolations (*Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1) shows increased willingness to admit editorial manipulation. He is conservative as regards chap. 14, and Nowack partly supports him. Cp, however, Che., *op. cit.* p. xix; *Exp. T.* March '98. See also Che. Introd. to WRS *Proph.*(2), '95, and especially We. *Kl. Proph.* 95 *ff.*, and Oort (referred to in next note).]

[1] On the interpolations in the text of Hosea see, further, Oort (*Th. T.*, '90, p. 345 *ff.*), who would assign those in which Judah is named to the time of Josiah. This, however, can hardly be accepted, the interpolations in question being too inseparably mixed up with the others, which presuppose a later date.

lies in the prophet's marriage with Gomer; but the details are worked out quite independently, and under a rich multiplicity of figures derived from other sources. In chap. **3** we return to the personal experience of the prophet. His faithless wife had at length left him and fallen under circumstances which are not detailed, into **a** state of misery from which Hosea still following her with tender affection, brought her back and restored her to his house, where he kept her in seclusion, and patiently watched over her for many days, yet not readmitting her to the privileges of a wife. In this last action, too, the prophet sees a fulfilment of the will of God.

In these experiences the prophet again recognises a parallel to Yahwè's long-suffering love to Israel, and the discipline by which the people shall he brought back to God through a period **in** which **all** their political and religious institutions are overthrown.

Throughout these chapters personal narrative and prophetic allegory are interwoven with a rapidity of transition very puzzling to the modern reader; but an unbiassed exegesis can hardly fail to acknowledge that chaps. **1** and **3** narrate an actual passage, in the prophet's life. The names of the three children are symbolical; but Isaiah in like manner gave his sons symbolical names embodying prominent points in his prophetic teaching (Shear-jashub, Is. **7**3, cp **10**21; Maher-shalal-hash-baz, **8**3). Gomer bath Diblaim is certainly the name of an actual person (cp GOMER ii.).

On this name **all** the allegorists, from the Targum, Jerome, and Ephrem Syrus downwards, have spent their arts in vain, whereas the true symbolical names in the book are perfectly easy of interpretation.[1] That the ancient interpreters take the whole narrative as a mere parable is no more than an application of their standing rule that in the biblical history everything which in its literal sense appears offensive to propriety is allegorical (cp Jerome's proem to the hook). The supposed offence to propriety, however, seems to rest on mistaken exegesis and too narrow a conception of the way in which the Divine word was communicated to the prophets.

There is no reason to suppose that Hosea knowingly married a woman of profligate character. The point of the allegory in 12 is plainly infidelity after marriage as a parallel to Israel's departure from the covenant God, and a profligate wife (אשת זנונים) is not the same thing as an open prostitute (זונה). The marriage was marred by Gomer's infidelity; and the struggle of Hosea's affection for his wife with this great unhappiness—a struggle inconceivable unless his first love had been pure and full of trust in the purity of its object—furnished him with a new insight into Yahwè's dealings with Israel. Then he recognised that the great calamity of his life was Gods own ordinance and appointed means to communicate to him a deep prophetic lesson. The recognition of a divine command after the fact has its parallel, as Wellhausen observes, in Jer. **32** 8.

The explanation of the narrative here adopted, which is essentially Ewalds, has commended itself to not a few recent expositors, as Valeton, Wellhausen, and Nowack, also to v. Orelli, but with the qualification that it is another wife that is spoken of in 3.[2] It has the great advantage of supplying a psychological key to the conception of Israel or the land of Israel (12) as the spouse of Yahwè, which dominates these chapters, but immediately, in the other parts of the book, gives way *to* the personification of the nation as Gods son. This conception has, indeed, formal points of contact with notions previously current, and even with the ideas of Semitic heathenism.

On the one hand, it is a standing Hebrew usage to represent the land *as* mother of its people, whilst the representation of worshippers as children of their god is found in **Nu. 21** 29, where the Moahites are called children of Chemosh and is early and widespread throughout the Semitic field (cp *TSBA* 6 438; *J. Phil.* 9 82). The combination of these two notions gives at once the conception of the national deity **as** husband of the land. On the other hand, the designation of Yahwè as Baal, which, in accordance with the antique view of marriage, means husband as well as lord and owner, was current among the Israelites in **early** times (see BAAL), perhaps, indeed, down to Hosea's own age (unless 2 16 [18] he merely a learned gloss, reminiscent of the earlier time). Now it is highly probable that among the idolatrous Israelites the idea of a marriage between the deity and individual worshippers was actually current and connected with the immorality which Hosea often condemns in the worship of the local Baalim, whom the ignorant people identified with Yahwè. For we have **a** Punic woman's name, ארשתבעל, 'the betrothed of Baal' (Euting, *Punische Steine* 9, *15*), and there was a similar conception among the Babylonian; (Herod. 1 181 *f.*).

Hosea, however, takes the idea of Yahwè as husband, and gives it an altogether different turn, filling it with a new and profound meaning, based on the psychical experiences of a deep human affection in contest with outraged honour and the wilful self-degradation of a spouse. It can hardly be supposed that all that lies in these chapters is an abstract study in the psychology of the emotions. It is actual human experience that gives Hosea the key to divine truth.

Among those who do not recognise this view of the passage, the controversy between allegory and literalism is carried on chiefly upon abstract assumptions.

The extreme literalists, of whom Pusey may he taken **as** the modern representative in England, will have it that the divine command justified a marriage otherwise highly improper, and that the offensive circumstances magnify the obedience of the prophet. This is to substitute the Scotist and Neo-Platonic notion of God for that of the prophets. On the other hand the allegorists who argue that God could not have enjoined on his prophet a marriage plainly improper and fitted to destroy his influence among the people, are unable to show that what is repulsive in fact is fit subject for a divine allegory. **A** third school of recent writers (including the elder Fairbairn), led by Hengstenberg, and resting on a thesis of John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist, will have it that the symbolical action was transacted in what they allow themselves by a *contradictio in adjecto* to call an objective vision. Cp J. Th. de Visser, ***Hosea, De man des geestes***, Utrecht, 1886.

It was in the experiences of his married life, and in the spiritual lessons opened to him through these, that Hosea heard the revealing voice of Yahwè.

7. His message.

Even so early as at the birth of Jezreel he had perceived the will of God concerning Israel, and given to his son a significant name accordingly. At a later date he recognised that the word of Yahwè had been leading him even at the time when he married Gomer bath Diblaim. Like Amos (Am. 3 8), he was called to speak for God by an inward constraining voice, and there is no reason to think that he had any connection with the recognised prophetic societies, or ever received such outward adoption to office as was given to Elisha.

Hosea's position in Israel was one of tragic isolation. Amos, when he had discharged his mission at Bethel, could return to his home and to his friends; Hosea **was** a stranger among his own people, and his home was full of sorrow and shame. Isaiah in the gloomiest days of Judahs declension had faithful disciples about him, and knew that there was a believing remnant in the land. Hosea knows no such remnant, and there is not a line in his prophecy from which **we** can conclude that his words ever found an obedient ear. For him the present condition of the people contained no germ or pledge of future amendment, and he describes the impending judgment, not as a sifting process in which the wicked perish and the righteous remain, but **as** the total wreck of the nation which has wholly turned aside from its God.

In truth, while the idolatrous feasts of Ephraim still ran their joyous round, while the careless people crowded to the high places, and there in unbridled and licentious mirth flattered themselves that their many sacrifices ensured the help of their God against **all** calamity, the nation was already in the last stage of internal dissolution. To the prophet's eye there **was 'no** truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land—nought

[1] Theodorus Mops. remarks very justly, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν πατέρα λέγει, ὡς μὴ πλάσμα ψιλόν τι δοκοίη τὸ λεγόμενον, ἱστορία δὲ ἀληθὴς τῶν πραγμάτων.

[2] Seesemann also now upholds the view that another wife is intended in *3* (*Israel u. Juda bei Amos u.* ***Hosea***, '98, **pp.** *32-44*). Volz on the other hand ('Die Ehegeschichte Hosea's' in *ZWT*, '93, pp. 321-335) takes **3** to be an allegorical narrative added to **1** at a later date. Perhaps there is some truth in this. To the present writer the matter presents itself somewhat as follows: Hos. **3** is *a* later addition and is intended **as** an allegory referring to Israel (cp בני ישראל; 3 1), Hosea's own words, especially chap. **1**, having been taken as referring to Judah. In the mind of the redactor Hos. 1-3 was a companion picture to Ezek. **23**, and if so we shall then have to say that Hosea had two wives,—one literal, viz. Gomer (=Judah), one allegorical (chap. 3 = Israel).

but swearing and lying and killing and stealing, and adultery; they break out, and blood toucheth blood' (4 1 *f.*).

The root of this corruption lay in total ignorance of Yahwè, whose precepts were no longer taught by the priests, while in the national calf-worship, and in the local high places, this worship was confounded with the service of the Canaanite Baalim. Thus the whole religious constitution of Israel was undermined.

The political state of the realm was in Hosea's eyes not more hopeful. The dynasty of Jehu, still great and powerful when the prophet's labours began, is itself an incorporation of national sin. Founded on the bloodshed of Jezreel, it must fall by God's vengeance, and the state shall fall with it (1 4 34). This sentence stands at the head of Hosea's predictions, and throughout the book the civil constitution of Ephraim is represented as equally lawless and godless with the corrupt religious establishment. The anarchy that followed on the murder of Zachariah appears to the prophet as the natural decadence of a realm not founded on divine ordinance. The nation had rejected Yahwè, the only helper. Now the avenging Assyrian is at hand. Samaria's king shall pass away as foam[1] on the water. Fortress and city shall fall before the ruthless invader, who spares neither age nor sex; and thistles shall cover the desolate altars of Ephraim.

Is this, then, the last word in the message of the prophet?

8. Is the future all gloom?

If the passages already indicated as later additions, in which a happy future is spoken of, could have been assigned to Hosea, we could answer with a categorical negative. In that case alone could we say

'Hosea could discern no faithful remnant in Ephraim,' yet Ephraim in all his corruption is the son of Yahwè, a child nurtured with tender love, a chosen people. This people, the prophet knows, is destined once more to return in truth and faithfulness to its father [see Hos. 11 1, and cp LOVINGKINDNESS] and its God, through whose love all its plagues will be healed and a glorious and blessed land prepared for its occupation. Of the manner of Israel's repentance and conversion Hosea presents no clear image; the certainty that the people will at length return rests only on the invincible supremacy of Yahwè's love.'

Even so we should have to say of Hosea that the two sides of his prophetic declaration, the passionate denunciation of Israel's sin and folly, and the not less passionate tenderness with which he describes the final victory of divine love, are united by no logical bond. The unity is one of feeling only, and the sob of anguish in which many of his appeals to a heedless people seem to end, turns once and again with sndden revulsion into the clear accents of evangelical promise, which in the closing chapter (if we accept this as Hosea's) swell forth in pure and strong cadence out of a heart that has found its rest with God from all the troubles of a stormy life.

What, however, we are compelled by the actual facts as they present themselves to conclude, is that in the original historical Hosea there was no assurance of a final triumph of the divine love or of a penitent return of the sinful nation.

Hosea's last word was in reality an announcement of the unrelenting judgment upon his people which Yahwè, with bleeding heart indeed, is threatening and in course of fulfilling; as the Holy One, in spite of his love, he dares not allow himself after the manner of men to be swayed by his feelings, or exercise compassion any further (11 8 *f.* 13 14). The land of Israel is becoming as Admah and as Zeboim, its inhabitants are destined to be swept away to death and Shĕōl, or to live in an exile where all communion with their God is cut off just as the wife of the prophet is excluded from communion with her husband.

Still we should not have fully understood Hosea did we imagine we saw in this judgment the final close of all God's dealings. We must not fail to notice that for Hosea the judgment passed upon Israel means, not an end to all salvation, but a self-assertion of Yahwè. Yahwè for the prophet is the very impersonation of salvation, and therefore it is precisely by his asserting of himself that the accomplishment of salvation is guaranteed. What the further ways of God might be Hosea was unable to say; salvation, however, depended not upon the continued existence of the nation, but upon Yahwè. This recognition of Yahwè, and hope in him (4 16 6 6 12 6[7]) saved the prophet from despair and enabled him with a tranquil heart to leave the future to his God. Cp AMOS, § 18; ISAIAH i., § 2.

9. Traditions about Hosea.

Bĕēri, the prophet's father, is identified by the Rabbins with Bĕērah (1 Ch. 5 6), a Reubenite prince carried captive by Tiglath-pileser. This view is already expressed by Jerome, *Quæst. in Paralip.*, and doubtless underlies the statement of the Targum to Chronicles that Bĕērah was a prophet. For it is a Jewish maxim that when a prophet's father is named, he too was a prophet, and accordingly a tradition of R. Simon makes Is. 8 19 *f.* a prophecy of Bĕēri (Kimchi *in loc.*; *Leviticus Rabba*, par. 15). According to the usual Christian tradition, however, Hosea was of the tribe of Issachar, and from an otherwise unknown town, Belemoth or Belemon (pseudo-Epiphanius, pseudo-Dorotheus, Ephrem Syr. 2 234; *Chron. Pasch.*, Bonn ed. 1 276). As the tradition adds that he died there, and was buried in peace, the source of the story lies probably in some holy place shown as his grave. There are other traditions as to the burial-place of Hosea. A Jewish legend in the *Shalshelet haqqabala* (Carpzov, *Introd.*, pt. 3, ch. 7, § 3) tells that he died in captivity at Babylon, and was carried to Upper Galilee, and buried at צפת, that is, Ṣafed (Neubauer, *Géogr.* 227); and the Arabs show the grave of Neby Osha', E. of the Jordan, near Es-Salt. (see GILEAD, 4, and cp Burckhardt's *Syria*, 353).

10. Literature.

Of the older comms. on Hosea, which have been fully catalogued by Rosenmüller in his *Scholia*, it is sufficient to name Le Mercier's Latin annotations, embodying a translation of the chief rabbinical expositions, and the English comm. of E. Pococke (Oxford, 1683), which is not surpassed in learning and judgment by any subsequent work. Among special commentaries may be mentioned those of Simson ('51), Wünsche ('68), with abundant references to Jewish interpreters, Nowack ('80), Cheyne, in the *Camb. Bible* ('84; (2) '92), and J. H. de Visser (see above). Ew., Hitz., and (especially) We. and Now., have done much for Hosea in their comprehensive works [to which WRS *Proph.*, Lect. 4, G. A. Smith's progressive but cautious *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. 1 ('96), Duhm's *Theol. der Proph.*. and Smend's *AT Rel.-gesch.*, Nowack's *Kl. Proph.* will naturally be added. See also Sayce, *JQR* '89, pp. 162-172; Houtsma, *Theol. Tijdscr.* '75, p. 55 *f.*; Oort, *ib.* '90, p. 345 *ff.*; Beer, *ZATW*, '93, p. 281 *ff.*; Co. *ib.* '87, p. 285 *ff.*; and (for the text of 𝔊) Vollers, *ib.* '83, p. 219 *ff.*, '84, p. 1 *ff.*]. W. R. S.—K. M.

HOSEN, Dan. 3 21 RV for סרבל, *sarbāl* (AV 'coats'); AV for פטיש, *paṭṭīš* (RV 'tunics'). See BREECHES.

HOSHAIAH (הוֹשַׁעְיָה, 'Yahwè succours,' § 28).

1. Mentioned with a company of 'princes' of Judah' in procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*) Neh. 12 32 (ωσαια[ς] [BאAL]).

2. Father of Jezaniah (or Azariah); Jer. 42 1 (μαασαιου [B], αυνανιου [א*], αναν. [א1 (fort)], ωσαιου [אc.aQ], μασαιου [A]); 43 2 (μαασσ. [B*], μνασσ. [Bab], μασεου [א*], μαασ. [אc.a], μασαιου [A], ωσ. [Q]).

HOSHAMA (הוֹשָׁמָע, § 33; for JEHOSHAMA [*q.v.*]), one of the seven sons of Jechoniah; 1 Ch. 3 18 † (ωσαμωθ [B], -μω [A a sup ras], -μα [L]).

ROSHEA (הוֹשֵׁעַ, an abbreviation of יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, § 50; see JOSHUA; it is otherwise transliterated HOSEA, ωϲηε [BAL, in 2 K. 18 1 ηϲηε B*]).

1. The last king of Israel (733-722), called Ausi'(a) in the Assyrian inscriptions. In retracing his tragic fortunes we must at once start from a critical point of view. Hoshea came to the throne not in the twelfth year of Ahaz (see 2 K. 17 1), but in 733,[1] when Pekah was killed by his subjects, and Hoshea (Ausi') was set up, as king of the land of Bit Ḫumri (see PEKAH), by Tiglath-pileser, who records it. No doubt Hoshea was a leading member of the Assyrian party, whereas Pekah had done his utmost to promote resistance to Assyria.

1 [MT בְּקֶצֶף. RVmg. substitutes 'twigs' for AV's 'foam' (Tg.) in accordance with Hi. and most moderns (𝔊 φρύγανον). בקצף, however, is surely corrupt; Grä.'s בקטף is plausible, but the corruption lies deeper. שמרון and בקצף are both corruptions of מִקְדָּשׁ; על פני מים should be גאון אפרים. Thus we get, 'The sanctuary of his king (cp Am.) is destroyed, the pride of Ephraim' (Che.). There are many such corruptions in the prophetic writings which need to be treated with reference to the habits of the scribes. Cp TEXT.]

1 Cp Schr. *KAT*(2) 475 (*COT* 2 183).

It is equally impossible to hold that Hoshea twice revolted from Assyria, and twice was punished by an Assyrian invasion. It must be to the redactor that the present tissue of improbabilities is due, and the only remedy is critical analysis of the section, 2 K. 17 3-6. Two parallel reports, as Winckler has shown, have been combined.

(1530) And Hoshea ben Elah conspired against Pekah Len Remaliah, and smote him and became king in his stead. (17 3*a*) Against him came **up** Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, for[1] Hoshea used to bring him tribute every year, but in this year hebrought him no tribute. **5**. And the king of Assyria came up against the whole land, and went **up** against Samaria, and besieged it three years. 6. And after three years2 he took Samaria, and carried Israel awav to Assvria.	(**15** 29) In the days of Pekab, king of Israel, etc., and carried them away to Assyria, [And Hoshea conspired against Pekahl and slew him, [and the king of Assyria appointed him to be king]. (17 3*b*) And Hoshea became subject to him, and brought him tribute. 4*a*. And the king of Assyria found treason 3 in Hoshea, for he had sent messengers to Sevè, king of Misrim. **46.** And the king of' Assyria blinded him[4] and placed him hound in prison.

Thus we have four fixed points in the history of Hoshea :—(1) he steps to the throne over the body of his murdered predecessor ; (2) he pays yearly tribute to Assyria; **(3)** he revolts, in reliance on the support of the king of Miṣrim ; **(4)** his land is invaded, and, on the capture of Samaria, he is blinded (a vassal king's usual punishment for treason) and imprisoned. The payment of tribute probably went on till the death of Tiglath-pileser in **727.** Inevitably it much increased the burdens of a land already weakened by Tiglath-pileser's annexations. The nobles would suffer most directly ; but these would seek to compensate themselves by oppressing the commons. This is probably referred to by Hosea (5 11-13).

Ephraim is oppressed, is crushed by his **judges,**
For he chose to go after Assyria !
And I am as the moth for Ephraim,
As rottenness for the house of Judah.
And when Ephraim saw his sickness,
And Israel his festering wound,
Ephraim went to Maṣor (*i.e.*, **Muṣri),**
Israel to the Arabian king ;
But he will not be able to help you,
Nor will he cure you of your wound.[5]

Now we see clearly what was the immediate cause of the ruin of Israel. The people could not any longer bear the exactions of Assyria. A gleam of hope shone when their tyrant (Tiglath-pileser) died. The anti-Assyrian party everywhere formed plans for concerted action. Jeroboam I. of N. Israel, and long afterwards Hanun of Gaza, had already sought refuge in the land of Muṣri, which was a province of the great kingdom of Meluḫḫa in N. Arabia ;[6] and, later, we shall find Yaman of Ashdod following their example. What more natural than for Hoshea to enter into negotiations with the powerful prince, Pir'u, king of Muṣri, whose ***tartan,*** or general, Sargon names Sib'i (out of which name the Hebrew scribes have made סוא,[7] see *So)?* It was of no avail. In *724* B.C. the Assyrian army took the field against Samaria. In ***722*** the city was taken, and there is no sufficient reason for closing the political career of Hoshea at an earlier date.[8] The prophets

1 Following 𝔊ᴸ *v.* 4*b*, ἐνιαυτὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.
2 In accordance with 18 10.
3 𝔊ᴮᴬ ἀδικίαν = שֶׁקֶר (Thenius, **Klo.**, etc.).
4 Read וַיַּעַצְרֵהוּ (see 25 7).
5 In *v.* 11 read מִשְׁפָּטָיו (for מִשְׁפָּט) and אַשּׁוּר (for צו).
In *v.* 13 *aβ*, read מָצוֹר (for אַשּׁוּר), **and** עֲרָבִי (for ירב). See Che. *Crit.* Bid., and cp JAREB.
6 The theory of **Wi.** is fully explained elsewhere (see MIZRAIM, § 2 6).
7 The Hebrew writer made the *tartan* intoa *melek* or 'king.'
8 Whitehouse, however (Hastings, ***DB*** 426), hesitates between this view and that of Hommel (*GBA* 675) and Tiele (BAG **232)** that Hoshea was taken captive before the siege of Samaria. The latter view makes Hoshea's reign last only nine years (agreeably to 2 K. 17 1), but requires us to suppose not only that the writer of ***v.6*** confounds the capture of Hoshea with that of Samaria; hut also that the people of Samaria had courage to prolong the struggle even after such a decisive event as the capture of their king.

Hosea and Isaiah foresaw the result (Hos. 14 1[2] Is. 28 1-4).

We know but little of Hoshea; but the redactor of Kings found reason to believe that he was a better king than his predecessors (2 K. 17 2). Lucian's recension of 𝔊, however, turns the praise into blame,—no doubt, as Benzinger remarks, to carry out the theory of proportionate retribution. Hoshea, having suffered so terribly, must have been the worst of Israel's kings.

See Benzinger's commentary; Wi. A T *Unters.* 15 *ff.*, *Musri Meluḫḫa Main,* **1** 5 27, etc., ***GI*** 1 169 *f.*; Guthe, *GVI* 191 *ff.*

T. **K.** C.

2 RV in Nu. 13 8 16 [P], AV OSHEA, and EV in Dt. 32 44 (but Sam. 𝔊 Vg. Pesh. 'Joshua'; see Dr.'s note). see JOSHUA., I.

3. b. Azaziah according to the Chronicle;, an Ephraimite chief, *temp.* David, 1 Ch. 27 20 (ωση [BA]).

4. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 23[24] (ωσηθα [Bℵ]).

HOSPITALITY. The duty of hospitality is recognised both in the Old and in the New Testament. The ideal Hebrew, Abraham, runs to meet the strangers who approach his tent (Gen. 18 2); Paul would have his converts 'pursue hospitality' (*τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες,* Rom. **12 13).** It will be observed, Paul does not inculcate the duty as something new to Gentiles ; with the Greeks, as with the Hebrews, hospitality rested on religious sanctions (cp Hom. *Od.* 6 206). Zeus Xenios is a well-known divine title; it was to Zeus in this character (RV 'the Protector of strangers') that the Samaritan temple at Gerizim was rededicated by Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. *6 2)*. The God of Israel too was 'a preserver of strangers' (גֵּרִים, Ps. 146 9); in fact, it was everywhere the gods who set the example of hospitality by granting protection to fugitives in their sanctuaries, and by welcoming poor as well as rich to the sacrificial feasts in which, it was believed, the gods and their worshippers met and ate together.

The Jewish law as to the treatment of sojourners requires separate treatment (see STRANGERS); it is only the externals of hospitality (in its wider sense), as described in the Bible, that here concern us.

We naturally turn in the first instance to passages like Gen. 18 1 *ff.* 19 1-3 24 18 *ff.* 29 13 *f.* Ex. 2 20 Josh. 21 cp **4**, Judg. **13** 15 19 17-21. No question was asked **as** to the name and circumstances of the guest until his first needs were satisfied (cp Gen. 24 32 *f.*). While under the roof of his host, the guest was in security ; hence the earnest appeal of Lot to the men of Sodom—death, or something as bad he could suffer, rather than that his guests should be exposed to gross ill-treatment (Gen. 19 6-8). To illustrate this we must go to Arabia, where the insecurity of the land has ensured the permanence of primitive hospitality. As Doughty says,

'Perilous rovers in the field, the herdsmen of the desert are kings at home, fathers of hospitality to all that seek to them for the night's harbour. "Be we not all," say the poor nomads, "guests of Ullah"? Has God given unto them God's guest shall partake with them thereof: if they will 'not for God render his own, it should not go well with them. The guest entered, and sitting down amongst them, they observe an honourable silence, asking no untimely questions (such is school and nurture of the desert) until he have eaten or drunk somewhat at the least, and hy 'the dread and salt' there is peace established between them for a time (that is counted two nights and the day in the midst, whilst their food is in him).'[1]

Indeed, hospitality is to the poor Bedouin what almsgiving became to the later Jews—the proof and expression of righteousness. These are the words of a thoughtful Bedouin to a Dowlāny, or government officer, at Damascus.

'Hearken ! A stranger alighting at a Bedawin booth, we welcome him, and are busy to serve him and we prepare the guest-supper ; and when he has eaten, in the same place he sleeps, in the assurance of Ullah, and with the morning light be rises up refreshed to hold on his journey. But ha ! when I came to es-Sham, riding upon my theliil [riding-camel], it was an evening (at the supping hour), and passing weary and hungry by the sūḳ [street], I alighted before some door where I thought to take my night-lodging. . . . This is their dealing.

1 Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 228.

with strangers which enter your towns! And wellah [verily] the Dowlāny allowed our life to be nigher unto God, because of the hospitality.'[1]

'With all this,' continues Doughty, 'there lacks not Arabic hospitality in the good city of Damascus,' and among the faults of the Jews, according to Jesus Christ, the vice of inhospitality was not included. Even a poor man, receiving a late visit from a friend, would take the trouble to go to an acquaintance at midnight and ask and ask again for the loan of three loaves to set before his friend (Lk. 11 5-8). But while even a Naṣrānī in our day receives hospitality in the desert, a Jew could not be received by a Samaritan in our Lord's time, nor a Samaritan by a Jew (Lk. 9 52 *f.* Jn. 49; but cp Lk. 10 33 *ff.*).

The Arabic term for the bond between the host and his guest is *milḥat*, from *milḥ* 'salt.' There is no such phrase in Hebrew; but in Nu. 18 19 2 Ch. 13 5 we find the phrase בְּרִית מֶלַח, *bĕrīth mĕlaḥ*, 'a salt pledge,' which is usually explained by the light of the Arabic phrase, 'the salt that is between us,' as a reference to the commensality of the god and his worshippers at the sacrificial feast. This was hardly the original intention of the phrase, but 'was, probably enough, an early explanation.[2] Still salt, in the Arabic phrase quoted above, is only symbolical. Drinking milk together in the same tent is the best sacramental form in hospitality, for milk is the natural substitute for blood; a milk-covenant is the nearest equivalent to a blood-covenant. Upon this theory Sisera very nearly became the true guest of the Kenite woman Jael. He drank of her milk, but not with her, nor within her tent.

As Judg. 5 27 shows, the fugitive stood at the door of Jael's tent; there he began to drink, and there sank down, struck by a deadly blow. That the text is corrupt is certain; that it has been correctly emended is probable (see JAEL). An early narrator appears to have had the Song of Deborah before him in an already corrupted form. The housewife's coffer had become a tent-peg, and the flint-stone a hammer.[3] We have no occasion either to devise some subtle excuse for Jael, or to call her act fiendish. She was in covenant with Barak not with Sisera, and by keeping Sisera outside her tent retained her right of blood-revenge. It remains true, however that the importance of the law of hospitality was not adequately appreciated hy the writer of Judg. 4, and that the Jael of his narrative contrasts strongly with the Canaanitish woman Rahab in Josh. 2. Very different was the common Israelitish feeling, as is shown by the vengeance for the outrage on hospitality related with such painful preciseness in Judg. 20 (see JUDGES, BOOK OF, § 13).

For NT references to hospitality see Rom. 12 13 16 23 1 Tim. 3 2 5 10 Tit. 1 8 Heb. 13 2 1 Pet. 4 9. Cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 76 269 *f.* 458, and see INN, MEALS, § 4 *ff.*, STRANGER, § 2.

T. K. C.

HOST (חַיִל, מַחֲנֶה, ϲτρατιά), **HOST OF HEAVEN** (צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם), **HOSTS** (צְבָאוֹת). See ARMY, CAMP § 1, NAMES, § 123, NATURE-WORSHIP, STARS, § 4.

HOSTS, LORD OF (יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת), 2 S. 6 2. See NAMES, § 123.

HOTHAM (חוֹתָם, 'seal,' § 71; χωθαν [BL]).

1. A name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.) 1 Ch. 7 32† (χωθαμ [A], ουθ. [L]). In *v.* 35 the name appears as HELEM.

2. AV **Hothan**, 1 Ch. 11 44 (κωθαν [Bℵ], χωθᾶ [A]), father of Shama and Jehiel, is described as an Aroerite. Which Aroer is meant is unknown.

HOTHIR (הוֹתִיר), according to the Chronicler a son of Heman (1 Ch. 25 4 28, ωθηρει, ηθει [B], ιωεθιρι, ιε. [A], ωθειρ [L]), *OTHIR* [Vg.]); but see HEMAN.

HOURS OF THE DAY. See DAY, § 3.

HOUSE (בַּיִת [οικοϲ, οικια] of uncertain derivation, properly denotes hardly more than a dwelling-place, In Sab. = fortress or temple. It is used occasionally of a tent (see TENT), but more generally of an abode made of solid materials with doorposts. For the various turns of expression in combinations of בית, see BDB, *s.v.* On its use as a house containing a family, hence descendants as an organised hody, etc., cp FAMILY, § 2. בית occurs in numerous compound place-names; see BETH, and cp NAMES, § 95).

In attempting to describe the houses of ancient Palestine we must take into consideration the houses now used in those parts of Western Asia which have been the least exposed to the changes of time, and in which the manners of ancient days have been the best preserved. The Hebrews themselves were a people who had been accustomed to tent-life; hence their knowledge of house-building must have been derived from the inhabitants of Canaan, who, as the Amarna Tablets clearly show, were at one time largely influenced by Assyrian culture.

The construction of houses depends upon the accessibility of suitable material and climatic exigencies. At the present day clay-bricks are used in the plain, stone in the mountains. Sun-dried bricks (לְבֵנָה, see BRICK) were used in the older times in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Palestine; hewn stone (גָּזִית) was rare, and, in the time of Amos, a sign of luxury (Am. 5 11 1 K. 7 9, cp Is. 9 10 [9]).[1] The houses of the lower classes were low and frail, and contrasted with the high stone houses of the rich nobles. Job speaks of 'houses of clay' (Job 4 19), also of those who 'dig (or break) into houses' (Job 24 16),[2] and a parable of Jesus describes the ease with which a house (on a sandy foundation, it is true) might be beaten down by a storm (Mt. 7 27). In fact, the houses of the peasantry even in the present day need continual renovation. At best they are made of small stones and untempered mortar; often they are of nothing but hard earth with layers of sun-dried bricks, and, if neglected, soon perish. The town-houses are more solid and permanent. Though nearly always of only one story, they are sometimes as high as houses of three stories among ourselves. Approached from the outside, the modern house presents little more than a dead wall.

1. Material.

Entering the GATE [*q.v.*], one finds oneself in a passage usually sloping downwards, which with an abrupt turn (to ensure privacy) leads into the court (חָצֵר, *ḥāṣêr*). This is paved with slabs of stone, and is frequently planted with trees which, extending sometimes above the roof, present that curious effect which has been noticed in towns in SW. Asia (cp the illustration of the Egyptian house, Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1 361, fig. 130). That the richer Jews in later times had the like arrangement is possible, but cannot he inferred, even as regards the temple, from Ps. 84 2 [3] *f.* 92 13 [14] (cp BIRDS, col. 576, n. 1). A large basin of clear water (or perhaps a well, 2 S. 17 18) occupies the centre of the court, once used for bathing (cp 2 S. 11 2?), but now superseded by the establishment of public *warm* baths in every town and in private mansions. Cold bathing has all but ceased in W. Asia.

2. Court.

The number of courts varies. Small houses have one, superior houses have two, and first-rate houses three, communicating with each other; for the Orientals dislike ascending stairs or steps, and prefer to gain room

[1] Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 228.

[2] Wellhausen mentions an ancient Arabic oath by salt and ashes (*Heid.*[(1)], 124; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[(2)], 479). The ashes may be those of the cooking-pot; but they may also be those of the sacred fire. Cp COVENANT, § 5.

[3] Either מקבת in Judg. 4 21 is a substitute for הלמות, at the meaning of which the narrator guessed, or it is, like הלמות, a corruption of מחלש = חַלָּמִישׁ (flint), ל having been misplaced.

[1] In Assyria, at all events, mortar or cement seems to have been unknown. Stone blocks (which, however, were rarely used) were carefully dressed and placed in close juxtaposition. Bricks 'formed the usual material in building. When used crude, sufficient adherence was ensured by the moisture left in the clay and by its natural properties.' In the case of burnt or well-dried bricks 'ordinary clay mixed with water and a little straw was their only cement' (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* etc. 1 154). For the more carefully constructed buildings a kind of natural mortar from the bituminous fountains found in parts of the country was used, but only in those parts where more than the ordinary cohesive power was needed; cp *op. cit.* 155, and Herod., 1 179.

[2] Job, it must be remembered, is in the main a work probably of the early Greek period.

rather by the extent than by the height of their habitations. If there are more than two courts the second is devoted chiefly to the master's use, whilst the outer one is devoted to social intercourse, and is therefore different from the others. When there are only *two* courts the innermost is the harem (cp בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים, Esth. 2 3), which is occupied by the women and children, and is the true domicile of the master. In the country districts the court is not infrequently used as a stable; in other cases the occupants live above the stables, which take up the ground floor (cp Rob. *BR*(2) 339). The former arrangement has probably come down from the nomadic custom of encamping with the cattle in the enclosure formed by the encircling tents.

The *mandara*, or reception-room of the master, faces the outer court. It is entirely open in front, thus corresponding to the open place in the tent used for the same purpose, and is richly fitted up with divans, etc. This is used also as a guest-chamber. A large portion of the other side of the court is occupied with a frontage of lattice-work filled with coloured glass, belonging to a room as large as the guest-chamber, which in winter is used for the same purpose, or serves as the apartment of any visitor of distinction. The other apartments in this outer court are comparatively small, and are used for visitors, retainers, and servants; they are usually upon what we should call the first floor, or at least upon an elevated terrace. The ground floor is in that case occupied by various store-rooms and servants' offices. In all cases the upper floor, containing the principal rooms, is fronted by a gallery or terrace, protected from the sun by a sort of penthouse roof supported by pillars of wood. See CHAMBER.

Over the gateway stands a latticed chamber, corresponding to the upper-room (ὑπερῷον) or cooling-room; see BED, § 1. It was to the chamber of the gate that David retired to indulge his grief, and it was here perhaps that consultations with a prophetess were held (2 K. 22 14, emended text); see HULDAH.

The arrangement of the inner court is very similar to that of the outer; but the whole is more open and airy. The buildings usually occupy two sides of the square, of which the one opposite the entrance contains the principal apartments. They are upon what we should call the first floor, and open into a wide gallery or verandah, which in good houses is nine or ten feet deep, and covered by a wooden penthouse supported by a row of wooden columns. This terrace, or gallery, is furnished with a strong wooden balustrade, and is usually paved with squared stones, or else floored with boards. The greater part of one of the sides of the court front is usually occupied by the large sitting-room, with lattice-front covered with coloured glass, similar to that in the outer court. The other rooms of smaller size are the more private apartments of the mansion. There are usually no doors to the sitting or drawing rooms of Eastern houses; they are closed by curtains, at least in summer.

3. The basement. The basement is occupied by various offices, stores of corn and fuel, places for the water-jars to stand in, places for grinding corn, baths, kitchens, etc. The kitchen, which is open in front, is always in this inner court, as the cooking is performed by women. It is surrounded by a brick terrace, on the top of which are the fireplaces formed in compartments, and separated by little walls of fire-brick or tile. In these different compartments the various dishes of the Eastern feast may be at once prepared at charcoal fires (cp COOKING, § 4). This place being wholly open in front, the half-tame doves, which have their nests in the trees of the court, often visit it, in the absence of the servants, in search of crumbs, etc. (cp Rob. *BR*(2) 3 60).

In Turkish Arabia most of the houses have underground cellars (*serdabs* as they are called) to which the inhabitants retreat during the mid-day heat of summer and there enjoy a refreshing coolness. The biblical writers do not refer to this usage. At Acre, however, the substructious of very ancient houses have been discovered with just such cellars (cp Thomson, *LB* ['94] 309). Commonly, the winter-house is the lower apartment (*el-beit*), the upper (*'ulliyeh*) being the summer-house. Every house of the better class has both, and they are familiarly called *b. shetawy* and *b. ṣaify*, the winter and summer house. Where both are on the same story the interior and more sheltered chamber becomes the winter-house, the external and more airy one being used in summer.

4. Roof. From the court a flight of stone steps, usually at the corner, conducts to the gallery, from which a plainer stair leads to the house-top, If the house be large, there are two or three sets of steps to the different sides of the quadrangle, but seldom more than one flight from the terrace to the housetop of any one court. There is, however, a separate stair from the outer court to the roof, and it is usually near the entrance. This will bring to mind the case of the paralytic, whose friends, finding they could not get access to Jesiis through the people who crowded the court of the house in which he was preaching, took him up to the roof, and, uncovering it, let him down (Mk. 2 1-4). Lk., writing for Roman readers, describes a Roman house (5 17-20). His readers are accustomed to a house with tiles (cp *tegulæ*, κέραμος) and with a hole (*impluvium*) in the roof of the principal chamber, where the company would he assembled. For him to have said that the roof was uncovered would have been unintelligible to his readers (Ramsay, *Was Christ born in Bethlehem?* 58 *ff.*).

The roof (גַּג) of the house is, of course, flat,[1] and in modern villages is reached by a stairway from the yard or court. It is formed by rafters of tamarisk or palm-trees, across which are laid branches, twigs, and matting; earth is then laid over and trodden down; after which it is covered with a compost which acquires considerable hardness when dry. Such roofs would not, however, endure the heavy and continuous rains of our climate; and in those parts of Asia where the climate is more than usually moist, a stone roller is usually kept on every roof, and after a shower a great part of the population is engaged in drawing these rollers over the roofs (cp Rob. *BR*(2) 3 3944). It is now very common, in countries where timber is scarce, to have domed roofs; but in that case the flat roof, which is indispensable to Eastern habits, is obtained by filling up the hollow intervals between the several domes, so as to form a flat surface at the top. These flat roofs are often alluded to in the Bible; and the allusions show that they were used for recreation and many other purposes (Josh. 2 6 Judg. 16 27 1 S. 9 25 *f.* 2 S. 11 2 16 22 Is. 22 1 Jer. 19 13 Zeph. 1 5 Mt. 24 17 Mk. 13 15 Acts 10 9), cp HUT. A similar arrangement known in Assyria was a long open arcade (the Italian *loggia*) running along above the roof the whole length of the façade. This is not unlike the constructions adopted by the Nestorians in the villages of Kurdistan (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* etc. 1 139 *f.*, with illustrations).

The roofs of the houses are well protected by walls and parapets. Towards the street and neighbouring houses is a high wall, and towards the interior court-yard usually a parapet or wooden rail. Parapets of this kind, for the prevention of accidents, *are* strictly enjoined in the Law[2] (Dt. 22 8, מַעֲקֶה, στεφάνη; cp Ar. *'aḳā*, 'to hinder,' 'withhold'; note the form of the battlements of the Egyptian house in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*(2) 1 362, fig. 132).

[1] Sugar-loaf roofs are often to be seen in many parts of Upper Syria and Mesopotamia. In Assyria both forms of roof seem to have been common; see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* etc. 1 145 *f.* (with illustration); and especially 160 *ff.*

[2] The Law is peculiar to D; 'a provision prompted by the same general motive is found in Ex. 21 33 *f.*' (Dr. *Deut.*, *ad loc.*). The Book of the Covenant does not anywhere presuppose houses; the community for whom it was intended had not perhaps advanced so far.

The windows had no glass. Windows were rare, and in the winter the cold was kept out by veils over

5. Windows, etc. the openings; see LATTICE. Chimneys were unknown, and artificial warmth was supplied by braziers (see COAL, § 3).

In the East, where the climate allows the people to spend so much of their time out of doors, the articles of furniture and

6. Furniture. the domestic utensils have always been few and simple. On these see the separate articles on BED, CANDLESTICK, LAMP, TABLE, and the like, also POTTERY, COOKING UTENSILS, MEALS.

See Benz. HA, Now. HA, etc., and Kitto's art. in the *Bib. Cycl.*, from which several sentences in the above have been taken. S. A. C.

HOZAI, in RV, or **Hosai**, in AV$^{mg.}$, as a proper name, represents חוֹזָי in 2 Ch. 33 19 ('the history of Hozai'), where RV$^{mg.}$ and AV have 'the seers' (the sayings of the seers).

Kautzsch, with 𝔊BAL ([τῶν] λόγων τῶν ὁρώντων), reads הַחֹזִים; Budde (*ZATW*, '92, p. 38 n.) חֹזָיו 'his [Manasseh's] seers,' which is easier, and is accepted by Kittel. See CHRONICLES, § 6, col. 767, n. 1.

HURROK (חֻקֹּק, ιακανα [B], ικωκ [A], cικωλ [L]), a place in Naphtali (Josh. 19 34), but hardly Yāḳūḳ, SE. of Safed (Rob.), which is too far N. The name is probably corrupt (cp HUKOK).

HUROE (חוּקֹק; ικακ [B] etc.), 1 Ch. 6 60 [75]. See HELKATH.

HUL (חוּל, ουλ [AEL]), Gen. 10 23 1 Ch. 1 17. An Aramæan region; see GEOGRAPHY, § 20.

HULDAR (חֻלְדָּה, 'weasel,' 'mole,' cp Achbor, 'mouse,' and see HELDAI; otherwise we might explain 'long-lived,' §§ 67, 68; Palm. חלדה; ολδαν [BAL]), a prophetess, whose husband Shallum held the court office (or temple office) of 'keeper of the wardrobe' (2 K. 22 14 *ff.* = 2 Ch. 34 22 *ff.*). The strangely insignificant notice, 'Now she dwelt at Jerusalem in the Mishneh' (RV 'second quarter'), is due to an error like that in the text of 1 S. 17 54 (see NOB). The true reading no doubt is, 'Now she was sitting in the upper part of the gate of the old city'—in a public, central position, ready to receive those who desired to 'inquire of Yahwè.' It was to Huldah that the priest Hilkiah and his four companions resorted when the alarmed king bade them 'inquire of Yahwè' after the reading of the law-book found in the temple. Her response is not preserved in its original form; the slender promise in *v.* 20 was certainly not enough to kindle in Josiah such extraordinary zeal as chap. 23 describes. 'Tell ye the man that sent you unto me' (*v.* 15) looks original, and *vv.* 18 b 19 b may be fragments of the true oracle; the rest has been thoroughly recast in accordance with the melancholy facts of history (see Stade, *Gesch.* 1 652 *f.*, Benzinger, *ad loc.*).

Why did not the deputation consult Jeremiah in preference? Probably they were afraid of him; Huldah, sitting in the chamber of a city gate, was evidently a *popular* personage. Peritz (*JBL* 17 142 ['98]) sees a trace of the importance of women in the ancient religious rites; but the connection is obscure. Cp DEUTERONOMY, § 2 (end). T. K. C.

HUMTAH (חֻמְטָה; Josh. 15 54†: ευμα [B], χαμματα [A], αμματα [L]), a place in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned between Aphekah and Hebron. Grove (Smith's *DB*) remarks on its resemblance to κειμαθ (Kimath), mentioned in 𝔊B 1 S. 30 29 between γεθ (= γεθθορ = Jattir) and σαφεκ (= Siphmoth) as a town in S. Judah. Evidently the two names are the same.

In another interpolation (see *v.* 28, 𝔊B) Humtah appears as αμμαδει (cp αμματα above) between Aroer and Siphmoth. Cp We. and Klo. *ad loc.* Cp further CHADIASAI. T. K. C.

HUNTING (צַיִד), Gen. 27 30. See VENISON.

HUPHAM (חוּפָם), the eponym of the (Benjamite) **Huphamites** (חוּפָמִי; Nu. 26 39: BAFL om.). Cp HUPPIM, HURAM.

HUPPAR (חֻפָּה), the name of the thirteenth priestly course: 1 Ch. 24 13† (οχχοφφα [B], οφφα [AL]).

HUPPIM (חֻפִּ[י]ם), a son of Benjamin (but see HUPHAM): Gen. 46 21 (οφμειν [D], οφιμ[ε]ιν [AL]); 1 Ch. 7 12 (απφειν [B], αφειμ [A], ηφαν [L]); 1 Ch. 7 15 (αμφειν [B], αφφ. [A], οφερ [L]).

HUR (חוּר, ωρ [BAFL], § 81). A connection with the Egyptian Horus seems very probable, cp Nab. and Sin. חורו, Eg. Aram. חור, חורי, חר, חרי. In Ass. Sayce (*PSBA* 20 260 *f.* ['98]) compares Abiḫar, 'my father is Horus,' on an early Babylonian contract tablet, *temp.* Apil-Sin, *KB* 4 15 *l.* 20. Ass.-Aram. compounds of הר (*e.g.*, הרעדר, הרתכל) are uncertain; for the softening of the guttural see HARNEPHER, but Hoffmann (ZA 11 228) reads everywhere הד (= הדד) 'Hadad.' Marq. finds another trace of Horus in the Benjamite Abiḫur (so read for AHIHUD, 1 Ch. 8 7, which in 7 10 is corrupted to AHISHAHAR).[1]

1. Mentioned together with Aaron as being present at the battle of Rephidim (Ex. 17 10-12, E) and left in charge of the people during Moses' absence on Mt. Sinai (*ib.* 24 14, E). Possibly his connection with Moses belongs to a secondary stratum of E, *i.e.*, E_2 (cp MIRIAM, § 1); P (see 3) regards the name as Midianitish, and we remember that Moses married a Midianitish wife. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 2 4) calls Hur the husband of Miriam (iii. 6 1), and identifies him with 2.

2. A Judahite, the grandfather of BEZALEEL (*q.v.*, 1), a temple workman (Ex. 31 2 = 35 30, 38 22 [om. 𝔊] [P], 1 Ch. 2 19 *f.* 50 4 1 4 2 Ch. 1 5). Cp HIRAM 2.

3. One of the five king: of Midian mentioned in Nu. 31 8 Josh. 13 21 [P] (ουρ [BAL in both places, F in Nu.]). See MIDIAN.

4. Father of REPHAZAH, 5 (Neh. 3 9, om. BNA [ραφαια(ς)] υἱὸς σαβανιου υἱοῦ σουρ [L]).

5. 1 K. 4 8, see BEN-HUR.

HURAI (חוּרַי; ουρ[ε]ι [BA], ουρια [L]), of the 'brooks of GAASH' [*q.v.*], one of David's 'thirty,' corresponds in 1 Ch. 11 32 to the HIDDAI (*q.v.*) of 2 S. 23 30.

Kennicott (*Dissert.* 194), We. (*TBS*), H. P. Smith and Budde (*SBOT*) prefer 'Hurai'; Klost. (on 'Sam.,' *l.c.*) and Kittel (*SBOT*) defend Hiddai (הִדַּי), out of which חרי could so easily have been corrupted. Marq. (*Fund.* 20) however, suggests that αδδαι [𝔊L, 2 S. 23 30] is a corruption for αδλαι, and would restore חַדְלַי (cp Hadlai, 2 Ch. 28 12). Adlai (1 Ch. 27 29) is also possible. See GEBER, 2.

HURAM (חוּרָם). 1. b. Bela in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9), 1 Ch. 8 5†: (καὶ γερα κα [sic] σωφαρφακ καὶ ωιμ [B], καὶ γηρα καὶ σωφαν καὶ αχιρα καὶ ιωιμ [A], γηρα καὶ σεπφαμ καὶ αρουαμ [L]). In P's list in Nu. 26 39 the name appears as HUPHAM (*q.v.*).

2. and 3. See HIRAM.

HURI (חוּרִי, § 81); in Gadite genealogy; 1 Ch. 5 14† (ουρ[ε]ι [BAL]).

HUSBAND (אִישׁ), Gen. 3 6. See FAMILY, KINSHIP, MARRIAGE.

HUSHAH (חוּשָׁה; ωσαν [BA], ουσα [L]), a Hurite name (see HUR, and cp Edomite HUSHAM); the context seems to suggest a locality (1 Ch. 4 4†). Sibbecai (less correctly Mebunnai in 2 S. 23 27) was a **Hushathite** (הַחֻשָׁתִי).

𝔊's renderings of החשתי are: 2 S. 21 18, ὁ ασταθωθει [BI, ὁ αουσαστωνθει [A], ὁ χεττaιος [L]; 2 S. 23 27, του ανωθειτου [B], του αςω. [A], ὁ χεθθι [L]; 1 Ch. 11 29, ὁ αθει [B], ὁ ιαθει [ℵ], ὁ ασωθι [A], υιος ωσαθι [L]; 1 Ch. 20 4, θωσαθει [B], ὁ ουσαθι [A], ὁ εσσαθι [L].

HUSHAI (חוּשַׁי, perhaps related to אֲבִישַׁי, as Huram [Hiram] to Abiram; see ABISHAI and cp Cook, *Exp. T.* 10 526 *b* ['99]; otherwise Gray, *HPN* 323; χουσει [B, and in 2 S. 16 17 5, A], -σι [AL]), the ARCHITE. 2 S. 15 32-17 15 1 K. 4 16 1 Ch. 27 33; see BAANA, 2. Hushai

[1] For the intrusive ש in אחישחר there is the analogy of Elihaph for ELIHOREPH.

filled the office of 'friend' (רֵעַ [1 Ch. 27 33], רֵעָה[1] [2 S. 15 37 16 16]; ἑταῖρος [B in 2 S. 15 37[2]]) of king David. See FRIEND.

By a simulated adherence to the cause of Absalom, Hushai was able to get his advice preferred to that of Ahithophel and thus brought about the downfall of Absalom. See AHITHOPHEL.[3]

HUSHAM (חֻשָׁם [Gen.], חוּשָׁם [Chron.]; Ασομ [BADL, om. E]), the third Edomite king (Gen. 36 34 *f.* 1 Ch. 1 45 *f.*). His city is not named; but he is described as 'of the land of the Temanites.' For a possible connection of the name with one of the stories in Judges, see CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM.

HUSHATHITE (הַחֻשָׁתִי), 2 S. 21 18. See HUSHAH.

HUSHIM (חֻשִׁים, perhaps transposed from שׁוּחָם; other forms are חֻשָׁם, 1 Ch. 7 12, and חוּשִׁים, 1 Ch. 8 8; ωCIM [A]).

1. The name of 'the sons of Dan' in Gen. 46 23 (υιοι δε δαν ασομ [DL], υ. δε Sac δαν α. [A])[4] = Nu. 26 42 *f.*, SHUHAM (σαμ[ε]ι [BF], -δη [A], -με [L]). Perhaps the same as

2. The name of 'the sons of Aher' in 1 Ch. 7 12 (καὶ υἱοὶ ραωμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ asp [B], κ. υ. opa ασοβ υ. a. app [A], κ. υ. ιεριμουθ ιεσσουδ υ. α. [L]). See AHER, DAN, § 9.

3. Probably the same as (1), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* 55 3, g, ii. β): 1 Ch. 8 8 (σωσιν [B], ωσειμ [L]); and 8 11 (ωσιμεν [B], μεωσειμ [L]). (Cp *JQR* 11 104, § 2.)

HUSKS (κεράτια, *i.e.*, 'little horns'; 'carobs' [Pesh. and Syr. Sin.]: 'carobs of the sea' [Syr. Curet.]).[5] The prodigal son, when reduced to tend the swine of a Gentile, would fain have kept off hunger with 'the husks that the swine did eat' (Lk. 15 16). So at least EV, obscuring one of the most striking touches in the parable. The 'husks,' as explained in RV^mg., are the pods of the carob tree (*MH* חָרוּב, חֲרוּבִים = Ar. *ḫarrūb^un*), also called the locust tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*), which is a characteristic tree of the shores of the Mediterranean, and common in Palestine from Hebron northwards. Cp Theophrast. i. 11 2; Dioscor. i. 158.

The foliage is dense (see HUT); the leaves are 'like those of our ash, but the leaflets more rounded and very dark, glossy, and evergreen.[6] It blossoms at the end of February, and the pods are found in enormous quantities in April and May. They are flat and narrow, from six to ten inches in length, of the shape of a horn, whence the Greek name [as above]. These husks are to be seen on the stalls in all Oriental towns, where they are sold for food' (Tristram, *NHB* 361).

Carob-pods, then, to the prodigal son took the place of bread—a poor but by no means an innutritious substitute.' There are certainly two (2 K. 6 25 18 27 ‖ Is. 36 12), and most probably three (Is. 1 20) OT passages in which the carob-pods may be referred to (see Che. *Expos.*, July '99).

1. 2 K. 6 25, which should run thus, when the errors of an early scribe have been removed: '. . . and, behold, they besieged it, until a homer of lentils (חֹמֶר עֲדָשִׁים) was sold for fifty (so 𝔊) shekels, and a quarter of a cor (כֹּר) of carob-pods (חֲרוּבִים) for five shekels.'

2. 2 K. 18 27: '. . . to the men who sit on the wall to eat their carob-pods (חֲרוּבֵיהֶם) and to drink their sour wine (חֲמָצָם) with you.' So Is. 36 12.

3. Is. 1 20: 'If ye be willing and obedient, the good of the land shall ye eat; but if ye refuse and resist, carob-pods shall ye eat (חֲרוּבִים תֹּאכֵלוּ).' So by a happy guess the Midrash. *Wayyiḳrā Rabbā* 35.

These three passages are mutually illustrative. In a time of siege, when better victuals were scarce, men were only too glad of carob-pods and vinegar, and were sometimes even reduced to buy these at a high price. It is worth noticing that not a few coarse passages in the OT are due to corruption of the text. Cp DOVE'S DUNG.

4. It is a probable view that another reference to carob-pods occurs in Mt. 3 4 (John the Baptist's 'locusts').

It is true, the handbooks tell us that 'the Greek word' for locusts [ἀκρίδες] shows the insect to be meant; not the ceratonia pods' (Sir Joseph Hooker, in *Queen's Printers' Aids*, 39 ['80]), and Bochart's references for the eating of locusts have been copied again and again. The fact that dried locusts were and still are eaten is undenied (cp Lev. 11 22). Common sense, however, tells us that locusts would not have been preferred by the Baptist as his habitual food to nourishment supplied by the soil. Humility would not pass over the ordinary food of the poorest class, viz. carob-pods. It was a Jewish saying that 'Israel needs חֲרוּבָא (carob-pods) to do repentance' (*Wayyiḳrā R.* 35), and the Baptist was κατ' ἐξοχήν, the preacher of repentance. Mt. 3 is thoroughly Semitic in phraseology; the Greek translator or adapter may easily have made mistakes. חרובא was possibly mistaken for חגבא or חרגלא by one who remembered the Tg. of Lev. 11 22. Thomson's remark (*LB* 665), 'The name of "St. John's Bread" has been given to the gelatinous pods of this tree by pious pilgrims, anxious to rescue the Baptist from the imputation of feeding on locusts,' only shows that the realism of pilgrims may now and then be worth more than the learning of doctors. Cp JOHN THE BAPTIST.

T. K. C.

HUT, RV, AV COTTAGE, Is. 24 20† (מְלוּנָה). In Is. 1 8*a* the same Hebrew word is rendered 'lodge,' in order not to tamper with a familiar piece of dignified old English. In Job 27 18 (cp MOTH) and in Is. 1 8*b* a synonymous word (סֻכָּה)[1] is rendered BOOTH. All these words mean the temporary shelter erected for the 'watcher' (נֹצֵר, *nōṣēr*, Job 27 18) in a vineyard or garden of cucumbers.

The sort of booth now used in Syria is well described by Wetzstein in Del. *Hiob*^(2), 348, and an illustration is given in *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' 162 (cp Niebuhr, *Beschreib. v. Arabien*, 1, Tab. 15, Fig. F). As the illustration shows, the floor or platform is sometimes bound at the corners to four poles, at some distance above the ground; the roof is formed of boughs of trees or matting. From its dense foliage, the carob-tree (see HUSKS) is specially adapted to supply the branches required (cp Bliss, *PEFQ*, July '99, p. 189). The same practical sense dictated the very common arrangement of huts of boughs on the house-tops in the heat of summer (see BED, § 1, end). The garden-huts (ὀπωροφυλάκιον, 𝔊, Is. 1 8), however, are the more striking emblems of instability. When the withes with which they are bound are loosened by the winds of autumn, the shelter soon falls asunder and becomes a ruinous heap (cp Is. 24 20). Cp SCARECROW.

HUZ (עוּץ), Gen. 22 21; RV UZ.

HUZZAB (הֻצַּב; Η ΥΠΟϹΤΑϹΙϹ [BKAQ]), a corrupt word in Nah. 2 7 [8], which Rabbinic commentators supposed to be the name of the Assyrian queen. RV^mg.

1 On the anomaly of רֵעָה for רֵעַ in *st. constr.* see Driver on 2 S. 15 37. 'Friend of David' should of course be added (with 𝔊BAL) after 'Archite' in 2 S. 15 32, the first mention of Hushai.

2 B elsewhere and AL everywhere have joined the Gentilic 'Archite' to ἑταῖρος and produced the title αρχιεταιρος, 'chief friend,' which BA once (1 Ch. 27 33) translate ὁ πρῶτος φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως.

3 For a criticism of the narratives see *AJSL*, April 1900, pp. 162 *ff.*

4 On ασομ = חשימ see Ball, *SBOT*, on Gen. 46 23.

5 This reference to Cureton. is due to Mr. M'Lean. The carob-tree, however, is not confined to the littoral region. Several localities in Galilee in the Talmudic period bore names compounded with חרוב (Neub. *Géogr.* 266). Pesh. renders בְּאֻשִׁים (Is. 5 2 4) freely 'carobs.'

6 In Enoch 32 4 the leaf of the tree of wisdom is compared to that of the carob tree.

7 Carobs are largely used in the composition of Thorley's food for cattle. English corn-dealers supply the pods under the name of 'locusts.' The brown hard seeds used to be the weights employed by jewellers for weighing gold and silver; hence the familiar term 'carat.'

1 In 1 K. 20 12 16 RV^mg. renders סֻכּוֹת, *sukkōth*, 'huts'. (EW PAVILIONS); but see SUCCOTH, 1 (end).

treats it as a Hophal, from נִצַּב,—'and it is decreed' (so De Dieu; AV^mg. is still less plausible).

The first question is whether והצב נלתה belongs properly to *v.* 7 [8] or to *v.* 6 [7]. In the former case, the conjectures offered under NAHUM are more plausible than the renderings of AV and RV; in the latter, we require a noun in apposition to 'the palace' such as הַמַּצָּב (1 S. 13 23), and may render, 'the palace is in consternation, the garrison is terrified' (נבהל for נלתה).[1] T. K. C.

HYACINTH (ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΝΟΣ), Rev. 9 17 RV, AV JACINTH (*q.v.*). See also SAPPHIRE, PRECIOUS STONES.

HYÆNA, but EV **HYENA** (צָבוּעַ, [illegible], ΥΑΙΝΑ), Ecclus. 13 18†. The *Ṣābūă'* is the striped hyæna, *H. striata*, of S. Asia and N. Africa, which is meant. To express the intensity of class-hatred among the later Jews the wise man asks, 'Whence should there be peace between the hyaena and the dog? whence peace between the rich man and the poor?' It is true, he speaks only of the abhorrence of the rich for the poor; but the Psalms offer proof enough of the abhorrence of the poor for the rich. Indeed, Ben Sira himself evidently takes the part of the poor, for the hyæna is, in the eyes of the natives of Palestine, the meanest of the beasts of prey except the jackal. It is very cowardly, and attacks living animals only under pressure of hunger. Its food is carrion; it prowls about the graveyards, or if it meets with a skeleton already picked clean by vultures, it can still make a meal off it by crushing the bones with its powerful jaws and extracting the marrow. Those bones which baffle its gnawing power it carries back to its den. As a rule it is solitary. We thus see the force of the bitter cry of Yahwè, according to 𝔊, in Jer. 12 9, 'Is my heritage (become) a hyaena's den to me?'

The passage is no doubt difficult; for another quite possible view of it see BIRD, col. 576, n. 2. 𝔊's reading, however, is in harmony with *v.* 8. Probably there is no interrogation. The first העיט should be מְעָרַת; the second, חַיּוֹת. The second line will then become 'wild beasts (*i.e.*, hyænas, etc.) are round about it' (Che.). Then the other wild beasts are summoned to aid in the desolation of Israel. On the form צָבוּעַ see Lag. *Uebers.* 36; but cp Kön. *Lehrg.* 2*a* 137, n. 3.

We also meet with the hyaena in a place-name; valley of ZEBOIM [*q.v.*] probably means 'valley of hyaenas.' The Horite proper name 'ZIBEON' [*q.v.*] also may be connected with the name of the same animal. This is not to be wondered at. The hyaena plays an important part in early Arabian beliefs (cp *Rel. Sem.*(2) 129, 133; *Kinship*, 198; and Lane, *s.v.* *ḍab'un*), and the diminutive form *dobay'a* is found frequently as a tribal name in Arabia, indicating perhaps a totemic belief.

An animal, half hyæna and half wolf, concerning which Arabian fables have much to say is the *Sim'* (*sim'un*), whose name, according to Robertson Smith, was borne by the totem-clans *Sim'* (a division of the Medinites). Cp also the *Sam'ân*, and perhaps Heb. SHIMEI, SIMEON.

A.E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

HYDASPES (ΥΔΑΣΠΗΣ [BℵA]), a river mentioned in Judith 1 6 along with the Euphrates and the Tigris. The context shows that it cannot be the Indian Hydaspes (Jelum). On the assumption that the present reading is correct, it has been suggested that it is the Choaspes—which some commentators understand by the 'Medus Hydaspes' of Virgil (*Georg.* 4211). The Vg. reads *Iadason*; but the Syriac has [illegible], *i.e.*, ULAI (*q.v.*), and Ball (against Fritzsche) regards this as the probable original.

HYMENÆUS (ΥΜΕΝΑΙΟΣ [Ti.WH]). We cannot critically assert that Hymenaeus was 'a false teacher of the time of St. Paul.' He is mentioned in 1 Tim. 1 20 2 Tim. 2 17. In the former passage he is represented as belonging (with Alexander) to those who have deliberately 'thrust away' both 'faith' and 'a good conscience,' and have 'made shipwreck as regards the faith,' and who have been 'given over (by the writer) to the Satan, that they may learn by chastisement not to blaspheme.' In the latter he is included (with PHILETUS) among those who have 'swerved from the right direction (ἠστόχησαν) as regards the truth,' saying that 'the resurrection has taken place already' (*i.e.*, in the intellectual sphere, Iren. *Haer.* 2 31), and who 'subvert the faith of some,' leading them (as *v.* 19 clearly implies) into the practice of 'unrighteousness.' By comparing 2 Tim. 2 16 18 with 1 Tim. 6 20 1 6 we see that the doctrine of a past resurrection belonged to that 'empty verbiage' which constitutes 'gnosis falsely so called' (κενοφωνίας, ματαιολογίαν, τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως). All this, as Jülicher (summing up the conclusions of a long period of criticism) has pointed out, is thoroughly un-Pauline. We cannot, therefore, be sure that there were forerunners of the later Gnosis (cp προκόπτουσιν, 2 Tim. 2 6) named Hymenaeus, Alexander, and Philetus in Paul's time. And though it is no doubt possible to explain 1 Tim. 1 20 as a reference to an act of 'giving over to Satan,' said to have been performed by Paul (cp 1 Cor. 5 5) upon persons called Hymenæus and Alexander (a reference which had for its object the suggestion of church penalties for Gnostic teachers contemporary with the real writer of 1 Tim.), how do we know that the evidence of this fact (if evidence there were) was historically sound? We have to do with mere possibilities, and though it is reasonable to suppose that the author of the Pastoral Epistles, who shows such zeal for truth, was not a mere romancer, how can we tell that the presumed sources from which he (*ex hypothesi*) drew were worthy of the credit which he gave to them? The name Hymenaeus may even suggest that in the source from which the writer possibly drew, the name of this Gnostic teacher was given him as an ironical nickname, because he 'forbade to marry' (see 1 Tim. 4 3). Cp PHILETUS, PASTORAL EPISTLES, EXCOMMUNICATION, GNOSIS.

Cp Zahn, *Einl.* 1 412 472 486, who points out that in the *Acta Theclæ*, 14, Demas and Hermogenes (2 Tim. 1 15 4 10) take the place of Hymenæus and Philetus. T. K. C.

HYMNS. Psalms and hymns and songs (ΩΔΑΙ), suggested by the Spirit of God, and designed for use in the Christian assemblies; are spoken of in Col. 3 16 Eph. 5 19. The former passage is the fuller, and seems to be imitated in the latter.

'Let the word which tells of Christ (ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ) dwell in your midst abundantly, while in all wisdom ye teach and instruct yourselves, while with psalms, hymns, spirit-given songs ye sing pleasantly with your (whole) hearts to God . . . giving thanks to God the Father by him' (Col. 3 16).

'Be filled with spiritual influence, while ye speak to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spirit-given songs, singing songs and chanting psalms with your (whole) heart to the Lord . . , while ye give thanks always for all things' (Eph. 5 19).

The predominant tone of Christians is to be one of thanksgiving. Teaching or learning is not to be a mere intellectual exercise; the truths taught or learned are to blossom, as it were, into hymns. Indeed, not only teaching, but also all words spoken and all deeds done are to suggest articulate or inarticulate thanksgiving to God the Father.

1. Nature.

The hymns are described by three terms, the first of which (psalms) may imply the influence of OT models, though it need not do more than express the suitableness of the songs spoken of to be accompanied with music.[1] The songs are further described as πνευματικαί—*i.e.*, suggested by the divine spirit which (or, who) dwells in the community, and those who are to sing the songs are directed to do so ἐν χάριτι[2]—*i.e.*, pleasantly—so as to

1 Ruben (*PSBA*, June '98) keeps נלתה, and too boldly explains it 'is frightened,' from Assyrian.

1 Plut. *Alex. M.* 67: μοῦσα συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν, ᾠδῆς τε καὶ ψαλμοῦ.

2 The reading of TR (ἐν χάριτι) is that of Aℵ*C^{ut vid.} D^c rel. Arm.; ἐν τῇ χάριτι is read by Bℵ^c D*FG, Clem. The former is not the best attested; but it is the most suitable reading. Even as a conjecture it would be worth accepting. Cp Col. 4 6. Von Soden's rendering 'with thankfulness' for ἐν τῇ χάριτι is not, indeed, inappropriate; but it is too bold.

charm both singers and hearers. It is a mistake to infer from 'in your heart(s)' (ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις [or τῇ καρδίᾳ] ὑμῶν) that the singing is to be purely inward, as if the phrase formed an antithesis to 'teaching.' Inward psalm-singing would certainly not have contented the writer of Colossians. A spiritual impulse comparable in intensity to that of wine must have suggested audible expressions of praise. The phrase quoted is like בְּלִבְּכֶם, which can undoubtedly mean 'with all your heart,' 'heartily' (the instrumental 'with' as in Ps. 122 [3] 15 2).

These are not the earliest references to 'spirit-given songs' among Christians. The language of the writers may perhaps presuppose the existence of a stock of songs, which were known (in more than one sense) by heart, and naturally rose to the lips even of those who had themselves no poetic gift.

2. Source.

Turning to 1 Cor. we find ourselves in a somewhat different atmosphere. Says the apostle—'What is it then, brothers? Whenever you come together, each one has a psalm . . .' (1 Cor. 1426). He means not that every Christian in the assembly feels an impulse to utter a freshly inspired psalm, but, as the context shows, that there is a conflict of gifts; one man breaking into song, another into a speech in a strange tongue. It sometimes even happened that the 'spirit-given song' was in a strange tongue, and unintelligible to the ἰδιώτης or 'plain man,' so that the apostle has to declare that for his part if anything obscure comes out of his lips under inspiration he will not omit to interpret it.

'I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray also with the mind. I will chant a psalm with the spirit, and I will chant a psalm also with the mind' (1 Cor. 14 15).

To do justice to these NT facts we must consider two points: (1) the long continuance of the practice of writing psalms among the post-exilic Jews, and (2) the close affinity between prophecy and the composition of psalms for the use of the faithful. To illustrate the former point, we may refer to the Psalms of Solomon, the psalms in the Greek Daniel, in Judith and Tobit, and in the 'Assumption of Moses'; to illustrate the litter, to the prophetic character of Miriam and Deborah (both writers of 'spirit-given songs') and to the frequent occurrences of an oracular tone in the canonical psalms (cp Hickes, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised*, 31 *f.* [1709]). Since the Jewish psalms were certainly not uttered at random, but had their proper place in the services, we may assume that the psalms referred to by the apostle also had their proper place. Paul speaks of prayer and praise (προσεύχεσθαι and ψάλλειν) together. This would be the natural combination in the very earliest liturgical arrangements. From the fact, however, that 'a psalm' (ψαλμός) is mentioned alone in 1426, we may infer (with Weizsacker)[1] that the song of praise was as a rule more prominent than prayer (in the usual sense of the word).[2] Cp GOSPELS, § 26, n.

According to the scholar just mentioned, the psalm spoken of by Paul was not necessarily in every case a new and original composition. Certainly. But it does appear to be a probable inference that there was in every case a new and original element in it. Inspiration appears to be presupposed, and the inspiration of the canonical psalms, though often secondary in character, never fails to add some touches which redeem the work from the discredit of absolute unoriginality; if there be any exceptions to this rule, let it be conceded that such psalms have only been admitted to make up the required number of 150.

The songs ascribed in Lk. to Mary, Simeon, and Zachariah, and known to us as the *Magnificat*, the *Nunc Dimittis*, and the *Benedictus* (to which we may add the *Gloria in Excelsis* and perhaps the *Hosanna* of

3. The Gospel songs.

1 *The Apostolic Age*, 2 259.

2 תְּפִלָּה, 'prayer,' can include תְּהִלָּה, 'song of praise.' See 1 S. 2 1 Jon. 2 1 [2], and the headings of Ps. 17 86 90 142 Hsb. 3.

Palm Sunday, see HOSANNA), are obviously Jewish Christian hymns. Israel is the 'people' which is redeemed; its believing members are the 'poor' who are comforted. It is for no merely worldly conqueror, however, that these Christian psalmists look, but for one who can communicate 'forgiveness of sins.' It is the Christian community which speaks, and these 'canticles' gain in beauty and in interest by the recognition of this. That Resch[1] and Warfield should hold that Mary herself wrote the *Magnificat*, is unfortunate. The latter scholar, however, admits that 'had we met with the *Magnificat* in the midst of the Psalter it would have occasioned no suspicion and seemed in no sense out of place' (*Expositor*, '85 *b*, 304).

The ᾠδαί or songs given in the Apocalypse are more distinctly prophetic than the canticles in the Gospels. Weizsacker (*Apost. Age*, 2 260) divides them into two classes—those which are related by their contents to the prophecy of the book, and those which, the contents being of a general nature, may be traditional. To the former class belong the song of triumph in chap. 18, the nuptial ode in 19 1-8, and the triumphal chant of the twenty-four elders in heaven, 11 17 *f.* To the latter belong the songs in 4 11 5 9 *f.* 12 *f.* 15 3 *f.* 11 17 *f.* The tone of triumph which pervades these odes or hymns is not less characteristically Christian than Jewish. '*Carmenque* Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem' are the well-known words of Pliny (*Ep.* 97).

4. Songs of the Apocalypse.

All these songs display in their structure, in more or less perfection, the characteristics of Hebrew poetry. It was a true insight which led the writer of codex A of the Greek Bible to place the 'prayers' of Mary (τῆς θεοτόκου), Simeon, and Zachariah, together with the ὕμνος ἑωθινός of the *Gloria in Excelsis* (with an appendix of quotations from the psalms), at the end of the ᾠδαί which follow the Psalms of Solomon. On the reading of Lk. 3 14 (ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας or εὐδοκία) and on the arrangement and rendering of the hymn, see WH, ii. App. 55 *f.*

T. K. C.

HYPOCRISY, HYPOCRITE, HYPOCRITICAL.

AV's rendering of חנף (Job 8 13 [eight times in Job], Ps. 35 16 Prov. 11 9 Is. 9 16 [17] 10 6 32 6 33 14), for which RV has substituted respectively 'godless,' 'profane,' 'profaneness.' But in Ecclus. 1 29 32 15 33 2, RV retains 'hypocrite' (in 2 Macc. 6 25 RV 'dissimulation'), and in Mt. 6 2 5 16 7 5 Lk. 12 1 1 Pt. 2 1 etc. (a large group of passages). ὑποκριτής = חָנֵף is found in 𝔊 in Job 34 30 36 13†, an inconsistency due to the incorporation of passages of Theod. Aq., Theod., and Sym., all sometimes have ὑποκριτής, ὑπόκρισις, for חָנֵף, חֹנֶף. Is this due to the imposition of a late meaning on passages where חנף really has quite another sense.? Or may we hold with Hatch (*Biblical Greek*, 92) that 'early in the second century and among Greek-speaking Jews,' ὑποκρ. had come to connote positive badness or irreligion? To decide these points we must observe that on exegetical grounds חָנֵף *ḥānēf*, in the OT must primarily mean 'polluted.

A *ḥānēf* is not simply a wicked person; he is one who by impiety has become unholy, and therefore cannot enter God's presence (Job 13 16). This loss of religions standing of course implies certain moral or immoral characteristics. First of all, 'speaking impiety' (נְבָלָה, Is. 9 17 [16])—a note of character which is also assigned to the 'impious' man (נָבָל, see FOOL) in Is. 32 6. Nest, the unholy state involves (as indeed these two passages imply) the commission of wicked actions, such as violation of the marriage bond (Jer. 3 1 [2]), murder (Nu. 35 33 Is. 24 5 Ps. 106 38), and apostasy (Dan. 11 32). For a community to be *ḥānēf* involves its abandonment by its God to a foreign oppressor (Is. 10 6 Mic. 4 11).

As a class-name *ḥānēf* appears to be late (see references above); *ḥōnef* (Is. 32 6) and *ḥănuppah* (Jer. 23 15) are also late.

The verh *ḥānēf* first appears in Jer. 3 1 2 9 23 11, where (as also in Mic. 4 11, later than the prophet Micah) it clearly means 'to he polluted.' In the Psalter, remarkably enough, the class-name *ḥānēf* occurs only once and then only if we emend the text; the 'hypocritical (RV 'profane') mockers in feasts' of

1 *Ausserkanon. Paralleltexte*, 323 *ff.*

AV (Ps. 35 16) must disappear; but in Ps. 146 [7] (=53 5 [6]) חָנֵף should probably be restored (for עָנִי, חֹנֵךְ). The sense 'polluted' is supported by Pesh. (the verb חָנֵף=ṭ'naf) and Tg. (the verb sometimes= טנף).

The facts here adduced appear decisive. If Jesus used Aram. ḥanfā in the sense of the O T חָנֵף, he cannot have meant to convey the idea of 'hypocrite.' It is not certain, however, that he did. There may have been a second Heb. and Aram. root חנף meaning 'to be untruthful,' 'dishonest' (cp Ar. ḥanafa, 'to incline'; ḥanifa, 'to be bandy-legged').

In *Am. Tad.* 1818, ḥanāpu apparently means 'to slander' (Wi.), and in old Egypt ḥnp seems to he a Semitic loan-word = 'false,' applied to weights (WMM, *PSBA*, 6th Feb. '94). It is apparently this second root which has established itself in New Hebrew (חֲנֻפָּה=hypocrisy, dishonesty, flattery) and has produced the renderings of the Greek versions of the OT referred to, and perhaps also the Syriac use of ḥanfā, 'pagan,' the word which corresponds to the ἐθνικός of Mt. 6 7 18 17 in Curet., Sin., Pesh.

On the whole it seems unwise, until further evidence is produced, to change the rendering of ὑποκριταί in the NT into 'impious ones' as suggested by Hatch. Probably, however, 'dishonest ones' would be better than 'hypocrites.' Jesus may, perhaps, have been thinking of the false Pharisees, called in a well-known saying 'the dyed ones.' See PHARISEES.

The above explanation of חָנֵף differs from that given in the recent lexicons. BDB connects ḥānīf with Ar. ḥanafa, 'to incline or decline,: whence ḥanīf, applied by Mohammed to Moslems (as inclining to the truth). Yet, somewhat inconsistently, BDB gives as the first sense 'to be polluted.' Ges.(13) on the other hand gives two Arabic connections, and, quite consistently, makes the first meaning 'to be impious, or faithless.' Neither lexicon, however, explains how the senses 'to he impious' and 'to be polluted' are connected; ṭāmē in Heb. and ṭanfā in Aram. never mean 'impious.' That falseness and impiety are connected, is easy to understand (see TRUTH); but the statement 'the land was polluted' could not he expressed by words which might permissibly be rendered 'the land was untruthful.' On the difficult class-term ḥanīf see We. *Heid.*(2) 238 *f.* 250 (end); also Lane, *Lex.*, who states that according to some it was applied by idolaters to themselves as a term of praise, whilst according to others it was applied by them to those who followed the Din Ibrāhīm. It is not clear that BDB is right in comparing the Heb. class-term ḥānēf with the Ar. class-term ḥanīf; but this Lex. renders a service by pointing out, however inconsistently, that ḥānēf implies primarily, not 'wickedness,' but 'pollution.' This was the view of those famous Jewish lexicographers, the Karaite David ben Abraham (10th cent.) and Ibn Janāḥ (11th cent.), both of whom define חָנֵף as meaning 'defilement.'[1]

Eustathius, the commentator on the Iliad, gives this interesting definition of 'hypocrite' (on Il. ϛ. 564, ap. Schleusner):— ὑποκριτὴς παρὰ τ οὐστερογενὲς ῥήτορσιν ὁ μὴ ἐκ ψυχῆς λέγων ἢ πράττων, μηδὲ ὅπερ φρονεῖ, ὁποίως πρώτως μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ θυμέλης, οἱ σκηνικοί. This will express the ordinary view of the meaning of the 'hypocrites' of the Gospels; but it is not altogether what Jesus meant. We need an interpretation of the word actually spoken by Jesus which will cover both the wickedness which acts a part (as, *e.g.*, in Mt. 6 2 5 16 Mk. 7 6 Lk. 6 42 13 15) and the wickedness which needs not to simulate, and is readily recognised as πονηρία (Mt. 22 18 Lk. 20 23). Cp Lk. 12 46, where ἀπίστων is ∥ to Mt.'s ὑποκριτῶν, and is most naturally paraphrased 'irreligious.' *T.* K. C.

HYRCANUS. 1. For John Hyrcanus, see MACCABEES, § 7.

2. (υρκανος τοῦ τωβίου[ν]), son of Tobias, who had a large amount of wealth deposited in the temple at the time when Heliodorus came to plunder it (2 Macc. 3 13, AV HIRCANUS). The name was not uncommon among Jews, owing to the deportation of Jews to Hyrcania by Ochus about 350 B.C. (?). Nevertheless, it is plausible to identify this Hyrcanus with the 'Jewish Alcibiades' of the same name (referred to in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 11), who, like his father, became a collector of the revenue of Palestine under the Egyptian government. The splendid remains of ʿArāḳ el-Emir (see Baed. *Pal.*(3), 173) still attest his magnificence, and an inscription copied there by Gautier has led Clermont Ganneau (*Rev. Crit.*, '97, p. 503) to conclude that the Jewish name of the builder was Tobiah (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 2 represents a Tobiah as his grandfather).

It is also possible to find a veiled reference to this Hyrcanus in Zech. 11 4-17, where 'the prominent man who does not fill the shepherd's office in his own interest, but in that of the flock and gives it up as soon as he sees that the flock is not worth; of him' seems to correspond to the proud character and high-flown plans of Hyrcanus (We. *Kl. Pr.*(3), 196). Cp ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.

[1] Che. *Notes and Criticisms on the Heb. Text of Is.* ('68), p. 13.

HYSSOP (אֵזוֹב, *'ēzōb*; υϲϲωποϲ: Ex. 12 22 Lev. 14 4 6 49 51 *f.* Nu. 19 6 18 1 K. 4 33 [5 13] Ps. 51 7 [9] Jn. 19 29 [but see below]; Heb. 9 19†), a small wall-growing plant, well adapted for sprinkling, and hence regularly used to sprinkle blood in various purificatory rites.

The name may be of Sem. origin, as kindred forms are found in Ass., Aram., Ar., and Eth.; ὕσσωπος is probably derived from the Sem. word, and, from Greek, has passed into modern languages. But whatever the ὕσσωπος of the Greeks may have been, the Heb. *'ēzōb* can hardly be our 'hyssop' (*Hyssopus officinalis*, L.), which is not a native of Palestine.

There have been endless conjectures as to the plant intended (see esp. the 42 pp. in Celsius 1 407 *ff.*). Many have adopted the opinion of Maimonides, who identifies it with the *ṣaʿtar* of the Arabs—*i.e.*, with some species of *Satureia*. It is, however, doubtful whether Satureia is a wall-plant; the only species in Palestine is *Satureia Thymbra*. A more probable identification is that with the caper plant (*Capparis spinosa*). This bright green creeper has a special fondness for rocks and walls, and is plentiful in Egypt, in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the gorge of the Kidron, and on the walls of Jerusalem (Tristram).

The similarity of *'ēzōb* to *'aṣaf*, an Arabic name for the caper, is a further argument adduced by Tristram (*NHB* 457); but the philological connection is doubtful.

The cleansing properties of this plant appear to be traditional in the East (cp Watt, *Dict. Econom. Products of India*, 2 133). On the whole this identification deserves the preference, unless we choose rather to suppose that the word is somewhat general, including various herbs of the nature of thyme, savory, and marjoram. On the ritual use of hyssop see SACRIFICE.

[Jn. 19 29 states that 'they filled a sponge with vinegar and put it upon hyssop' (ὑσσώπῳ); Mk. 15 36 says 'upon a reed' (καλάμῳ). 'A hyssop stalk, then,' say the commentators. But see Naber (*Mnemosyne*, 363 ['78]), who defends the reading ὑσσῷ conjectured by Joachim, Camerarius, and Bentley, and actually found in hscr* [Ti.].[1] In *v.* 34 the spear used in piercing the side is called λόγχη; but ὑσσός was at all events a well-known word for javelin (Lat. *pilum*). De Dieu (*Crit. Sac.* 526 *f.* [1593]) gives an elaborate note on the reading ὑσσώπῳ. He rejects the conjecture of Camerarius, and no wonder, for that scholar thought it necessary to read υσσω προπεριθέντες, 'binding it [the sponge] round the top of a spear.' He is half inclined to accept the much worse conjecture of D. Heinsius that we should read οἴσυπον περιθέντες (scil. καλάμῳ). That Greek medical writers used ὕσσωπος corruptly for οἴσυπος (the grease extracted from wool, and waxed, which was used as a sedative for the pain of wounds) is certain. But the refreshment offered to Jesus was sour wine (ὄξος) mixed with myrrh; what was wanted in addition was not οἴσυπος but something to bring the refreshment to the sufferer's mouth. ὑσσῷ snits the context, οἴσυπον does not. W H notes corruption in the passage; no other word but ὑσσῷ is available: πω before περι is not a surprising addition. The text of Jn. 19 29 should therefore probably run, 'so they put a sponge full of sour wine upon a javelin, and brought it to his mouth.'] N. M.—W. T. T.-D.—T. K. C.

[1] Cp also Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*(3), 186 *f.* [1782].

I

IBHAR (יִבְחַר, 'He (God) chooses,' § 53; cp יבחרא, *CIS* 2 no. 147; Βααρ [BℵA], Ιεβ. [AL]), a son of DAVID (*q.v.*, § 11, col. 1032), 2 S. 5 15 (εβεαρ [B], ιεβαρ [A]), 1 Ch. 3 6 14 5.

IBIS (הָאֲנָפָה), Lev. 11 19† RV^mg.; EV HERON (*q.v.*).

IBLEAM (יִבְלְעָם; local names of this formation [cp AMMI, NAMES WITH, col. 138, n. 1, § 3; NAMES, § 97] may have been originally clan-names; ι[ε]βλααμ [BAL]), together with its 'daughters' (*i.e.*, dependencies), was one of the towns whose (Canaanite) inhabitants Manasseh was unable to drive out (Judg. 1 27, βαλακ and ιεβ. [B], βαλααμ and ιεβ. [A], ιεβλαμ [L]).

In Josh. 17 11 the mention of Ibleam is not original, as it is manifest that the whole passage has been arranged to suit Judg. 1 27 (om. BA, ιαβλααμ [L]).[1]

It was near Ibleam at the ascent of GUR that Ahaziah, king of Israel, was slain; 2 K. 9 27 (εκβλααμ [B]).

According to MT, 2 K. 15 10, Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, was slain by Shallum, קָבָל־עָם. This un-Hebraic phrase, which RV ungrammatically renders 'before the people' (a legacy from AV), was emended by Gratz (*Gesch.* 2 1 99) to בְּיִבְלְעָם, 'in Ibleam'—a happy conjecture which was afterwards confirmed by 𝔊^L (ἐν ιεβλααμ, κεβλααμ [BA]).

In 1 Ch. 6 70 [55] the name appears as BILEAM (בִּלְעָם, om. B), and perhaps in Judith in several forms (see BELMEN). It seems to have been near EN-GANNIM, and the name has probably survived in the *Wādy* (and *Bīr*) *Bel'ameh*, about half-an-hour S. of Jenin. The identification with el-Jelameh is unsatisfactory: this place is situated in an open plain, there is no pass in the neighbourhood, and it could never have been a place of great strength.[2] Ibleam occurs together with Taanach in the list of Palestinian cities subdued by Thotmes III. in the sixteenth century B.C. (*Y-b-ra-'a-mu*, see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 195). See GATH-RIMMON, 2.

S. A. C.

IBNEIAR (יִבְנְיָה, 'Yahwè builds up,' § 31; cp IBNIJAH; βαναιαμ [B], ιεβναα [AL]), head of one of the Benjamite clans settled in Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time (1 Ch. 9 8). In ‖ Neh. 11 8 the name appears as GABBAI. See GABBAI.

IBNIJAH (יִבְנִיָּה; βαναια [B], ιεβαναι [A], ιεχονιου [L]), a Benjamite (1 Ch. 9 8). Cp IBNEIAH.

IBRI (עִבְרִי, αβαι [B], ωβδι [A], αβαρια [L]), a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 24 27); see BENO, JAAZIAH. In view of the way in which the Chronicler built up his name-lists (see GENEALOGIES i. § 7 [ii. *f.*]), it becomes highly probable that for עברי we should read עבדי,[3] which the Chronicler seems to have used as a useful Merarite 'dummy' name.

ABDI (1), ABDA (2), and the cognate OBADIAH (9) occur in the genealogy of the Merarite Ethan-Jeduthun, and to the same Levitical division belong the names OBED-EDOM, OBED (4), and OBADIAH (8).

S. A. C.

IBSAM (יִבְשָׂם), 1 Ch. 7 2 RV; AV JIBSAM.

IBZAN (אִבְצָן, Judg. 12 8-10†; αβαισαν [B], εσεβων [AL], αψανης [Jos.]), one of the six minor judges in the Book of Judges, belonged to Bethlehem (*i.e.*, not the place of that name in Judah, as Jos. *Ant.* v. 7 13, but the Bethlehem in the land of Zebulun), and was buried there (*v.* 10, εν εσεβων [A]).

[1] See Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 13 *f.*, and *SBOT*, 'Judges.'
[2] Cp Baed.(3) 262, and Moore, *Judges* (*l.c.*), who notes a possible connection of Ibleam with the Balamon of Judith 8 3. See BELMEN.
[3] Cp 𝔊^A, in 𝔊^B δ and λ were confused.

The name seems to be connected with that of ABEZ; cp Cain and Cainan Hazor and Hezron, Shema and Shim'on (Simeon). He 'had thirty sons, and sent out thirty daughters, and brought in from abroad thirty daughters for his sons'—*i.e.*, was the head of a widely ramified clan.

ICE (קֶרַח), Ps. 147 17 Job 6 16 EV, etc. In Ezek. 1 22 RV^mg.; AV CRYSTAL. See FROST.

ICHABOD (אִיכָבוֹד), b. Phinehas, b. Eli, the brother of Ahitub (1 S. 14 3, ιωχαβηλ [B; om. A], -βε [L], Jos. ιαχωβην [Niese], ܐܝܟܒܘܕ [Pesh.]). In a passage of later date (1 S. 4 21 *f.*), resembling the narrative of the birth of Benjamin (Gen. 35 16 *ff.*), an account is given of his birth and a quasi-historical explanation of his name. The tidings of the loss of the ark and of the death of Eli and his sons are stated to have reached the wife of Phinehas as she lay in childbirth; she named the new-born babe 'Ichabod,' saying, 'The glory (כבוד, *i.e.*, the divine glory) is departed from Israel' (cp Hos. 10 5, also 1 Macc. 2 8, ἀνὴρ ἔνδοξος).[1] A touching story, but one that is obviously suggested by a popular etymology.

Instead, however, of at once seeking for this etymology, let us apply for a suggestion to the versions. In 1 S. 4 21 𝔊 gives ουαιβαρχαβωθ [B], ουαιχαβωθ [A], ουαιβαριωχαβηδ [L], ܐܝܟܒܘܕ [Pesh.]. 𝔊^B's reading is variously explained as representing אוי בְּרְהֹבוֹת, 'woe on the streets' (We.), or אוי עבר כבוד, 'alas! the glory his passed away' (Klo.). 𝔊^A, however, suggests a simpler reading, 1\22 אוי. In 1 S. 14 3 the Vss. (see above) presuppose the reading יוֹכֶבֶד, JOCHEBED (*q.v.*), and 𝔊^L's reading in 1 S. 4 22 combines this with the first part of 𝔊^B's. It is very plausible to suppose that tradition gave a slight turn to this name, so as to reflect the painful feelings of contemporaries of the capture of the ark (cp Ben-oni side by side with Benjamin in Gen. 35 18).

In short, the popular etymology presupposed by 1 S. 4 21 was not אִי־כָבוֹד, 'inglorious' (Jos. ἀδοξία), but אוֹי כָּבוֹד,[2] 'alas for the glory' (so Klosf.; cp 1 K. 13 30 Am. 5 16). If so, we must decline the view (proposed afresh by Marq. *Fund.* 24) that the original name was Abi-cabod (cp JESSE, JEZEBEL). Jochebed (or Jocābōd)—*i.e.*, 'Yahwè is glory'—would seem to be the true name—certainly an appropriate one for the brother of Ahi-tub, *i.e.*, 'The (divine) brother is goodness.' It will be seen from these facts that Hommel's explanation, 'Ai (=Yah) is glory' (*ANT* 116), is, to say the least, quite needless. One point remains. The vicissitudes of ethnic names are so strange that we may surmise I-cabod, or rather Jochebed, to be the original form of the name Jacob (Che.); see JOCHEBED.

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

ICONIUM (ικονιον [Ti. WH], mod. *Konia*). The site has preserved a single name from the earliest times. The town was selected by the Seljûk Sultans as their capital, owing partly to its central position, and partly to its pleasant surroundings, which are in great contrast to the rest of the Lycaonian plain (cp Strabo, 568). The

[1] *v.* 22 is usually taken as a gloss to preclude the idea that the death of Eli and both the sons could be as grievous as the loss of the ark (cp Then. and Bu. in *SBOT*). 𝔊^B omits לאמר ... מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל in *v.* 21, and if *v.* 21*b* be an interpolation, as Oort suggests (*Th.T* 18 308)—the dying mother in 20*b* pays little regard to the child, but only to the loss of the ark, and 21*b* is a clumsy clause which we could well do without—*v.* 22 is then original, and will aptly follow after the mention of the name Ichabod.

[2] In Eccles. 4 10 10 16 אִי = אוֹי; see Kö. *Lehrg.* ii. 1339. It should he noticed that the existence of a negative part. אִי in the OT is very disputable; אִי־נָקִי, Job 22 30, stands in a very obscure context. It is, however, found regularly in Ethiopic, Mishnic-Hebrew, and Phœnician.

gardens of the suburbs are still a pleasant feature; they depend entirely on irrigation (cp Nik. Chon. 542). The town lies on the W. edge of the vast upland plain of Lycaonia; the mountains rise six miles to the W., whilst on the N. and S. at a distance of ten miles are ranges of hills.

'On first seeing Konia from the hills above, the traveller is struck by its open and undefended position, lying as it does in the plain, with no natural citadel, and equally by its apparent size. Modern Iconium very meagrely fills out its old framework. Little remains of old Iconium' (Hogarth in *JHS* 11 154).

Under the Persian empire Iconium was the frontier city of Phrygia (first mention in Xen. *Anab.* i. 2 19, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλις ἐσχάτη, sc. in the direction of Lycaonia). In precise agreement with this is the implication in Acts 14 6, that in traversing the eighteen miles between Iconium and Lystra the apostles crossed the Lycaonian frontier. Yet the city is assigned to Lycaonia by Pliny, Strabo (*l.c.*), and Cicero (*Ad Fam.* 154: castra in Lycaonia apud Iconium). This is because during the first century before and after Christ the town was united with Lycaonia for administrative purposes. Under Roman dominion geographical facts prevailed over ethnical affinities, and Iconium was recognised as the centre of Lycaonia and the capital of its tetrarchy of fourteen cities added to Galatia Proper probably about 160 B.C. (Plin. *HN* 5 95: the region called Προσειλημμένη, the Added Land. by Ptol. v. 410). In Acts 146, therefore, the writer speaks according to local Iconian, not official, usage.

In 39 B.C. this district (*i.e.*, part of Lycaonia, with Isauria and some of Cilicia Tracheia), was given by Antony to M. Antonius Polemon (Strabo, 568); but Iconium and the Lycaonian part of Polenion's kingdom soon passed into the hands of Amyntas, who in 25 B.C. left his kingdom to the Romans. By them it was formed into the Province Galatia. When Claudius turned his attention to the fringe of the Empire, Iconium was given the title Claudian (50-54 A.D.), and struck coin as Claudeikonion—a title which expresses the share of the town in the Romanisation of the Province, and its pride in its position. Not until Hadrian's time was Iconium raised to the rank of a Colony, with the title *Ælia Hadriana Iconiensium.* Hence in Paul's time the town was popularly described as Phrygian, officially as Galatian, or Phrygo-Galatian (*ie.*, belonging to that part of Phrygia which was attached to Galatia Provincia; so in Acts 16 6: 'and they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia,' διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, referring to this district. See PHRYGIA, but cp GALATIA, ITUREA). In polite style its inhabitants would be addressed as Γαλάται, for Φρύγες in ordinary parlance meant slaves (cp Cic. *pro Flacc.* 65: hoc vetus proverbium, Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem). The name Lycaones, again, would have been peculiarly inappropriate at any time between 37 and 72 A.D. as it then signified the inhabitants of the non-Roman part of Lycaonia, the subjects of king Antiochus (cp his coins with the legend ΛΥΚΑΟΝΩΝ). The only other possible mode of address would have been to use the title Ἕλληνες.

The idea supported by Farrar, that Paul and Barnabas used the frontier like brigands, must be rejected. They found safety in an intelligent use of the self-government of the various cities.

The events in Iconium, where the magistrates (ἄρχοντες, native, not Roman, officials) play so active a part, illustrate the difference in attitude displayed by the Roman colonial and ordinary mnnicipal magistrates towards the new teaching (cp Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 304 *f.*). Iconium owed its importance in Paul's time to its connection with the backbone of the Roman road-system in Asia Minor (*i.e.*, the great road from Ephesus to the. Euphrates) by a cross-road running northwards to Laodiceia Katakekaumene (Comhusta) about nine hours distant (Strabo, 663; traversed by Paul, Acts 166). It lay itself in the direct route to the Cilician Gates (by way of Barata and Kybistra). This commercial importance is illustrated by the presence of many Greeks and Jews (Acts 14 1, cp the inscrip.: see Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia,* 2 667 673); the latter evidently possessed considerable influence (Acts 14 5). Timothy's reputation had easily spread from his native town to the Jews of Iconium (Acts 16 2). 'One of the most extensive groups of early Christian inscriptions belongs to Iconium and the country N. and NE. from it' (Rams. *Hist. Comm.* 220). The city seems to have been the centre from which Christianity radiated in S. Galatia (cp Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2 511). It was the scene of the legend of Thecla. According to tradition Sosipatros, one of the Seventy, was bishop of Iconium, and was succeeded by Terentius, also one of the Seventy (Rom. 16 21 *f.*).

See account in Ramsay's *Historical Commentary on the Galatians.* W. J. W.

IDALAH (יִדְאֲלָה, ιερειχω [B], ιαδηλα [A], ιεδαλ. [L]), a town in Zebulun, mentioned between Shimron and Bethlehem, Josh. 19 15†. Conder identifies it with *Kh. el-Ḥuwāra*, S. of Beit Lahm (*PEFM* 1 288), —a name which closely resembles חיריי, *Ḥirye*, with which *Talm. J., Meg.* 1 1, identifies it (but cp KATTATH, KITRON). T. K. C.

IDBASH (יִדְבָּשׁ), an obscure name (§ 54) in 1 Ch. 4 3 (ιαβας [B], ιγαβης [A; cp *v.* 9 *f.*], ιεδεβας [L]), connected with ETAM (*q.v.*).

IDDO (אִדּוֹ, perhaps = Phœn. אדא, *CIS* 1 no. 426), the chief of some Levites and Nethinim at CASIPHIA (*q.v.*), Ezra 8 17 (om. BA, αδδαει [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 45 *f.*, LODDEUS [RV], a combination of אֶל, 'to' and 'Iddo' (λαδδαιος and λοδαιος [B], λοδδαιος [A], αδδαι [L]); in AV SADDEUS and DADDEUS.

IDDO (יִדּוֹ, see HADORAM, and cp in Palm. ידי, 'beloved' [in Gr. inscr. ιαδδαιος], perhaps shortened from יְדָיָה, JEDAIAH, ιαδιαι [L]).

1. b. Zechariah, a ruler in Manasseh, E. of the Jordan, 1 Ch. 27 21 (ιαδδαι [BAL]).

2. (So RV, but AV JADAU) otherwise JADDAI, one of the Bne Nebo in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 43 (ידו, Kt., ידי, Kr.; δια [BN], ιαδει [A], ιδαι [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 35, EDES, RV EDOS (ηδος [B], ηδαις [A]).

IDDO (αδδω [BKAQL]). 1. (יֶעְדִּי [Kt.], יֶעְדוֹ [1] [Kr.] in 2 Ch. 9 29, RV^mg. JEDAI or JEDO; ιωηλ [BA], -δ [L], but עִדּוֹ, 12 15 13 22; αδω [B] in both places), a prophet contemporary with Jeroboam and Abijah according to the Chronicler, and designated 'the Seer' (הַחֹזֶה), 2 Ch, 9 29 12 15 13 22. On his connection as a historical authority with the Bk. of Chronicles, see CHRONICLES, § 6 (2).

2. (עִדּוֹ). A Gershonite Levite; 1 Ch. 6 21 [6] (αδει [B], αδδι [A? sup ras et. in mg.]). In *v.* 41 [26] the name appears as ADAIAH (עֲדָיָה; αζεια [B], αδαια [A], αδια [L]).

3. (עִדּוֹ, Zech. 1 1, but עִדּוֹא *v.* 7, Ezra 5 1 6 14 [Ginsb.] Neh. 12 4). Grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (Zech. 1 1 7; cp Ezra 5 1, αδω [B] = 1 Esd. 6 1, ADDO, εδδειν [B], εδδω [L]; Ezra 6 14, αδω [B], εδδ. [L] = 1 Esd. 73, where, however, the name is omitted. He is mentioned in the post-exilic list, Neh. 12 4 (αδαιας [ℵ^c.a mg. sup. L], om. Bℵ*A), and according to *v.* 16 the representative of his house was Zechariah (עֲדָיָא, Kt.; עִדּוֹא, Kr.; om. Bℵ*A, αδδαι [ℵ^c.a mg. inf.], αδαιᾳ [L]).

4. (עִדֹּא), the father of AHINADAB (*q.v.*), 1 K. 4 14 (αχελ [B], σαδωκ [A], αχιαβ [L]).

IDOL, a representation of a deity which is made an object of worship. In this article the word is used in the restricted sense to designate an iconic representation, an image; on the aniconic agalmata see MASSEBAH, ASHERAH; cp also IDOLATRY, § 2.

a. A name for 'image' common to all the Semitic languages is *ṣelem* (צֶלֶם, 𝔊 generally εἰκών, also ὁμοίωμα, εἴδωλον).

[1] יערו is probably a miswriting of יֶעְדּוֹ (or יֶעְדִּי, the vocalisation is not certain; cp 𝔊) rather than its equivalent. 𝔊 carries the error a step further by presupposing יוֹעֵד (ΙΩΗΛ = ΙΩΗΔ). Cp Ki. 'Chron.' *SBOT*.

Ṣélem is used of the golden images of field mice and of tumours (?) which the Philistines sent to appease the anger of Yahwè when they returned the ark (1 S. 6 5 11); of figures of

1. Names.

Chaldeans painted on a wall (Ezek. 23 14); cp also Gen. 1 26 *f.* (man made in the image of God), 9 6 5 3; of idols, Ezek. 7 20 (of gold and silver), 16 17 (images of males) 2 K. 11 18 Nu. 33 52 Dan. 3 1 *ff.* (in Aramaic). In this sense the word does not occur in any writer earlier than the later part of the seventh century (in Am. 5 26 it is a gloss).

b. Another general name for idols is *'ăṣăbbīm* (עֲצַבִּים, sing., Is. 48 5 *'ōṣeb*, conformed to עֶצֶב, 'pain');[1] 𝔊 usually εἴδωλα, also γλυπτά, θεοί.

Hosea speaks contemptuously of *'ăṣăbbīm* as the manufacture of craftsmen (13 2, parallel to *massēkāh*, 'molten image'; note also 'the calves' in the following clause); they were of silver and gold (8 4, cp Ps. 115 4); see also 4 17 14 8 [9]. Is. 48 5 couples the name with *pesel* and *nesek*, 'graven image and molten image'; see, further, Is. 46 1 (Bel and Nebo), Jer. 50 2 (Bel and Merodach); 1 S. 31 9 2 S. 5 21 (gods of the Philistines; see below, § 3) Zech. 13 2 Is. 10 11 Ps. 106 36 38.

The derivation of the word is not clear; according to the most probable etymology the primary meaning is akin to that of *pesel*, a work of sculpture (cp the verb, Job 10 8 Jer. 44 19). Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages connected it with the ordinary meaning of the verb *'āṣab* and its derivatives in Hebrew, and interpreted 'cause of woe'; but this would be possible only if we could suppose that the name, like *ĕlīlīm*, *gillūlīm*, etc. (see below, § 3), was coined by the haters of idolatry.[2]

c. Sēmel (סֶמֶל, εἰκών, γλυπτόν) is used by Ezekiel in (8 3 5) speaking of a particular idol in the temple at Jerusalem, called סֶמֶל הַקִּנְאָה (*sēmel hakkin'āh*), 'the jealousy image,' because, it is explained (*v.* 3), it provokes (Yahwè) to jealousy.[3] (Cp CHIUN and SICCUTH.)

The word occurs also in Dt. 4 16, 'an image in the form of male or female'; 2 Ch. 33 7 15, where *sēmel* is put in the place of the *ăshērāh* of 2 K. 21 7 (*pesel* is a gloss both in Kings, *l.c.*, and in Ch. *v.* 7). In Phoenician *semel* (סמל, סמלת) is a statue of a man or woman (*CIS* 1, no. 88, *l.* 2; no. 91, *l.* 1).

In Hebrew *sēmel* seems to be a loan-word introduced in the sixth century.

d. Pĕsel (פֶּסֶל, plur. פסילים; 𝔊 usually γλυπτόν, also εἰκών, γλύμμα, εἴδωλον), EV 'graven image.' The verb from which this noun is derived is used of cutting, hewing, or dressing wood or stone (*e.g.*, 1 K. 5 18 [32]). The graven image is described as the work of a craftsman (חָרָשׁ, *ḥārāš*, Is. 40 19 *f.* Dt. 27 15; see HANDICRAFTS, § 1); it was commonly of wood (Is. 40 20 44 15 45 20, cp Dt. 7 5 25 12 3), but sometimes of stone (Is. 21 9, idols of Babylon). As the graven image was probably always the commonest kind of image, the word *pesel* is frequently used generically for 'idol' (Ex. 20 4 Dt. 5 8), even for those which were cast in metal, the specific name of which was *massēkāh* (Is. 30 22 40 19 41 10 Jer. 10 14, cp Judg. 17 4); on the *massēkāh* see below (e). The *pesel* might represent human or animal forms, or the heavenly bodies (Ex. 20 4 Dt. 5 8, especially Dt. 4 16 23 25).

See further Hos. 11 2 (parallel to 'the baals'), Mi. 1 7 5 13 [12] Nah. 1 14 Hab. 2 18 Jer. 8 19 2 K. 17 41, frequent in Is. 40 *ff.* Jer. 10 50 51.

e. The counterpart of the 'graven image' is the 'molten image,' *massēkāh* (מַסֵּכָה), also נֶסֶךְ, *nesek*, Is. 41 29 48 5 Jer. 10 14 51 17, and נְסִיךְ, *nesīk*, Dan. 11 8; 𝔊 generally χωνευτόν, occasionally χώνευμα, γλυπτόν), properly an image of metal cast in a mould, the work of the founder (צוֹרֵף, *ṣōrēph*, goldsmith; specially idol-maker, Is. 40 19 41 7 46 6 Jer. 10 9 14; cp Judg. 17 4). The name is used repeatedly of the golden 'calf' which Aaron made (Ex. 32 4 8, cp 24*b*, 'I cast it into the fire and out came this calf,' Dt. 9 12 16 Neh. 9 18), a story aimed at the worship of the Yahwè bulls in the kingdom of Israel; cp 2 K. 17 16 (where 'two calves' is a gloss to 'a molten image,' 1 K. 14 9). See also Hos. 13 2 (of silver; cp 2 8 [10]) Ps. 106 19. The 'molten image' is the only kind of idol specifically prohibited in the oldest legislation (Ex. 34 17, repeated Lev. 19 4, cp Nu. 33 52). *Pesel* and *massēkāh* are frequently coupled, to include every species of idol; Nah. 1 14 Hab. 2 18 Is. 48 5 Jer. 10 14 = 51 17 Dt. 27 15. The name and the thing were probably adopted from the Canaanites; in Phoenician to cast, found, metal is נסך, *nāsak*, in Hebrew יצק, *yāṣak* (1 K. 7 46, etc.).

f. In Lev. 26 1 *ében maśkīth* (אבן משכית); 𝔊BAL λίθον σκοπόν, 𝔊F λιθοσκόπον; RV 'figured stone,' mentioned with *ĕlīlīm*, *pesel*, *maṣṣēbāh*, as an object of idolatrous worship, is generally, and doubtless rightly, understood of a stone with images in relief, such, for example, as the winged solar disk; cp Nu. 33 52 (plur. מַשְׂכִּיּוֹת, *maśkiyyōth*, 𝔊 σκοπιάς) in a similar context; also Ezek. 8 12 (𝔊 κρυπτῷ), chambers in private houses decorated with mythological reliefs or paintings (1).

See for further illustration of the meaning of the word, Prov. 25 11 (embossed silver vessels), Is. 2 16, and the tropical uses in Ps. 73 7 Prov. 18 11.

g. In Is. 45 16 the חָרָשֵׁי צִירִים, *ḥārāšē ṣīrīm*, are makers of 'figures,' idols; cp NH צוּרָה. MT intends a play on צירים, 'pangs.' 𝔊 has a different text. Cp also יֵצֶר, Hab. 2 18. Cheyne reads צְלָמִים.

h. In the prohibitions of idolatry the words *tᵉmūnāh* and *tabnīth* are of frequent occurrence.

Of the two *tĕmūnāh* (תְּמוּנָה, 𝔊 generally ὁμοίωμα, also δόξα, μορφή, ὁμοίωσις [A]) is connected with *mīn*, 'species,' and is properly that which is distinctive in the appearance of a thing (see Nu. 12 8 Ps. 17 15, also Job 4 16 𝔊 μορφή; in the laws, Ex. 20 4 Dt. 5 8 4 12 15 *f.* 23 25). *Tabnith* (תַּבְנִית, 𝔊 commonly ὁμοίωμα, sometimes more exactly παράδειγμα) is properly a building-plan, pattern, model (*e.g.*, Ex. 25 9 2 K. 16 10), hence 'likeness' (Ezek. 8 3); Dt. 4 16 *ff.* Is. 44 13 Ezek. 8 10 (gloss from Dt. 4 17 *f.*).

i. Other words translated in EV 'idol' or 'image' are *miphléseth*, מפלצת, 1 K. 15 13 (see below, § 2 *f.*); *maṣṣēbāh*, מצבה *ḥammānīm*, חַמָּנִים (see MASSEBAH); *tĕrāphīm*, תרפים (see TERAPHIM); cp also EPHOD.[2]

j. Greek names in Apocrypha and NT are εἴδωλον (1 Macc. 1 43 47 etc., 2 Macc. 12 40 Tob. 14 6 Wisd. 14 11 *f.* etc., Acts 7 41 15 20 Rom. 2 22 1 Cor. 8 4 etc., Rev. 9 20 etc.); εἰκών (Wisd. 13 16 14 15 17 Rom. 1 23 Rev. 13 14 etc., 14 9 11 15 2 etc.);[3] εἶδος (Wisd. 15 4); γλυπτόν (1 Macc. 5 68 Wisd. 14 16 15 13 etc.).

2. Opprobrious terms for idols and idolatry.

The words discussed in the preceding section are the proper names for idols in general or for particular species; they may all, so far as we know, have been used without offence by the worshippers themselves.* Beside these, however, we find in the OT a great variety of terms which express the writers' contempt for the idols and their abhorrence of idolatry. These are of much more frequent use, and indeed in some books predominate so that the proper designations occur rarely or not at all. Some of these terms are rendered in EV *ad sensum*, 'idols.'

They describe the idols, or the heathen gods identified with the idols, as unreal, vain (שָׁוְא, *šāw'*, Jer. 18 15 Ps. 31 6 [7] etc.; הֶבֶל, *hébhel*, Jer. 2 5 8 19 Dt. 32 21, and often), or false (שֶׁקֶר, *šeker*, Is. 44 20 Jer. 10 14 etc.; כְּזָבִים, *kezābhīm*, Am. 2 4 etc.; אָוֶן, *'āwen*, Is. 41 29 66 3 etc.); no-gods (לֹא אֵל, *lō 'ēl*, לא אלוה, *lō 'ĕlōăh*, לֹא אלהים, *lō 'ĕlōhīm* (Dt. 32 17 21 Jer. 2 11 5 7 etc.), impotent (לֹא הוֹעִיל, *lō hō'il*, Jer. 2 8 etc.), lifeless, mere carcasses (מֵתִים, *mēthīm*, Ps. 106 28; פְּגָרִים, *pᵉgārīm*, Lev. 26 30; cp Wisd. 13 10 17 etc.).

The following words of this class require somewhat

[1] Cp צירים, Is. 45 16, 'pangs' for 'figures' (idols).

[2] The older Jewish explanation of the name—these idols were called *'ăsābbīm*, because they were made of joints or members (*Sifra* on Lev. 19 4)—is based on an etymology which we do not understand.

[3] The explanation is perhaps an incorrect gloss; cp Syr. *ḳanyāthā*, 'idols of female deities'; also 'dolls, puppets.'

[1] The words are athetized by Hitzig, Cornill, and Siegfried.

[2] [מַעֲשֵׂה צַעֲצֻעִים in 2 Ch. 3 10, 'image (AVmg. 'moveable') work' is obscure; see comm. *ad loc.* ‖ 1 K. 6 23 has עֲצֵי שֶׁמֶן.]

[3] It should be noted that εἰκών and εἴδωλον in classical Greek usually designate portrait statues or paintings of men or women; seldom images of the gods (Blümner, *Technologie*, 2 182).

[4] Several of these also are given an opprobrious interpretation in *Sifra* on Lev. 19 4.

fuller discussion; (*a*) *ĕlīlīm* (אלילים, 𝔊 εἴδωλα, χειροποίητα, βδελύγματα, etc.), first in Is. 2 8 18 20, perhaps coined by the prophet, and in secondary or doubtful passages, 10 10 *f.* 19 1 3 31 7; further, Hab. 2 18 Jer. 14 14 (*Kᵉrē*) Ezek. 30 13 Lev. 19 4 26 1 Ps. 96 5 97 7.

The derivation of the word is disputed; the most probable and most widely accepted hypothesis is that it is connected with the negation אַל, *al*, 'not'; cp Ass. *ul*, 'not,' *ullu*, 'non-being,' *ulālu*, 'powerless' (Del. *Ass. HWB*, 71) Syr. *ălīl*, 'weak' (in body or mind); also NH אלל (Levy, *NHWB* 186); see Job 13 4 (𝔊 κακῶν), where *ĕlīl* is parallel to *šeḳer*, 'falsehood, deceit.' Others regard *ĕlīl* as etymologically a derivative of *ēl*, 'god' (diminutive, Movers, Fürst); cp אלאלת in Sabæan inscriptions (NO. *SBAW*, 1882, p. 1191). The word was then by popular etymology associated with *al*, 'not.' The similarity of sound leads to the paronomasia כל אלהי העמים אלילים Ps. 96 5, 'all the *ĕlōhīm* of the nations are *ĕlīlīm*'; see also 'Hab. 2 18. It does not appear, however, that this play was designed in the formation of the word.

b. The favourite word for idols in Ezekiel is *gillūlīm* (גִּלּוּלִים, 𝔊 most frequently εἴδωλον, but often ἐνθύμημα, also βδέλυγμα, ἐπιτήδευμα [?] עלילה); Ezek. 6 4 etc. (more than forty times) Jer. 50 2 Lev. 26 30 Dt. 29 16 1 K. 15 12 21 26 2 K. 17 12 21 11 21 23 24 (all deuteronomistic).

The etymology of *gillūlīm* also is uncertain; the Rabbinical interpreters connect it with *gēl*, *gālāl*, 'dung' (*e.g.*, Ezek. 4 12 15); so probably Aquila's καθάρματα (Ezek. 6 4) is meant; cp AV Dt. 29 17 [16] mg., 'dungy gods.' So Ges.-Buhl, Stade-Siegfried, and others. Cp the use of זָבָל and זִבּוּל in the Hebrew of the Talmud (see BEELZEBUL). That Ezekiel should coin such a term is quite conceivable in the light of chaps. 16 and 23, where no expression is too gross for him. Others prefer to connect the word with *gal*, 'stone heap,' or with the primary meaning of the root, 'be round'—the idol contemptuously called a mere log, a shapeless mass; so Jahn (not excluding the former explanation), and many recent scholars. It is possible that in the coinage of the word a contemptuous play upon some term in use in the worship of the host of heaven may have been designed (cp MH *galgal*, 'celestial sphere,' especially the sphere of the fixed stars in which is the zodiac); but we have no evidence of this use in the OT.

c. Another term, expressive of the deepest abhorrence of idolatry, is *šiḳḳūṣ* (שִׁקּוּץ, 𝔊 generally βδέλυγμα, sometimes προσόχθισμα, μίασμα; EV 'detestable things'; less frequently 'abomination').

The word is cognate with *šeḳeṣ*, which is a technical term for tabooed kinds of food (flesh of various animal kinds, vermin, carrion, etc.), with a connotation of loathsomeness, similarly *šiḳḳūṣ* itself in Nah. 3 6 Zech. 9 7 (see ABOMINATION, 2). Since these prohibitions in great part had their root in religious antipathies, being laid on things associated with superstitions which the religion of Yahwè abhorred, the opprobrious term *šiḳḳūṣ* is not unnaturally applied to everything which belongs to another religion, its cultus, the images of its gods, and the gods themselves, the worship of Yahwè in similar ways, which the prophets treat as mere heathenism, is included. Thus, of idols Jer. 16 18 7 30 32 34 Ezek. 20 7f. 30 2 Ch. 15 8 etc.: of cultus: Jer. 13 27 Ezek. 37 23 Is. 66 3; in many cases, naturally, this distinction cannot be made. See, further, Jer. 4 1 Ezek. 5 11 7 20 11 18 21 Dt. 29 16 2 K. 23 24 etc. (on cases in which *šiḳḳūṣ* is a substitute for *ĕlōhīm* see below, § 3).

d. A word of like meaning, history, and application is *tōʿēbāh* (תּוֹעֵבָה, 𝔊 generally βδέλυγμα, sometimes ἀνομία, AV 'abomination'); see Is. 44 19 Ezek. 16 36 7 20 11 PI Jer. 16 18; more generally, Ezek. 6 9 1 K. 14 24 2 K. 16 3 etc.

e. In Dan. 8 13 (cp *v.* 12 𝔊) *pĕšaʿ* (פֶּשַׁע) 'crime' (𝔊 ἁμαρτία) is used just as *šiḳḳūṣ* is in the parallel passages 9 27 11 31 12 11; she also Ezek. 14 11, and the conjunction of *gillūlīm*, *šiḳḳūṣīm*, and *pĕšāʿīm* in Ezek. 37 23.

f. The words *miphléṣeth* (מִפְלֶצֶת, 1 K. 15 13 2 Ch. 15 16), 'an object of horror,' and *ēmīm* (אֵימִים), 'terrors' for 'idols' (Jer. 50 38), also belong to this class (see below, § 3 end). Contempt for the idols is also expressed by more general terms when they are described as the work of men's hands (*e.g.*, Is. 2 8), mere wood and stone (Dt. 4 28 28 36 64 2 K. 19 18 Ezek. 20 32 Dan. 5 4 etc.).

There can be no doubt that in many instances the contemptuous expressions which we have been examining were introduced into the text by later editors or scribes in the place of the proper words for idols or heathen gods, in the same way in which *bōšeth*, 'shame,' has been put for *baʿal*, both alone (*e.g.*, Jer. 3 24 11 13 etc.) and in proper names like Ishbosheth (see ISHBAAL), and with the same motive. In particular, the word *ĕlōhīm*, 'god' (or 'gods'), when used of other deities or their idols,

3. Substitution of opprobrious for inoffensive terms.

gave much offence, and led to many alterations of the text.[1] Thus in 2 S. 5 21 the Philistines, routed by David, left their gods on the field of battle (𝔊 τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν, MT 1 Ch. 14 12 אלהיהם); MT substitutes עֲצַבֵּיהֶם, 'their idols'; in 1 S. 31 9 this correction has prevailed in all the texts, though the context leaves no room for doubt that the author wrote 'their gods.'

1 K. 11 contains some peculiarly instructive examples: in *vv.* 5 7 the original reading was, 'Astarte the god of the Phœnicians, Milcom the god of the Ammonites, Chemosh the god of the Moabites'; cp *v.* 33, where MT has preserved this text, and *v.* 8, 'their gods.' 𝔊 translates אלהים, 'god,' by εἴδωλον; in MT *šiḳḳūṣ* has been inserted in two of the three cases, but 'Astarte the god of the Phœnicians' remains untouched, whilst in 𝔊 this alone has been changed to βδέλυγμα. In 33, where, as has been said, MT has thrice *ĕlōhīm*, 𝔊L has τῇ Ἀστάρτῃ βδελύγματι Σιδωνίων καὶ τῷ Χαμὼς εἰδώλῳ Μωαβ καὶ τῷ Μελχομ προσοχθίσματι υἱῶν Ἀμμών. Cp also 2 K. 23 13 in MT and 𝔊. So also in Is. 19 3 𝔊 has θεούς whilst MT reads *ĕlīlīm*. For another case of substitution see ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

These illustrations show that as late as the time when the Greek version was made the text of such passages was very variable.

Note also passages like Ezek. 7 20, where *šiḳḳūṣīm* appears as a doublet to *tōʿēbōth*; further βδελύγματα for חמנים (Is. 17 8), for אלילים (Is. 2 8 20), for גלולים (1 K. 21 26 Ezek. 30 13); προσόχθισμα for בעל (1 K. 16 32). Perhaps the substitution of the contumelious words was at first made (both in Hebrew and Greek) in reading, as a standing Ḳerē (cp ἡ βάαλ read αἰσχύνη), which then made its way into the written text as so many other Kerēr's did at an early time. It is probable that *miphleṣeth*, "object of horror,' in 1 K. 15 13 2 Ch. 15 16, is also a substitute for some more concrete word, but the conjectural restorations proposed are not altogether satisfactory.

This perversion of names associated with idolatry is not an accidental conceit of individual readers or scribes; it has the warrant of an old and authoritative tradition which attaches itself to the command, 'Ye shall not mention the name of other gods' (Ex. 23 13; see Mechilta, *Mishpāṭīm*, 107*a*, ed. Friedmann); and, 'Ye shall destroy their name out of that place' (Dt. 12 3), combined with 'thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it' (שַׁקֵּץ תְּשַׁקְּצֶנּוּ וְתַעֵב תְּתַעֲבֶנּוּ, Dt. 7 26; interpreted, 'thou shalt make a *šiḳḳūṣ* and a *tōʿēbāh* of it').

See *Tosephta*, '*Ăbōdā zārā*, 6 4, ed. Zuckermandel, 469; Jer. '*Ăbōdā zārā*, 36; Bab. '*Abōdā zārā*, 45*b* 46*a*; *Tĕmūrā*, 28*b*; *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, § 34. Examples of such changes are given in the places cited; among them Beth-aven (בית און, Hos. 4 15 10 5 etc.) for Bethel. Without any direct testimony we should unhesitatingly assume that *bōšeth* and *šiḳḳūṣīm* in Hos. 9 10 were the words, not of the eighth-century prophet, but of a Jewish copyist; and so in many other cases. The principle of substitution is illustrated in the Targums, which put טָעוּ 'error' for *ĕlōhīm* 'god,' when used of the gods of the heathen (*e.g.*, Dt. 28 36 Jndg. 17 5 Is. 21 9 2 Ch. 32 15 35 21 etc.); and render by the same general term many words for 'idol'; *e.g.*, *ĕlīlīm* (Is. 2 18 20 19 3 etc.) *ʿăṣabbīm* (Hos. 4 17 8 4 14 8 [9]), *gillūlīm* (Ezek. 6 4f. 8 10 and often), *sĕmel* (Dt. 4 16 *ps. Jon.*), *miphleṣeth* (1 K. 15 13), etc. Similarly דַּחֲלָא, *daḥlā*, 'fear,' is used to translate *ĕlōhīm* (Ex. 20 20 Hos. 8 6), etc. Compare also יראה, 'fear,' for 'idol' in the Talmud (Levy, *NHWB* 2 283).

Of idols which were the object of a public cult among the Israelites, we have descriptions only of the bull-images of Yahwè at Bethel, Dan, and probably other temples in the Northern Kingdom, and of the serpent in the temple at Jerusalem. The former were introduced by Jeroboam I. (1 K. 12 28 *f.* 2 K. 10 29 17 16 etc.); they were of less than life-size—hence the contemptuous 'calves'—and of gold, that is, covered with gold (see § 5). Down to the fall of Samaria (721) the worship of these bulls was the national cultus of the kingdom of Israel; see Hos. 8 5 *f.* 10 8 13 2. According to Ex. 32 a similar idol which Aaron made at Horeb was indignantly destroyed by Moses, and the people severely punished for their apostasy—an anticipative repudiation of the religion of the Northern Kingdom (cp Dt. 9 16 Neh. 9 18 etc.). Whether the conception of Yahwè as a bull belonged to the Israelites—or some part of them—at

4. Forms of idols.

[1] See Geiger, *Urschr.* 279-299 ('57).

an earlier period, or was borrowed by them from the Egyptians or from the Canaanites, is a question which cannot be discussed here[1] (see CALF, GOLDEN).

In the temple in Jerusalem, down to the end of the eighth century, sacrifice was offered to a bronze serpent (2 K. 18 4, cp Num. 21 8 *f.*); see NEHUSHTAN. The form of the 'jealousy image' (Ezek. 8 3 5) is not known (for a conjecture see above, § 1 c, note).

The idol of Dagon at Ashdod (1 S. 5) had a head and hands, and was thus at least partially anthropomorphic; the opinion that the lower half of the image was in the form of a fish rests on a very slender basis (see DAGON). Images in human likeness are mentioned by Hosea (13 2 Vers.) and Ezekiel (16 17 צלמי זכר, cp 18); more explicitly in Is. 44 13. Cp DIANA, § 2.

Ps. 115 4-8 (? 135 15-18) assume anthropomorphic images to be the ordinary type; the author lived well on in the Greek period; cp Wisd. 14 15 16-20 (portrait statues of a dead child, and of a king worshipped as gods). The 'grisly object' (*miphleṣeth*, מפלצת) which the queen-mother Maacah made for the (or, as an) *ăshērāh* (1 K. 15 13 2 Ch. 15 16) was understood by the Jews in the early centuries of our era as an ithyphallic idol (see *'Ăbōdā zārā*, 44*a*, and cp Jerome *simulacrum Priapi*);[2] an obscene interpretation perhaps underlies the translation of 𝔊 in 1 K. There is, however, no reason to believe that this is more than an exegetical conceit (see above, § 3 *f.*).

In the laws, images of man or woman, beast, bird, reptile, or fish, are forbidden (Dt. 5 8, especially 4 16-19); all these forms—arid composites of them—were doubtless known to the authors of the legislation (see also Wisd. 13 10-16). The scanty information on this subject which can be gleaned from the pages of the OT must be supplemented by the descriptions of Phœnician and Syrian gods in Greek and Latin writers, and especially by the archaeology of religious art in Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, and Cyprus.

A selection of types may be found in the plates at the end of Scholz's *Götzendienst*, etc., 77; see also Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phœn.* 1 56-83 2 9-27 147-179.

The Phœnicians, who manufactured idols and exported them in numbers to all parts of the Mediterranean basin, imitated Egyptian types, but—remarkably enough—only anthropomorphic (not theriomorphic or therianthropic) types; see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phœn.* 1 77 3 80.

The vast majority of the images were private or household idols (see IDOLATRY). These were generally small, and of materials and workmanship corresponding to the means of their owners and the fashion of the times.

5. Material and fabrication.[3]

The commonest were of wood, carved and painted (Wisd. 13 14 15 4; cp Paus. ii. 2 5 vii. 26 11 viii. 39 6, Plin. *NH* 33 36). or adorned with gold and silver (Jer. 10 4); there were also graven images of stone and idols of clay, the work of the potter (Wisd. 15 7 *ff.* 13).[4] Small idols were cast in silver and gold (see *massēkāh*, § 1 *e*), doubtless also in less precious metals (bronze, as in Egypt, etc.; lead, cp the very old leaden idol from Troy, Baumeister, 1191). Larger images were made of cheaper material and covered with gold or silver.[5] From the procedure attributed to Aaron in the destruction of the golden calf (Ex. 32 20), it has been inferred, with much probability, that the bull images of the Northern Kingdom had a wooden core; see also *v.* 4, where the words 'he fashioned it with a graving tool' are more naturally understood of the carving of a wooden image than of finishing a casting (AV); cp, however, *v.* 24. Is. 40 19 describes the making of an idol the core of which was cast of baser metal, and covered by the goldsmith with plates of gold hammered and soldered on (41 7); in 44 12 it would seem that the body of the image was worked out by the smith in his forge.[1] One of the apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel tells of an idol which was clay within and bronze without (Bel and the Dragon, 7); and such images of gilded pottery—though hardly great temple images—there may have been. The colossal statues (cp Dan. 3 1 2 31 *ff.*) were constructed upon a wooden framework.[2]

Paintings (or reliefs) were probably adored only in mystery cults such as are described in Ezek. 8 10 (cp 23 14).

When an idol was finished it was solemnly installed in its place (הִצִּיג, Judg. 8 27 1 S. 5 2 2 S. 6 17; cp Gk. ἱδρύειν). In the case of those which were set up in temples as objects of a public cultus, the installation was doubtless an act of great ceremony, attended by processions. sacrifices, hymns, and prayers; and even the rudest domestic idol would not be set up without rites of similar purport. A procession hearing the god to his shrine is perhaps meant in Is. 46 7, cp Jer. 10 5. The idol was placed in a cella or sacellum (a *bēth ĕlōhīm*, Judg. 17 5; οἰκία, Bar. 6 12 19; contemptuously εἰδώλιον or εἰδωλεῖον, 1 Esd. 2 10 1 Macc. 10 83 etc.); in a private house it might have a shrine prepared for it (οἴκημα, Wisd. 13 15), where it stood in a niche in the wall (*ib.*). The idol was fastened up in its place by nails (Is. 41 7 Jer. 10 4 Wisd. *l.c.*), or secured by chains that he might not desert his worshippers (Is. 40 19).[3] The idols were often dressed in costly stuffs and rich colours (Ezek. 16 18 Jer. 10 9 Bar. 6 11 *f.* 58 72),[4] and adorned with jewels (*M. 'Ăbōdā zārā*, 1 9). Some of them wore crowns upon their heads (Bar. 6 9) and held in their hands weapons of war (Bar. 6 15) or various insignia and attributes (cp *M. 'Ăbōdā zārā*, 3 1).

The manufacture of idols is satirically described in certain passages in the OT; see Hab. 2 18 *f.* Is. 40 18 *ff.* 41 6 *f.* 44 9-20 46 6 *f.* Jer. 10 2-5 9 14 *f.* Ps. 115 4 *ff.* = 135 15 *ff.* Wisd. 13 10 *ff.* 15; cp also Baruch 6, Bel and the Dragon, 3 *ff.* Except the first, none of these is pre-exilic; most of them are from the Persian and Greek periods, and are Jewish polemic against the idolatry of the Gentiles.

For the literature of the subject, see IDOLATRY, § 11.

G. F. M.

IDOLATRY AND PRIMITIVE RELIGION.

1. The term.

Idolatry (εἰδωλολατρία) is etymologically the worship of images; but as the word εἴδωλον was used in the LXX of a false god, whether represented by an image or not,[5] so Paul, by whom the word 'idolatry' (εἰδωλολατρία) may have been coined—it occurs first in his epistles—employs the term in a wider sense of the worship of false gods and the whole heathen cultus.

See Gal. 5 20 1 Cor. 10 14 1 Pet. 4 3; cp Col. 3 5; cp also the use of εἰδωλολάτρης 1 Cor. 5 10 *f.* 6 9 10 7 Eph. 5 5 Rev 21 8 22 15.

The equivalent Hebrew term is *'ăbōdāh zārāh* (עבודה זרה), 'foreign worship,' often concretely, the object of such worship, 'idol' (Mishna, freq.).[6]

Thus, broadly, idolatry may be defined as the giving

1 Cp Scholz, 10; *ff.*
2 See ASHERAH.
3 See Blümner, *Technologie*, 2; Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 15 *ff.*
4 See above on *pésel* (§ 2 *d*). Wooden idols (cypress, cedar, oak, box, arbor vitae, etc.; cp Is. 44 13) were common also among the Greeks; see reff. in Schoemann, *Alterth.* 2 163 *f.* Small and rude stone idols have been found in numbers at Troy (Baumeister, *Denkm.* 1191); images of glazed pottery (faience) in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 2 90), *fictilia deorum simulacra*, Plin. *NH* 34 16 (34). See also Schoemann, 2 164; Blümner, *Technol.* 2 113 *ff.*; Scholz, *Götzendienst*, 41.
5 Cp Dt. 7 25 Is. 30 22 Hab. 2 19 (?) Bar. 6 *passim* (περίχρυσα περιάργυρα).

1 The oldest bronze statue in Greece (*Ol.* 30, *incip.* 587 B.C.), according to Pausanias (iii. 17 6) was not cast, but was made in parts, which were hammered out separately and riveted together. Cp Gardner *op. cit.* 26. See also Arnob. *Adv. gentes*, 1 39.
2 Lucian, *Somnium*, 24; *Jup. trag.* 8; see also Gardner, *op. cit.* 18; Scholz, 41.
3 A not uncommon practice: see, *e.g.*, Pausan. iii. 15 7 viii. 41 6; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7 95; Macrob. *Saturn.* 18; Plut. *Alex.* 24 etc.
4 So in Egypt (Plut. *de Isid.* 3) and Greece (Schoemann, 2 165).
5 *E.g.*, 1 K. 11 5. On the identification of the gods of the heathen with the idols, see below, § 9.
6 With this use of זָר cp Is. 43 12 Dt. 32 16 etc. The formulas עבודה כוכבים ומזלות (עכו"ם), עבודה אלילים, are substitutes dictated by Christian censorship.

to any creature the homage or devotion which belongs to God alone.

So Cyprian : tunc idololatria committitur, cum divinus honor alteri datur :[1] Gregory Nazianzen : 'the transference to the creatures of the adoration which belongs to the creator';[2] Maimonides : 'the worship of any one of all the creatures.'[3]

In a somewhat more restricted sense the term may be properly employed to comprehend those forms of religion in which the worship of a deity is connected with some material object, in which he is supposed to reside, or to be present at the performance of the sacred rites. So the word will be understood in this article.

The origin and progress of idolatry lies beyond the scope of our present inquiry[4] which has directly to do only with the forms of idolatry mentioned in OT and NT.

2. Haunts of gods and of spirits.[5]

Men early recognised certain places as the homes or haunts of the gods. These spots were protected by religious reverence, and thither worshippers resorted to bring their offerings and present their prayers to the deity. Among the Semites, as among Indo-European peoples, mountains were often thus sacred to the gods; on their summits were sanctuaries: altars were erected there beneath the open sky (see HIGH PLACES, § 2 *ff.*).

Many such mountains are known to us from the OT : Horeb 'the mount of God,' Sinai, Mt. Peor and Mt. Nebo in Moab' Carmel, Tabor, Hermon, Lebanon, Ebal and Gerizim, Zion: Worship on the mountains and 'on every high hill' is in Jeremiah and Ezekiel the distinctive mark of heathenism.[6]

Fountains, wells, and rivers, also, were frequently sacred; the living waters, the verdure which they supported, were visible signs of a present deity.

Beer-sheba, Beer-lahai-roi, Kadesh (En-mishpat), and Dan, are holy places of this class ; the veneration for sacred fountains, streams, and lakes among the Phœnicians and Syrians is well known.[7]

Holy trees are extremely common among the Semites, as among other races ; and rites which had their origin in tree-worship have here as elsewhere proved among the most ineradicable of survivals. In the OT we read of sacred trees at various places.

At Shechem (*'ēlōn mōreh*,—the name implies that it was an oracular tree: Gen. 12 6 *f.*, cp 35 4; further, Josh. 24 26 Judg. 9 6), Hebron (Gen. 13 18 18 1),[8] Beer-sheba (Gen. 21 33), Gibeah (1 S. 14 2 22 6), and elsewhere. The idolatrous Israelites set up their altars 'under every luxuriant tree' (Dt., Jer., Ezek.).[9] Holy trees often stood beside sacred waters, as at Beer-sheba, and on hill-tops, with which they are constantly associated in the seventh-century polemic against idolatry.

Fountains and trees were regarded in early times as possessing a demonic life of their own ; at a later stage, as the dwelling-place or embodiment of a demonic spirit. Each such object had its own *numen ;* in the language of Canaan, its *'ēl* or *ba'al.* So, too, every holy mountain had its *ba'al* (see BAAL). In the development of anthropomorphic religion these old local *numina* are frequently supplanted by gods of a wholly different character,—an old holy tree, for example, becoming a Ζεὺς ἔνδενδρος ; then the felt incongruity of the association may give rise to a myth, as in the case of Atargatis at Hierapolis and at Ascalon (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 174 *f.*). Under the influence of more advanced ideas the place or object which was primitively holy of itself comes to be thought of as merely the abode or the symbol of a god, owing its holiness (as did the artificial sanctuaries presently to be spoken of) to this association. Finally the association itself is rejected by a more spiritual conception of the godhead ; idolatry is a folly and an impiety. Thus, in Canaan, Yahwè superseded the multitude of local *ba'als* at the old holy places of the land ; the prophets and Deuteronomy regard the result of this syncretism as pure heathenism (see below, § 9).

Another class of holy places are the tombs of the ancestors of clans and tribes, whose spirits watch over and protect their descendants (see Jer. 31 15 *f.*).

The burial-place of Abraham, the cave of Machpelah at Hebron, which is still one of the holiest places of Islam ; the tomb of Joseph at Shechem . the tombs of Rachel near Ephrath in Benjamin, of Deborah near Bethel, of Joshua at Timnath-heres, are familiar examples from the OT.

That worship was offered at these tombs is not directly attested in the OT; but it is on other grounds very probable.[1]

3. Animal and star worship.

Of the worship of animals among the Israelites in historical times we have no evidence; the totemistic survivals which have been discovered in institutions and cultus come down from an earlier stage in the history of religion ; and the images of YahwB in the form of bulls in the Northern Kingdom, and the bronze serpent at Jerusalem, are not to be confounded with the worship of living animals (*e.g.*, the Apis and Mnevis bulls in Egypt), or of whole species of animals.

An ancient and widespread theory regards the worship of the heavenly bodies as the beginning of idolatry ;[2] and the whole history of Semitic religion has often been constructed upon this assumption—Baal was originally the sun, Astarte the moon, etc. All the evidence which we possess, however, goes to show that in Palestine and Phœnicia, whilst the sun and the moon under their proper names were worshipped in various places, the identification of the old deities with the heavenly bodies, and the introduction of distinctively astronomical cults, fall comparatively late, and were accomplished under foreign influence. In Israel the invasion of these cults occurred in the seventh century, and there is no reason to think that it came materially earlier in Phœnicia (see NATURE WORSHIP).

4. Artificial sanctuaries.

Thus far we have been considering objects and places which were sacred apart from any act of man, natural sanctuaries. There is an important distinction—not always observed—between this class and that in which human agency has a part in the constitution or consecration of the holy place or object ; we may call the latter artificial sanctuaries. Of these, probably the oldest, as it is certainly by far the most important, is the sacred stone (monolith or heap of stones. See MASSEBAH).

The sacred fauntain and the sacred tree were common but not universal adjuncts of the sanctuary; in the times covered by our evidence they played a very subordinate part in the ritual (see below, § 10). On the other hand the sacred stone (*maṣṣēbāh*) or the rude altar of stones was found at every place of worship, it was anointed with oil (Gen. 28 18, cp Lev. 8 11) ; the blood of the victims was smeared upon it or poured out at its base, with it all those rites by which the worshipper comes immediately into contact with the object of his worship are inseparably connected.[3] The *maṣṣēbāh* was set up, the altar built, for this purpose.

The holiness of the stone is not derived from the discovery that a spirit already dwells in it; it is holy because a deity has consented to enter into it, in it to be present in the midst of his worshippers, and receive their sacrifice; it is the seat (ἕδος) of the god. This stage or type of religion is frequently called 'fetishism'; but this much-abused name ministers only to misunderstanding and prejudice (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 209 *f.*).

A connecting link between this conception and those rocks, of strange shape or otherwise remarkable, which are natural sanctuaries may perhaps be found in the

1 *Exhort.* ad *Mart.* (Voss, *De Idololatria*, 1. i. ch. 3).
2 *Orat. in Theophan.* ch. 13.
3 *Mishne Tora, Aboda Zara*, 2 1.
4 This question can be satisfactorily discussed only in connection with the phenomenology of religion in general and the development of the religious consciousness.
5 On the Israelite holy places see von Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten*, '98.
6 See Baudissin, *Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 2 231 *ff.*
7 Movers, *Phönizier*, 1 665 *ff.* ; Baudissin, *l.c.* 148 *ff.* ; Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 215 *f.* ; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 165 *ff.*
8 On the holiness of 'Abraham's oak,' see Jerome, *OS*(2) 114 16.
9 Movers, *Phönizier*, 1 567-583; Scholz, *Götzendienst*, 292-295; Baudissin, *l.c.* 184-230; WRS *l.c.* 185 *ff.*, cp 131 *ff.* Additional literature in Baudissin, 184 n.

1 See Stade, *GVI* 1 450 *ff.* On the hypothesis that a stage of hero-worship preceded the worship of Yahwi. at the Canaanite sanctuaries, see HIGH PLACES, § 7.
2 References in Scholz, *Götzendienst*, 53 *f.* ; cp Maimonides,' *'Ăbōdā Zārā*, 11.
3 See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 200 *ff.*

worship of aerolites (βαιτύλιον = ביתאל, *bēthēl*, λίθοι ἔμψυχοι), or thunder-stones; but of this connection there is no direct evidence (see MASSEBAH).

A particularly interesting question is suggested by the tradition that the ark which Moses made at Horeb contained stone tablets inscribed with 'ten commandments' (cp ARK, § 10; DECALOGUE). That the fundamental laws were thus put where they could not be seen is in the highest degree improbable; on the other hand, the chest was certainly made to hold some sacred object, and nothing is more likely than that this object was a stone from the 'mount of God,'[1] by taking which with them the Israelites were assured of the presence and protection of Yahwb when they wandered away from his holy mountain.

Another 'artificial sanctuary' is the wooden pole or post (*ăshērāh*) which ordinarily stood at Palestinian holy places. It is a common opinion that this pole or mast was a surrogate for the living holy tree; but this is not certain (see ASHERAH, § 2). What the significance of the *ăshērāh* was, or what rites were connected with it, we do not learn.

5. Images. Images of the gods belong to a comparatively advanced stage in the history of religion; they presuppose a definiteness of conception which is foreign to early religions, and a discrimination of the character and attributes of different deities which is a product of history and reflection. From the ancients themselves we have many testimonies that the introduction of cultus-images was a recent thing.

Thus Varro affirms that for more than 170 years from the founding of the city the Romans had no image of a god in human or animal form; Numa is said to have forbidden such representations;[2] the Persians had no temples or idols before Artaxerxes I.;[3] in Greece also temples and images of the gods were unknown in ancient times;[4] the earliest temples of the Egyptians were without idols.[5] Arab tradition, which is supported by philological evidence, declares that idols like that of Hohal at Mecca were of foreign origin.[6]

Some of these testimonies have no historical valne; they represent a theory of antiquity which is generalised by Eusebius: 'the oldest peoples had no idols.'[7] Archæological evidence, however, confirms the fact that the iconic age was everywhere preceded by one in which the objects of worship were aniconic.[8]

The development of the stone image of the deity out of the ἀργὸς λίθος, and of the wooden idol (ξόανον) out of the aniconic wooden posts, can be traced with some distinctness in Greece; it is natural to conceive that the same evolution took place in Palestine and Phcenicia; but the proof cannot be given. Our texts do not enable us to connect the *pésel* (graven image) with the *ăshērāh* (wooden post) in any way, and monumental evidence is lacking. What is certain is that the aniconic agalmata, especially the stone stelès, obelisks, pyramids, or cones, maintained themselves in the Phcenician cults down to late times, and were not superseded by stone temple idols. Images of the gods seem to have been first introduced as domestic idols: most of the images which have been found in Phcenicia and its colonies are of small size and inferior materials; none have been discovered which can be certainly identified as cultus-idols. (See IDOL, § 5.)

6. Cultus. It does not fall within the scope of this article to describe the worship of the Semites in general; we must confine ourselves to a brief mention of the idolatrous ceremonies mentioned in the OT or the NT.

Holy mountains, waters, and trees, as we have seen, were places of worship in Palestine; but we learn nothing from the OT about peculiar rites such, for example, as in Syria are connected with sacred fountains and lakes; and it is only from the practice of other Semites in ancient and modern times that we may infer that offerings or mementoes (strips of cloth, and the like) were hung upon the sacred trees.[1] It is obvious that these cults were of inferior importance; indeed, tree worship was probably under the kings just what it is now for both Christians and Moslems — a superstition, in the proper sense of the word — that is, a cult which has been left on one side by the development of religion. The nature of the places of worship and their ordinary furniture has been described elsewhere (see HIGH PLACE, and ALTAR).

The rites of sacrifice are essentially the same throughout the Semitic world (see SACRIFICE). They connect themselves primarily with the sacred stone (see MASSEBAH, and above, § 6). Distinctive ceremonies associated with the sacred post or pole are not mentioned in the OT; the numerous Assyrian reliefs and the seals which appear to represent the adoration of the sacred post are of uncertain interpretation (see ASHEKAH). Sacrifices to the idols were offered by fire (Hos. 4 13 etc.); libations were poured out (Jer. 7 18 etc.); the fruits of the earth (tithes, first-fruits) were presented to them (Hos. 2 8 [10] Is. 57 6 etc.); tables spread with food were set before them (Is. 65 11; cp Bar. 6 28 *f.*, Bel and the Dragon, 3 *ff.*).

The worshippers kissed the idols (Hos. 13 2 1 K. 19 18; cp Cic. *in Verrem* 4 43), or threw kisses with their hands (Job 31 27, to the sun and moon);[2] stretched out their hands in prayer and adoration (Ps. 44 20 [21]); knelt before the idols or prostrated themselves to the earth; when the deity was obdurate the priests leaped or danced about the altar,[3] calling loudly upon the name of their god, and gashed themselves with knives (1 K. 18 26 28).

The Mishna enumerates the acts of worship or homage by which the prohibition of idolatry is violated thus: He breaks the law who sacrifices or burns incense to an idol, offers a libation, prostrates himself before it or acknowledges it to be his god; also he who embraces the idol, kisses it, sweeps or sprinkles water before it, washes it, anoints it, dresses it, or puts on its shoes (*Sanhedrin*, 76; cp Maimonides, *Aboda Zara*, 36).

The idols were often carried in procession, either at fixed seasons, or upon some particular occasion (Is. 46 7 Jer. 10 5); such processions are represented on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, and frequently referred to by Greek and Roman authors.

The idolatrous cults had their priests (for an opprobrious name of whom see CHEMARIM) and prophets (1 K. 18 40) and oracles (2 K. 1 2 16). To the ministry of some of these religions belonged also the 'consecrated men and women' (קְדֵשׁוֹת, קְדֵשִׁים, Dt. 23 18 *f.*); that is, religious prostitutes of both sexes (cp HARLOT).

The offering of the body in honour of the deity prevailed widely in the North-Semitic religions; in some of them it is said—though *not* on the best authority—to have been obligatory on every woman once in her life;[4] in others—perhaps in all—a special class of temple-harlots was maintained. Commerce with them was a religious act, accompanied by sacrifice (Hos. 4 13); the hire was sacred and was brought into the treasury of the god (Dt. 23 18 [19]). The laws forbidding men and women to wear the garments of the opposite sex (Dt. 22 5) are aimed at cults of this kind.

Certain peculiar rites and customs are known to us from passing allusions in the OT; the priests of Dagon would not set foot on the sacred threshold (1 S 5 5; cp Zeph. 1 9); the altars to the host of heaven were erected on the roofs of the houses (Jer. 19 13 Zeph. 1 5 etc.); cakes of a peculiar form were offered to the Queen of Heaven (Jer. 7 18); the sun-god had a chariot and horses stabled in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 23 11); the worshippers of the sun stood with their faces to the east (Ezek. 8 16);

1 Less probably an aerolite, as has often been surmised; cp Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Rel.* 164 *f.*

2 Aug. *Civ Dei*, 4 31; Plut. *Numa*, 8; cp Plin. *NH* 34 15.

3 Dinon in Clem.Al. *Protrept.* 43 Sylb.; Hdt. 1 131; Strabo, 732.

4 Lucian, *De sacrif.* 11.

5 Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 3.

6 We. *Ar. Heid.*(1) 13 n. 99 n.

7 *Præp. Ev.* 1 9; cp Wisd. 13

8 See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1, chaps. 1 a; Schoemann, *Alterth.* 2 156 *ff.*; esp. Overbeck, 'Das Cultusobject bei den Griechen in seine ältesten Gestaltungen,' *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* ('64) 121 *ff.*

1 Cp Gen. 35 4, jewels buried at the foot of a sacred tree. See also DRESS, § 8.

2 Cp Scholz, 55.

3 On the dances of the priests in Syrian cults see Herodian, v. 3 15 and *passim*; Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 50.

4 Hdt. 1 199; Straho, 745; Baruch, 6 42 *f*; Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 6, etc. Cp HARLOT.

children were sacrificed to the divine king at the Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom (Jer. 7 31 etc.; see MOLOCH); the women of Jerusalem made a mourning for the death of Tammuz (Ezek. 8 14); the gardens of Adonis are referred to by Isaiah (17 10 *f.*); lectisternia to Gad and Meni by a post-exilic writer (Is. 65 11). An examination of the seemingly irrational prohibitions in the legislation, in the light of comparative ethnology, yields considerable information about the older cults and superstitions which were put under the ban by the religion of Yahwè; but into this field it is impossible to enter here.

7. History. The Israelites when they invaded Canaan brought with them the common ideas of the nomadic Semites; they had their holy mountain (Horeb), holy wells (Beer-sheba), and fountains (Kadesh); the standing stone or stone-heap (altar) represented the deity in sacrifice; domestic idols were probably not unknown (see TERAPHIM). They found in Canaan a people of kindred race, possessed of an agricultural civilisation which the newcomers adopted. The Canaanite high places became Israelite sanctuaries (see HIGH PLACE), and the *maṣṣēbāhs* and *ăshērāhs* beside the fire-altars and beneath the holy trees were taken over with them; if new sanctuaries were founded, they were furnished with a similar apparatus. The prophets and prophetic historians regard the idols also as adopted from the Canaanites; and, speaking generally, this is doubtless true. The Baals and Astartes, the gods of the land, were worshipped by the side of Yahwè. The founding of the national kingdom gave rise to international relations and led to the introduction of foreign religions (Phœnician, Moabite, Ammonite, 1 K. 11), which were externally much like that of Israel. The worship of the Tyrian Baal in the reign of Ahab, however, provoked a reaction which overthrew the dynasty of Omri. The larger political horizon in the eighth and seventh centuries, and especially the long-continued friendly relations of Judah with Assyria, opened the way for the introduction of many foreign cults, among which the worship of the HOST OF HEAVEN, the QUEEN OF HEAVEN, the MOLOCH-worship, and the rites of mourning for TAMMUZ are the most important; 2 K. 23 4 *ff.* shows us the state of things in Jerusalem and its suburbs in 621.

The reforms of Josiah made no permanent change, as is evident from the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; the latter gives us glimpses of the strange rites which were introduced or revived in the last years of the city (Ezek. 8). In the Persian period the strongest foreign influence was Aramæan; this is seen not only in the gradual displacement of Hebrew by the Aramaic vernacular, but also by the allusions to Syrian cults such as those of GAD and MENI (Is. 65 11; see FORTUNE). Under the successors of Alexander, the Jews in Palestine as well as in Egypt and Syria were brought under the spell of Hellenic civilisation, and the liberal party, especially strong among the priestly aristocracy, showed no prejudice against the Greek religions,[2] until the violent measures of Antiochus Epiphanes provoked an equally violent reaction.

8. Religious leaders.[1] 'Molten gods' (*massēkāhs*), which were doubtless regarded as distinctively Canaanite, are prohibited in the oldest laws (Ex. 34 17). Jeroboam's 'calves' were of this kind, and we may well believe that they were condemned in his own time by men who looked with jealous eyes upon the assimilation of the religion of Yahwè to that of the baals of Canaan (on the untrustworthy record 1 K. 13, see JEROBOAM, 1 [end]). The Deuteronomic historians are in error, not in assuming that there was opposition from the first to the Canaanitizing of Israel, but in ascribing this opposition to higher religious ideas like their own. The prophets of the eighth century, particularly Hosea and Isaiah, zealously declaim against the images, of which the land was full (Is. 2 8); under the influence of Isaiah, Hezekiah probably made an effort to root out the idols (2 K. 18 4). The older aniconic representatives of the deity, the *maṣṣēbāhs*, were not yet assailed—the command to destroy the Canaanite sacred stones has a different motive. In the succeeding period these also fall under the condemnation of idolatry: no such symbol shall stand by the altar of Yahwè (Dt. 16 21 *f.* 12 3 *f.* Lev. 26 1 etc.); no image of any kind is to be tolerated (Ex. 20 4 = Dt. 5 8 etc.). In Dt. 4 15-19 (sixth century) a reason is annexed to this prohibition: at Horeb, where Yahwè revealed himself to Israel, they saw no visible form in which they might image him. Violation of these laws incurs the severest penalties,—for the individual, capital punishment (Dt. 17 2 *ff.*); for a city, the ban (Dt. 13); for the people as a whole, national ruin (29 10 *ff.* etc.).

9. Hostility to foreign cults. With the prophets of the seventh century begins the contemptuous identification of the gods of the heathen with their idols, and in the sixth the trenchant satire upon the folly of making gods of gold and silver, of wood and stone, which runs on through the later Psalms, Wisdom, Baruch, the Jewish Sibyllines, etc. (see IDOL, § 5 end), to be taken up again by Christian apologists. The attack of Antiochus Epiphanes upon their religion made offering sacrifice to idols the very act of apostasy; faithful Jews submitted to martyrdom rather than obey the king's command; the Maccabæan revolt was a rising against the attempt to force idolatry upon them. With the memories of bitter persecution, of heroic struggle and glorious victory, there was instilled into the breast of every true Jew an inexpugnable hatred of idols at which the ancient world wondered. Their Roman masters were more than once surprised by the outbreaks of this to them incomprehensible fanaticism. Pilate's first collision with the Jews was occasioned by his bringing the military ensigns (see ENSIGNS) from Cæsarea to Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3 1); the order of Caligula that his statue should be set up in the temple would have precipitated the Jewish revolt had not the good sense of Petronius interposed delays, and the death of the Emperor put an end to the plan (*Ant.* xviii. 8, *BJ* ii. 10); the desperate war under Adrian was provoked by the setting up of a temple and image of Jupiter on the site of the ruined temple (Dio Cassius, 69 12; cp Jerome on Is. 2 9).

10. Comparison with Greece. It is instructive to compare this history with that of the Greek religion. Some of the greatest of Greek philosophers had protested against idolatry almost as strongly as the prophets of Israel. Heraclitus, Xenophanes, Empedocles had satirised the folly of praying to images; Zeno declared that neither temples nor idols befitted the gods.[1] Their words, however, made no impression upon the popular religion; and later philosophers had no difficulty in discovering good reasons for the use of images.[2] In Israel, on the contrary, a whole people had been trained to the worship of God without visible embodiment or symbol.

11. Bibliography. On Idolatry in general the older works of G. J. Voss, and A. van Dale may still be consulted; from a modern standpoint, Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, chap. 6; *Prim. Cult.*(3) 2 168 *ff.*; Lippert, *Cultur-gesch.* 2 438 *ff.*; further, J. Selden, *de Dis Syris*, with the Additamenta of A. Beyer, 1672; P. Scholz, *Götzendienst u. Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern u. den benachbarten Völkern* ('77); Baudissin, *Studien zur sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1 ('76); 2 ('78); WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) ('94). G. F. M.

IDUEL (ιδουηλος [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 43 EV, mg. ARIEL, 1.

IDUMEA (אֱדוֹם; RV 'Edom': Is. 34 5 *f.* Ezek.

1 See Scholz, 419 *ff.*

2 On the attitude to foreign gods in general, see Baudissin, *Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1 49 *ff.*

1 See Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 2 114 *f.*

2 Plotinus, *Ennead.* iv. 3 11; Porphyry in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 3 7; cp Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 12 405 Reiske; Maxim. Tyr. *Diss.* 8.

351536 5), Idumæa (ιδογμαια : Mk. 38), Idumeans, RV Idumæans (ιδογμαιοι [A], 2 Macc. 10 16). See EDOM.

IEDDIAS (ιεδδιας [A]), 1 Esd. 9 26 RV = Ezra 10 25, JEZIAH.

IEZER, IEZERITE (אִיעֶזֶר, אִיעֶזְרִי), Nu. 26 30† RV. See ABIEZER.

IEZIAS (ιεζειας '[B]), 1 Esd. 9 26 RVmg. = Ezra 10 25, JEZIAH.

IGAL (יִגְאָל, 'he [God] ransoms,' § 53).

1. Issacharite 'spy' : Nu. 13 7 P (ιλααλ [B], ιγαλ [AF], ιγλαν [L]). See JOSEPH i. § 1 n.
2. b. Nathan of Zobah, one of David's heroes (2 S. 23 36† : *yaah* [BA], ιωηλ [L]). Cp JOEL, 3; NATHAN, 3; MIBHAR.
3. AV **Igeal**, a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 22 : ιωηλ [BA], ιεγααλ [L]).

IGDALIAH (יִגְדַּלְיָהוּ, *IEGEDELIA* [Vg.], probably a mere error for GEDALIAH [*q.v.*], cp γοδολιου [BAQ, om. א], גדליא [Pesh.] § 37), father of HANAN, 7 (Jer. 35 4).

IGNORANCE. If true religion is 'wisdom' or 'knowledge,' false religion must be 'folly' or 'ignorance' (cp Wisd. 14 22), and in the Bible 'religion' includes practice as well as theory. This antithesis is constantly present to the minds of the biblical writers, though they may not always develop the antithesis in the same way. Legislation drew a broad distinction between intentional sins (בְּיָד רָמָה, 'with a high hand') and sins committed 'by error' (בִּשְׁגָגָה; RV 'unwittingly'). The modern Christian standard must of course not be applied too rigorously to the details of the law, and the extreme anxiety (cp Ps. 19 13) produced by the ease with which 'sins of ignorance' could be committed appears to us not to be a feature of an ideal character. However, the principle of discrimination recognised by the legislators is still acknowledged in Christendom, and self-distrust, if coupled with trust in the 'higher self'—the indwelling Spirit—is an undeniably Christian quality (2 Cor. 12 9).

Another variety of ignorance shows itself in doubts of the divine justice; 'so foolish was I and ignorant' (Ps. 73 22 92 6 [7]). There are mysteries which, if handled at all, should be handled wisely; and who can keep off the mystery referred to by the Psalmist? On the other hand, a mystery such as the cause of Israel's blindness (Rom. 11 25) is one which does not touch the ordinary Christian so closely that he must either solve the problem or suffer spiritual shipwreck.

The spiritual ignorance of the heathen and of unbelieving Jews is a point which is variously treated by the OT writers. Sometimes it is assumed that the heathen deliberately neglect the elementary divine laws (Is. 24 5 Ps. 9 17 [18]?, cp Ps. 22 27 [28]); sometimes it is stated or implied that God allows each nation to follow its own course in religion; the course may be a foolish one, but it is at least natural and uncondemned (Jer. 2 11 Mic. 4 5). Even in the NT we find a certain variety of view. In Rom. 1 20-23 idolatry is represented as a deliberate silencing of the conscience, which leads to the manifestation of the wrath of God (*v.* 18). In Acts 17 30, however, the Paul of the Acts of the Apostles excuses the error of Jews and heathen in the times before Christ as 'ignorance' (ἄγνοια) which God has 'winked at' (ὑπεριδών; D*, παριδών)—a phrase which reminds some of us of the term 'ignorance' applied in Arabic to pre-Mohammedan paganism. If, with Denney (Hastings, *DB* 2 449*b*), we attempt to combine these two passages, we arrive at the difficult view that God can 'wink at' or excuse something which is 'in the last resort due to an immoral suppression, and even extinction, of divine light.' If, on the other hand, we recognise that the speeches in the Acts of the Apostles are literary compositions, we shall at once see how well these speeches are adapted to effect their assumed purpose. See, for instance, Acts 3 17, 13 27, and, to illustrate ὑπεριδών, 14 16, 'who in time past suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways.' It is true that Paul himself speaks of 'the passing over (τὴν πάρεσιν) of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God' (Rom. 3 25, RV); but the sins of the past (προγεγονότα ἁμαρτήματα) are the whole mass of human sins, with no special reference to heathenism. Since only in the sacrificial death of Christ could the righteousness of God be satisfied, it was theoretically necessary to maintain that God had shown forbearance to the sins of the pre-Christian period, to those of a Moses or an Ezra not less than to those of an idolater.

That ἀγνόημα and ἁμαρτία are practically synonymous will appear from Judith 5 20 and from the parallelism in 1 Esd. 8 75 [72] Ecclus. 23 2; see also Heb. 9 7 (cp 5 3).

The beautiful application of the legal phrases ἀγνόημα and ἀγνοεῖν in the Epistle to the Hebrews should be noticed. The ideal High Priest is one who can 'bear gently with the ignorant and erring (τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ πλανωμένοις) for that he also is compassed with infirmity' (Heb. 5 2 RV); 'Jesus can do this, without ever having yielded to sin (Heb. 4 15). Nor does the author ignore the terrible possibility of 'sinning willingly' ἑκουσίως), *i.e.*, 'with a high hand,' after having been once 'enlightened' (Heb. 10 26, cp 6 4-6). Cp Is. 22 14, 1 John 5 16.

T. K. C.

IIM (עִיִּים, *i.e.*, 'heaps').

1. A city of Judah on the Edomite border (Josh. 15 29† : βακωκ [B], αυειμ [AL]). Robinson's Bet 'Awwa (31° 30' N. 34° 56' E.) seems too far N. Possibly a corrupt anticipation of the following עצם.
2. See IJE-ABARIM.

IJE-ABARIM (RV IYE-ABARIM : עִיֵּי הָעֲבָרִים—*i.e.*, 'heaps of the Abarim': Nu. 21 11 χαλγαει εκ του περαν [B], αχελγαι τω περαν [AF vid.], αχιλειμ χαιειμ τῷ πέραν [L]; 33 44 γαι ἐν τῷ πέρα[ν] [BAF], γεει ἐν τῷ πέραν [L]), otherwise IIM or IYIM (Nu. 33 45 *yai* [BAF] γεει [L]). See ABARIM, and WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF, § 11.

IJON, or rather 'Iyyōn (עִיּוֹן; αιν [BL], ναιν [A]; the first ν is a dittograph], in K.; ιω [B], αιων [AL] in Ch.), is mentioned with Dan and Abel-beth-maacah (or Abel-maim) in 1 K. 15 20 (‖ 2 Ch. 16 4) as conquered by Benhadad in the reign of Baasha, and again in 2 K. 15 29 with Abel-beth-maacah, Kedesh, etc., as 'carried captive' by Tiglath-pileser in the reign of Pekah; probably also in 2 S. 24 6 (see DAN-JAAN). The place and name are apparently as old as Thotmes III. (*'a-y-nạ*, WMM *As. u. Eur.* 393, cp 159). No wonder, therefore, that the name should still survive in that of the *Merj 'Ayūn* (the *Campus Mergium* of William of Tyre), a rich plain, oval in shape, at the foot of the mountains of Naphtali, near the bend of the river Liṭāny. The Talmud speaks of 'the pass (נוקבתא) of Ijon' (Neub. *Géogr.* 18), which favours the identification of Ijon with *Tell Dibbīn*, a large mound in a commanding position near the northern end of the *Merj 'Ayūn*. See Rob. *BR* 3 375; Guérin, *Gal.* 2 208 *f*.

IKKESH (עִקֵּשׁ, 'crooked,' § 66; εκκης [BA], -κις [L]), a Tekoite, father of IRA, 2 S. 23 26 (εισκα [B], εκκας [A]), 1 Ch. 11 28 (εκ της [Bא]) 27 9.

ILAI (עִילַי), 1 Ch. 11 29† = 2 S. 23 28† ZALMON, 2.

ILIADUN (ιλιαδογν [A], ειλιαδογν [B]), 1 Esd. 5 58 RV, AV MADIABUN (*q.v.*).

ILLYRICUM (ιλλγρικον [Ti. WH]). The 'inhospitable district between Istria and Epirus, which, with its wild series of mountain-caldrons broken neither by river-valleys nor by coast-plains and arranged like scales one above another, and with its chain of rocky islands stretching along the coast, separates rather than connects Italy and Greece' (Momms. *Hist. of Rome*, 3 172, ET; cp Strabo, 317).[1]

Illyricum in its widest sense denoted the entire region S. of the Danube from Rhætia (or at least Noricum) to Mœsia. As first known to the Romans it was the region between the river Drilo and Epirus (*Illyris Græca*). *Illyris Barbara* extended northwards towards the head of the Adriatic; part of it was distinguished by the name Dalmatia. In 11 A.D. the district

[1] For the Illyrian stock see Mommsen, *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 1 199, and Hirt in the *Festschrift für H. Kiepert* ('98), 179 *f*.

was divided into Lower Illyricum (Pannonia) and Upper Illyricum (Dalmatia) [but see Ptol. 2 16]. The name Illyricum applied in this narrower sense to the region between the Arsia (*Arsa*) and the Drilo was gradually displaced by the name Dalmatia, which, from the time of the Flavian emperors, was the regular term.

The mention of Illyricum in the NT is confined to Rom. 15 19, where Paul affirms that he has 'fully preached the gospel' 'round about unto Illyricum' (κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ). Two questions are raised by the passage—viz. the exact meaning of (1) Illyricum, (2) 'unto' (μέχρι). Illyricum may here be understood of the southern part attached to Macedonia, which contained the important commercial cities of Epidamnus (in Roman times Dyrrhăcium = modern *Durazzo*) and Apollonia—the two termini of the *Via Egnatia*, which runs a distance of 500 m., from the Hebrus to the Adriatic. The great landing-place on the Macedonian side was Dyrrhăcium (cp Catull. 36 15: 'Adriæ tabernam,' Straho, 283, 329). The apostle might easily have undertaken the transcontinental journey from Thessalonica or Berœa during 57 A.D.[1] (see CHRONOLOGY, § 71).

On the view that Paul always uses geographical terms in their Roman sense (Zahn, *Einleit.* 1 124), Illyricum must be taken to denote the Roman Province N. of the Drilo. In favour of this interpretation are the facts (1) that Paul is writing to a Roman church, in which his words would naturally be taken in their Roman sense; and (2) that he uses not the Greek form Ἰλλυρίς (Ἰλλυρία), but the adjectival form Ἰλλυρικόν (= Lat. *Illyricum*).

Applying the same reasoning to the use of the term Dalmatia (2 Tim. 4 10), we shall he compelled to take that also as denoting the Roman Province, and hence to trace in the NT writings the change in Roman usage with regard to the name of the Province which has been above explained. All the more striking appears the variation when it is remembered that it is in writing to a Greek that the word Dalmatia is used in preference to the (to a Greek) more familiar form Illyria [see DALMATIA].

The decision of the question whether by Illyricum Paul meant *Illyris Græca* or the Roman Province Illyricum (Dalmatia), really lies in the answer given to the further question—whether 'unto' (μέχρι) is used in an inclusive or exclusive sense.

Μέχρι, perhaps, need not involve the inclusion of the word with which it is combined, hence an actual crossing of the frontier of Illyricum from Macedonia is not to be proved.

An unprejudiced reader, however, would here undoubtedly understand Illyricum to lie *within* the circumference of the ever-widening circle of missionary enterprise pictured by the phrase ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ. For in fact, if Berea, the most westerly *recorded* city (Acts 17 10), is taken to have been the most westerly point actually reached in this region by Paul, he was still nearly 100 miles east of the Illyrian frontier—and therefore the employment of Illyricum to mark the extreme limit of preaching can with difficulty be justified. We hold, then, that Paul's words imply actual work in Illyricum—*i.e.*, probably in *Illyris Græca*—(cp his apparent familiarity with Nicopolis, Tit. 3 12); but a visit to, *e.g.*, Salona (*Colonia Martia Julia Salona*), the capital of the Roman Province Illyricum (Dalmatia) may also have found a place in the itinerary of which we get this solitary glimpse.

That the phrase 'unto Illyricum' might have been legitimately used 'even if his [Paul's] apostolic labours were entirely to the eastward of the mountains (*sc.* Mt. Scardus), in the country watered by the Strymon and the Axius' (Conybeare and Howson, 2 156), cannot be maintained by reference to the vague use of the word Illyricum to designate the region S. of the Danube (*e.g.*, Tac. *Hist.* 1 2 76 2 85, where Illyricum = Pannonia Moesia and Dalmatia; *id. Ann.* 1 46 2 44, where it = Pannonia Rhætia Noricum).

See Poinsignon, *Quid præcipue apud Romanos adusque Diocletiani tempora Illyricum fuerit* ('46), Zippel, *d. röm. Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus* ('77), and Bahr, *D. Ursprung d. röm. Provinz Illyrien* ('76). W. J. W.

[1] Cp Acts 20 2. For other views see Zahn, *Einl.* 1 294, M'Giffert, *Apost. Age* 254.

IMAGE, see IDOL, § 1.

IMALCUE (AV SIMALCUE, ϲιμαλκουη [A], ιμαλκουε [ℵV], *EMALCHU-EL* [Vg.], τον μαλχον [Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 1], ܡܠܟܘ [Pesh.], *MALCHUS* [Vg. cod. Sangerm.]), an Arabian prince who had charge of the young ANTIOCHUS [*q.v.*, 4] (1 Macc. 11 39).

The name is clearly equivalent to ימלכו, a name found in Palm. and closely allied to the common Nab. name מלכו. According to Diodorus (who gives the name as Jamblichus),[1] the prince reigned near Chalkis (Müller, *Fragm. hist. græc.* 2 17, n. 21); see Schür. *GJV* 1 184, n. 24, and the authorities quoted there. He was perhaps related to ZABDIEL, or the son and successor of Diocles in whose hands Balas placed Antiochus (Diod. *Fr.* xxxii. 10).

IMLAR (יִמְלָה, 'he is full,' § 54; cp Palm. name ימלא, Vog. *Syr. Centr.* 85; 1 K. 228) or **Imla** (יִמְלָא, 2 Ch. 18 7), father of Micaiah the prophet (in K., ιεμιαϲ [B; in *v.* 9 -ια], ιεμαα [A], ναμαλι [L]; in Ch. ιεμααϲ [B; in *v.* 18 -αα], ιεμλα [A], ναμαλι [L]).

IMMANUEL, a symbolic name, meaning 'With us: (is) God' (cp Judg. 6 12 16), found twice in EV, viz. (α) in Is. 7 14, and (β) in Is. 8 8.

In (α) there is no doubt that the expression is to be viewed as a proper name, whether with Baer we adopt עִמָּנוּאֵל, or with Ginsb. עִמָּנוּ אֵל as the Mass. reading. All the versions are here agreed (𝔊, Mt. 1 23, εμμανουηλ [BℵAQΓ]). In (β), however, whereas Vg. Pesh. recognise 'Immanuel' and MT, which gives עִמָּנוּ אֵל, does not exclude this view, 𝔊ℵBAQΓ renders μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, *i.e.* 'God is with us'—an affirmation of the favourableness of God to the people of Judah, and Tg. closes the verse with the words, 'thy land, O Israel.'

The historical occasion on which the prophecy of Immanuel was given is described elsewhere (see ISAIAH i., § 3).

1. Various theories. We have now simply to record the answers which have most recently been given to the question, Who is meant by הָעַלְמָה ('the *'almāh*'—lit. the maiden or young woman),[2] and by Immanuel?

(*a*) Lagarde, M'Curdy, and, with some hesitation, Porter, identify the 'almāh with the wife of Ahaz, or (at least) with some one of the inferior members (cp Cant. 6 8) of the royal harem. In this case, it is natural to take the further step of identifying Immanuel with Hezekiah.

As M'Curdy points out, the chronological objection still urged by some scholars rests upon disputable grounds. Those who go thus far may also wish to modify the vocalization of one Heb. word (reading וְקָרָאת),[3] so that the formal naming of the child will be entrusted to the father.

(*b*) Hitzig and Reuss identify Immanuel with Maher-shalal-hash-baz, the child whom 'the prophetess' bore to Isaiah soon after his meeting with Ahaz (Is. 8 3).

Riehm and H. Schultz, however, suppose that an elder brother of this child may be meant, and the former accounts for the phrase 'the maiden' by conjecturing that Isaiah had recently become a widower and had married again.

(*c*) Weir, Hofmann, and Orelli explain the phrase 'the maiden' allegorically.

The people of Israel is often described as the bride of Yahwè (*e.g.*, Is. 54 5 Ezek. 16 Hos. 2), and Mic. 5 3 [2] (cp 4 10) may be plausibly understood as interpreting 'the maiden' in Is. 7 14 of

[1] Schürer refers to the Lat. 'Jamlicus' in the *Corp. Inscrip. Rhenan.*, ed. Brambach, no. 1233.

[2] On the sense of עַלְמָה see BDB, *s.v.*, and cp Che. *Proph. Is.*(3) 2 139 *f.*; WRS *Proph.* 424. The prophet chooses the most comprehensive word he can find (cp Pr. 30 19), so as to include all classes of women; the article is best viewed as generic: (see e below). On most of the theories which will be mentioned (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*), the term constitutes a real and perhaps an insuperable difficulty. At any rate 'the maiden' need not be explained of any single well-known individual. The Phrase may be Hebraistic for 'one who is a maiden' (*i.e.*, a young woman of marriageable age); cp 1 S. 17 34, 'there came the lion' (so literally; EV 'a lion').

[3] This pointing is supported by 𝔊 (except Q* καλεσετε, and Γ καλεσ[ουσι]ν), Aq., Theod., Symm. In Mt. 1 23 the more general καλέσουσιν is substituted for καλέσεις, which might be paraphrased 'men shall call.'

the faithful Israelitish community. According to Hofmann, the child Immanuel means the regenerate people of Israel. Weir, however, thinks that child-birth is simply an allegory of deliverance from danger, though, inconsistently, he admits a secondary reference of the passage to the Messiah.[1]

(d) Ewald and many other critics take the 'maiden' to be the mother of the Messiah, and it has been regarded as Isaiah's chief distinction that he had thus early an intuition of this grand eschatological figure.

The vagueness of the title 'the maiden' may be intentional, we are meant to fix our attention on the personality of the child, whose speedy advent and strange experience will be the divinely appointed 'sign' of the truth of Israel's prophecy. This view was formerly that of the present writer, and is still maintained by Guthe, G. A. Smith, and Skinner. If it be correct, Is. 7 14 is the only prophecy of the Messiah addressed by Isaiah (whose authorship of 9 6[5] *f.* 11 1-9 is here assumed) to any but his attached disciples, and there Isaiah kept silence as to the Davidic origin of the mysterious child.

(e) Roorda ('40), Kuenen, W. R. Smith, Smend, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti take a different, and, at first sight, a startling view, which, however, is in perfect accordance with Hebrew grammar. 'It does not appear that he [Isaiah] pointed his hearers to any individual. He says, only, that a young woman, who shall become a mother within a year, may name her child "God with us." For before the babe begins to develop into intelligent childhood, the lands of Pekah and Rezin shall be laid waste' (WRS *Proph.*(2) 272). Those who take this view will most naturally regard עִמָּנוּ אֵל in 8 8 (as well as in *v.* 10) as a statement that 'God is with Judah,' not as a proper name ('thy land, O Immanuel'), and will, by a very slight rearrangement of the Hebrew letters, read '. . . of the land. For with us is God.' Various considerations, critical and exegetical, almost irresistibly urge this theory upon us (see Duhm, *Is.*, and cp Che. *SBOT*, and *Intr. Is.* 32-37).

(f) F. C. Porter (*JBL* 14 26 *ff.* ['95]) suggests that Immanuel 'expresses not the prophet's faith, but the false faith, the ungrounded confidence of the king and the people.'

'"Yahwè is with us" was a popular expression of religious faith (Am. 5 14); Amos denies it of Israel as a nation.' So Hosea and Micah, the one by the names of his children, the other by express contradiction, oppose this superstition. Jeremiah too denies it in its more recent form (Jer. 8 8). Immanuel, then, would be 'a name which a Jewish woman soon to give birth might naturally give to her son, but which the experiences of such a son even in his earliest infancy would contradict.' The sign consists 'not in the name nor in the lot of the boy, but in the relation of the two, in the contradiction of the name by the lot.' Thus the name forms a climax to the announcement of judgment in Is. 8 8.

That the historical meaning of Is. 7 14 should be forgotten in the post-exilic period was only natural. It then became essential to fill the old prophecy with a new meaning—for the 'scriptures' (men thought) should throb with life from end to end, if they were indeed divine. This was done by giving the passage a reference to the gradually developing doctrine of the 'last things.'

We find the first certain trace of this in Mic. 5 3,[2] which is not from the pen of Micah, and is rooted, not in contemporary history, but in the deductive theology or rather eschatology of post-exilic times (see *Gesch. d. isr. Rel.* 255, Kaiser-Marti). Jewish Christians interpreted the passage on the same principles. Just as they explained Is. 9 1 [8 23] of the residence of Jesus at Capernaum, and Hos. 11 1 of the flight into Egypt, so they interpreted Is. 7 14 of the virgin birth of Jesus.

2. Other points.

Several interesting points must necessarily be passed over here. (1) The controversial use of Is. 7 14 belongs specially to the history of the OT in the Christian Church (cp Diestel's useful work, '69). (2) The LXX rendering of הָעַלְמָה also requires attention.

J. P. Peters has suggested that the true reading in Is. 7 14 may be הַבְּתוּלָה. If so, a view of the meaning of 'Immanuel' which a recent commentator describes as 'purely fanciful' (mentioned above as *c*) becomes almost forced upon us. Most scholars, however, will doubt this bold conjecture, and think that ἡ παρθένος in 𝔊 is a trace of the belief that the Messiah was to be born of a virgin. Badham (*Acad.* 8th June, '95) has adduced much evidence to show that such a belief was current among Palestinian and Alexandrian Jews. Aq., Sym., Theod. have ἡ νεᾶνις.

(3) The relation of the Immanuel prophecy to Is. 9 2-7 [1-6] and to Ps. 46 is critically important. See the special introductions. (4) The meaning of 'signs' in Hebrew prophecy deserves special study. We can here only quote a Mohammedan illustration of ordinary non-miraculous signs such as that given to Ahaz by Isaiah. It was a common belief among early Moslems that the coming of the prophet had been announced by various 'signs' to the world at large. One of the non-miraculous 'signs' is thus described by Ibn Hishām. A Jew was speaking of resurrection and judgment to heathen Arabs, who demanded a sign of the truth of his statements. 'A prophet,' he answered, 'sent from yonder country' (Mecca). 'But when,' they asked, 'do you think he will come?' Then he looked at me, and said, 'If this boy reaches the full term of life, he will see him.' Here, as Bevan remarks,[1] it is not merely the doctrine of a future state which receives a sign. The sign that there is a future state consists in the coming of the prophet, and the sign that the prophet is really coming consists in the fact that the boy who is singled out will live to see him. The applicability of this illustration to Is. 7 14 is obvious. Whether Immanuel is an individual, or a whole generation of children, makes no difference. Cp also Ex. 3 12, which is strikingly parallel to Is. 7 14, and equally requires illustration.

See Giesebrecht, 'Die Immanuelweissagung,' *St. Kr.*, 1888, pp. 217-246; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia*, 40 *f.* ('85); Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 214 *f.*; M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 417-420; Porter (*JBL*, as above); Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 185-189; and the commentaries. Cp also GOSPELS, § 21, MESSIAH, NATIVITY. T. K. C.

IMMER (אִמֵּר; εμμηρ [AL]), a place mentioned with CHERUB and ADDAN in Ezra 2 59 (εμηρ [B]) = Neh. 7 61 (ιεμηρ [BRA'], εμ. [A*vid.]) = 1 Esd. 5 36 where the name is AALAR, RV ALLAR (αλλαρ [B], αλαρ [A]). See CHERUB, 2.

IMMER (אִמֵּר, § 68, 'sheep' (?), or cp AMARIAH; εμμηρ [BℵAQL]).

1. The father(?) of the priest PASHHUR (Jer. 20 1, pre-exilic). The (post-exilic) genealogy of Immer is given in 1 Ch. 9 12 (εμηρ [B]) = Neh. 11 13 (BNA om. εμμηρ ℵc.a mg. inf.); the same family-name occurs in 1 Ch. 24 14. There is frequent reference to the post-exilic family of Bne Immer (Ezra 2 37; 10 20 αμμηρ [ℵ*]; in Neh. 7 40 om. B, χεμηρ [ℵ]); cp Neh. 3 29 (Zadok). In 1 Esd. 9 21 the name appears as EMMER (εμηρ [B]), and *ib.* 5 24 as MERUTH, RV EMMERUTH (εμμηρου [B]), εμμηρουθ [A]).

2. See AMON, 2.

IMMORTALITY. There is no equivalent in Hebrew: in Prov. 12 28 אַל־מָוֶת cannot grammatically mean 'no death' (EV) or 'immortality' (Ew.), nor is immortality within the wise man's circle of ideas. See ESCHATOLOGY, § 15 *ff.*

1. ἀθανασία; *immortalitas*: 1 Cor. 15 53 *f.* 1 Tim. 6 16. Also Wisd. 3 4 ('hope full of immortality'), 4 1 ('in the memory of virtue is immortality') 8 13 17 ('in the kinship of wisdom is immortality'), 15 3 ('to know God is the root of immortality'). Cp also 4 Macc. 14 5 16 13. ἀθάνατος occurs in Wisd. 1 15 ('righteousness is immortal'), Ecclus. 17 30 ('son of man not immortal'). Cp Ecclus. 51 9 [A], 4 Macc. 7 3 [ℵ] 14 6 18 23 [Aaℵc.a V].

2. ἀφθαρσία, *incorruptio*: Rom. 2 7 1 Cor. 15 42 50 53 *f.* Eph. 6 24 2 Tim. 1 10; in RV always 'incorruption' (in Eph. 'uncorruptness'). ἄφθαρτος is rendered 'immortal' in 1 Tim. 1 17 AV. Elsewhere EV has 'incorruptible.' ἀφθαρσία occurs also in Wisd. 2 23 (man created for incorruption), 6 19 (incorruption brings near to God). Cp 4 Macc. 9 22 17 12. ἄφθαρτος in Wisd. 12 1 (of the spirit of God), 18 4 (of the light of the law).

IMNA (יִמְנָע, § 53, '[God] keeps off'), name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.* § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7 35† (ιμανα [BA], ιαμνα [L]). Cp perhaps Nab. מנעת (see Cook, *Aram. Gloss.*, *s.v.*), and see TIMNA.

[1] Che. *Proph. Is.*(3) 1 48.

[2] If Is. 9 6[5] be post-exilic, it may also be mentioned here as implying (probably) that Immanuel is the Messiah.

[1] Bevan, *JQR* 1894, pp. 220-222.

IMNAH (יִמְנָה, § 53, '[God] determines' or 'measures'; ιεμνα [ADL]). 1. b. ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, i.), Gen. 46 17 (AV JIMNAH) = Nu. 26 43 [44] (AV JIMNA; ιαμειν [BAFL]) = 1 Ch. 7 30 (ιeινα [B], ιαμνα [L]); gentilic **Imnite**, AV JIMNITES, Nu. 26 43 [44] (ιαμ[ε]ιν[ε]ι [BAFL]).

2. A Levite, father of Kore: 2 Ch. 31 14 (*αιμαν* [B]). We should perhaps transpose and read הימן—*i.e.* הֵימָן, Heman; see KORE.

IMRAH (יִמְרָה, 'he resists,' § 53; cp MERAIAH), in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7 36† (ιμαρη [B], ιεμρα [A], -βρα [L]).

IMRI (אִמְרִי, § 52; abbrev. from AMARIAH).

1. A Judahite, 1 Ch. 9 4; see AMARIAH, 3.

2. Father of ZACCHUR (2) in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*); Neh. 3 2† (*αμαρει* [BℵL], *μιαρι* [A]).

INCENSE is the perfume arising from aromatic substances during combustion, and the substances themselves which are burned to produce the perfume. In EV 'incense' translates two Hebrew words, one of which (קְטֹרֶת, *kᵉṭōreth*, θυμίαμα) properly denotes 'smoke,' specifically the smoke of offerings to the deity by fire; the other (לְבֹנָה, *lᵉbhōnāh*, λίβανος), more frequently rendered frankincense, is the name of a species of gum (see FRANKINCENSE).

1. Terms.

Kᵉṭōreth is used of the savoury smoke of victims (Homeric *κνίσῃ*), Dt. 33 10 (קְטוֹרָה, *kᵉṭōrāh*), Is. 1 13 Ps. 66 15;[1] and the verb (קִטֵּר, *ḳiṭṭēr*, Piel) means 'cause to smoke' upon the altar, *e.g.*, the fat of a sacrifice (1 S. 2 15 *f.*, falsely pointed as Hiphil, cp קַטֵּר in 16), an oblation of bread (Am. 4 5; not 𝔊); more frequently without direct object (Hos. 4 13 11 2 Jer. 19 13 etc.). Then, as the burning of at least a portion of the offering was an essential part of the religious rite, by a development analogous to that of זבח, *zébaḥ* ('slaughter, sacrifice') *ḳiṭṭēr* means 'offer sacrifice.' Later, *kᵉṭōreth* is used specifically of the sweet smoke of frankincense and other aromatics; of the incense-offering (as in קְטֹרֶת תָּמִיד, Ex. 30 8 etc.); and of the material burned in this offering (Ezek. 8 11 Lev. 10 1 and frequently); the last meaning finally predominates.[2] The compound prescribed in Ex. 30 34 is קְטֹרֶת הַסַּמִּים, 'the incense of aromatics.' The verb ordinarily used in this connection is הִקְטִיר, *hiḳṭīr* (Hiph.), which predominates in the later literature in all uses.

2. Incense in other religions.

The use of incense in religious ceremonies is very widespread, and a great variety of substances has been used for the purpose—woods, barks, dried flowers, grasses, seeds, resins, gums.[3] In Egypt the offering of incense by a king is a very frequent subject on the monuments;[4] enormous quantities of incense were consumed in the temples;[5] and expeditions were repeatedly sent to the land of Punt (Somali) to bring back the fragrant gums.[6] In the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians incense (*ḳutrinnu*) was also much used: the hero of the Deluge after leaving the ark offers sweet calamus (קנה), cedar wood, and fragrant herbs (?);[7] references in the royal inscriptions, hymns, and magical texts are not infrequent.[8] Herodotus says that a thousand talents' weight of frankincense was offered on the great altar of burnt offerings at the annual feast of Bēl (1 183). Sabæan inscriptions, some of them on censers, name various substances used for incense,[9]

3. Earliest use in Israel.

The gums and resins of Syria were carried to market in Egypt through Palestine (Gen. 37 25); the perfumes for which Southern Arabia was famous were brought to Jerusalem in Solomon's time (1 K. 10 10 *f.*); but there is no reference to the use of incense in Israelite worship before the seventh century B.C.

The prophets of the eighth century in their picture of the ostentatious religion of their contemporaries (Am. 4 4 *f.* 5 21 *ff.* Is. 1 11 *ff.*; cp also Mic. 6 6 *f.*), could hardly have failed to make some allusion to this feature of the cultus if it had been customary in their time. Nor is there any mention of it in the older historical hooks or laws;[1] it is, indeed, at variance with the fundamental principle of the older laws, that the material of sacrifice should he the gift of Yahwè—*i.e.* the product of his land. Jeremiah is the first to speak of it: "What care I,' says Yahwè, 'for frankincense (לבנה) that comes from Sheba (cp Is. 60 6) and sweet calamus (קנה טוב) from a distant land' (6 20, cp 41 5; 17 26 is post-exilic); see, further, Is. 43 23 *f.* Yahwè did not burden Israel with a costly cultus, frankincense and calamus (see REED [*b*]) bought with money.[2] The earliest determinable use of *Kᵉṭōreth* for the material of incense is Ezek. 8 11—significantly enough, in a description of a heathenish mystery-cult; see also 23 41.

It is to be conjectured, therefore, that the use of these imported aromatics in the worship of Yahwè came in, with other innovating imitations of foreign religions, during the reign of Manasseh.[3]

4. OT usage.

We may distinguish (1) the use of incense as the concomitant of certain oblations, and (2) the offering of incense by itself. (1) In the first case the oblation consists of fine flour and oil (the ordinary *minḥāh*), or roasted ears or grits (first-fruits) and oil, with frankincense; a handful of the flour or grain, and all the accompanying frankincense was burned on the great altar (the *azkārā*; see SACRIFICE).[4] On the table of shewbread pure frankincense was placed (in two golden vessels, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 7, *M. Mĕnāch.* 11 5 7 *f.*); when the bread was removed on the following sabbath, the frankincense was burned on the great altar, as an *azkārāh* to the bread (Lev. 24 7-9). In all these cases frankincense alone *is* prescribed.

(2) In the offering of incense *kᵉṭōreth* by itself, the older use was to burn it in censers,[5] of which it seems to be assumed that each priest had one.

So in P; Nadab and Abibu are destroyed by lightning from Yahwè because they put profane fire (coals not from the great altar) in their censers, and offered incense to Yahwè (Lev. 10 1 *ff.*); cp also Nu. 16 (laymen presume to usurp a priestly function), and 17 11 (16 46) (Aaron carries his censer through the camp to stay the plague). This was the common mode in Egypt (see Wilkinson, as in preceding col. n. 4, and CENSER; cp also Ezek. 8 11).

This practice survived in the ultimate ritual of the temple only in the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement in Lev. 16, where precisely this part belongs to the older stratum (P) connected unmistakably with Lev. 10; see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, §§ 1 3, LEVITICUS, § 12.

In a later stratum of P a permanent golden altar is provided in the Holy Place, upon which the stated incense-offering (תָּמִיד) is burned morning and evening (EX. 30 1 *ff.*; see ALTAR, § 11, and EXODUS ii., § 5 [i.]). The pan, or rather shovel (מַחְתָּה, see CENSER), which formerly served as a censer, is now used only to take the coals from the great altar and carry them to the altar of incense.

In the same late stratum of P we find directions for

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1 The Arab. *ḳutār* is the scent of flesh-meat roasted on live coals, and, secondarily, according to some scholars, of aloe-wood burnt for fumigation.

2 In this sense the word is found in Phœn. inscriptions; see *CIS* 1 no. 166 6 334 3 *f.*

3 For a list of substances used in the East in ancient and modern times, see Birdwood in *EB*(9) 12 718.

4 See Wilkinson-Birch, *Anc. Eg.* 3 398-400, 414-416 ('78).

5 See the reckoning of the gifts of Ramses III. during his reign, Erman, *Ægypten*, 407 *f.*

6 Erman, 669, 673, 677; Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, 21 *ff.* ('94); cp also Gen. 37 25.

7 Bab. deluge-story, 147 *ff.*

8 See RITUAL (Assyr. Babyl.), § 2; Del. *Ass. HWB* 600; Tallquist, *Maqlu*, 29 *f.* 69 5 *f.*

9 Mordtmann and Miller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, 78 81 *ff.* See in general Dillm. *Exod. u. Lev.* on Ex. 30 34 *ff.*, Birdwood in *EB*(9), *s.v.* 'Incense.'

1 The silence of Kings must be compared with the frequent references in Chronicles. See Wellh. *Prol.*(4) 64 *ff.*; Nowack, *HA* 2 246.

2 The 'fragrant calamus' is an ingredient of the holy chrism, Ex. 30 23.

3 In Greece and Rome, also, the use of imported *odorifera* in worship was a refinement of a more luxurious age (Porpbyr. *De abstinent.* 2 5; Arnob. *C. gent.* 7 26); in Greece it seems to begin about the seventh century.

4 See Lev. 2 1 *f.* 15 *f.* 6 15 [8]; cp Neh. 13 5. In two instances it is prescribed that the *minḥāh* shall *not* be accompanied by frankincense (Lev. 5 11 Nu. 5 15).

5 See CENSER.

the ceremonial: Aaron (*i.e.*, the high priest) shall burn incense on the golden altar every morning when he dresses the lamps, and every evening when he replaces them on the candelabra; this is a קטרת תמיד (EV 'a perpetual incense'), corresponding to the stated morning and evening offerings on the great altar (Ex. 30 7 *ff.*).

5. Ritual prescriptions.

The incense is of a peculiar composition, and is very sacred; the use of any other kind in the temple, or of this compound for any other purpose, is a mortal sin (Ex. 30 34-38). To offer incense is a high prerogative of the priesthood: the story of Uzziah (2 Ch. 26 16-21) illustrates the peril at which others intrude upon It.

The formula for compounding the sacred incense is given in Ex. 30 34-38.

6. Composition of Incense. The ingredients are four fragrant substances (סַמִּים, *sammīm*), viz., נָטָף, *nāṭāph* (στακτή; EV STACTE), שְׁחֵלֶת, *šeḥēleth* (ὄνυξ; EV ONYCHA), חֶלְבְּנָה, *ḥelbenāh* (χαλβάνη; EV GALBANUM), and לְבֹנָה זַכָּה, *lebhōnāh zakkāh* (λίβανος διαφανής; EV 'pure FRANKINCENSE').[1] These in equal parts, with a seasoning of salt, are to be made into a 'perfume incense according to the perfumer's art,' and reduced to a very fine powder.

In the Herodian temple was employed a mnch more elaborate compound containing, according to Jos. (*BJ* v. 5 5), thirteen constituents. This agrees with the Talmudic testimony, which names eleven aromatic substances, besides salt and a certain herb.[2]

The additional ingredients are myrrh, cassia, spikenard, saffron, costus (קושט), mace (קילופה), cinnamon (Jer. *Yōmā*, 45; Bab. *Kĕrīthōth*, 6a). These were combined with the four prescribed in Exodus in such quantities as to make for the year's supply a total of 368 minas (say, roughly—pounds), one for each day of the solar year, and three additional for the rites of the Day of Atonement. With the aromatics was mixed a small quantity (¼ kah) of Sodom salt, and a certain herb which had the property of causing the smoke to ascend in a vertical column. With this formula we may compare the description which Plutarch gives of the Egyptian incense (and medicinal) compound called *kuphi*, which consisted of sixteen ingredients (*De Isid. et Osir.* p. 383).[3] Cp also Jubilees 3 27 16 24. According to *Apoc. Mosis, 29,* Adam was allowed to take with him, when he was expelled from Paradise, the sweet-smelling plants used for incense.

The proper compounding of the incense was an art and mystery.

Some of the ingredients required previous preparation: the onycha or sea-shell (שְׁחֵלֶת), *e.g.*, was purified with vegetable alkali, and steeped in a particular kind of wine to take off the rankness of the odour. The materials were powdered in a mortar, the workman repeating as he pounded, 'bray it well!' and the incense was left in a fine powder, not made np into pastils or osselets such as we see in Egyptian representations. The stress laid on the prohibition of honey, though it has a general warrant in Lev. 2 11, may be a side-glance at the Egyptian mode of preparation, in which honey was probably used to make the mass.

In the last age of the temple the fabrication of the incense was in the hands of the family of Abtinos (Εὔθυνος or Εὐθύνους), who had a room in the precincts assigned them for the purpose. They alone knew the herb which caused the column of smoke to ascend straight to the roof before it spread out: no others could get this effect (Jer. *Yōmā*, 3 9; Bab. *Yōmā*, 38a, etc.). They are said to have had a secret book of formulas.

The ceremonial also became with time much more complicated. Instead of the high priest, the duty of burning the incense was assigned daily by lot (cp Lk. 18-10) to a priest who had not previously enjoyed this distinction.

7. Ritual of Herodian temple.

Three others assisted: one removed from the altar of incense the ashes from the preceding day; another filled a shovel or pan with coals from the south-western of the two fires on the great altar, put them upon the altar of incense, spreading them out evenly, made his prostration, and withdrew. The officiating priest then entered the Holy Place, carrying the proper quantity of incense (½ mina) in a cup with a lid (בזך)[1] set inside a shallow vessel (כף) with a handle, over which a cloth was laid. Another priest &companied him; when they reached the altar the assistant took the vessel and poured into the hands of the officiating priest every grain of the incense; he then made his prostration and withdrew. At the word from the master of ceremonies (מְמוּנֶּה), 'Incense!' (הַקְטֵר), the priest sifted the incense on the coals, then made his prostration and retired.[2] During this ceremony no one was allowed to be in the temple, nor within the court between the altar and the front of the temple.[3]

The exact moment for burning the incense was carefully fixed in the series of rites, and served to mark the time of day (Judith 9 1 Lk. 1 10). On the ritual of the Day of Atonement, see ATONEMENT, ii. § 7.

8. Significance. Philo (*Quis rerum divin. heres, c.* 41) finds in the four ingredients of the incense (Ex 30 34) symbols of the four elements, water, earth, air, fire; the composition represents the universe.

Josephus (*BJ* v. 5 5) thinks that the thirteen ingredients, gathered from the sea, the desert, and the inhabited earth, signify that all things are of God and unto God. Maimonides (*Mōrē Nĕbōkhim*, 345) sees in the incense only a means of overcoming the slaughter-house stench arising from the sacrifice of so many victims.

That it is a symbol or vehicle of prayer is suggested by a natural association with the sweet smoke rising heavenwards (cp Ps. 141 2 Rev. 8 3 *f.* 5 8).[4] The more subtle speculations of modern 'symbolists,' such as Bähr, testify to the authors' ingenuity rather than to their sobriety.

Many recent scholars remark the fondness of the Orientals for perfumes and the common use of fumigations in honour of guests and rulers[5] (cp Prov. 7 17, Cant. 3 6 Ps. 45 9 [8]). The perfuming of garments by fragrant smoke, and the use of fumigatories after meals are frequently alluded to in the later Jewish literature. The use of incense in worship is thus explained: men believe that what is so grateful to themselves is pleasing, to the deity. That there is truth in this explanation need not be questioned; and it is not improbable that in Israel this was the prevailing conception.[6]

This is not the whole truth, however, any more than the theory that the origin of all sacrifice is the offering of food to the gods. We have only to recall the wide use of fumigation as a demonifuge, of which Tobit 6 1-7 8 1-3 are familiar instances. In Nu. 16 46 [17 11] *ff.*, where Aaron with his censer stands between the living and the dead and stays the plague, the incense is called an atonement (cp Wisd. 18 21); but the background of older belief is not concealed. The use of fumigation in magical rites is also to be noted, one striking example of which is found in Baruch 6 43 [42]; the Babylonian women who exposed themselves to prostitution by the wayside 'burnt bran for fumigation,' with which the commentators properly compare Theocritus 233, where a girl, in the course of a complicated magical ceremony to win back the affection of her lover, burns bran to Hecate (cp Verg. *Ecl.* 8 82 'sparge molam'). On incense in magical ceremonies see also *Test. Salom.* ed. Fleck, 119.

9. Literature. The principal texts have been cited in the foregoing. A clear description of the ritual, using all the Talmudic material, is given by Maimonides, *Mišnè Torn*, Tĕmīdīn u-mūsāphīn, 3 1 *ff.*, cp Kĕlē hamiḳdāsh, 2 1 *ff.* Some older monographs are collected in Ugolini, *Thesaurus* 11, to which may be added Schlichter, *De suffitu sacro Hebræorum ejusque mysterio*, 1754. The subject is treated in the Comm. on Ex. 30, esp. in Kalisch and Knobel-Dillmann, and in the works on

1 See STACTE, ONYCHA, GALBANUM, FRANKINCENSE.

2 The repetition of סַמִּים in Ex. 30 34 made possible an exegesis which gave a warrant for improvement.

3 See also Dioscor. 124.

1 Cp the spherical, covered pastil-holders in Egyptian representations (Wilk. 3 398).

2 The high priest on the Day of Atonement was forbidden to prolong his prayer in the Holy Place, lest the people should fear that something had happened to him (*M. Yōmā*, 5 1, cp Lk. 1 21).

3 *M. Tāmīd*, 3 6 9 5 2 4 *f.* 6 1-6; cp Lk. 1 10.

4 See also *Test. xii. Patr.*, Levi, 3; esp *Apoc. Mosis*, 33.

5 See, *e.g.* Lane, *Mod. Eg.*(5) 203, cp 138 *f.* ('60); classical examples, Hkrod. 7 54, Curt. v. 1 20 viii. 9 23, Herodian, iv. 8 9 *f.*; 113; Dillm. on Ex. 30 34 *ff.*

6 See, *e.g.*, the Zulu quoted by Tylor, 2 383 *f.*, or the Babylonian Deluge myth cited above, § 2.

Hebrew archaeology, of which it is sufficient to refer to Nowack 2 246 *ff.* See also articles by Orelli in *PRE*(2) 12483 *ff.* Selbie, in Hastings' *DB* 2 467 *f.*, and especially Delitzsch in Riehm *HWB s.vv.* 'Räuchern, Räucherwerk.' For the **Altar of incense** (מזבח הקטרת, Ex. 30 27) see, besides § 4 above, CENSER, 1; ALTAR, § 11; and SACRIFICE. *G. F. M.*

INDIA (הֹדּוּ; H INΔIKH [BℵAVL$^{a\beta}$]). That the Pishon of Gen. 2 11 is the Indus, and that Havilah is India properly so-called (*i.e.*, the region watered by the Indus); that the wood brought to Solomon from Ophir (1 K. 10 11 *f.*) was sandal-wood, and that 'ships of Tarshish' imported for him Indian ivory and animals (1 K. 10 22), are opinions which have been widely held, but are now, to say the least, seriously threatened by recent investigations (see HAVILAH, IVORY, APE, PEACOCK, ALMUG TREES, OPHIR, TRADE AND COMMERCE). That Indian wares did sometimes find their way to Palestine, is possible enough; but no distinct knowledge of India, or direct intercourse with it on the part of the Jews, can be imagined before the time of Darius (see Herod. 3 94 98) or confidently assumed before the time of Alexander. It is in Esther (a work of the Greek period) that we find the first mention of India under the term *Hōd(d)ū* (or perhaps rather *Hiddū*: cp the form *hiñdus̆*[1] in the Old Pers. cuneiform inscriptions, also Syr. *hendū*, Ar. *hind*, all derived ultimately from Sanskr. *sindhu*, 'sea, great river'). 'From Hod(d)u [Hiddu?—EV "India"] to Cush [EV "Ethiopia"]' is the description of the range of the dominions of Ahasuerus in Esth. 1 1 8 9.[2] In 1 Macc. 6 37 we read of the Indian 'ruler' of the war-elephants of Antiochus V. (see ELEPHANT), and in 1 Macc. 8 8 India is included among the dominions of Antiochus the Great, transferred by the Romans to Eumenes.

The statement in 1 Macc. 8 8, which is plainly unhistorical (see EUMENES), raises a text-critical point of some delicacy. It is scarcely fair to say with Rawlinson (*Speaker's Apocr.*, *ad loc.*) that 'attempts have been made to save our author's credit by turning "India" into "Ionia" and "Media" into "Mysia."' The simple fact is that names of countries were very liable to be miswritten, and in Acts 2 9 we find a very similar difficulty—viz. *Judæa* (ἰουδαίαν without the article) coupled with 'Cappadocia,' which, as Blass truly says, 'is intolerable, especially here.' In both passages (1 Macc. 8 8 Acts 2 9) we should probably read 'Ionia'[3] (for 'India' and 'Judæa').

These are all the references to 'India' in the biblical writings. The hypothesis of Hitzig that Sanskrit words underlie some of the names in old Hebrew legends was only possible before the renascence of Semitic archaeology. Nor can Sanskrit etymologies of names of precious stones be trusted. T. K. C.

INHERITANCE (נַחֲלָה), Gen. 31 14. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18.

INK (דְּיוֹ, cp MH *id.*, Aram. דְּיוֹתָא, √ uncertain; MEΛAN). Once in OT, Jer. 36 18, where Baruch says that he wrote Jeremiah's prophecies 'in the book with ink.' 𝔊^{BNAQ} does not express בַּדְּיוֹ (some cursives [*e.g.* 22 36 48 51] however ἐν μέλανι). If the reading is correct, it may imply that the words were written indelibly.[4] Robertson Smith, however (*OTJC*(2) 71 n.) thinks the ancient ink of the Jews could be washed off (Ex. 32 33 Nu. 5 23). In any case, בדיו is not very probable.

Rothstein (Kau. *HS*) reads מִפִּיו, 'at his mouth'; but a repetition of this word is hardly probable. Giesebrecht, בְּיָדִי, but the antithesis, 'with his mouth'—'by my hand,' is unpleasing.

[1] For the form Hiñdus̆ (= India) see *RP* 9 70 (text of Persepolis, designated I. by Lassen).

[2] Cp 𝔊 of Esth. 3 12 (not L^{a}), 1 Esd. 3 2, Dan. (87) 3 1, and Apoc. Est. 13 1 16 1.

[3] 'Ionia' in 1 Macc. goes back to the time of Luther. In Acts, Blass has proposed 'Syria,' Hemstershuis and Valckenar more plausibly 'Bithynia.' 'Ionia,' however, seems easier, and the passage in 1 Macc., where 'Ionia' seems the only possible emendation, gives a support to it. Cp Is. 66 19 (Jewish exiles in Javan = Ionia).

[4] Cp Galen, *De* vir. *medic. simplic.* 11, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδ' ἐξαλείφειν αὐτὸ [τὸ ἔλαιον] τὰ διὰ τοῦ μέλανος ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις γραφόμενα (quoted by Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* 2 184).

Probably בדיו is a corruption of [ה]דברים (Che.). μέλαν occurs thrice in NT, 2 Cor. 3 3 2 Jn. 12 3 Jn. 13. See WRITING MATERIALS.

INKHORN. In Ezek. 9 2, 6 Ἑβραῖος in Orig. *Hex.* renders קֶסֶת (ζώνη [BAQ]) by μέλαν καὶ κάλαμος γραφέως, and so EV.[1] 'Inkhorns' no doubt contained both ink (in the cup) and reed-pens, as they still do in the East. On the writer-angel referred to, see NEBO.

The name *ḳéseth* was borrowed with the object from Egypt; the scribe's box (see illustration in Toy's 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT* 113) was called in Eg. *gsty*—*i.e.*, that which is in two parts. (WMM, *OLZ*, Feb. 1900, col. 50.)

INN (מָלוֹן, EV generally 'inn'; Gen. 42 27 οὗ κατέλυσαν, 43 21 εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, Ex. 4 24 ἐν τῷ καταλύματι; Jer. 9 1 [2] מְלוֹן אֹרְחִים, EV 'a lodging-place of wayfaring men'; but Giesebr., after 𝔊's σταθμὸν ἔσχατον, מָלוֹן אַחֲרוֹן 'the furthest lodging-place'; Lk. 2 7 ἐν τῷ καταλ.; 10 34, εἰς πανδοκίον; cp Talm. פונדק, Ar. *funduḳ* and Span. *fonda*).

A *mālōn* (מָלוֹן) is a station for the night, a lodging-place; the same word can be used for the night-quarters of an army (Josh. 4 3 8 Is. 10 29 2 K. 19 23 = Is. 37 24, see *SBOT*); a κατάλυμα is a place where burdens are loosed for a night's rest. The warm commendations of hospitality in the NT show that even in the Roman period the buildings set apart for strangers to lodge in were of a simple character in Palestine; hence a description of a modern khān or karavanserai (the former term properly belongs to an 'inn' within or near a town) may be not without some illustrative value. Let the reader imagine, then, a large building, in the form of a square, whose sides, each about 100 yards in length, are surrounded by an external wall of fine brickwork, based on stone, rising generally to the height of 20 feet. In the middle of the front wall there is a wide and lofty archway, having on one or both sides a lodge for the porter and other attendants; the upper part of it, being faced with carving or ornamental mason-work, and containing several rooms, surmounted by elegant domes, is considered the most honourable place of the building, and is therefore appropriated to the use of the better sort. This archway leads into a spacious rectangle, the area forming a courtyard for cattle, in the midst of which is a well or fountain. Along the sides of the rectangle are piazzas extending the whole length, and opening at every few steps into arched and open recesses, which are the entrances into the travellers' apartments. An inner door behind each of these conducts to a small bare chamber, which derives all its light from the door, or from a small open window in the back wall. In the middle of each of the three sides, there is a staircase leading to the flat roof, where the cool breeze and a view may be enjoyed. In the few buildings of this sort which have two storeys, the travellers are accommodated above, whilst the under flat is reserved for their servants or as warehouses for goods.

Such superior karavanserais, however, are not often met with. The most part are but wretched lodging-places, which supply neither necessaries nor comforts. The only service the traveller can depend upon receiving from the keeper, besides water for man and beast, is attendance in sickness. For one of the qualifications of this functionary is the possession of a knowledge of simples and of the most approved practice in case of fracture or common ailments. Hence the good Samaritan in the parable (Lk. 10 34), although he is obliged, in the urgency of the case, himself to apply from his own viaticum a few simple remedies for wounds, may be supposed to leave the wounded man in full confidence that he will be nursed by the keeper of the khān (ὁ πανδοκεύς, or -δοχεύς [WH]), whose assiduities in

[1] Field suggests a confusion between בַּדִּים (which occurs just before) and בַּדְּיוֹ; but this seems improbable. Aq.(1) has κάστυ γραμματέως, Aq.(2) μελανοδοχεῖον γρ., Symm. πινακίδιον γραφέως.

dressing the wounds of his patient will be quickened by the prospect of an adequate remuneration. See HOUSE.

Surely we cannot venture to suppose, with Jülicher (*Gleichnissreden*, 590) that the Good Samaritan's *κατάλυμα* was a *Gasthaus* or hostelry. It is much more probable that the 'lodging-place' differed but slightly from the so-called Good Samaritan's Inn on the way to Jericho, which bears the name of *Khān Ḥatrūra*.

Nor would it be reasonable to suppose that a different sort of lodging-place is meant by the *κατάλυμα* (EV inn) of Lk. **2** 7; that Lk. uses different words in **2** 7 and in **10** 34 may only arise from a difference in the literary source. It is true that in **Lk. 22** 11 *κατάλυμα* seems to mean a room that was lent to pilgrims (for the passover); but the context in **2** 7 is as adverse to the meaning 'guest-chamber' as to that of 'inn.' That the *gērūth Chimham* of Jer. **41** 17 (RVmg. 'the lodging-place of Chimham') is meant, is quite impossible, though this has been suggested (cp Plummer, *St. Luke*, 54). See CHIMHAM, and cp NATIVITY.

That an Oriental 'manger' (*φάτνη*) was not like those of the West is shown at great length by Kitto (*Pict. Bib.* **Lk. 2** 7) who states that 'when persons find on their arrival that the apartments usually appropriated to travellers are already occupied, they are glad to find accommodation in the stable, particularly when the nights are cold or the season inclement,' and adds that 'the part of the stable called "the manger" could not reasonably have been other than one of those recesses, or at least a portion of the bench which we have mentioned as affording accommodation to travellers under certain circumstances.'

INSCRIPTIONS (SEMITIC). See WRITING, PAPYRI.

INSPIRATION (נְשָׁמָה), Job **32** 8, RV 'breath.' See SPIRIT, PROPHET.

INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC (כְּלֵי־שִׁיר), 1 Ch. **15** 16. See MUSIC, § 2 *ff.*

INTERPRETER (מֵלִיץ), Gen. **42** 23 Job **33** 23 EV, and elsewhere. See AMBASSADOR, 1; PARACLETE.

IOB (יוֹב), Gen. **46** 13 RV, a corruption of JASHUB, 1.

IPHEDIAH, RV **Iphdeiah** (יִפְדְיָה, § 30, 'Yahwè redeems'), b. Shashak in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*), 1 Ch. **8** 25 (ιεφερεια [B], ιεφαδια [AL]).

IPHTAH (יִפְתָּח), Josh. **15** 43 RV; AV JIPHTAH (*q.v.*).

IPHTAH-EL (יִפְתַּח־אֵל), Josh. **19** 14 RV; AV JIPHTHAH-EL (*q.v.*).

IR (עִיר), 1 Ch. **7** 12†. See IRI, 1.

IRA (עִירָא, 'watchful'? [ε]ιρας [BAL]).

1. b. Ikkesh, the Tekoite, was one of David's heroes (2 S. **23** 26, ιδαε [L]; 1 Ch. **11** 28, ωραι [BNA]), in 1 Ch. **27** 9 (ειρα [A], οδουιας [B], ιδ. [L]) he is at the head of the sixth division of David's army. Marq. (*Fund.* 19) would read עִדֹּא (cp **L** and **B** in Ch.) and identify him with the Iddo in 1 K. **4** 14; see IDDO (iii. 4).

2. The ITHRITE (*q.v.*), another of David's heroes, 2 S. **23** 38 (ιρα8 [L]), 1 Ch. **11** 40 (ιρα [B], εα [ℵ], ηρα [L]).

3. The JAIRITE (הַיָּאִרִי)—*i.e.*, a man of JAIR (a Gileadite clan)—was one of David's 'priests' (כֹּהֵן לְדָוִד); 2 S. **20** 26; cp Dr. *TBS* 220 (ειρας ο ιαρειν [B], ε. ο ιαειρει [A], ιωδαε ο ιεθερ [L]; Pesh. ܥܝܪܐ ܥܝܪܝܐ). Perhaps for היארי we ought to read הַיִּתְרִי, *i.e.*, the Jattirite (so Th., **Klo.**, after Pesh.; cp L). See ABIATHAR.

IRAD (עִירָד: γαιδαδ [ADEL]; *IRAD*), Gen. **4** 18†. Philo explains, *γαιδαδ ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ποίμνιον* (*de Post. Caini*, Mangey, **1** 237); possibly he read *γαιδαρ*, which the copyists altered. The best reading seems to be עֵירָד, 'Ērād (cp עֵיבָל, Mt. 'Ebal); but Lagarde (*Orientalia*, **2** 33) prefers 'Ēdād.

To read עָרוֹד, 'Ārōd, 'wild ass: and compare the 'sons of Hamor,'—*i.e.*, members of the Ass-clan (?) Gen. **33** 19—does not suit the character of the genealogy, nor are we helped by the proper name Arad. The name is probably of Bab. origin. See CAINITES, § 7. T. K. C.

IRAM (עִירָם), a phylarch (*allūph*) or rather clan (*éleph*) of Edom (Gen. **36** 43 [𝔊 om.], 1 Ch. **1** 53 [ηραμ, A; αιρ. L]). In Gen. *l.c.* 𝔊's Hebrew text had צפאים (a variant of צפו); so also 𝔊B reads in Ch. *l.c.* B. W. Bacon, following Ewald, suggests that originally Zepho (צפו) stood before Iram, thus making the number of clans twelve. But from 𝔊 of Gen. **36** 11 (see ZEPHO) we shall do better to adopt the reading צֹפַר 'Zophar' (cp ZOPHAR), and may then with probability emend עירם into אומר (Omar) which precedes Zepho in Gen. **36** 11, so that all the sons of Eliphaz but GATAM [*q.v.*], will be included in the list of clans of Edom. It is also possible, however, with S. A. Cook, to connect Iram with the S. Judahite names IRA, IRU; cp GENEALOGIES i., § 5 n. W. R. Smith suggests a connection with 'Aireh, the name of a village near the ruins of Petra (see SELA, § 2). See also Haupt's note in Ball, ***SBOT***, ***Gen.*** 94.

See Lag. *Septuaginta-Studien*, ii. **10** 178 **37** 270, cited by Nestle, *Marg.* 12, where the order is '*Magediel, Eram, Fazoin (Fazon).*' T. K. C.

IRI (עִירִי, § 76, 'my watchman'?; cp IRU, and see IRAM).

1. b. Bela in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *a*); 1 Ch. **7** 7 (ουρ[ε]ι [BA], -ριας [L], *URAI* [Vg.], *i.e.* עוּרִי). In 1 Ch. **7** 12† the name is IR (עִיר: [υιοι]ρα[ωμ] [B], ωρα [A], [υιοι] ιερι[μουθ] [L; note that Jerimuth precedes Iri in *v.* 7], *HIR* [Vg.]), on which see also AHER.

2. 1 Esd. **8** 62 AV (ουρι [A]). See URIAH, 4.

IRIJAH (יִרְאִיָּה, 'Yahwè sees'), a captain of the guard, *temp.* Jeremiah (Jer. **37** 13 *f.*†; σαρουια [B], -σ [ℵA], αρουιας [Q], ιαρ. [Q*]).

IR-NAHASH (עִיר נָחָשׁ, as if 'city of Nahash'; so EVmg.) is represented as a descendant of ESHTON [*q.v.*] in 1 Ch. **4** 12 (πολεως [ποχεως B], ναας [BA], ηρναας [L]); see TEHINNAH. The name has actually been taken to mean Bethlehem (see Jer. *Qu. Heb. ad loc.*, and on 2 S. **17** 25, cp NAHASH); but it is certainly corrupt.

Probably it has arisen out of כּוֹר עָשָׁן, Cor-ashan (1 S. **30** 30), which is itself an easily explicable corruption of בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע, 'Beer-sheba'[1] (𝔊BL βηρσαβεε). ASHAN [*q.v.*] in Josh., 1 Ch., also comes from שֶׁבַע, 'Sheba.' A less plausible emendation would be בְּאֵר נָחָשׁ, 'serpent's well.'

𝔊 adds that *πόλις ναας* was the brother of *εσελων* (B, -μ [A]), *του χενεζει* ([B], *τ. κενεζι* [A]), or *αθθομ τοῦ κενεζαίου* [L], which means that Beer-sheba was closely related to HAZAR-SHUAL (in the Wādy Seyāl). With *εσελων* cp 𝔊L's *α[σα]ρσολα* in Josh. **19** 3. The reference to the Kenizzites confirms the above explanation. T. K. C.

IRON (יִרְאוֹן, κερωε [B], ιαριων [A], ιερων [L]), a 'fenced city' of Naphtali named between Migdal-el and En-hazor, Josh. **19** 38. Now Yārūn, a village 6½ m. W. from Hazor and about the same distance W. by S. from Kadesh (Josh. **19** 38). On a hill to the NE. are the ruins of a monastery, which was originally a synagogue like the famous one at *Kefr Bir'im* (Guerin. *Gal.* **2** 105 *ff.*; *PEF Mem.* 1 258).

IRON (בַּרְזֶל; σιδηρος; Vg. *ferrum*[2]). The Israelites of course derived the use of iron from the Canaanites, and it was comparatively late that iron displaced bronze as the metal in ordinary use. We should naturally expect this. In Egypt the use of bronze preceded that of iron, though iron was perhaps not wholly unknown as early as the great pyramid of Gizeh, where a piece of wrought iron has been found in an inner joint near the mouth of the air-passage on the southern side.[3] For a later period we may mention the oxidised remains of some wedges of iron intended to keep erect the obelisks of Rameses II. at Tanis. Iron is also frequently referred to in the lists of tribute (see Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*). In Babylonia and Assyria, too, the actual working of iron seems to have been late, though it was

1. Among the Semites.

[1] Here pointed out for the first time, though H. P. Smith seems on the verge of the suggestion.

[2] Except where it gives an explanatory translation, as 'falcatos currus' (Judg. **4** 3), though it sometimes gives the literal translation of the same expression as 'ferreos currus,' Josh. **17** 18.

[3] *Trans. International Congress of Orientalists*, '74, p. 396 *f.*

certainly manufactured and employed much more in these countries than in the Nile Valley.

There is no trace of iron in the early hymns, and it seems clear that iron did not displace bronze till after **800** B.C., for in the ninth century we still find 'bronze axes' mentioned in the inscriptions. Place found hooks, grappling-irons, harnesses, ploughshares, etc., at Khorsabād, and Layard abundance of scale-armour of iron in a very decomposed state at Nimrūd.[1]

We now pass to Syria and Palestine. It is recorded by the Assyrian king Rammān-nirari III. (810-782 B.C.) that he received 3000 talents of copper and 5000 talents of iron as tribute from the land of Imírišu (*i.e.*, Aram-Damascus). At about the time of Amos, then, iron was plentiful in Syria. This, however, is no proof that iron was not well known in Syria and Palestine at an earlier date. If Hommel is correct, the Canaanites derived their first knowledge of iron from Babylonia.

Both בַּרְזֶל and Ass. *parṣillu* were, he says, connected with the Sumerian *bargal* and the New Sumerian *bafral*, the non-Semitic sound *f* having become *z* in Semitic (*ZDMG* 45 340).

It is probable, however, that before iron was much used, in Babylonia, it was worked in N. Palestine. There iron-smelting must have been understood at an early period. The iron chariots of the Canaanites (see CHARIOT, § *3)*, so familiar to us from the OT, are mentioned also in the historical inscriptions of Egypt; they came from the valley of the Kishon and the inland district to the N.,[2] and iron objects were found by Bliss in the fourth of the ruined cities in the mound of Tell-el-Hesy (Lachish), which he inclines to date about 1100 B.C.[3] We can therefore readily understand that a Canaanite legend (from which the Israelite legend in Gen. 422 must be derived) placed the ancestor of iron-workers as well as brass-workers in primeval times (cp CAINITES, § 10).

We are in no uncertainty as to the source whence the Canaanites obtained their iron; it was the monntain-range of Lebanon (Dt. 8 9; see LEBANON). Jeremiah, too (15 12), speaks of iron from the N.;[4] but whether the eulogist of wisdom refers to these northern mines in Job 28 2 cannot be determined. The unknown writer may have travelled beyond the limits of Palestine. The Egyptians procured iron (with other metals) from the Sinaitic peninsula; had this poet travelled there? At any rate, smelting-furnaces were well known to the later Hebrew writers (Jer. 11 4 Dt. 4 20 1 K. 8 51).

There are but few OT passages of really early date which refer to iron. The references in the Hexateuch (*e.g.*, Nu. 31 22 35 16 Dt. 3 11[5] 19 5 Josh.

2. OT references.

228) occur in documents of late composition. The account of Goliath's spear (1 S. 177) was written at least 200 years after David's time, and the mention of an axe-head of iron in 2 K. 6 5 (certainly not due to a 'copyist'[6]) belongs to a comparatively late stratum of prophetic legend. The most important reference in the David-narratives is doubtless that in **2 S. 12 31.** The phrase 'axes of iron' used there suggests, however, that axes of bronze were still in use; cp Am. 1 3 'threshing-instruments of iron' (see AXE, 6). It is remarkable that according to tradition no iron instrument was used in the construction of Solomon's temple. The editor of the tradition accounts for this by the legal orthodoxy of his hero (see Dt. 27 5 *f.*, and cp Josh. 831). The Chronicler is bolder; he supplies the omission (1 Ch. 22 3 and elsewhere), and even represents Solomon as having able iron-workers of his own (2 Ch. 2 7), though obliged to send to Tyre for a chief artificer.

1 Dr. **J. H.** Gladstone, 'The metals used by the great nations of antiquity,' *Nature*, 21st April **1898**, p. **596.**

2 This coincides with the statement in Josh. **17** 16 (cp Judg. 413). See WMM *As. u. Eur.* 154.

3 Bliss, ***A Mound of Many Cities***, 135.

4 Wi. reads here 'iron of Baal-zephon and Chalcis.' He explains חֵילְךָ (which in **MT** follows ונחשת, but in the next verse) here and in Ezek. **27** 11 as meaning Chalcis, W. of Damascus, near Antilibanus *(AT Unters.* 180). But see CILICIA (end).

5 On Og's 'iron bedstead' see **BED.**

6 So Flinders Petrie in Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.* **'axe.'**

It has often been supposed that the graphic description in Nah. 2 3 [4] contains a reference to steel. Where AV renders 'The chariots shall be with flaming torches' (taking פְּלָדֹת as if =לַפִּידֹת), the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius-Rodiger gives 'fulgent chalybe vel falcibus currus.' RV too has 'the chariots flash with steel,' without, however, committing itself to the hypothesis that the Assyrian chariots had scythes. That hypothesis, as is shown elsewhere (CHARIOT, § 1), is untenable; nor is the rendering 'steel' at **all** well supported.[1] In fact, the word ***pělādōth*** is corrupt; not improbably פלדת should be חֲלֻפֹּת = Ass. *ḫalluptu*, 'covering' (from *ḫalâpu*, 'to be covered,' in II. 'to cover'),[2] a word often used in connection with horses, chariots, and warriors. Render, therefore, 'the (metal) plating of the chariots flashes like fire.' In view of Nahum's fondness for Assyrian technical terms (*see* SCRIBE), this is not a difficult conjecture.[3] Steel, then, is not mentioned in the OT, for no one will now defend AV's rendering 'steel' (נְחֹשֶׁת) in 2 S. **22** 35 **Ps. 18** 34 [35] Job **20** 24 Jer. 15 12 (see **BRASS).**

From the time of Amos onwards iron was in general use among the Israelites as well as among the Syrians (see above).

Amos **(1** 3) mentions threshing instruments of iron. Writers of a later date mention iron objects in abundance *e.g.*, tools (1 K. 6 7 2 K. 6 5), pans (Ezek. 4 3), nails for doors (1 Ch. 22 3), bars for fortifying city-gates (Ps. **107** 16 **Is. 45** 2), a stilus or pen (Job **19** 24 Jer. 17 1), hunters' darts (Job **41** 7 [40 31]), horns (Mic. **4** 13 cp 1 K. **22** 11), fetters (Ps. **105** 18). Note also that the ideal described in **Is. 60** includes 'iron instead of stones' (*v.* 17), obviously a hyperbole.

Numerous literary metaphors are derived from iron. Thus, affliction is symbolised by the smelting-furnace (Dt. 4 20) and by iron fetters (Ps. 107 10),

3. Metaphors.

a severe rule by a rod, and slavery by a yoke of iron (Ps. 2 9 Dt. 28 48), obstinacy by an iron sinew in the neck (Is. **48** 4); a destructive imperial power by iron teeth (Dan. **7** 7); a tiresome burden by a mass of iron (Ecclus. **22** 15); insuperable obstacles by iron walls (2 Macc. **11** 9). **As** a beautiful simile drawn from this metal we may select Prov. **27** 17, 'Iron sharpens iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.'[4] T. K. C.

IRPEEL (יִרְפְּאֵל, 'God heals'; cp Rephaiah, and ירפאל in ***CIS*** 2 no. 77; NAMES, § 30), an unknown city of Benjamin, grouped with REKEM (or rather Bahurim) and ZELA, Josh. 18 27†. We should probably read, 'And Bahurim, and Irpeel, and Zelah' (taking over וצלע from v. 28).

Observe that in 𝔊B θαρεηλα, the corruption (see TARALAH) is given, but the true reading ירפאל is not represented. Neither is the second corruption האלף represented in 𝔊 (see ELEPH). In MT the true reading ירפאל and the two corruptions תאלה and האלף both find a place. 𝔊A, however, gives **ιερφαηλ**, and 𝔊L **ιεφηλ.** **T. K. C.**

IR-SHEMESH (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ), Josh. 19 41; another name of BETH-SHEMESH [*q.v.*].

IRU (עִירוּ; ηρ [B], ηρα [A], ηλα [L om.]), a son of Caleb (1 Ch. 4 15†); cp IRAM.

ISAAC (יִצְחָק, or [Am. 7 9 16 Jer. 33 26 Ps. 105 9] יִשְׂחָק, § 54; ισαακ [ADL, etc.], but in Am. 7 9 του γελωτος [BAQ], ηcααk [E?? Gen. 28 8]).

Popular tradition could not mistake the obvious meaning of Isaac. According to J (Gen. 18 12), Sarah laughed to herself when she overheard the promise of

1. Name.

a son; when it was fulfilled, she exclaimed, 'Whoever hears of it will laugh at me' (Gen. **21** 6 6; see ***SBOT***). E, however, gives other accounts. On the birth

1 The Syriac and Arabic words for 'steel,' which resemble MT's ***pělādōth***, appear to be loan-words from Persian.

2 Del. *s.v.* quotes the phrase, 'Forty of his chariots with trappings (*Ausrüstung*) they carried away.'

3 On the metal plating of the chariots see Billerbeck, in ***Beifr. zur*** *Assyriologie*, 3 167, and cp CHARIOT, § 3, and on the remainder of this difficult verse of Nahum, see SHOE.

4 A better sense, however, is obtained by pointing יָחַד instead of יָחַד (Vg. *exacuitur*), and by reading כְּפִי instead of פְּנֵי. The proverb then becomes, 'Iron is sharpened by iron; so a man is sharpened by the speech (lip, mouth) of his friend.' So Grätz (*Monatsschr.*, 1884, p. 424). פי and פני are sometimes confounded. Toy's note is hardly satisfactory, because he does not adequately account for פני.

of Isaac she cried out, 'God has given me cause to laugh' (Gen. 216*a*); in *v.* 9 of the same chapter she sees Ishmael 'laughing,' or rather 'playing' (מְצַחֵק). Lastly, P tells **us** (Gen. 17 17) that Abraham laughed in surprise on hearing the promise. Evidently the voice of tradition varied. We might have expected to hear, but we do not hear, that Isaac, like Zoroaster (Plin. *HN*, 7 16, and Solinus, c. 1), laughed on the day of his birth.

It is customary to suppose that Isaac was originally at once a tribal name and a divine title, and that the full form of the tribal name was Yiṣḥaḳ-el,—*i.e.*, El laughs (*so* also Ed. Meyer). The divine title Yiṣḥaḳ = 'he who laughs,' 'the Laugher,' has been thought to point to the god of the clear sunny sky;[1] the myth of Zoroaster's laugh has no doubt a solar connection. It would be safer to explain the name as the 'cheerful, or friendly one' (cp Job 29 24), who turns a smiling countenance towards his worshippers.' Such a conception of their deity might seem natural to the pastoral tribes who, to judge from the traditional narratives, honoured and became identified with the name of Isaac, and who in early times paid him religious homage as the divine patron of Beersheba.[2]

It is much more probable that 'Isaac' like Abraham (see JERAHMEEL) and JACOB (*q.v.*) is an ancient popular corruption. With much probability it may be regarded as a corruption of *Aḥiḥalaṣ* ('the brother defends,' cp Ass. *ḫalṣu* 'stronghold').

Ḥalaṣa is close to the *Wādy Ruḥeibeh* (Rehoboth) one **of** the seats of Isaac (§ 2 below), and is probably to he identified with the ancient **ZIKLAG** (*q.v.*). The equivalent name Ḥalaṣel appears elsewhere as **BEZALEEL,** also **as** Hazzelel[poni]. All these **are** Judahite names which must perhaps ultimately be traced **back** to the primitive Jerahmeelite divine name Aḥiḥālāṣ (אֲחִיחָלָץ), the original **of** Isaac (יצחק). The religious importance of Elusa (=Ḥalaṣa) can **now** he more fully considered.

In **Gen. 31 42 53** the singular phrase 'the fear of Isaac' (פַּחַד י׳) occurs; פחד is very rare in the older literature. **It is** specially frequent in Job; cp Job 4 14*a* where פחד, 'terror,' is the result of an apparition. Hence 'ghost' may seem to some to he a plausible rendering (Schwally, *Gespenst*); Dillmann gives *numen reverendum;* similarly Holzinger. But the objection from late **usage** remains. The matter is important in its bearing on early spirit-lore. More probably פַּחַד is here an old word meaning 1. thigh; **2.** ancestor; 3. clan (as sprung from **a** single ancestor; cp WRS *Kin.* 34 174; Bevan, ***Daniel*, 214**).

The narrators found comparatively little to say about Isaac (for the reason see below, § 5); but some of their traditions are of great interest.

2. Story of sacrifice: locality.

First in importance is that of Abraham's sacrifice of his 'only son,' accomplished in will but not in act (Gen. 22 1-19). Few of the early narratives have received more light than this from analytic and historical criticism.

It has become certain that the story has been considerably altered since E wrote it. The editor or compiler of JE not only appended *vv.* 14*b*-18 (an unoriginal passage, full of reminiscences), but also introduced several alterations into *vv.* 1-14*a*.

The most remarkable of the editorial changes concerns the locality of the sacrifice. It is obvious that such a sentence as 'Go into the land of the Moriah (so in the Hebrew) and offer him . . . on one of the mountains which I will tell thee of,' is no longer in its original form, and most critics have thought that 'the Moriah' was inserted (together with the divine name Yahwh in *vv.* 11 *14*) by the editor of JE. This writer was probably a Judahite, and it is supposed that he wished to do honour to the temple of Jerusalem by localising on the hill where it was built one of the greatest events in the life of Abraham (see MORIAH). We are, at any rate, not entitled to assume that the original locality was the temple mountain; nor is it safer to suppose, with Wellhausen and Stade, that Mount Gerizim is intended, and to read, 'to the land of the Hamorites' (אֶל־אֶרֶץ חֲמֹרִים)[1] (cp Gen. 33 19, 'Hamor the father of Shechem'), for Gerizim is undoubtedly too far off,[2] and we hear nothing of Abraham's having to climb a steep mountain. Dillmann's suggestion (adopted by Ball in *SBOT*) is at first sight more attractive. A vague expression, such as 'Go into the land of the Amorite'[3] (אֶל־אֶרֶץ הָאֱמֹרִי), would harmonise with one of J's leading objects, which was to represent Abraham's action as, not a concession to surrounding superstition, but the height of self-devoting faith. The patriarch, as Dillmann rightly holds, is supposed to set off with his 'only son' (𝔊 *τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν*) without balancing the claims of rival sanctuaries, just as he set off from Haran, 'not knowing whither he went' (Heb. 11 8), but following his invisible Guide. The reading 'the land of the Amorite,' however, cannot be held satisfactory. It leaves us without a clue to the situation of the place of sacrifice, except that it was in Palestine, more than two days' journey from Beersheba. The mere name (however we read it) in *v.* 14 tells **us** nothing. No sanctuary in Palestine proper with a name at all resembling this is mentioned in the OT.

In considering the question of the reading in *v.* 2 it would have been better to try another course. The sanctuary (מָקוֹם, *v. 4*, means 'sacred place') was no doubt well known, at least by hearsay, to most Israelites. It was called (the narrative being Elohistic) Elōhīm- (or Ēl-)yir'è (*v.* 14); we abstain here from questioning the accuracy of this reading, and of the El-roi and Lahai-roi of Gen. 16 13 *f.* (see, however, end of this section). Is there, then, any sacred place bearing this name, or a name that might fairly be regarded as another form of this? There is the divinity who, according to J, appeared to the exhausted Hagar, and was called by her Ēl-rōi, *i.e.*, God of seeing (Gen. 16 13); and the name was shared by the divinity's sanctuary. It was in the neighbourhood of the well (*bĕ'ēr*) of Lahai-roi or El-roi, that Isaac dwelt (Gen. 25 11; see below), and hence it is reasonable to suspect that here may be the sacred spot intended by the narrative;[4] the 'mountain' may be the nearest hill to the well called '*Ain Muweileḥ*, which we have elsewhere identified with BEER-LAHAI-ROI. The place is 10 hours S. of Ruheibeh (Rehoboth), on the road to Beersheba. Going at a leisurely pace, it might conceivably take Abraham three days to reach it. In this case the expression which the editor of JE misread as 'to the land of the Moriah' was probably 'to the land of (the) Miṣrim'[5] (אַרְצָה מִצְרִים). As Winckler has pointed out, both Kadesh and Beer-lahai-roi lay, in all probability, in the region anciently called Muṣr or Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). A bright light is now thrown on details which have hitherto caused embarrassment, such as the loneliness of the place of sacrifice, and the precaution taken by Abraham of carrying wood for the altar (cp Grove, in Smith's *DB*, art. 'Moriah').[6] Habitations, indeed, there must have

1 See Goldziher, *Hebrew Mythology*, 94 *ff.*; Schirren, *Mythen aus Neuseeland*, 186 (laughter of the dying sun-god). De Goeje, thinking of the 'only son' in Gen. **22,** formerly made Isaac = the spring sun.

2 Am. 8 14: read, with Wi., דּוֹדְךָ for the impossible דֶּרֶךְ of MT. From Am. *55*, however, it appears that northern **as** well **as** southern Israelites resorted to the sanctuary of Beersheba—a recognition, perhaps, of the early connection of Israel with the land of Muṣri, to which Kadesh apparently belonged. This illustrates Amos's remarkable use of 'Isaac' **as** a synonym for 'Israel' in 7 9 16 (𝔊 Ιακωβ, and so Symm. in *v.* 9).

1 חֲמֹרִים would surely read very oddly, especially as in *vv.* 35 Abraham's ass (חֲמוֹר) occupies **a** rather prominent position. Bleek and Tuch suggested הַמֹּרֶה (Gen. 12 6 Judg. 7 1).

2 See the hooks of travel, ***e.g.***, Tristram's *Land of Israel*, where a strong, but not too strong, opinion is expressed. The Samaritan tradition, identifying the mountain with Gerizirn, is purely sectarian and artificial.

3 Cp Geiger, *Urschr.* 278.

4 This view was first proposed by B. W. Racon (*Hebraica*, April, 1891; ***Genesis*, 141 *f.*** ['92]), who thinks, however, that the original reading in ***v.* 2** was אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב (cp 201 Nu. 13 29 E; cp Gen. 24 62 J). This is palæographically improbable. Bacon **also** thinks that in *v. 14* E originally wrote, not Ēl-yir'è, hut Ēl-rō'i.

5 צ in מצרים fell out; the corruption of ם into ה then became easy, and after the editor had misread ארצהמצרים as ארצהמריה, it was natural for him to prefix אל.

6 Wi. (***Gesch.*** ii.) accepts the proposed reading for Moriah in

been not very far from Ēl-rōi ; but there was no walled city like Jerusalem, and the ascent of the hill would take less time and trouble than Mount Gerizim. The hill itself is to be imagined as bare of trees ; but near at hand Abraham could see thick brushwood (סְבַךְ), in which a ram was caught by the horns.

This view of the story, too, enriches us with something that we did not know to be recoverable, viz., E's explanation of the name of the old southern sanctuary of Ēl-rōi (or, as he calls it, Ēl-yir'ė). The editor of JE having already adopted a fine narrative accounting for the name (16 1-14), and wishing to attach the great event described in our ch. 22 to the central sanctuary of Judah (see MORIAH), introduced the changes to which reference has been made. Elsewhere, however (see JERAHMEEL), in treating the apparently corrupt text of Gen. 16 13 *f.* suggestions have been made which favour the emendation of Gen. 22 14 as follows,—' and Abraham called the name of that place Well of Jerahmeel, even as it is called to this day.'

There are, also, two other related aspects under which the ' Moriah' story must be considered. The writer obviously wishes, in the most considerate manner, to oppose the practice of sacrificing firstborn sons (cp FIRSTBORN), and, subordinately to this, to justify the substitutionary sacrifice of an animal.

3. Didactic purpose.

In treating this past of our subject, we need not linger on the famous passage of Philo of Byblus[1] (professedly reproducing a primitive Phoenician story), in which Kronos (or rather El) is said to have sacrificed his only son Ἰεουδ to free his country from the calamities of war. In spite of its doubtful attestation and modernised form, the story has the appearance of being based on tradition. Probably it was told at Byblus to justify the rite of human sacrifice, and a similar myth may have been current among the Canaanitish neighbours of the Israelites. The story in Gen. 22, however, is clearly intended as a basis for the abrogation of the rite. There may have been stories having the same object among the Canaanites or the Israelites ; these, not the story in Philo of Byblus, would be the right narratives to compare with the Elohist's. So far, however, as an opinion is possible, the form of the Elohist's story is, apart from the detail about the ram, all his own. It was suggested, indeed, by circumstances already related in the traditional narratives ; but it was moulded by himself, and it is bathed throughout in an ideal light. Evidently this pious writer felt that for the higher religious conceptions no traditional story would be an adequate vehicle.

The course which he adopted shows the writer to have been a great teacher. He admits the religious feeling which prompted the sacrifice of a firstborn son ; but he suggests that the idea of such a sacrifice is unnatural (the unsophisticated mind of Isaac cannot take it in, and Abraham himself would never have thought of it but for a divine oracle), and earnestly insists that Israel's God demands no more and no less than absolute devotion of the heart. One thing more he suggests—that there are stages in religious enlightenment, and that an act which was justifiable in the wild days of JEPHTHAH (*q.v.*), was no longer tolerable. In the Southern Kingdom a protest against the continuance or revival of human sacrifices was raised by the writer of Mi. 66-8 ; in the Northern, at an earlier date, by the Elohist.[2]

There is a fine Indian parallel to the story of the deliverance of Isaac in *Aitariya Brahmana*, 7 13-16 (Max Miiller, *Anc. Sanskr. Lit.* 408-419), where Çunaçepha, son of a Brahman, who had been all but sacrificed in honour of Varuna, is liberated by the gods, and adopted by a priest. The stage of moral development, however, represented in this story, is more advanced than that in Gen. 22.

It is true, the narrator is behind the prophet in spirituality—thousands of rams, says the latter. will not propitiate the ' high God ' (God of heaven),—but the Elohist spoils his pathetic narrative bv a close which. for modern taste, could hardly he more prosaic. ' And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold, a ram caught in the thicket by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering instead of his son' (22 13). The first readers of the Elohist, like the first readers of the epilogue of the Book of Job, had standards and requirements different from ours. Below the new taste for spirituality lay the old taste for ritual. If human sacrifices were not to be offered, what was the surrogate for them? The voice of humanity in certain priestly circles had, it appears, spoken for a ram, which in the symbolism of vicarious sacrifice was henceforth to represent a man.

4. Substitution of ram.

The animal selected was not always the same. At the Syrian Laodicea (=Phœn. Ramitha) it was a stag, which animal was annually sacrificed in place of a maiden as late as the second century A.D.[1] We would gladly know at what date this stag sacrifice was introduced. Did the humane Israelitish priests precede or follow the priests of Phcenicia? And was the original substitute for the life of the firstborn son among the Israelites a ram (אַיִל) or a stag[2] (אַיָּל) ? When we consider (1) that wild animals were not usually sacrificed among the Israelites; (2) that in Gen. 22 7 a sheep is spoken of as a victim ; and (3) that in the region of Ēl-rōi we should expect a gazelle (צְבִי) rather than a hart (אַיָּל), it seems best to abide by the ordinary reading ' ram.'

No subsequent narrative comes up to that in 22 1-14, though the idyllic tone and the deep religious spirit of J's account of the finding of the right wife for Isaac (ch. 24) claim admiration (see REBEKAH).

5. Other stories.

The narratives respecting Isaac himself tend to lower our estimate of his character ; but we must remember that the patriarchs represent the highest Israelitish ideals only in part ; they also embody Israelitish weaknesses. Isaac's shiftiness in his relations with Abimelech (Gen. 26 1-11 R_J) need not be excused when we have learned to look upon him as a tribal representative ; the repetition of, virtually, the same story twice over in the life of Abraham (cp Gen. 12 10-20 J ; *20* E) is an indication of the comparative lateness of the traditional stories of that patriarch, as well as of the fondness of the people for this particular tradition, which showed how inviolable were the persons of their ancestors.

The mingled greatness and weakness of Isaac is most strikingly shown in the story of his paternal benedictions, one of which, however, is more fitly styled a curse (Gen. **27**). It is to us a somewhat repellent narrative, on account of the unfilial and unbrotherly craft of Jacob and the love of good eating ascribed to Isaac. With the ancients it must have been popular. As to

Gen. 222, and thinks that the original seats of both Abraham and Isaac were in the north near Dan (perhaps the true [according to him] Kirjath-arba). The journey referred to in Gen. **22** would thus he from the far north to the far south.

1 Muller, *FHG* 3 570 *f.*

2 See further, Kamph., *Das Verhältniss des Menschenopfers zur israelit. Re?.*, 96 where recent literature is referred to. On human sacrifices 'in Babylonia, cp Ball, PSBA 14 ('92), No. iv. ; in Egypt, Tylor and Griffith, *Tom6 of Paheri* (Egypt Expl. Fund, '94), 20 *f.*; Crum, PSBA 16 133 ; and Masp. ***Dawn** of Civilisation*, 168, 193 ; in Semitic countries WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 361 *ff.* ; We. *Heid.* 112 *f.* Maspero includes the gazelle among the animals substituted for human victims ; in 2nd ed. he notices Flinders Petrie's recent discoveries.

1 Porphyr. De *Abst.* 256 ; Pausan. iii. 168; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 409, 466. On the commutation of victims, cp Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Sacrifice*, 1 269-271.

2 'Stag' (אַיָּל) is Clermont-Gannean's reading (*JA*, **7th** ser. 11 510). There is the same doubt as to the vocalising of איל in the sacrificial tablet of Marseilles (*l.* 9) ; here, however the meaning 'stag' is certainly preferable. 'A 'ram' in Phoenician is יבל. Were the stags spoken of in the Marseilles tariff substitutes for human victims? Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 467) suspects an allusion in 2 S. 1 19 to an ancient stag sacrifice like that at Laodicea. This hypothesis, however, is not borne out by the most recent criticism (see Klo., ***ad loc.***, and Bu. in ***SBOT***).

the craft of Jacob, we need not excuse it, for it was inherited by the tribes of Isaac and Jacob from their nomad ancestors. As to Isaac's passion for a certain food, this too was, no doubt, a tribal failing; a notable Arabic song in the Ḥamāsa (Freytag, 506) reckons 'roast flesh' as first among the pleasures of life. The detail mentioned in 27 3 *f.* would not, however, have been thought of but for the necessity of giving scope to the cunning of Jacob. Possibly, too, the first tellers of the story may have thought that Isaac, being a semi-divine hero, and being about to pronounce fateful oracles (see ESAU), should not be treated otherwise than as a deity. It was in festival raiment (*v.* 15) that Jacob the deceiver approached his father (the Jews in Jerome's time said that they were Esau's priestly garments), and Robertson Smith has plausibly defended[1] the view that the skins worn by Jacob on his arms and neck were analogous to those worn by worshippers in many lands at sacrificial ceremonies (cp ESAU). At any rate, it is evident that the pronouncing of the oracles was a quasi-divine act, and that, according to the narrators, the circumstances connected with it were overruled by their God to the accomplishment of his own ends. It would seem that this was not one of the very earliest narratives; in the oldest stratum of tradition Isaac and Ishmael (both attached to Beer-lahai-roi) must have taken the place afterwards occupied by Jacob and Esau. The details of the present genealogical connection were of course afterthoughts. (If Isaac was originally a *Jerahmeelite* hero we can the better understand how the Israelites, whilst frequenting his sanctuary, adopted comparatively little of his legend.)

It is, however, not only at Beer-lahai-roi, but also at REHOBOTH, BEERSHEBA, and GERAR, that we find Isaac established.[2] These three places come before us in Gen. 26 1-33, which is substantially the work of J, though editorial insertions have been made, and *v.* 33 (as Bacon —see below, n. 4—has rendered very probable) should change places with 21 31-33. It was at Beersheba, according to J and E, that Isaac spent the second part of his life, and no doubt it was there, not at Mamre or Hebron (as P, in 35 27, represents), that tradition supposed the patriarch to have died. According to the most probable view of 21 33, it was Isaac, not Abraham, who planted the sacred tree at Beersheba, invoking the name of Yahwè.[3] It was there, too, that he 'intreated Yahwh for his wife, because she was barren,' and that Esau and Jacob were born.[4] It was at Beer-lahai-roi, however, endeared to Isaac (as fancy involuntarily suggests) by the memory of the interrupted sacrifice (and not less to Ishmael by the memory of his mother Hagar), that Isaac received his wife that evening when he had gone out on some unknown errand into the open country.

It is worth remarking that the Wādy Mnweileh (in which the well of Lahai-roi should be placed) must at one time have been better watered and more cultivated than at present (Palmer).

On apocryphal allusions, see APOCRYPHA, § 11.

T. K. C.

1 *Rel. Sem.*(2) 437; cp 467.

2 The reader should be cautioned against some inaccurate though seemingly very critical statements in Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*, 68. To make Isaac a resident at Hebron effaces one of the leading distinctions between him and Abraham.

3 Gen. 21 33 is interesting (cp ETERNAL, TAMARISK). Was the tree an אֵשֶׁל ('tamarisk')? or an אֲשֵׁרָה ('sacred post')? and was the divine name, which Isaac, according to the original J, invoked, אֵל עוֹלָם, 'the everlasting (or 'ancient'?) deity,' or (supposing עוֹלָם to be corrupt) אֵל עֶלְיוֹן, 'the most high deity'?

4 Probably the order of the narratives is 24 25 1-6 11 26 26 1-32 21 31-33. See Bacon (*Genesis*, 141, 248; cp *Hebraica*, April 1891), who thinks that, in 21 33, J originally wrote 'Isaac,' 'Abraham' being due to the writer of JE, who transposed the passage; hut cp Kautzsch and Ball.

ISAIAH (Prophet)

CONTENTS

ISAIAH, in RV Mt. 3 3, and OT *passim*; ESAIAS, in AV; and in AV Ecclus. 48 22, ESAY (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ everywhere except in title of book; there יְשַׁעְיָה [see JESHAIAH, 4 5 6]), son of AMOZ (*q.v.*), 2 K. 19 2 Is. 1 1 2 Ch. 26 22 32 20 32 etc.,—the most gifted and powerful of those early prophets who are known to us by written records.

The name is to be explained probably either as 'help of Yahwè' [so J. H. Mich.], cp יִשְׁעִי, or as 'Yahwè helps,' from הוֹשִׁיעַ יָשַׁע [so Del.]; cp Sab. יתע and the names יתעאל, אלותע; 𝔊 has ησαιας [= יְשַׁעְיָה? so Klo.[1]] of the prophet—L everywhere, BNA everywhere except 2 Ch. 26 22—ιεσσ[ε]ιου [BA] and ιησου [א] in Ecclns. 48 20 (23), but never, except Ezra 8 7 [A], of the other six bearers of the name[2] (see JESHAIAH).

I. Isaiah lived at Jerusalem, was married (8 3), and had children (7 3 8 3). Plainlv he was of high social rank. When he needs a witness he applies to the chief priest (see URIAH), and his whole conduct and bearing bespeak one who can claim social respect. In this he contrasts with Amos and Micah. We may presume therefore that be had every educational advantage which the capital could supply, and it is plain that he inherited a literary tradition of no very recent date. The heading in Is. 1 1 refers to Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah as the kings in whose 'days' (or period) he prophesied. This heading, however, is probably the work of a late editor, who gained his information from a study of the works of Isaiah. From the reference to Judah and Jerusalem as the subjects of the prophecies, we may assume the statement to have been intended to apply only to chaps. 1-12. It remains true, however, that we have no reason to suppose that Isaiah prophesied under Manasseh. The story that he was put to death (the later legend said, sawn asunder; cp Heb. 11 37) by order of Manasseh, as a punishment for speeches on God and on the holy city which were contrary to the law, obtained a wide currency, but has no support in the Book of Kings, and is unworthy of credit.[3]

1. Biographical facts.

These dry bones of biography need to be clothed with living flesh, and for this we must turn to Isaiah's discourses, which contain the very essence of his life. Grand and antiquely simple was his character, and those who have been enabled by a thorough criticism and exegesis to form an idea of the limits, the period, and the meaning of his discourses, will find themselves in a position to rectify some common misapprehensions.

2. Narratives &

II. It will be convenient to obtain our first introduction to Isaiah from certain still extant narratives respecting portions of his prophetic ministry, proceeding from his disciples or admirers at different periods,—viz., *(a)* Is. 6, (*b*) 7 1-16, (c) 8 1-4, *(d)* 20, *(e)* 36-39 (2 K. 18 13-20 19 ‖ 2 Ch. 32).

From (a)—which is an account of the vision by which Isaiah was set apart as a prophet—we learn that he entered on his ministry in the year of the death of Uzziah,

1 *PRE*(2) 6 585. Klo.'s alternative restoration עִישָׁיָה (the only restoration retained in *PREP)* 8 713) does not seem plausible, yet the Arabic *'Īsā* for יֵשׁוּעַ might perhaps lend it some support.

2 With reference to the 𝔊 equivalents, it may be noted here that the first vowel is oftenest ι or ε or ιε, the σ being frequently doubled (ιεσ[σ]ιας = יְשַׁעְיָה? so Klo.; cp ιεσσει, 1 Ch. 23 1 [A]), but also (four times in B, once in A, once in L) ω or ο (ιωσεια, 1 Ch. 25 15 [B] = יְשַׁעְיָהוּ? so Klo.; ωσαιας, 1 Ch. 26 25 [BA] = הוֹשַׁעְיָה, cp Neh. 12 32? -ιωσηε, 1 Ch. 26 25 [L]).

3 See APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 42. Besides the *Ascens. Isaiæ*, and Justin, *c. Tryph.* 120, cp the passage quoted from a MS of the Targum on the prophets in Lagarde's *Proph. Chald.* p. xxxiii.

ISAIAH, PROPHET

i.e., probably in 740 B.C. Isaiah had evidently been waiting for indications of the .divine will—otherwise how should the words 'Send me' have darted at once to his lips? Already, too, he had the not less humbling than exalting consciousness of,a divine presence which ,glorified the world. To this was now added the sense of a new and special relation between himself and Yahwè. He was sent to work among his people as a prophet. At the same time he had a presentiment, which in the light of his newrelation to Yahwè seemed to him arevelation, that, being such as it was, not merely Israel, but even Judah, was doomed to perish.[1] The revelation was, it is true, as yet more like an objective fact than a subjectively realised truth, or rather like many a flash of insight which visits and revisits us for moments, and then disappears, till at length a sad or joyful experience makes it ours for ever. Nor was it so terrible a presentiment as it may appear to us, because it was evidently accompanied by a revelation of the conversion of a remnant, as we gather from the name which Isaiah gave to his eldest son SHEAR-JASHUB (*q.v.*). And we must believe that, as time went on, apparent changes for the better in the moral condition of Israel somewhat dimmed Isaiah's perception of the contents of his earliest revelation. Only by the sternest experience could he be absolutely and entirely convinced, in the depths of his nature, of the necessity for the fall of Judah.

3. Is. 7 1-16; Immanuel.

(6) Probably to a period shortly before the writing down of the consecrating vision belongs the *gran rifiuto* (to apply Dante's phrase) which is related in our second narrative piece (6). Isaiah and Ahaz are the sole acting figures. Perhaps it is because the consecration narrative (*a*) serves as a preface that the prophet or his secretary has made no reference to the revelation of the 'remnant.' The unbelief of Ahaz was in fact an unpardonable offence which made Isaiah indisposed to look at the brighter side of his revelation. Nothing can well he sterner than Isaiah's prophecies at this period (see *SBOT*, or **Zntr.** *Is.* 396 *f.*), though a short breathing-time is allowed before the sad end.

The story of the 'great refusal' of Ahaz is well known. The king expected a siege, and was preparing for it, when Isaiah accosted him. He bade him not be afraid, reminding him that Yahwè was the head of Jerusalem, whereas the rulers of Damascus and Samaria were but puny mortals, and no better than half-burned firebrands; in short the coalition against Judah would, in common parlance, 'end in smoke.' The prophet, however, saw clearly the inefficacy of his appeal. Ahaz had no confidence either in his material, or—worse by far—in his spiritual, bulwarks. To his friendly 'fear not' Isaiah therefore added a caution against the dangers of unbelief. What those dangers were he did not say; but Ahaz caught his meaning, and had no need to question him. 'An established house' was a common phrase for a family which did not die out, and remained in its ancient seat (1 S. 235 2528 1 K. 1138); Isaiah's caution, therefore, if we may consider its reference as limited to Ahaz, threatened the king with nothing less than the extinction of his dynasty. At this point (Is. 7 10) the record becomes incomplete; the omission is veiled by a conventional introductory formula, indicating a fresh stage in the discourse. Probably some startling announcement **was** made, for the accrediting of which Isaiah conjectured that Abaz would require a 'sign.' Then this extraordinary man, who deals with the king as though his equal or superior, gives Ahaz ***carte blanche*** in the choice of a 'sign' (see IMMANUEL). The king has no doubt that Isaiah can, as we should say, work a miracle, and consequently believes that one way to safety from his present foes would be to obey the prophet; but he is not sure that some worse trouble for himself might not follow. He does not believe that Yahwè will be strong enough, a little later, to save him from Assyria; and yet how can he accept Yahwè's help in the smaller trouble unless he is prepared to accept it in the greater? The only way, from his point of view, to avert the danger from Assyria is to make it a friend, which will moreover be able to save him from Syria and Ephraim. Friendship involves the protection of the weak by the strong, so that there is really no cause (Ahaz thinks) to introduce religious considerations into the question. Then Isaiah, to save his honour as a prophet, hurls, as it were, a sign at the unbelieving Ahaz. He says that Immanuel—*i.e.*, 'God with us'—will be the name which any one of the children soon to be born will receive from its mother, for before the tender palate of the child can distinguish between foods, the lands of Rezin and Pekah will have been devastated by Assyria.' Isaiah has, in fact, not less political than religious insight. If he could have put off the prophet, and spoken only as a statesman, he might have asked why Ahaz should pay Assyria for humiliating Syria and N. Israel when it was its own interest to do this. There was, at any rate, no immediate necessity for burdening his small territory with tribute to Assyria; the unbelieving king was as weak in politics as he was in religion. If we possessed a fuller record of the declarations of Isaiah (*vv.* 17-20 cannot be relied upon, being fragmentary, and partly recast by a late editor), we should probably find that the immediate punishment of the king's unbelief specified in it was this—that deliverance from Rezin and Pekah would be a 'sign' to him, not of good, but of evil import. Since the king has rejected the opportunity so graciously given him of winning Yahwè's favour, he must not look for a long continuance of calm days. Disaster is looming right in front of him.

That the 'sign' which Isaiah indignantly hurls at Ahaz is one which, in our fragmentary record, appears to be of happy augury, has caused a difficulty to many students. Prof. F. C. Porter in particular has felt this so strongly that he has devised a new interpretation of Immanuel which deserves consideration (see IMMANUEL). Two chief objections to it must, however, be mentioned.

(1) Immanuel—*i.e.*, 'God **is** with us'—by no means expresses the faith or the 'underlying assumption' of Ahaz; the true object of the king's worship was neither the old national God, nor the Yahwl: of Isaiah but—policy. Hence his perturbation of mind, with which contrast theconfidence arising ont of asense of oneness with their God possessed **by** the N. Israelites (Am. **5** 14*b* 18 **6** 13).

(2) The explanation of Immanuel as an expression of the false faith of the multitude **is** opposed by the analogy of the name SHEAR-JASHUB (*q.v.*), **which** conveys a truth accepted by Isaiah.

It is perfectly true, however, that the unbelief of Ahaz made the confidence of the happy mothers of **Is.** 7 14 only too likely to prove of short duration. They would suppose that Yahwl: was unreservedly favourable to their people, whereas he had but granted **a** short interval before the sin of Ahaz should bring its terrible punishment on king and people. The sign was not as happy a one as Isaiah had intended.

4. Is. 8 1-4; Isaiah's sons.

(c) The third piece of narrative is 8 1-4 (cp next art., § 6). From 73 we already know that in 734 Isaiah had a son named Shear-jashub, who was old enough to accompany his father in his walks. From 8 1-4 we learn that shortly afterwards he had another son, named MAHÉR-SHĀLĀL-HASH-BAZ, whose name portended the fall of the

[1] The closing words, 'a holy seed **is** the stock thereof,' are probably an editorial attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage. For a possible restoration see Che. *Crit. Bib.* Budde's rendering: 'When then a tenth is there, it shall serve again for pasture (*New* ***World,*** Dec. '95, p. 741) is improbable. The natural sense **is** that given in EV. The following word כאלון ('like the terebinth') should probably he emended to כִּי כִּלָּיוֹן, 'for consumption . . .' Cp review of Marti's *Jesaia* in *Crit. Rev.* Jan. 1900.

[1] Dillmann's objections to this explanation are—(1) that 7 15 *f.* produces the impression that the child of a mother well known to Isaiah and to Ahaz is meant, and (2) that 'thy land, **O** Immanuel' in 88 can only be understood of a historical person. But 7 15 can be shown to he a gloss, and ארצך עמנואל (88) should rather be **'y** ארץ ; כי. Certainly the passage **is** difficult; **but no** other solution seems available,

two northern kingdoms. These two sons, apparently, are the 'children whom Yahwè has given him,' and, like himself, they are 'signs and omens in Israel' of divine appointment. His children, at any rate, are 'signs' in virtue of their names, which are doubtless as well known in Jerusalem as that of the crown prince himself. With regard to Isaiah we are not told that he received his name by divine appointment. It is only the prophet Jeremiah who claims to have been consecrated from his birth, and who may therefore conceivably have regarded his name as an omen (cp Jer. 1 10). It is enough that Isaiah and his sons alike prophesy of the future, and rouse the dull consciences of men. Thus, when the crisis comes, Isaiah will not stand alone. Before his inward consecration (in B.C. 740?) he felt himself 'unclean' through his solidarity with his people; but now, by solidarity with him, the members of his family are virtually detached, like himself, from the 'people of unclean lips' among whom they dwell. For Isaiah's wife, too, is a prophetic personage (8 3), though she may not bear a prophetic name; she participates in the privileges of her husband.

(*d*) Chap. 20 describes the strange procedure by which Isaiah gave, so to speak, an acted prediction[1] of the fate reserved for two neighbouring countries. The people of Ashdod revolted from Assyria in 713, and Judah (now itself a vassal of the Great King) was tempted to follow their example. Isaiah heard an inner voice bidding him go about, like one of the poorest class, without either sandals or an upper garment. He obeyed till the siege and capture of Ashdod in 711, which was a still more striking omen of the punishment in store for rebellion. This is the only prophetic action recorded of Isaiah. Generally he was contented with spoken prophecy,—either upon æsthetic grounds, or because spoken prophecy was less susceptible than acted prophecy of misinterpretation. The strange attire in which he appeared for three years need not have meant what it was at length declared to mean. It might have signified merely the prophet's grief (cp Mi. 1 8) for Ashdod; but as we see from *vv.* 3-6, it was a perfectly unsympathetic announcement of the fate of the north Arabian countries of Muṣri and Kuš,[2] which had long been important factors in Palestinian politics. To this Isaiah added a graphic description of the confusion of the statesmen of Palestine ('this coastland') at the fall of the single great ally on whom they had counted (cp ISAIAH ii., § 9 *a* [4]).

5. Is. 20.

(*e*) From the two remaining narratives we must not expect too much, owing to the lateness of their date (see next art., § 15). One of them (36-37 9*a* 37 *f.*) is no doubt earlier than the other (37 9*b*-38 *f.*); but even the earlier is full of contradictions to the ideas and the implied situations in the universally acknowledged prophecies. So much, however, we may admit to be just conceivable :—(1) that Hezekiah in 702-1 B.C. really did take pains to propitiate Isaiah, and did convince the prophet of his disposition to obey the divine oracles; and (2) that Isaiah in consequence declared that on this occasion Jerusalem should escape a siege. The grounds for this view, however, are more hypothetical than one likes, and, at any rate, the details of Hezekiah's embassy to Isaiah and the speeches assigned to the prophet are altogether untrustworthy. And yet how transcendently great this prophet of Yahwè must have been to have formed the subject of so much imaginative writing! And how highly the later Jews must have valued the privilege of prophetic revelation to have devoted themselves so earnestly to filling up the gaps in its historical record!

6. Is. 36-39.

III. We now turn to those discourses of Isaiah which have no accompanying narratives. We will view them as revelations of a great religious character, and treat them with the respect due to all such revelations; *i.e.*, we will not require them to exhibit throughout a cast-iron consistency. The criticism which we have sought to employ elsewhere has not been controlled by preconceived ideas respecting Isaiah's prophetic system, and we may therefore venture, as historians, to build upon its conclusions. We have heard from Isaiah's lips his own account of his consecrating vision. Criticism justifies us in holding that he lost no time in expanding and applying the stern truth which had lodged itself in his mind. For both Israel and Judah he announced a grievous disaster, which to the deeply-moved prophet appeared not less awful than a judgment upon the world (2 6-21). Never again did he write in a style so poetic, so sublime. Probably he learned that a manner at once more pointed and with more personality was better fitted to win the attention of the people; indeed, in 2 6-21 he writes, it would seem, more to relieve himself than to impress others.

7. Prophecies without narratives: Is. 2 6-21 3 1-5.

In 3 1-5 Isaiah expresses himself more plainly. He anticipates a captivity like that in Jehoiachin's time, when (if we may trust the narrative) few, except the poorer class, were left in Judah, and says that young men of tyrannical character will be the rulers of the humiliated state which should remain.

This picture of the future (which, apart from the reference to the rulers who would take the place of the captive king, he repeated in 3 16-4 1 5 1-7 and 5 8-24) did not correspond to facts. The punishment of the sins of Judah's rulers was delayed; the Davidic king remained on an, as yet, unshaken throne.

8. Is. 3 16-4 1 5 1-7 5 8-24.

Isaiah was not at all perplexed at this. He recognised the divine will that Ahaz should have a fair trial and choose between the broad and the narrow way. Again and again he offered counsel to Ahaz; but the young king was too wilful to listen, and his counsellor began to grow 'weary' (7 13). One trial more, as we have seen, was given, but in vain; and then Isaiah distinctly pointed to the 'waters of the river' (*i.e.*, to Assyria) as the source of the calamity in store for Judah as well as for Israel (8 7 *f.*; cp 5 26-30 7 20).

We have but fragments of Isaiah's discourses at this period; but it is plain that the unbelief of Ahaz had greatly deepened the prophet's conviction of coming ruin; no words of Carlyle are more fraught with indignation and grief than 8 21 *f.* Still, even here all is not dark. Many, we are told, not all, will rue their opposition to the divine word (8 14), and if we could be sure that 8 9 *f.* and 9 2-7 (1-6) were written at this period by the prophet, we should feel that Isaiah was by no means destitute of the richest consolation. The strict conservative view, however, is difficult in the extreme, and though Isaiah certainly believed that a 'remnant' would (like himself and his disciples, 8 16-18) turn, in humble, penitent faith, to Yahwè, and so escape captivity, it is not safe to suppose that Isaiah pictured to himself its future history.

9. Is. 8 5-22.

Had Isaiah any hope for (northern) Israel? He had none for the survival of the ancient kingdom; but did he believe that in Samaria too there was a 'remnant' which would 'turn'? Three important prophecies (not counting 2 6-21 and shorter passages) relate to Israel: 9 9-21 (8-20) 17 and 28 1-6. The second and third of these contain passages which may seem to favour an affirmative answer; but a strict criticism will not allow us to regard 17 7 *f.* and 28 5 *f.* as more genuine than 11 11-13.[1] Yes; Isaiah had no hope for the country which, on the ground of its past leadership, still arrogated to itself the name of Israel. It is probable, however, that when the Assyrian hosts actually drew near Samaria (later than the prophet had at first anticipated), Isaiah's hopes

10. Is. 9 9-21 17 28 1-6.

[1] He uses the same phrase as in 8 18.

[2] See CUSH, § 2; MIZRAIM, § 2*b*; but cp GEOGRAPHY, § 9.

[1] Dillmann (on Is. 28 5 *f.*) quotes all these passages as conclusive evidence.

for his own land revived. He appears at that time to have expected an Assyrian invasion of Judah, and in prophetic vision to have seen the foe pressing on to the capital. There is actually a record of this vision in that fine descriptive passage, 10 28-32, and we have some reason to think that Isaiah at that time uttered the defiant words of 8 9 *f.*, and in 17 12-14 announced the destruction of the Assyrian invaders of Judah. This, if true, was certainly not mere patriotism on the part of Isaiah. There mnst have been some change in the internal condition of Judah, which to Isaiah's prophetic eye spoke of a modification (surely not a reversal) of Yahwè's purpose. We can hardly err in connecting this with a change in the government of the country. It is possible that Hezekiah had considerable political influence even before his father's death, and that he was supposed, on good grounds, to have been influenced by the preaching of Isaiah. This will account for the hopeful spirit of 8 9 *f.* and 17 12-14 (the present writer would formerly have added, of a third passage, **14 28-32**, which the heading states to have been written 'in the death-year of king Ahaz,' 719 B.C.).[1] Isaiah at this time no longer apprehended an immediate Assyrian invasion; the reason of which is, that the Assyrian arms had (in 721 or 720) received a temporary check in N. Babylonia. He was well aware, however, that Sargon would soon he as dangerous as ever, and if he was still confident in the present security of Jerusalem. it was because the ruler of Judah was now, what Ahaz had not been, a believer. For Isaiah does not yet regard the individual as a moral unit. If Yahwk protects Zion, it is because Zion's ruler has responded to the demand for 'faith' (cp 25 16).

11. Is. 10 28-32 8 9 *f.* 17 12-14.

12. Is. 14 28-32.

Eight years passed, and still Isaiah held the same language. For though the greater part of 10 5-12 6 (next art., § 7) is certainly of late origin, and written for other circumstances than those of the eighth century, yet enough remains to assure us that Isaiah in 711 regarded an Assyrian conquest of Judah as contrary to the plan of Yahwè. The grand rebuke addressed to Assyria in 10 5-15 (apart from the interpolations) should not improbably be combined with 14 24-27, which is the misplaced conclusion of the Isaianic prophecy (next art., § 9 [*a*], 1). Thus in 711 (this date may, on good grounds, be assumed) Isaiah believed it to be Yahwè's purpose 'to break Assyria in his (Yahwe's) land, and on his mountains to tread him under foot' **(14 25)**. No light is thrown either in 10 5-15 or in 14 24-27 on the condition of affairs in Judah; but we must assume that Hezekiah still maintained the attitude of one who 'believed' Yahwk and his prophet, for without this we know that Isaiah could have seen no hope for his country (7g 25 16).

13. Is. 10 5-12 6 (part); 14 24-27.

It is true, Sargon states, in a fragmentary inscription (*KB* 2 64 *f.*), that the inhabitants of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moah planned revolt from the Assyrian suzerainty, and entered into negotiations with Musri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*)—the passage relates to the time preceding the siege of Ashdod mentioned above—but it is allowable to suppose either that the Assyrian scribe put down four of the best-known names of Palestinian peoples somewhat at random, or that Hezekiah confessed his error to Isaiah, and gave pledges of future obedience.

At any rate, Isaiah, who had already expressed such strong confidençe in the present safety of Zion, could not and would not change his tone without solid reasons.

Again eight years elapsed; but now symptoms of a change appear. The next prophecy in chronological order to the great 'Woe' on Assyria is 28 7-22 (next art., § 12, end). No passage of Isaiah gives us quite such graphic details as to the faults of the upper classes at Jerusalem, and it is remarkable that Isaiah appends to these details a solemn restatement of the spiritual basis of the security of Judah. If we take this prophecy in combination with one of certainly not much later date (the denunciation of Shebna, 22 15-18 : next art. § 9 [*b*], 2), we may infer that Isaiah again thought he saw an imminent prospect of the deportation of many of the leaders of the state to Assyria (cp 3 1). There was indeed still a possibility of averting this fate. But would these clever politicians adopt it? Of the king, however, we hear nothing. Isaiah seems to regard Hezekiah as, to a great extent, the puppet of the predominant political faction. Indeed, remembering the story of Padi of Ekron, one is inclined to think that such dependence may have been generally the lot of the small kings of Palestine at this time. At any rate, Isaiah's great object is to startle the politicians out of their security. He warns them that, though the horizon is clear at present, it will not remain so. He will not on this occasion say when the storm will break out. 'Add year to year, let the feasts run their course' (29 1). Certain it is, however, that before long ARIEL (*q.v.*) will be marked out as his prey by the Assyrian; Jerusalem (for this is the meaning of the symbolic name employed) will be besieged and reduced to great straits. It is not the Assyrian, however, who will deal the final blow. A theophany will take place; Yahwk himself, the storm-God and the war-God, will appear **and** destroy the guilty city (cp 2 10-21).

14. Is. 28-32.

What was the cause of the change in Isaiah's preaching? It was the rise to power of an Egyptian party at Jerusalem. The peoples of Palestine and Phœnicia saw in the new (Ethiopian) dynasty of Egypt the only power which could save them from the oppressive and uncongenial rule of Assyria (cp **EGYPT, §** 66). Isaiah, on political, hut vastly more on religious, grounds, insisted on the futility of an alliance with Egypt (chaps. 30 *f.*). He supplemented his 'woe' upon Jerusalem by the declaration that the Egyptian allies of Judah should be defeated, for Yahwè himself would fight on the side of the Assyrians (so we must understand 31 3). This cycle of prophecies (28-31) is of the highest value both for the history of Judah and for the biography of the prophet. It gives us a graphic picture of the excitement at Jerusalem and the opposition to Isaiah's preaching, and shows how the initial revelation of Judah's doom was gradually fixing itself more and more in the prophet's mind. It also confirms an idea which has probably already suggested itself to us—that Isaiah's interest is not in the circumstantial details of his prophecy, but in the connection between national sin and national calamity. His object **is** to reveal God in history, not—except **in** a secondary sense—to turn the course of events.

The negotiations with Egypt do not appear to have as yet succeeded, and if chap. 18 (next art., § 9 ***[a],* 3**) was written at this period, it shows that Isaiah had for a time trinmphed over the Egyptian party. Otherwise he' would certainly not have given Judah a further breathing-time. Otherwise, too, he would not have so calmly bidden the Ethiopian ambassadors return to their own land. It is remarkable that Isaiah should speak so respectfully of the Ethiopians, for not long since he spoke quite otherwise of Egypt (30 3-7). A fuller acquaintance with this period of Egyptian history might enable us to explain this.[1] It is still more remarkable that Isaiah should have adopted so lofty a tone of enthusiasm in speaking of the prospects of Judah. May we not venture to assume that Hezekiah had initiated something in the nature of a reform,[2] something which might be charitably regarded as 'turn-

15. Is. 18.

[1] The passage, however, is really an imaginative composition like the poem in 14 4*b*-21 (see next art., § 9, 6 [9], *β*). It is *Sennacherib's* death, most probably, that is referred to in both poems. See Marti's commentary, and cp ***SBOT,*** 'Isa.,' Heb. 195, where an emended text is exhibited.

[1] Or, possibly, if there was **a** second Assyrian invasion, the prophecy in chap. 18 might refer to this.

[2] See HEZEKIAH where the supposed fact of an early reform in the cultus is cohtroverted. Isaiah's main object was moral amendment; he has no programme for any other reform.

ing to Yahwè'? Isaiah has already told us how far, at an earlier time, the 'princes' of Judah were from practising the virtues which befitted them. Must we not conjecture that Hezekiah had lately made examples of some of the chief offenders among them (*e.g.*, Shebna)? If so, king and prophet were destined to be sadly disappointed. The prophecy in chap. 18 (if rightly dated) had been delivered on the assumption that the rulers of Judah had really 'turned' to Yahwè. It did not indeed promise that there should be no Assyrian invasion. Sennacherib would, of course, take the field against the kings of Palestine (including Hezekiah) who had refused tribute. But it did guarantee (upon implied conditions) that the invasion should be stopped at the outset by a supernatural intervention. This, however, did not happen. As Sennacherib and Isaiah agree in stating, widespread desolation was wrought in Judah by the irresistible warriors of Assyria. To all—to the prophet not less than to his countrymen—this was a sign of Yahwè's displeasure. All that could now be hoped for was to avert destruction from Jerusalem. The rulers took one means of doing this; Isaiah wished them to take another.

16. Is. 1 5-26.

Sacrifices had never been so abundant, nor public prayers so fervent (1 11-15; cp Am. 5 22 24 with *vv.* 15 18); but Isaiah, like Amos, attached no intrinsic value to ceremonies. One means, and one only, there was to check the progress of Sennacherib; it was to change their lives. Their God would forgive the past, and restore to them his protecting care. They would sow and reap, undeterred by Assyrian warriors; they would 'eat the good of the land.' On the other hand, if they rebelled against the divine will they would suffer the hardships of a siege (see HUSKS).

'If your sins be scarlet, they may become white as snow;
If they he red as crimson, they may become as wool.
If ye be willing and obedient, the good of the land shall ye eat;
But if ye refuse and rebel, carob-pods shall ye eat' (1 18-20, last line emended).

Even in the too brief summary (1 5-26), the discourses of Isaiah delivered at this period move us deeply. We long to know what effect they produced. Only a late tradition on this subject has come down to us; it is that contained in chaps. 36 *f.* (next art., § 15). It may be barely possible to hold that a good effect was produced, that Isaiah assured Hezekiah of safety. If this was the case, he very soon changed his tone. It is certain that, as the last Assyrian warriors disappeared, Isaiah, sick at heart, used language (22 1-14: next art., § 9 *[b]*, 2) which can be understood only as a final acceptance of the doom pronounced in 6 9-13.

17. Is. 22 1-14.

He bows to the decree of the God of Israel. For Judah there is no more hope; for himself no further ministry. The heart of 'this people' has become gross, and there is no possibility of salvation. Therefore cities must become waste, and houses uninhabited, and, should a tenth be left, this must, in turn, he consumed. For the small prophetic band—himself, his children, and his disciples—there may still be a future (cp 8 16-18); but he has received no revelation on this subject; nor could he, without a psychological miracle, have even imagined a condition of things totally opposed to the present. Only a short time ago he could anticipate the restoration to Jerusalem of 'judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning' (1 26). Now it would appear as if, by a moral compulsion, he placed himself by the side of Amos, who had prophesied of the guilty worshippers in the sanctuary at Bethel, that 'not one should flee away, not one should escape' (Am. 9 1).

The reader may need to be reminded that the latter part of this picture of Isaiah is based upon critical conclusions which are not as yet generally accepted. The criticism of the prophecies of Isaiah is slowly emerging from a position analogous to that in which the Hexateuch was before the publication of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*.

18. Resulting picture of Isaiah.

The reader may, if he will, keep his mind in suspense as to the critical problems of the day, and confine his attention to the earlier part of the present article. Should he do so, he will obtain a sound though an incomplete conception of the great prophet. But to those who have seen the weakness of the old criticism, and the strength of that which offers itself as on the whole far more in accordance with facts, and who find the synthesis of new and old presented in this article historically credible, it may be safely said that the more they contemplate the character of Isaiah as now disclosed to them, the grander it will appear. We have not hitherto realised the scale and proportions of his truly heroic faith. What Abraham was in legend, Isaiah was in fact. He was prepared to trust God in the darkness as implicitly as the 'father of the faithful,' when, according to the noble story, he lifted up his hand, at the divine command, to slay his only son. For we may be sure—the variations in his picture of the future attest this—that Isaiah loved his people dearly, and was alive to the least indications of moral progress. And yet he could, with breaking heart, give up the present Israel to its doom, so complete was his faith in the all-wise purpose of the God of Israel. How that which seemed the end of all things could yet not be a fatal blow to the divine purpose, it was not for him to judge.

As a man and a prophet we have now fully recognised Isaiah's greatness. Was he also a poet? In 37 22-29 (next art., § 11 [β]) a very fine taunting poem on Sennacherib is assigned to him; but the lateness of the narrative in which it is placed, together with the late character of the phraseology, prevent us from accepting this assignment.

19. Was Isaiah a poet?

Another fine taunting poem also has been claimed for Isaiah—that in 14 4*b*-21, which was not originally connected with the late prophecy against Babylon in chap. 13 (see ISAIAH ii., § 9, 6 [9], β). But ideas and phraseology alike point away from Isaiah, unless we apply a very imperfect criticism to both sections of the evidence.

It must suffice here to mention the fact that in 14 12-14 reference is made to a fully developed myth of Babylonian origin, for which there is no parallel in the works of the pre-exilic prophets, and to point out the similarity of this taunting song to that in 37 22-29. *Both* these songs were probably composed with reference to the story of Sennacherib, and both are of late origin. Probably 14 28-32 (next art., § 9 [*b*], 3) also should be included in the group (see above, § 12).

Nor can we reckon as more than a curiosity of criticism the theory that Pss. 46-48 were written by Isaiah, the first when the Syrians, the second when the Philistines, and the third when the Assyrians were overthrown. The simple truth is that Isaiah was too great to be a literary artist; his words were deeds.

The preceding sketch requires to be supplemented by a sympathetic survey of the prophetic literature of the post-exilic period (see PROPHETIC LITERATURE). A critical rearrangement of the prophecies of the Book of Isaiah not only makes Isaiah a simpler and a grander and therefore also a more truly antique personality than he could be according to the older criticism; it introduces us to a number of less original, but in some respects more attractive personages, who being neither public men nor ambitious of fame in an age (αἰών) that was passing away, have not been remembered by name. They drew their inspiration (so they must have believed) from the divine Spirit which dwelt within the community (Is. 63 11; cp SPIRIT), and they were content with the hope so touchingly expressed by a psalmist of similar character—

20. Unknown Isaiahs.

Remember me, O LORD, in the gracious welcome of Thy people;
Oh visit me with Thy salvation;
That I may look on the prosperity of Thy elect,
May rejoice in Thy nation's joy,
May triumph with Thy inheritance.
(Ps. 106 4 *f.*, Kay's translation.)

It may be hoped that English students will not any longer cherish the unfounded prejudice that to follow

out the many traces of plurality of authorship in Isaiah involves less appreciation of those passages of the book which were not written by the son of Amoz.

21. Literature. Besides the commentaries and histories of Israel, see Dr., *Isaiah, his life and times* (2) ('93); WRS *Proph. Is.* ('82), 205-356; Duhm, *Theol. der Propheten*, 149-177 ('75); Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia* ('85); Giesebrecht, *Beitr. z. Jesaiakritik*, 76-84 ('90); Hackmann: *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*

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('93); Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.* 203.227 ('93); Duff, *Old Test. Theol.* 1 150-294 ('94); A. B. Davidson, 'The Theology of Isaiah' in *Exp. T.* '94 (beginning at 296)' M'Curdy, *Hist., Proph., and Mon.*, vol. 2 ('96), though a good Assyriologist, does not go deep enough into critical and historical problems to achieve his aim; J. Meinhold, *Jesaja u. seine Zeit.* ('98); cp also § 6 of G. A. Smith's art. 'Isaiah' in Hastings' *DB*. See also DEUTERONOMY, HEZEKIAH, MESSIAH, PROPHECY, TEMPLE. 2-7 (other bearers of the name). See JESHAIAH, 1-6.

T. K. C.

ISAIAH (BOOK)

CONTENTS

The criticism of the Book of Isaiah has been almost revolutionised within the last twenty years.[1] The problems have become more complicated, the methods of the critics more varied and subtle. The present position of criticism cannot be properly understood, however, without some acquaintance with an earlier stage. It is necessary, therefore, to preface this article by a sketch of what appeared certain or probable before 1880. To give the student a mixture of the two criticisms would be misleading. He has to pass as quickly as possible through the initial stage already traversed by criticism, that he may not perplex himself with unreal difficulties,

1. Criticism before 1880.

A. EARLIER CRITICISM

We must begin with the criticism of I. Isaiah (*i.e.*, Is. 1-39), and then proceed to that of II. Isaiah (*i.e.*, Is. 40-66), remarking by way of introduction that critics in general are agreed that the final redaction of the Book of Isaiah must have been anterior to the composition of Ecclesiasticus (probably about 180 B.C.), because of the description of Isaiah's wide range as a prophet in Ecclus. 48 22-25, a passage which occurs not only in the Greek and the Syriac, but also in a lately discovered fragment of the Hebrew text.

2. Kuenen in 1863. Abraham Kuenen ('28-'91), one of the greatest of recent 'higher critics,' gave this sketch of the growth of I. Isaiah in the first edition of his *Introd.* (*Onderzoek*) in '63.

A. CHAPTERS 1-39. i. *Arrangement.*—The earliest parts of the book Kuenen takes to be the two collections,* chaps. 1-12 and 13-23. The former consists entirely of genuine prophecies of Isaiah; the latter contains some prophecies dating from the last years of the exile. A characteristic of the second group is that headings are prefixed to the prophecies, with the peculiar term מַשָּׂא '(divine) utterance,' or 'oracle' (13 1 14 28 15 1 17 1 [20 1] 21 1 11 13 22 1 23 1). It is natural to assume that this was the later of the two collections, and it is possible that the present position of the short prophecy, 14 24-27, is due to the editor of this group, who may have wished, by transferring this passage from 10 5-12 6 (near which it must once have stood) to a place amongst the oracles of his own collection, to connect the two groups, and give them an appearance of homogeneousness. This editor certainly lived in post-exilic times, whereas the collector of chaps. 1-12 was either Isaiah himself or one of his disciples (cp 8 2 16). Time passed, and other prophecies came to light which rightly or wrongly were ascribed to the prophet Isaiah. Another editor, wishing to complete a Book of Isaiah, attached chaps. 28-33 24-27 and 34 *f.*, and appended, as a suitable close for the book, a historical account of Sennacherib's invasion and Isaiah's prophetic activity at this period.

ii. *Collections of Isaianic prophecies.* — *a.* The earliest.—These are, Kuenen thought, in chaps. 2-4, written in the first years of Ahaz, before the outbreak of the Syro-Ephraimitish war.[1] Chap. 5 describes Isaiah's expectations a few years later, after the first defeat experienced by Ahaz. During the same war Isaiah wrote his account of his great vision (chap. 6), and from chap. 7 we learn what he held out in prospect to Ahaz at the height of the crisis. Chaps. 17 1-11 and 8 1-9 6 [7] are only a little later than chap. 7, whilst the prophecy in 9 7 [8]-10 4, which in 9 10 [11] presupposes the defeat of Rezin by the Assyrians,[2] and the devastation of N. Palestine, was probably delivered shortly after the close of the Syro-Ephraimitish war, when the N. kingdom was beginning to recover from its serious disasters. 14 28-32 also, in spite of the heading in *v.* 28, may be placed in this period. The Philistines, threatened by the Assyrian power, may have sent an embassy to Ahaz, the *protégé* of Tiglath-pileser, desiring his support.

b. The prophecies of the Assyrian period.—These are divided into two classes—(α) those before and (β) those after Hezekiah's revolt.

(α) To the former class belong 21 11 *f.* and 13-17, which suggest that the Assyrian power was gradually extending towards Egypt. More certainly chap. 28 belongs to the three years of the siege of Samaria. Chap. 23 refers to Shalmaneser's campaign against Phœnicia. The obscurity of *v.* 13 permits no very positive critical inference; but the mention of Assyria confirms the Isaianic authorship. Nor is Kuenen prepared to give up the epilogue (*vv.* 15-18), though he recognises the comparative weight of the objections to the genuineness of this passage and indeed of the whole prophecy. The 'hard king' of 19 4 is Sargon, who is actually named in chap. 20.

(β) Then come the important chaps. 29-32, all of which belong to the year before Sennacherib's invasion, and open the second class of the prophecies referred to. 29 1-8 is regarded as a two-fold prediction, first of Jerusalem's extreme danger, and then of her deliverance.[3] The prophecies in 22 15-25 (Shebna) and 22 1-14 were delivered not much later. The description in 22 8-11 is viewed as partly imaginative; the preparations for the defence of Jerusalem were such as would naturally he made on the approach of a foe. 10 5-12 6 was written during the invasion; 14 24-27 is closely connected with it, and may he regarded as its epilogue. Jerusalem itself was threatened when chap. 1 was written, and 17 12-14 18 and 33 belong to the same period. All these prophecies express a firm assurance of the speedy destruction of the foe.

c. The prophecy against Moab.

This prophecy (chap. 15 *f.*) receives from Kuenen a careful consideration. He recognises the peculiarity in language, in style, and in ideas, of 15 1-16 12, which he assigns to an older prophet of the Northern Kingdom. The epilogue he thinks may

[1] Until quite lately the school of Dillmann has been regarded in England, as elsewhere, among students of Isaiah, as representing the farthest point to which a sober criticism can go. The willingness to reconsider things however, shown in the art. 'Isaiah' (Hastings, *DB* 2 ['99]) by Prof. G. A. Smith, justifies the hope that the transition to a more consistent critical position will not be so slow in England.

[1] The heading in 1 1 is of course due to an editor and of no authority (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 2 *f.*).

[2] This implies the reading 'the adversaries of Rezin' (צָרֵי רְצִין), which is accepted by Dillmann, hut rejected by Duhm and Cheyne (see *SBOT*). Kuenen, however, is not unconscious of its difficulties.

[3] Kuenen's view of 29 1-8, 9-14, has been till quite lately the one generally held, It has been well stated by Driver (*Isaiah*, 56 *f.*).

well have been written by Isaiah, when he adopted the work of his predecessor, about the same time as 21 13-17 (see above, 6 [α]). The earlier prophet most probably lived before the great conquests of Jeroboam II., when Edom was subject to Judah (cp 16 6 with 2 K. 14 7).

iii. *The historical chapters* (36-39).—These are regarded as having been compiled from contemporary documents shortly after the time of Hezekiah, and inserted by the collector of chaps. 1-35 (or perhaps of the whole book), partly to illustrate the prophecies of the Assyrian period, partly to supplement the narratives in chaps. 7 8 20 (cp above, § 2, i.).

iv. *Later additions.*—*a.* Chaps. 24-27.—The earliest of the *exilic prophecies* inserted in I. Isaiah is held to be that in chaps. 24-27. The evidence against Isaiah's authorship is not indeed so overpowering as in the case of chaps. 40-66, because of the obscurity of the prophecy, but is still forcible enough. Points of contact between the language of these chapters and that of Isaiah are not wanting; but there is such a striking difference in style, in imagery, in vocabulary, and even in ideas, that on this ground alone we may be sure that Isaiah is not the author. Then the historical situation—however difficult of interpretation some features in it may be—is certainly not that of any of the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah. Kuenen's conclusion is that the author lived during the first part of the exile and that he predicts the fall of Babylon. On three points he remains in doubt—(1) where the prophet lives, whether in Judæa (cp 25 6 *f.* 10), or elsewhere; (2) whether 24 1-13 is to be regarded as a prophecy, or as a description, and whether it relates to the whole earth, or to Judah and Jerusalem; and (3) whether 27 10 *f.* pictures the condition of Jerusalem, or of the hostile city mentioned in 25 2 26 5—*i.e.* (according to Kuenen), of Babylon.

b. Chaps. 34 *f.*—To the same period Kuenen assigns chaps. 34 *f.* The writer's silence as to the Medo-Persians and his indignation against Edom are the reasons for placing these chapters early in the Exile.

Peculiar ideas and words are of course not as abundant here as in chaps. 24-27. This last remark applies also to 13 1-14 23, but the historical situation is defined even more plainly than in 34 *f.* as that of the **Exile,** and more definitely of the close of the Exile. The Babylonian oppression is presupposed, and the tone of the writer is evidently embittered by the thought of the sufferings of his people. This embitterment prevents us from identifying the author with the so-called II. Isaiah. The little prophecy in 21 1-10 is also (on account of 2*b*) clearly not Isaiah's work, and is probably not much later than 13 1-14 23.

B. CHAPTERS 40-66. Chaps. 40-66 are regarded by Kuenen (*i.e.*, the Kuenen of **1863**) as forming a single book in three equal parts (chaps. 40-48 49-57 58-66) marked by a kind of refrain[1] (48 22 57 21), the substance of which was written by one man, before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, though the different prophecies or poems composing it may have been collected and arranged after that event.

a. External **evidence** *as to authorship.*—Kuenen examines at length the external evidence for and against Isaiah's authorship of this book.

The evidence for it is, (1) the testimony of Ecclus. 48 23-25 (which, however, simply proves that the writer was not in a position to discriminate between works of different ages copied into the same roll).

2. The 'edict of Cyrus' in Ezra 1 2 *f.* 2 Ch. 36 23 (which has been thought to imply that Cyrus had become acquainted with the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah, but which in reality merely implies that the narrator had such an acquaintance).[2]

3. The **use** made of **Is. 40-66** by prophets who lived after Isaiah but before the middle part of the Exile (the extreme insecurity of which argument, in the form in which Delitzsch presented it, is shown by Kuenen).

On the opposite side, too, some external evidence is produced.

Stress is laid on the position of chaps. 40-66, which are separated from the preceding collection of prophecies by some historical chapters, and must once have circulated in a separate form. Without any strong grounds an editor who had noticed the reference to a Babylonian captivity in 39 6 *f.*, may have supposed that chaps. 40-66 were a grandly planned supplementary prophecy by Isaiah.

b. Internal evidence.—i. Historical situation.—The most important argument, however, is that based on the historical situation in those chapters. All agree that, at least in general, the author addresses the Israelitish exiles in Babylon.

Jerusalem and the cities of Judah lie in ruins; and this sad state of things has already lasted a considerable time (51 3 52 2 5 58 12 63 18 19 [18 19*a*] 64 9-11 [8-10] 42 14 57 12 58 12 63 15-19 [19*a*]). Deliverance, however, is at hand; Cyrus will conquer Babylon and release the Jews, who, on their return, will rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, and enjoy unimaginable prosperity (40 9-11 41 27 43 19 *ff.* 44 26 46 13 58 12 60 10 61 4 66 12 *f.*). In this connection, it is noteworthy that no mention is made of Israelitish kings or of sacrifices. On the other hand, the keeping of the sabbath (56 2-8) and fasting (58 1 *ff.*) are specially mentioned.[1]

We are at once inclined to place such a book in the second half of the Exile.

This conclusion is strengthened by the writer's accurate knowledge of the very heart and soul of the exiles (see, *e.g.*, 40 27 45 9 *f.* 46 6 *f.* 49 24 56 3 *ff.* 57 5 *ff.* 58 2 *ff.* 62 6 *f.* 65 4 *ff.* 66 1-5).

Nor is there anything in the book suggestive of the pre-exilic age. If Isaiah had written it, he would certainly have betrayed his real as opposed to his imaginary period by some involuntary allusion.

On the contrary, (1) all the allusions to the age of Isaiah, to the continuance of Jerusalem and of the temple, and to Judæa as the home of the prophet which have been indicated in chaps. 40-66, rest without exception on misunderstanding.[2] (2) The proof derived by the prophet from the predictions of Israel's liberation and the fall of Babylon loses all its significance if the writer were not close at hand (see 41 1-7 21-29 42 9 43 8-13 44 19-21 46 8-13 48). At first sight indeed, the passages in which idolatry is attacked[3] may seem inconsistent with an exilic date; but observe (1) that the writer frequently has in view not Israelites, but the surrounding heathen population; (2) that sometimes it is rather of a danger than of an actual fact that the prophet speaks; (3) that Ezekiel (20 30-38) refers to idolatrous practices among the exiles by the river Chebar; and (4) that we cannot infer from the attachment of the returned exiles to the religion of Yahwè that those left behind were all devoted monotheists.

ii. Language and ideas.—Nearly 200 years could not have passed away without leaving their impress on prophetic language and ideas. The second Isaiah is in fact very different from Isaiah b. Amoz, both as a writer and as a thinker.

1. Of the personal Messiah expected by the son of Amoz[4] (9 6 [5] *f.* 11 1-5) there is not a trace in II. Isaiah (see MESSIAH).

It is to a widely different figure—the 'servant of Yahwè'—that II. Isaiah assigns the liberation and the regeneration of Israel. In connection with this it should be noticed that the older prophet is much more universalistic in his pictures of the future than the younger, who is by no means free from an extreme nationalism, and cherishes exaggerated expectations of the future glory of Israel (for which, it is true, there are points of contact in some of Isaiah's prophecies;[5] see, *e.g.*, 11 6 *ff.* 18 7 19 18-25 23 18).

2. Other differences, too, may be referred to.

Thus the high respect for the sabbath expressed in chaps. 56 58 is very unlike Isaiah (contrast 1 11-15). The uniqueness of the divinity of Yahwè becomes more prominent in the second part of Isaiah, and is proved by arguments which Isaiah b. Amoz could hardly have used, whilst the fundamental ideas of that prophet's discourses are somewhat in the background in chaps. 40-66.

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1 For the later view of these 'refrains,' *see* Duhm or ***SBOT*** ('Isaiah').

2 On the question whether the publication of the 'edict of Cyrus' is a historical fact, and whether the kernel of the 'edict' is genuine, *see* CYRUS, § 5; EZRA ii., § 6 *ff.*; ISRAEL, § 50 *f.* Kuenen, in both editions of his *Introduction*, whilst admitting the fact of the return under Cyrus, maintained that the so-called 'edict' was a free composition of the Chronicler.

1 It need hardly be said that this is among the weaker of the arguments here adduced.

2 Here we may reply in the words of Goethe, 'Du sprichst ein grosses Wort gelassen aus.'

3 These passages are 40 17 *ff.* 41 1 *ff.* 21 *ff.* 43 9 *ff.* 44 9 *ff.* 22 45 14 *ff.* 46 6-9 12 48 1 *ff.* 4 *f.* 8 55 6 *ff.* 57 4 *ff.* 58 1 59 2 12 *f.* 63 17 64 6 [5] *f.* 65 3 *ff.* 66 3 *f.*, though Kuenen admits it to be possible that where general terms are used for the sins of the exiles, the reference may be to moral and religious laxity rather than to idolatry. Not a few passages, too, refer specially to born heathen men.

4 This is one of the many points in which later criticism finds something to correct in the older theories.

5 Here again Kuenen in **1863** expresses views which later criticism shows to be inaccurate.

Such—apart from the linguistic and stylistic argument, which is not at all adequately presented by the older critics—is the reasoning by which Kuenen in 1863 justified his disintegration of the Book of Isaiah. If we compare it with that of conservative critics we are struck by its superior naturalness. It is the outcome of a critical movement of long duration, and cannot fail to be, to a large extent, in accordance with facts.

B. Later Criticism

If we apply the same critical methods still further, we cannot fail to see weak points. The earlier criticism abounds in inaccuracies, and the newer criticism, after well-nigh twenty years of elaboration. has so far completed its task that Kuenen's older view (still to a very large extent represented in students' books) needs to be superseded. If we do not adopt that form of the newer criticism which is due to Kuenen himself, it is because a growing criticism cannot be tied down to the results of a single man, and because much work has been brought to maturity since 1889 (the date of Kuenen's second edition).

3. Subsequent advance.

The interval between the traditional view of the Book of Isaiah and that which is now presenting itself was too great to be traversed without a halt. The criticism which has just been summarised will enable the reader to break the journey. He will now be in a better position to consider those points in which the earlier solutions of critical problems may have been unsatisfactory, and consequently to do justice to the criticism which still remains to be described.

The fault of the earlier critics was that they had an imperfect sense of the deep gulf between the old and the new Israel. Even the books which had the most beneficial effect on pre-exilic Israelites were not in all respects suitable for, or even intelligible to, the much altered people of the later age. The prophetic writings in their present form are post-exilic works ; such pre-exilic records as they contain have been carefully adapted to the wants of post-exilic readers. With regard, then, to Is. 1-39, **our** first question should be, not, Is there any reason why this or that chapter or section should not be the work of Isaiah? but, To what age do the ideas, expressions, and implied circumstances most naturally point ? We can seldom expect to find that the whole of a long passage belongs to the same period, because a post-exilic editor would almost certainly have found it necessary to modify what the earlier writer had said by longer or shorter insertions. It must be remembered, too, that the prophets of the eighth century were too great and too much absorbed in their message to spend much time in the written elaboration of their prophecies. We can hardly expect to find that Isaiah left much in writing, and we must also make allowance for the perils to the ancient literature arising from the collapse of the state.

4. Critical principles.

It will be well for the student to be continually revising his earlier results in the assignment of dates in the light of his later critical acquisitions. Critics are sometimes accused of arguing in a circle because they, by anticipation, mention facts in favour of the non-Isaianic origin of a prophecy derived from sections which only later will be proved to be non-Isaianic. This accusation is not reasonable. It is necessary that the whole body of relevant facts should be before the student, and it is important to see what points of contact a disputed prophecy has with other prophecies which are equally disputed. To economise space, it is sometimes necessary to leave the student to distinguish between those arguments which are immediately available, and those which will only later be seen in their full force. It will be found that each step we take in the assignment of dates will supply subsidiary facts (especially phraseological) in proof of conclusions already seen to be probable. But the student must not be in a hurry,

and must sometimes let difficult problems wait till he is riper for them.

It is too bold to maintain that we still have any collection of Isaianic prophecies which in its present form goes back to the period of that prophet, To begin with chaps. 1-5. Chap. 1 has, properly speaking, no connection with chaps. 2-5. It is a preface to the whole collection of the prophecies. of Isaiah (chaps. 2-33 or 35). It seems to be composite. Verses 29-31 are possibly (or probably) the close of a separate prophecy of an earlier date (see below), whilst *vv.* 27 *f.* are certainly a post-exilic insertion (cp Marti). The early section formed by chaps. 2-5 has been much altered. It contains fine prophetic writing; but if a disciple of Isaiah really bestowed much editorial care upon it—*i.e.*, if it was welded by such an editor into a whole—the traces of his work have entirely disappeared.

5. Chaps. 2-5.

Chap. 2 (soon after 740 B.C.) is composed of two different fragments of similar contents, on the day of Yahwè (*vv.* 6-10 **18-21**, and *vv.* **11-17**), which have been brought together by an early editor, and had prefixed to them an important eschatological prophecy (2 2-4).[1]

3 1-4 1 (735 B.C.) is nearly in its original form (see especially Marti); but the appendix, 4 2-6, is beyond the possibility of doubt post-exilic[3] It was in fact a fixed custom of later editors to adapt prophecies of judgment (most early prophecies were such ; cp Am. **3** 6-8) to the use of contrite post-exilic readers by Messianic appendices. **But** what of 2 2-4? Why should 2 6-4 1 have a preface as well as an appendix ? Probably it has been moved from its original position, to fill the place of a passage which had become illegible. It was originally intended to he the appendix to 1 29-31, which appears to he a fragment of an independent prophecy of Isaiah against tree-worship, linked to 12-26 by the editorial passage, 127 *f.* Chap. **5** 1-7 and **8-24** (5 25 is editorial) form two distinct hut related prophecies (735 B.C.). On **5** 26-30 see below (§ **7**, begin.).

The next group of prophecies is 6 1-9 7 [6]. In its original form this came most probably from a disciple of Isaiah (about 734 B.C.). It consisted of a prologue on Isaiah's inaugural vision, and prophecies on the invasion of Rezin, the ruin of Syria and Ephraim, and the Assyrian invasion, and concluded with a divine warning to Isaiah and his disciples, and an epilogue of great interest, as showing the editorial care which, in this instance at least, a disciple of Isaiah bestowed on his master's work. To this has been added a fragment on the despair of the people of Judah ; 8 19 *f.* (except the last words) are late and editorial. Other traces of late editorial work could be mentioned.

6. Chaps. 6 1-9 6.

One of them is the opening verse of chap. **7**, which is dependent on 2 K. 16 5 (late pre-exilic), and another possibly 8 8*b*-10 (this passage, however, can be defended as Isaiah's).[3] Editorial work is also plainly discernible in **7 17-25** ; hut on this we cannot linger.

The most important monument of an editor is not the closing words of chap. **6** in MT (not in 𝔊), 'a holy seed is the stock thereof,'[4] but the Messianic appendix, 9 2-7 [1-6]. This appendix, though recently defended by Duhm, is (in the opinion of some scholars)

[1] 2 5 is a later addition to a late prophecy. 2 2-4 is the prophecy **itself** which in a large sense may he called Messianic. Duhm regard; it as the work of Isaiah, hut refers it to the prophet's old age, when he may have written prophetic poems, like this passage and like **9 2-7** [1-6] 11 1-8, for the edification of his disciples. But the prouounced universalism of the religion of **2 2-4**, and its similarity in phraseology to passages which have an unmistakable post-exilic impress, and are regarded by Duhm himself as late, besides its want of a natural connection with the context both in Is. **2** and in Mic. **4** (for Mic. 4 1-4 gives a second edition of the passage), makes Duhm's romantically-sounding theory impossible. Cp Micah **ii.**, § 2 *c*, and see, further, Che. *Intr.* **Is.** 9-16; Sta. ***ZATW*** 1 165 *f.*, 4 292 ; Hackmann, *Zukunftserwartung*, 126-130 ; Marti, *Jes.*, *KHC* ; Mitchell, *Isaiah i.-xii.*, 108 ff. ; and on the other side especially Bertholet, ***Die Stellung der*** *Israeliten*, etc., 97 *ff.*

[2] So Giesehrecht (***Beitv.*** 27), Duhm, Hackmann, Cheyne. Stade in 1884 took a middle position (*ZATW* 4 149 *ff.*).

[3] See Isaiah i. § 3 n., and cp Che. ***Znfr.*** *Is.* 37-40. The passage was at any rate composed and inserted later ; at what period, is disputed.

[4] ***v.*** 13 should probably run thus (or nearly thus) : פִּי כִלָּיוֹן בְּזַרְעֶיהָ וְשִׁדָּפוֹן בְּצֶאֱצָאֶיהָ, 'for consumption shall be on its plants, and parching on its productions.' כאלה and כאלון are duplicates ; זרע קדש מצבתה is a second attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage.

almost as certainly late as anything in the whole compass of prophetic literature.[1] Its combination of enthusiasm and moderation gives the passage a unique position among Messianic prophecies; to assign it to post-exilic times (which were not incapable of fine as well as poor literature) involves no disparagement. It is clearly an independent composition attached by the editor by means of the linking verse, 9 1 [8 23]. Observe the vagueness of 9 6 [5] *f.*, which implies that the hope of the Messiah was already well defined in the popular mind, which could easily fill up the outlines. In the age of Isaiah such vagueness is inconceivable.[2] Both these additions, when accepted as Isaiah's, could not but distort the interpretation of the portions really due to the prophet.

The next prophecy is 10 5-12 6, to which 9 8 [7]-10 4 was prefixed-bya later editor, probably to fill up the space on a roll which was too large for the prophecy 10 5-11 16. Originally this fine passage, which is hardly to be combined with 5 26-30,[3] belonged to the same group of prophecies as 5 1-7 and 8-24 (see above, § 8). It is nearly in its original form; but, besides minor changes due to accident, 9 14 [13] *f.* and 10 4*a* have been substituted for passages which had become illegible. The latter is the most important because (as rightly emended by Lagarde) it contains a reference to Beltis and Osiris which is unexpected in this context.[4] Chap. 10 is Isaianic, but, even apart from the editorial insertions (see *SBOT*), does not all come from one time. *Vv.* 27*b*-32 are clearly an insertion from some other source; *i.e.*, they were not written as a part of Isaiah's great 'woe' upon the Assyrian. The passage describes the expected march upon Jerusalem of a foe from the N., and Duhm doubts whether a passage so full of plays upon names can be Isaiah's. If it is not Isaiah's, one might plausibly ascribe it to Micah, who, in the bitterness of his spirit, makes very similar plays on the names of towns in danger of capture from the Assyrians (Mic. 1 10-15). We may probably date it 722 B.C. 10 16-27*a*, at any rate, is certainly not Isaiah's. It refers, it is true, to the Assyrian invasion; but it treats this as typical of the attack of the assembled heathen nations on Jerusalem expected by late eschatological writers. It tells us of the great final judgment on all Yahwè's enemies, from which transgressors within Zion itself will not be exempt (cp. Is. 12 8 33 14, and passages in the Psalms). There is, however, a bare possibility that some scarcely intelligible fragments of Isaiah may have been worked into his material by the editor. The Isaianic portion, 10 5-9 13 *f.*, may be dated 711 B.C.

7. Chaps. 10 5-12 6; 9 8 [7]-10 4; 10 5-11 16; 5 26-30.

To this composite work (ch. 10) three appendices were attached—(I) the last (12 1-6) very late indeed, so exceedingly poor is it, and so entirely unprophetic in style.[5] (2) The first (11 1-8) is a description of the Messiah as a perfect ruler—a counterpart of 9 6 [5] *f.* It is not well linked to the context. A better connection was produced for the former passage (9 2-7 [1-6]), though in neither case is any mention made of that sifting of the population of Jerusalem to which Isaiah (1 25) refers as a condition of better government. There is also none of Isaiah's classic moderation in the terms of the description. The elaborate description of the transformation of the animal world, and the extravagance of *v.* 46, is in the taste of the later period.[1]

8. Appendices 11 1-8 10-16; 12 1-6.

(3) The second appendix (11 10-16) is marked out as such with singular definiteness. Whoever wrote 11 2-9 certainly regarded it as a suitable close. On the other hand, we can well understand a subsequent writer wishing to insert something on the restoration of the exiles of Israel and Judah. The style is poor (note the impossible expression 'root of Jesse' for the Messianic king); the rhythm still poorer; the phraseology and ideas late. 'Assyria' means to the writer the Persian empire. This is one of the most assured and suggestive results of criticism.

We have now analysed all the first part of our Book of Isaiah (chaps. 1-12), and pass on to a collection of ten oracles (13-23), mostly on the neighbours of the Israelites. each with a heading containing the word *maśśā* (משא)—an expression which specially belongs to collectors and editors (cp also 30 6, where it forms part of a late insertion).

9. Chaps. 13-23.

a. Four short passages, however (14 24-27 17 12-14 18 20 3-6), strike the eye as having no editorial headings. These must once have stood in some other connection; all appear to be genuine works of Isaiah. (1) The first is perhaps the true conclusion of Isaiah's prophecy on the failure of the plan of the Assyrian king (10 5-15; see ISAIAH i., § 13). (2) The second is either an appendix attached by Isaiah to 17 1-11 (see below), or a short independent prophecy of uncertain date. *(3)* The third (which has a late, artificial appendix, *v.* 7) belongs to the time of Sennacherib's invasion (Duhm, Cheyne). (4) The fourth, as the brief historical preface states, is contemporary with the siege of Ashdod by Sargon in 711 B.C. It has been thought to predict the ruin of Egypt and Ethiopia; but upon archaeological grounds must be held to refer rather to the fate anticipated for Pir'u, king of Muṣri (to whom Yaman, king of Ashdod, fled for refuge). See ASHDOD, MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*. This Pir'u, not the Egyptian Pharaoh, is the king who will grievously disappoint the Judahites, according to Is. 20 5 *f.*, to which 30 6 is parallel, in complete accordance with Sargon's own statement in the fragmentary cylinder text. The opening verse therefore comes from some ill-informed early editor or biographer.[2]

b. (1-2). Of the *ten oracles with headings*, only two can be regarded as certainly Isaianic—viz. (1) 17 1-6 9-11,[3] and (2) 22 1-14 15-18. (1) The former was evidently written before 720; (2) the latter falls into two parts, of which the first (ISAIAH i., § 17) may have been written in 701, and the second a year or two earlier. Kuenen's former view that 22 8-11 is an imaginary description can hardly be maintained; but it is probable that the descriptions in *vv.* 5-7 8-10

[1] See Che. *Intr. Is.* 44.46 (cp *Jew. Rel. Life*, 98-101). To the works there cited (against Isaianic origin) add Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias*, 57-59 ('97); Sellin, *Serubbabel*, 36-38 ('98). Sellin places the prophecy at the close of the Exile; he thinks that it refers to Zerubbabel. His disparagement of the phraseological argument is inconsistent with his own practice. It is true, however, that the text is in several respects corrupt. In 9 4*a* [5], for instance, it is surely necessary to read הִרְבִּיתָ רַחֲמֶיךָ הִגְדַּלְתָּ חַסְדֶּךָ (*SBOT*, Heb. 195). If this be admitted, Isaiah *cannot* have written the passage, for חסד and רחמים are not used by Isaiah. On סאון no stress can be laid; the word is corrupt. See SHOE. The name of the king. however, if the text be emended, is not such as Isaiah would have disowned (see MESSIAH, and cp *Crit. Bib.*).

[2] The fact that this fine composition produced no effect on Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, is not inconsistent with the sketch of the growth of the prophecies given in this article (against Dillm.-Kittel, 90).

[3] The phrases in *v.* 26 are too hyperbolical as applied to the Assyrians. Peiser and Wi. acutely find a reference to the Cimmerians (cp 4 5-8 19-31).

[4] See GEBAL i., and for a parallel see CHIUN and SICCUTH.

[5] On this point there is unanimity among critics. To make chap. 12 exilic with König would be needless caution.

[1] See *Intr. Is.* 62-66; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 101-104. Sellin's remark (*Serubbabel*, 38) that, though this prophecy might also have been written at the end of the Exile, or shortly before Haggai, it contains nothing inconsistent with Isaiah's authorship, implies a wrong point of view. Considering the fragmentary state of the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah, we have to ask, not, Can we with some ingenuity imagine Isaiah uttering this or that passage? but, To what period does this anonymous fragment of prophecy most naturally belong?

[2] So first Wi. *Muṣri*, 24; cp *SBOT* 'Isa.' (Heb.). In *Intr. Is.* 120 the Sargon-text is cited; but Pir'u is wrongly taken to be =Pharaoh (so Schr. and formerly Wi.). At this period, however, as Winckler has shown, Egypt had not yet begun again to be a factor in Asiatic politics.

[3] On the interpolated passage (*v.* 7 *f.*) see *Intr. Is.* 93, and cp especially Stade, *ZATW* 3 10-13 ('83).

have been amplified. On the text of this most important prophecy (22 1-14) see *SBOT* (Heb.) 197.

(3) **14 28-32** may plausibly be claimed for Isaiah. In 721 (or 720) Sargon was completely defeated by the Elamites at Dur-ilu in N. Babylonia (Bab. Chron. B, col. 1, lines 33-35; KB 2 276 *f.*), which led to a pretty general rising in Syria and Palestine. Ḫanun, king of Gaza, with the help of the N. Arabian Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), again asserted his independence. Both in the N. and in the S., however, Sargon put down the rebellions, and Hanun fell into the hands of the Assyrians. Foreseeing this, Isaiah may have written this prophecy; on the other hand, the headings are not generally so accurate, and the language used of Zion seems to Duhm[1] more in accordance with post-exilic views than with Isaiah's. Even Winckler, to whom (*AT Unters.* 135 *ff.*) the above historical explanation belongs, feels compelled to sacrifice עֲנִיֵּי עַמּוֹ, 'the poor of his people' (*v.* 32) as post-exilic in appearance (in spite of 10 2). Marti agrees with Duhm, and the present writer now coincides. See ISAIAH i., § 12; *SBOT* (Heb.) 195; but cp. *Intr. Is.* 80-82.

(4-8) There are also prophecies in which it has been suspected that there is at least an Isaianic element—viz., (4), chaps. 15 *f.*; (?), (6), and (7), 21 11-17; (8), 23. As to (4), the only portion which can be at all plausibly viewed as Isaianic is 16 14 (beginning 'In three years').

16 4*b*-5 has also been regarded as a scrap of Isaiah's work. At any rate it has the appearance of being an insertion. To regard it as Isaianic, however, is reasonable only if the prophecy in which it is enclosed can be shown to be an older work adopted by Isaiah,[2] and against Isaiah's authorship is the striking resemblance between *v.* 4*b* and 29 20, and between *v.* 5 and 9 6 [5] *f.* (passages suspected of being late).

Nor is it in accordance with the critical results obtained elsewhere to regard part of 16 14 as Isaianic; those phraseological points in it which at one time seemed Isaianic are now rightly viewed in a different light (*e.g.*, מְעַט מִזְעָר is suspicious, just because it appears also in 10 25 29 17). The original elegy on Moab may be most plausibly referred to the time of Nebuchadrezzar; but not on grounds derived from parallel passages in Jer. 48 (see JEREMIAH ii., § 11 *ff.*).

As to oracles (5), (6), and (7), 21 16 *f.* shares the same suspicion as 16 14, and is best regarded as post-exilic. The two oracles in 21 11 *f.* and 13-15 suggest the danger to which Edom and Arabia were exposed, either from Ašur-bāni-pal (Wi. *AT Unters.* 124), or from the later Chaldean invasion (Che.). As to oracle (8), Dillmann's view that an Isaianic elegy on Tyre was retouched on a large scale by a post-exilic writer is the most conservative view which has still any claim to be considered.

The blockade of Tyre by Shalmaneser IV. (who died during the blockade) and Sargon must have greatly interested Isaiah, and the prophet, if he described the fate of Damascus and Philistia, is not very likely to have passed over that of Tyre. Still it is on the whole hardly worth while to search chap. 23 for fragments of a prophecy on Tyre by Isaiah; the results of an analysis are too precarious, especially if we take account of recent proposed emendations of the text. We may, it is true, reasonably suppose *vv.* 1-12 14 to be of comparatively early date, though not Isaianic. It was at any rate written before Nebuchadrezzar's siege of Tyre in 586-573 B.C. *v.* 13, which is a prophecy of the capture of the city by the Chaldeans, is clearly a later insertion; it is the work of a post-exilic editor who held the mistaken opinion that Tyre had been stormed and destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar. The epilogue (*vv.* 15-15, all in prose, except the dance-song in *v.* 16) is by another hand, and is also obviously post-exilic.

(9) Of the ten oracles with headings two still remain to be mentioned—(9) chaps. 13-14 21 and (10) chap. 19. (9) *a.* So far as the oracle on Babylon (chap. 13) is concerned, the older critics gave the correct date; chap. 13, which is closely related to, but earlier than, Jer. 50 *f.* (see JEREMIAH ii., § 11 *ff.*) is of not much earlier date than chap. 40 etc. *β.* The ode 'on the king of Babylon,' however (14 4*b*-21), can hardly have been written by the author of the oracle.

14 1-4*a* and *vv.* 22 *f.* (which stand outside both oracle and ode, and are more inelegant in style than either) must surely belong to an editor, who probably took the ode from an anthology.

The ode (14 4*b*-21) is parallel to the poem on Sennacherib in 37 22*b*-29,[1] and both songs most probably refer to the same Assyrian king ('king of Babylon' in 14 4 is therefore a mistake).[2] That Isaiah would have expected or even wished Sennacherib to be excluded from the royal tombs is indeed most unlikely. The fact that the poet did both wish and expect this contumely for Sennacherib only confirms the view that the author of the ode was not that great prophet.[3] The phraseology, the anticipations, and the ideas of the song are alike opposed to the theory of its Isaianic authorship. See ISAIAH i., § 19.

(10) Chap. 19 is one of the most difficult sections of the first half of Isaiah.

It seemed natural that the prophet should have left some more definite record of his expectations for Egypt than is to be found in chap. 20 or chaps. 30 *f.* Eichhorn, however, could not see anything Isaianic either in the main prophecy or in the supplement (*vv.* 16 or 18-25), and Ewald found such a falling off in the style that he felt obliged to assign it to Isaiah's declining years. The present writer till 1892 thought that at any rate *vv.* 1-4 and 11-15 contained an Isaianic element. He now recognises that even this is *too* conservative a view, and that the points of contact with Isaiah are not greater than can be accounted for by imitation.

Not only 19 5-10, but also *vv.* 1-4 and 11-15 are post-exilic. The 'harsh lord' (*v.* 4) is not Ašur-bāni-pal, but some Persian king; the writer may not have meant any single king. Stylistic and exegetical data point unmistakably to the Persian period, though not necessarily to so late a date as the time of Artaxerxes Ochus (so Duhm).

The supplement (*vv.* 16 or 18 to 25), which possesses the highest religious interest, still more manifestly belongs to the time when the fusion of Israelites and non-Israelites first became a reasonable anticipation—*i.e.*, to the early Greek period. Before 275 it can hardly have been written. See HERES, and cp *SBOT* 'Isa.' (Heb.) on 19 18, and *TLZ* '96, no. 20, col. 522.

(11) Chap. 21 1-10. For a time the present writer (supported by Driver) accepted the view of Kleinert (*St Kr.* 1877 p. 174 *ff.*) that Is. 21 1-10 was Isaianic and related to one of the three sieges of Babylon by the Assyrians (710, 703, and 696 B.C.). The chief advantage of that view is that it affords a ready explanation of the grief which the prophet expresses at the 'hard vision announced' to him. The difficulties of the view cannot, however, be completely surmounted (see *Crit. Bib.*; *Zs.* 123 *ff.*). Driver (*Introd.*) too has fully abandoned Kleinert's attractive view. Winckler's view (*AT Unters.* 120 *ff.*) that the war between Ašur-bāni-pal and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn is referred to, has also not found acceptance. W. H. Cobb (*JBL* 17 40 *ff.*) revises the theory of Isaiah's authorship. He takes 21 1-10 to refer to the invasion of Palestine by Assyria. Against this see Marti, *Jes.* 165 *f.* Marti's own view, however, which is an improved form of the usual critical view, is not free from objection. Elsewhere (see *Crit. Bib.*) the present writer has sought to show that the poem in 21 1-10 relates really, not to Babylon, but to Edom, which, in later times, came to be regarded as Israel's arch enemy. The emendations that seem necessary relate mainly to proper names.

1 Duhm dates this prophecy between the battle of Issus (333) and the capture of Tyre and Gaza by Alexander (332), and even suggests that the name 'Ahaz' has taken the place of 'Arses' king of Persia from 338 to 336 B.C.

2 So Kuenen in 1863; Che. *Proph. Is.* 1 96 *f.*; Dillm. *Jes.* 146 *f.* In 1889 Del. (*Jes.* 231) described this as 'at present the prevailing opinion. Later criticism, however, has attacked it with some vigour. See Duhm's commentary, and Che. *Intr. Is.* 86 *ff.* Driver's suggestion that the body of the prophecy may have been written by Isaiah in anticipation of Tiglath-pileser's foray in E. Palestine in 734 (*Isaiah*, 91 ['88]) may be mentioned.

1 Cp Budde, *ZATW* 12 32 *f.* ('92).

2 Cobb (*JBL* 1896 p. 31) thinks that 'king of Babylon' is here used as a title of an Assyrian king, since Sennacherib, as well as Sargon and Tiglath-pileser, repeatedly calls himself 'king of Babylon.' The supposition is as needless as it is improbable. The introduction to the ode can easily be shown to be of late editorial origin.

3 Winckler, who originally proposed to explain the ode of Sennacherib (*Altor. Forsch.* 193 *f.*; so Cobb, *JBL*, 1896, p. 28), now finds it necessary to interpret it of the murder of Sargon (*ib.* 414). Maurice, quoted by Strachey (*Jewish History and Politics*, 166), was 'confident' that the description exactly answered to Sennacherib. Plumptre (in Ellicott's OT Commentary) preferred Sargon.

Let us now turn to that remarkable collection of prophecies in chaps. 28-33, beginning, for reasons of convenience, with chap. 32 *f.*

10. Chap. 32.

The phenomena of chapters 32 *f.* are very peculiar. That chap. 33 is later than any part of chap. 32 is certain, both on account of the phraseology and because of the ideas. It could not indeed otherwise have been possible for Duhm to assign 32 1-5 9-14 and 15-18 20 to Isaiah.

In *SBOT* 32 1-8 is described as a first, and *vv.* 9-20 as a second appendix. It is possible, however, that Bickell[1] is right in connecting *vv.* 15-20 (he emends *v.* 19 with much skill) with *vv.* 1-5.

The main question is not whether *vv.* 1-5 (or 1-5 15-20) are Isaianic or not, for the late date of this passage is even more certain than that of 9 2-7 [1-6] 11 1-8,[2] nor can it be very much earlier than *vv.* 6-8, which Duhm admits to be post-exilic.[3] It is rather this : Are *vv.* 9-14 a genuine though strangely misplaced Isaianic fragment, akin to 3 16 *f.* 24? It is certainly conceivable that it once stood at the end of chaps. 28-31, following the analogy of that very striking little prophecy (cp *Intr. Is.* 180). In order to recognise it as Isaianic, however, it would be necessary at any rate to emend the text, and even then there is a rhetorical indefiniteness which distinguishes the passage from 3 16 *f.* 24, and does not suggest Isaiah as the author.[4]

On the whole, the remark of Stade is as true now as when it was first made, that when we pass from chap. 31 to chap. 32 we find an altogether new set of ideas and an entirely changed situation.[5]

As to chap. 33, so far as it relates to the period of Sennacherib's invasion it gives in many ways an inaccurate view of the facts. In reality, however, it is addressed to a later generation which regards the Assyrian invasion as typical of later crises in Jewish history. Hence the absence of any attempt to imitate Isaiah's style; hence, too, the liturgical tone which presupposes a not very early part of the post-exilic period.

11. Chap. 33.

The only question is whether we may venture to follow Duhm and Bickell, the former of whom identifies the enemies referred to with the Syrians under Antiochus Eupator (cp *vv.* 8 19, with 1 Macc. 662 29 respectively), and the situation with that produced by the battle of Beth-zacharias and the capture of Beth-zur (164 B.C.), when Jerusalem was at the last gasp, and the Jewish revolt seemed almost crushed, whilst the latter finds in chap. 33 two Maccabæan poems, the first written after a defeat, the second after Simon the Maccabee's conquest of the Akra of Jerusalem[6] (142 B.C.). It is at least not impossible; a prophecy later than 200 B.C. is not indeed to be expected; hut the phenomena of this appendix to an appendix are somewhat peculiar. Chap. 33 is more than usually unconnected: it may therefore he composite. In this case *v.* 1 will he due to the editor. Moreover, the exulting tone of the latter part of the chapter agrees extremely well with Bickell's proposed date. חֲנֵפִים (*v.* 14) as a religious class-name (almost = lawless, see HYPOCRISY) is specially characteristic of Joh, which probably belongs to the early Greek period. At the same time, it is not impossible that this usage began earlier and that the exultation is a reaction from the preceding melancholy of the writer (as often in the psalms). Bickell rearranges too much, however.

The composition may plausibly be referred to the dark period of the third Artaxerxes (see *Intr. Is.* 171 *f.*); but the use of חֲנֵפִים (see above) and the reference to the Tax-collectors (cp 1 Macc. 1 29) in *v.* 18 (for emended text, see SCRIBE), together with the peculiarities of the poem, incline the present writer to agree with Marti in dating the work about 163 B.C. The objection drawn from the history of the canon is no doubt weighty; but it is not absolutely conclusive (see CANON, § 39, col. 665, n. 1).

[1] See his article in *ZKM*, '97.

[2] Duhm thinks that no post-exilic writer would have written so drily and in such an incidental manner of the expected king. It is evident, however, that there were long spaces in the earlier post-exilic period in which the hope of the Messiah was by no means vital, and in which consequently the Messiah would he spoken of without enthusiasm. On the arguments for a late date, see *Intr. Is.* 172-175, 177-180.

[3] The passage is too colourless to he dated with precision, but clearly belongs to the age of the Wisdom-literature, and not to any very early part of that period.

[4] Stade's objection to *vv.* 9-20, that the passage is inconsistent with Isaiah's conviction that Yahwè will not let Jerusalem be captured (*ZATW* 4 260), is, however, invalid, because Isaiah does not seem to have had such a conviction at this period (see ISAIAH i., § 14). According to Duhm *vv.* 15-20 are of uncertain origin, but most probably Isaianic; of *vv.* 9-14 he appears to have no doubt, hut places it in Isaiah's period.

[5] Stade, *ZATW* 4 256 ('84).

[6] See Bickell, *ZKM*, '97, and see *SBOT* (Heb.) 106; Marti, *Is.* in *KHC* 242.

The removal of the chaps. just considered (32 *f.*) from the work (28-31 : ISAIAH i., § 14 end) to which they are appended makes it somewhat easier to appreciate that work. Though only the framework of chaps. 28-31 is Isaianic, the inserted passages do not all equally blur the outlines of Isaiah's picture of the future. Still we must not on that account think lightly of the critical problems which remain. No part of the true Isaiah has been so systematically manipulated out of regard to the feelings of later readers as this.

12. Chaps. 28-31.

a. Let us first of all take 29 16-24 and 30 18-26.

It is certain from the context that Isaiah was addressing himself not to a penitent and believing community which stood in need of comfort, and whose chief fault was their dreaming of earthly means of realising God's promises, but to irreligious politicians and a 'rebellions' unreceptive people. If we apply the principles set forth above (see § 4), and ask to what age the ideas, the expressions, and the situation in 29 16-24 30 18-26 most naturally point, we cannot doubt that these passages are of post-exilic origin and addressed to the same set of people as 32 1-5 15-20. Imagine their being intended for the same audience as that which listened to the preceding prophetic speeches, and we are disposed to doubt Isaiah's sanity. By such a flattering view of the religious condition of his hearers he would have defeated his own object. Besides what ideas could the rulers possibly have attached to the description of a spiritually regenerated people? The mention of a 'great slaughter' when the 'towers' should fall might perhaps have arrested their attention; but the only 'slaughter' which they would have thought of would he that of the Assyrians, whereas the prophetic writer means a general destruction of all the opponents of what he regards as the true religion both without and within Jerusalem.

The affinity of these passages to the post-exilic type of thought and expression is too striking to be overlooked or doubted by the student.

b. Other post-exilic additions are, probably, 28 23-29 and 30 27-33. The latter passage develops the idea of the 'great slaughter' (30 25); it is more in the manner of 63 1-6 (§ 21) than in that of the two late additions just considered, being warlike and grandly, though luridly, picturesque.[1]

28 23-29, if really Isaiah's, must be addressed to an inner circle of disciples, who have assimilated the prophetic teaching of a 'remnant.' However, the leading idea of the passage is characteristically late. Its first occurrence seems to be in Jer. 10 24; hut it is not quite certain whether Jer. 10 23-25 is Jeremiah's (see Stade, *Gesch.* 1 676 n.). As to the phraseology, תּוּשִׁיָּה in *v.* 29, which occurs only in Prov. and Job (Mic. 6 9 is corrupt), is perhaps the only very suspicious word. It is most improbable that Isaiah would have used it.

c. The most remarkable insertions of all, however, are those in 29 1-8. According to the older critics (see above, § 2, i. *c*), Isaiah put a double-faced enigma before his hearers, which only excited blank amazement as being 'out of all relation to the facts'; but can the delightful part of the prophecy in *vv.* 1-8 really have been written by Isaiah? Surely not.

Duhm has already recognised later insertions in *vv.* 4*b* 5*a* 8; and we cannot stop short there. We must evidently include *v.* 7 among the interpolated passages, for here too we are struck by the great falling off in the style, and the wide difference in the picture of the future. 'Rhythm and parallelism came easily to Isaiah; there are hut slight traces of them in (all) the passages assigned here to a later writer. And whereas Isaiah can bear to contemplate a sore judgment upon Jerusalem, the author of *vv.* 5 7 *f.* has before him a future day when all nations shall gather together round the holy city, and he cut off' (*Intr. Is.* 189). With this view Hackmann agrees. He is, indeed, its originator, except that he defends *v.* 7 by giving a new turn to the meaning. In short, his idea is that the dream in *v.* 7 is a figure for the suddenness of the appearance of the foes before Jerusalem. This is ingenious; but Hackmann forgets Job 20 8, Obad. 16 (end).

Apart from the interpolations just considered, chap.

[1] Though defended as Isaianic by Duhm, it has been doubted by Guthe and Smend. Hackmann (*Zukunftserwartung*, 42 *f.*) and Cheyne (*Intr. Is.* 199 *ff.*) regard it as on all grounds post-exilic.

29 appears to be a combination of three distinct prophecies (each very short but very striking) dealing respectively with the destruction of Jerusalem, the culpable insensibility of the rulers to the divine teaching, and the fatal consequences of a formal religion. Chap. 29 15 contains a fragment of a prophecy on the Egyptian alliance; and there are two more fragments on the same subject in 30 1-3 5 and 31 1-5*a*.[1] 30 8-17 clearly formed the close of an ancient prophetic collection; 30 1-3 (with 45*a*, and the supplement 67*a*) must have been misplaced.

Except 28 1-4, the Isaianic prophecies may be assigned to 703-702 B.C.; the oracle[2] is earlier, and presupposes the siege of Samaria. 28 7-22 may belong to 703; it gives a warning to Jerusalem, suggested by the doom of Samaria.

The difference between the older and the newer criticism is perhaps even more conspicuous in the group of chapters (24-27) placed before that which we have been discussing.

13. Chaps. 24-27.

(i.) Referring by way of contrast to what Kuenen thought in 1863 (above, § 2 iv. *a*), let us see what Duhm thought in **1892**. (*a*) His method is that which all good critics now employ; he begins, that is, by removing later accretions.

Among these he classes (1) the song in 25 1-5, which commemorates the destruction of a strong city, and states that on this account another mighty city will praise God. (2) the taunting song on Moab, 25 9-11; (3) an artistic poem) (26 1-19) which stands alone in the OT in respect of the many variants which have penetrated into the text; and (4) the little song in 27 2-5.

The prophecy itself comprises chaps. 24 25 6-8 26 20-27 1 12 *f.*

27 8 is a quotation from the margin, which properly speaking illustrates *v.* 10 and is therefore misplaced, whilst *vv.* 7 9-11 are the remainder of an exhortation to the Jews to break off from their sins, and so become entitled to deliverance, which is certainly parenthetical and very possibly a later insertion.

(*b*) Let us then look first at the prophecy or 'apocalypse.'

It describes the desolation of a great world-empire by war, and closes with the final judgment upon Israel's oppressors, the setting up of the divine throne in the holy city, and a festival, full of refreshment and consolation, for all peoples.

The author, Duhm thinks, lived under John Hyrcanus; he saw the siege of Jerusalem and the devastation of Judah by Antiochus Sidetes, the beginning of the war with the Parthians, in which the Jews were forced to take part (B.C. 129), and the defeat and death of Antiochus (B.C. 128). The last is the event obscurely referred to in 24 14-16*a*, which the writer cannot for his part regard as a happy omen, because the barbarous Parthians will invade and devastate Palestine. In 25 1-5 Duhm finds the exultation of the Jews at the destruction of Samaria, and the demolition of the temple on Mount Gerizim;[3] the 'city of nations' is Rome (cp Schürer, *Jewish People*, i. 1 277). The same background is assigned to 26 1-19; 25 9-11, however, Duhm refers to the time of King Alexander Jannæus, who made the Moabites pay tribute (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 135). (ii.) The last of the dates just quoted is the least important; the Moabites were not dangerous to the Jews in post-exilic times. The reference to them in 25 9-11 is probably archaistic.[4] The other dates are rather plausible. The Parthians did not indeed actually invade Palestine before B.C. 40 (cp *Enoch* 56 5 *f.* and Dillmann's note); but the author may have expected that they would do so in 128. The hatred of the Jews for the Samaritans might well find expression in a psalm, and the poor style of the song in 25 1-5 favours a late date. These passages, however, are admittedly accretions. Their date is of less importance than that of the main prophecy or apocalypse, which refers to so many popular religious beliefs.

To Duhm's date for the main prophecy there are objections derived from the history of the Canon (see CANON, § 39, cp n. 1, col. 665). Strong reason is required for making any considerable part of Isaiah later than 200 B.C. Chap. 33 indeed, as an 'appendix to an appendix,' may, since internal evidence favours this, be made Maccabæan; but can we venture to assign the important collection of prophecies and songs in chaps. 24-27 to a period even later than the Maccabees?

The matter concerns the history of religious ideas as well as of literature. Will not the period of the fall of the Persian and the rise of the Græco-Macedonian empire answer all the requirements of the passages? It is a pity that the historical evidence is not stronger; but Marti's treatment of it in his commentary is certainly too superficial.

The opening section is the monument of a time of long-continued misery in Syria and Palestine. Such a time began under Artaxerxes II., and lasted till the consolidation of the power of the Ptolemies in Palestine (301). The frequent passage of Persian armies marching to Egypt must have caused much distress to the Jews; and once, if not twice, they were concerned in a revolt against Persia. Cruelly did Artaxerxes punish them; as Noldeke says 'much blood appears to have been shed in Judaea' at this time.' Most probably too, Robertson Smith is right in transferring the defilement of the temple mentioned by Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 7 1) to this period,[1] and seeing in the narrative a legendary or even patriotic distortion of facts. The phrase 'the city (or, perhaps, cities) of destruction' (24 10) may allude to the fate of Sidon and Jerusalem; it would be unsafe to add of Jericho.[2] 26 1-19 (a liturgical poem) may describe the feelings of the pious community of Jerusalem when their city had been spared by the army of Alexander. They were deeply grateful for this, but were still painfully conscious of the ruin wrought by the tyrant Ochus. The deportation of many Jews to Hyrcania and elsewhere[3] had made a gap in the population, and only by a 'dew of healing' (read טַל אֲרֻכָתָם) from God could the martyrs be restored to their brethren. For a study of the ideas, phraseology, and situation, see *Znfr. Is.* 145-162; and see below (§ 21) on 63 7-64 12 [11].

Chaps. 24-27 were prefixed to chaps 28-33 to indicate that for the post-exilic age the chief interest of the latter group of prophecies was eschatological.

14. Arrangement of chaps. 24-35.

The two closely related compositions in chaps. 34 *f.* were doubtless added to promote the same interest.

The former, chap. 34 (observe the strange use made of popular superstitions), is sombre in the extreme. It relates to the great future judgment upon the hostile nations. These nations are specially represented by the arch-enemy Edom (cp 63 1-6), from whom some fresh outrage must have been suffered not long before the prophecy was written. This outrage was presumably [illegible] with the further progress of the Edomite [illegible] to the S[illegible] Judah.[4]

The companion prophecy chap 35, [illegible] for the horrors of chap. 34. It relates to [illegible] the Jewish exiles and the glorification of [illegible]

A[illegible]ding to [illegible] the author of these work wrote also Jer. 50 *f.*; but why? Surely [illegible] were other members of the same school [illegible] of [illegible]roducing or redacting this final outburst of wrath at Babylon. All that we [illegible] a right t[illegible] say is that these various works were written in Palestine [illegible]y at the same ti[illegible] in [illegible] If the MT of [illegible] 16*a* is correct, th[illegible] collection of real and [illegible] I[illegible] prophecies to [illegible] chaps. 34 *f.* had [illegible]

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[1] 30 1-3 relates to the embassy to Egypt and is Isaianic. *vv.* 4 5*a* are a late insertion based on a fragment (*vv.* 66 7a) which described the flight of Ḥanun, king of Gaza, and his followers to Pir'u, king of Muṣri in N. Arabia (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*). Cp this late insertion with 36 6 (also late), and see Wi. *Musri*, 1 34 *f.* 30 7 6 is a late insertion of a scribe (see RAHAB); 31 5 6-9 is composite, but altogether post-exilic (*Intr. Is.* 203 *f.*).

[2] 28 5 *f.* is obviously Messianic in the wider sense, and is a later insertion addressed to the post-exilic community.

[3] Cp Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten*, etc., 237.

[4] *Intr. Is.* 159; cp Smend, *ZATW* 4 209 212.

[1] *OTJC*(2) 438; [illegible] Judeich *Kleinasiatische Stud*[illegible], [illegible] Ch[illegible] *New World*, S[illegible]pt '92; [illegible]rhaps also We[illegible] *IJG* ed. 148

[2] [illegible] (35 4 M[illegible] en) says that Jerich[illegible] which [illegible] was subdued by Artaxerxes; but this has [illegible] (i. S[illegible] *Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, [illegible] 97) [illegible] the [illegible] on [illegible] of Palest[illegible] by Ardashīr, [illegible] found[illegible] of th[illegible] dynasty [illegible] the [illegible]a[illegible]idæ, who came into conflict with the [illegible] Alexander [illegible]erus.

[3] Syncellus (Dind[illegible] 4[illegible]6. 'The [illegible] [illegible] *Untersuch.* [illegible] *G*[illegible]*h. v*[illegible] *Eran*, ['96]). Note the J[illegible] H[illegible] A[illegible] a Jewish Hellenist [illegible] a Hy[illegible]

[4] [illegible] EDOM, § 9 *f.*; a[illegible] cp Torrey, *JBL* 17 16 *ff.*; Che. *Intr. Is.* 210 *f.*, *JBL* 17 207 *f.*

attached were already a 'book of Yahwe'—*i.e.*, a sacred scripture. These two prophecies, then, were very probably the latest of the group.

15. Chaps. 36-39. To an equally late period we must refer the appending of certain narratives (chaps. 36-39) to which reference has been made already (see ISAIAH i., § 6).

These narratives, which are derived ultimately from prophetic biographies,[1] agree in most respects with the text of 2 K. 18 13 17-20 19. The older critics were in the main right; but their analysis of the narratives was incomplete, and they gave too much credit for accuracy to the account as **a** whole. Under the influence of this impression they assigned too early a date to the historical document from which it seemed to be derived.

It has been shown (especially by Stade and Duhm) that Is. **36-39** consists of two distinct narratives : *(a)* **36** 1-37 9*a* 37 *f.*, (*b*) 37 9*b*-36 *38J*

***(a)** Psalm.*—*As* to the inserted passage, 38 9-20 (*Miktābh* of Hezekiah) which Knenen in 1863 did not deny to Hezekiah, there can no longer be any doubt that it is a post-exilic thanksgiving-psalm on the deliverance of the faithful community of Israel from some great danger (cp Ps. **30**); [2] the song or 'supplication' (see MICHTAM) is not found in the parallel section of Kings.

(*β*) *Māshāl.*—Another passage, which to the last was held by Kuenen to be Isaiah's (though he recognised the weight of the counter arguments), and certainly belongs to the original narrative (more strictly to the second of the narratives) is held by Stade,[3] Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti to be certainly post-exilic. This is 37 22*b*-32. Evidently this was taken by the narrator (or more probably by the first editor) from some lyric anthology, such as that from which we have already supposed the song in **144b-21** to have been taken. It is in fact a fine 'dramatic lyric' (cp Pss. **46** 48), showing at once a vivid realisation of the traditional story, and a sense of its continued value to the community, which (as we have seen) regarded the invasion of Sennacherib as typical of **a** great future event.

The final redaction of the first half of Isaiah may be dated (like the appendix to chap. **19**) about 250-220 B.C. ; but this is not free from doubt.

16. Chaps. 40-48. On chaps. **40-48** we can be somewhat briefer. Taking this collection for the moment as a unit, and putting aside all but historical considerations, we can no more dream of assigning it to Isaiah than of ascribing 'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept' (Ps. **137** 1) to the authorship of David. There might have been a case for the Isaianic origin of 'Go ye out from Babylon' (**48** 20), if only the passage had run, 'Behold, in the latter days my people shall go forth from Babylon.' There might have been a case for such an origin of 'Thus saith Yahwè to Cyrus' (45 1), and of 'Our holy and our beautiful house . . . is burned up' (64 11 [10]), if these passages had been introduced by 'Behold, I will raise up a king, Cyrus by name,' and 'In days to come Yahwè will send fire upon Jerusalem.' No literary critic, however, would dream of supposing that the author of chaps. 40-**66** was **a** prophet of the eighth century who had become dead to his actual present, and lived again in imagination among men still unborn.[4]

On this point the newer critics have nothing to add to what was so well said by Kuenen in 1863. Indeed, that eminent critic in his earlier stage was right both positively and negatively as regards chaps. **40-48**[5] (Duhm would say **40-55**); he was right, at any rate negatively, as regards chaps. **56-66.** Where he failed was in not giving due weight to certain phenomena in the second part of chaps. **40-66** which (as conservative critics saw) pointed away from Babylon as the place, and from the closing years of the Exile as the time **of** composition.[1]

It is this second part of chaps. **40-66** that we have now to consider.

17. Chaps. 49-55. The first question is, Have chaps. **49-55** been rightly assigned to the Second Isaiah?

(a) Kuenen himself in 1889 already saw the difficulty of his former position.

He came to the conclusion that chaps. ***501:*** 54A were written after the return from Babylon and even expressed some doubt whether chap. **49** should not 'be added to the group (*Ond.*(2) **2** 137*f.* 142). In 536 B.C. the Second Isaiah might have brought the original Prophecy of Restoration to Judæa (*ib.* 145), and Kuenen thought it not unreasonable to credit the same great writer with the composition of the four chapters just mentioned.

(*b*) Kosters, too, who did not accept the tradition of a return in 536, was of opinion that **49 12-26 51 1-16 51** 17-52 12 54 *f.* [2] cannot have the same origin as chaps. **40-48.** They were written, according to him, in Palestine, but not by the Second Isaiah. The following are Koster's arguments.

1. As to style and diction. There is no doubt a general resemblance to chaps. 40-48. But observe that nowherein these passages are the persons addressed described collectively as 'Jacob' and 'Israel,' and that in 52 1 Jerusalem is called the 'holy city' (עִיר הַקֹּדֶשׁ), **a** characteristically late phrase, found also in **48** 2 (which is probably interpolated), and in Neh. **11** 1 **18** Dan. **9 24;** cp also **64** 10[9], 'thy holy cities' (עָרֵי קָדְשְׁךָ).

2. As to contents. Almost throughout, the point of view is shifted from the exiles at Babylon to the small and struggling community of Zion. There .are indeed points of contact with the preceding prophecies ; but this only proves that the writer of this section was acquainted with the other work, not that he wrote it. Moreover, when he comes to speak of the departure of the exiles from Babylon, his expressions are inconsistent with those of a parallel passage in the other work3 (contrast *52* 12, 'not in hurry shall ye go out,' with **48** 20, 'flee ye from Chaldæa'), and if not in 52 10-12, yet in **491218** he admits the idea of **a** general retnrn of the Diaspora, which is not mentioned in the earlier chapters, but was one of the chief hopes of the later Jews. (See also Kuenen's argument from internal evidence, *Ond.*(2) 2 138, or *Intr. Is.* 296 *f.*).

(c) On the other hand, several things must be observed.

(1) The disputed passages are written in the manner of II. Isaiah, and contrast strongly with chaps. 56-66; (2) they display an optimistic idealism which residence in the Jerusalem of Haggai and Zechariah would have speedily diminished;[4] and (3) the address in 55 2, appropriate enough for **a** preacher in Babylonia, would have sounded hollow and insincere if spoken at Jerusalem.

Thus the evidence does not all point in one direction, and a reconciling theory is required. Let us then suppose that the passages in question were written in Babylonia by a writer of the school of II. Isaiah, but with an eye to the circumstances of Judæa. The writer's object was partly to induce Babylonian Jews

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1 König (*Einl.* **266**) also recognises that these narratives came from **a** separate work of prophetic origin.

2 See Che. *Proph. Is.* 1 218 *f.*, ***Intr.*** *Is.* 224 *ff.*; Skinner, ***Isaiah*, 1-39**, p. **278**, who holds, however, that the song is based on **a** record of individual experience, which was adapted for use in the temple by an editor.

3 See KINGS, BOOKS OF § 9.

4 This was long the theory by which Franz Delitzsch sought to reconcile the requirements of criticism and of orthodox theology.

5 The later insertions (apart from the Songs on the Servant) detected by recent critics in chaps. 40-48 cannot be discussed here. The most remarkable of these are to be found in chap. **48.** The editor has actually interspersed the Second Isaiah's writing with severe reproaches addressed to his own contemporaries, whom he conceived to have fallen back into obstinate unbelief (*see* 'Isaiah' *SBOT*). Nor can we here consider the question, Where did 6 e author of chaps. 40-48 live? Probably the right answer is, at Babylon. See ***Intr. Zs.*** 273-276, 282 *f.*

1 In 1880-81 the present writer began, not from **a** conservative point of view, to set forth these phenomena on **a** large scale, and to indicate the provisional conclusions to which they appeared to lead (see *Prophecies of Isaiah*, and the art. 'Isaiah' in *Ency. Brit.*(9)). He has lately (1895-97) summed up the results of a second period of study in the *Introduction to* ***Zsaiuh*** and in his contributions on Isaiah to ***SBOT.*** To these works and to Duhm's commentary (which has given the first complete explanation of the historical background of most of Is. 56-66) be must send the reader for a fuller treatment of the subject. [Marti's fine commentary can now be added.] See also the important critical notes on Isaiah in Stade's *GVI*, vol. 1, which really opened the subject to discussion.

2 **49** 1-11 **50** 52 13-53 12 be treats in another connection. See farther on in this article (§ 18).

3 Kosters also refers to מִשָּׁם, 'from thence,' in **52** 11, **as** proving that the writer was not at the time in Babylonia; but in **48** 20 we have 'from Babylon' 'from Chaldæa.'

4 The words, 'the people 'in whose heart is my law' (51 7), would be strange indeed if written at Jerusalem.

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to go to Judaea and assist in the regeneration of Israel, partly to encourage sorely tried workers in Jerusalem, such as Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

Sellin (*Serubbabel*, '99) has endeavoured to show that chaps. *40-55* were written, not in Babylonia, but at Jerusalem between 515 and 500 B.C., to comfort the Jews for the failure of the high hopes attached to ZERUBBABEL [*q.v.*]. Those passages which seem to refer to the fall of Babylon heregards as having been written by the same author at Babylon about 545 B.C.

The passages which are most certainly Babylonian are, Sellin thinks, *40 18-20 41* 2-4 *41 6-8 [41 17-20?] 41 25 42 14-16 43* 1-8 *43 14* 44 9-11 44 26-28 45 *1-13 46* 1 *f.* 6-8 10*b* 11 *47 48 14* (20 *f.*?). The reference in various passages to 'the former things' (*41 22 42* 9 43 9 [?][1] 46 9) with which 'new things' (42 9 *48 6*) or 'a new thing' (*43 19*) are contrasted is explained by this theory. The successes of Cyrns are the 'former things' prophesied some thirty years ago, the glorification of Israel and the accomplishment of God's purposes for the world through Zernhbabel, as the Messianic king of Israel, are the 'new things' now just being announced.[2] When the hopes attached to Zerubbabel failed in one sense, the prophet was still able to look forward to their realisation in another (see chap. 53).

It is absolutely impossible to accept this theory as a whole. But to those who do not accept Kosters' theory (that chaps. *49-55* are a later appendix to chaps. 40-48) it may seeni plausible to hold that chaps. 40-55 were written *at Babylon* with the object of encouraging the community of Jerusalem to hope for a speedy regeneration, and of stimulating patriots in Babylonia to go to Jerusalem and help forward the cause of progress. We say 'at Babylon,' because certain passages presuppose that Jerusalem is desolate, which, strictly speaking, it was not. Only a writer living at a distance from Judaea can have indulged in such idealism.

Another difficult problem relates to the four very beautiful songs on the Servant of Yahwè (42 1-4 49 1-6 50 4-9 52 13-53 *12*).

18. Servant of Yahwè Songs.

It has been doubted whether these songs are exilic or post-exilic.[3] A careful exegesis, however, proves that they could be removed without material injury to their surroundings, and that the tone of thought differs from that of the prophecies among which they are placed. They must have received their present position from a later editor, who wrote 42 5-7 49 7-9*a* (or 9-12), but not 50 10 *f.*, which (cp *Intr. Is.* 302 *f.*) is more recent still. These passages were designed to link the songs with their prophetic framework. The inserter and editor cannot be identified with the Second Isaiah; still less was he the author of the songs. He did his work subsequently to the expansion of the original Book of the Second Isaiah; in other words, he had before him the main part of Is. 40-55.

The songs on the Servant of Yahwè have one general object—that of exhibiting the highest Israelitish ideal in accordance with law and prophecy. They are not, however, without differences among themselves, which require to be studied.

In the first three songs the Servant is 'an imaginative fusion of all the noble teachers and preachers of the Jewish religion in and after the time of Ezra,[4] those of whom the writer of Daniel says, "And the teachers shall shine as the splendour of the firmament, and those who make the many righteous as the stars for ever and ever" (Dan. 12 3).' These the poet may have supposed to form a band, whose members would proceed in various directions to 'bring the law to the nations' (42 1). Their experiences were not uniformly favourable; but they knew that in the end their faith in the God who sent them would be rewarded.

In the fourth song, however, the conception of the Servant is somewhat modified. Looking back on the sufferings of righteous Israelites both under Babylonia and under Persia, the poet saw them irradiated by a glorious divine purpose. 'He fused the different nameless martyrs into one colossal form, and identified this personage with the people of Israel, not perhaps without a thought of Jeremiah, who certainly regarded himself as representing the true Israel.' It would seem that the opening and closing stanzas (1-3 14 *f.*, see emended text in *SBOT*) were written after the description of the fortunes of the Servant as a framework to receive it.

Schian and Kosters think that this last of the songs, was written by a different writer from the rest; it is the oldest of the songs according to the former critic, the most recent according to the latter. The grounds of this view do not appear to be adequate. Already in the third song there is an approach to the characteristics of the fourth, and the phraseology of the latter is much less obscure than has commonly been thought, if proper text-critical methods are applied.

Cp Budde, 'The so-called "Ebed-Yahweh Songs," etc.,' *Am. J. Theol.*, '99, pp. 499-540. See further SERVANT OF THE LORD.

It would seem that after the insertion of the Songs in Is. *40-55*, a prophetic writer did them the highest honour in his power by imitating them.

19. Soliloquies in Chaps. 61 *f.*

Three brief soliloquies of this ideal personage (61 1-4*a* 62 1-3 and 6 *f.*) are introduced in chaps. 61 *f.* (on which see below, § 20). The writer evidently regards the Servant as a personification of the company of prophets of whom he himself is one, and gives vividness to his prophecy by introducing the Servant of Yahwè first as discoursing on his delightful mission, and then as importuning Yahwè to fulfil his promises.[1]

At this point the present writer may refer to the critical theory (based on an earlier one

20. Present writer's earlier theory.

proposed in 1881 in the article 'Isaiah' in *Ency. Brit.*) which he put forward in *JQR*, July and Oct. '91.

He divided the work of the second Isaiah into two books, viz. (1) chaps. 40-48, and (2) a broken collection of discourses, consisting of chaps. *49* 1-52 *12*; *52* 13-53 12 (a later insertion by the Second Isaiah), 54 *f.*, *56* 5721 (beginning with a long passage from an older prophet!-and 60-62. The second book, being left incomplete by the author, was well adapted to receive additions from the Sophkim, or students and editors of the religious literature. Such additional passages were 56 1-8 58 *f. 63-66.*

This theory was in advance of the current criticism of the time, but is now superseded by a more completely defensible theory.

Chaps. *56-66* contain no works of the Second Isaiah, but, with the possible (or probable) exception of 63 7-64 12, belong to nearly the same period—that of Nehemiah.

21. Chaps. 56-66.

Duhm indeed assigns all these eleven chapters to a single writer of Nehemiah's age whom he calls Trito-Isaiah (as the successor of Deutero-Isaiah). The date is, on the whole, correct, so far as regards 56-63 6 65 *f.*; this portion gives a vivid picture of the difficulties with which Nehemiah and Ezra contended, and throws fresh light on the dealings of the orthodox Jews with the Samaritans.[2] On the other hand, the view that the book bas anything like literary unity, and that it is the work of one man, is not at all satisfactory. Cp Gressmann, *Ueber die in Jes. c.* 56-66 *vorausgesetzten Verhältnisse* ('98); Littmann, *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Trito-jesaia* ('99).

We may hold it to be practically certain that chaps. *60-62* were written as an appendix to chaps. 40-55; probably the original order was 61 62 60 (cp Duhm). As to 56 9-57 13*a*, it belongs indeed to the same period

[1] But the text seems to be incorrect (see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*).

[2] The 'new things' are here described quite correctly, except so far as relates to Zernbhabel. It is possible that the writer of chaps. 40-48 did mean to suggest that the successes of Cyrus had been prophesied a good while before they took place. The older prophecies were no doubt accommodated by interpreters to present circumstances.

[3] Duhm; Smend (*AT Rel.-gesch.* 260 *f.*); Che. *Intr. Is.* 304 *ff.*; *SBOT*, 'Isa.'; Schian, *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in Jes.* 40-66 ('95); Kosters, *Th. T.* '06, p. 588 *ff.*, agree in holding that the songs on the Servant were not originally intended for their present position. On Laue, *Die Ebed-Jahwe Lieder im II. Teil des Jes.* ('97), see *SBOT* (Heb.) 126 *f.*, and on the views of Sellin, Kittel, and Bertholet, see p. 199 *f.*

[4] Duhm rightly points out that the quiet, concentrated character, and the missionary and pastoral activity ascribed to the Servant, will only snit the period opened by Ezra.

[1] So Che. *Intr. Is.* 346; but cp Dnhm's commentary.

[2] Ed. Meyer (*Entst. Jud.* 122) recognises this; cp also Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 27-29, 45.

as the surrounding prophecies; but it shows in a special degree the influence of Ezekiel.

We now pass to chap. 63 7-64 12 [11], which stands in many respects alone in the prophetic literature. It is at any rate later than the neighbouring prophecies,[1] for though some illustrate it by Neh. 1 2, the prayer of Nehemiah there given, and his account of what he found at Jerusalem, do not correspond to such a terrible situation as we find in this strange work. That a date in the age of Nehemiah is impossible cannot indeed be said, considering how imperfect is our information. But it is more probable that the work is a fresh monument (cp on chaps. 24-27, § 13) of the oppression and persecution of the Jews by Artaxerxes Ochus. Possibly the opening verses (63 7-14) were added later to soften the gloom of the passage (cp Ps. 89).

For objections to this view see G. A. Smith (Hastings' *DB*, 2 495), and Marti's commentary. (Marti has to account for 64 9-11 by making it a later addition.) The objections are not insuperable.

1. The view under consideration separates 63 7-64 12 [11] from the other compositions which make up chaps. 56-66. It is set apart already, however, by its form and contents.

2. The passage expresses a consciousness of guilt not to he found in Pss. 44 74 79, which, also, have been assigned to the time of Ochus. But it was possible, even after the introduction of the Law by Ezra, to take different views of the relation of the people to its God, according to the extent given to the conception of the people. The inner circle deserved to he called pious and loyal tn the covenant (Ps. 44 17 [18] 79 2); but the people at large were far from corresponding exactly to this description, they were 'neither cold nor hot.'

3. In 63 18 the possession of the Holy Land is said to have lasted but 'a little while,' which points to an earlier part of the post-exilic period. The text, however, is notoriously doubtful. 63 18 should be emended thus (see *SBOT*, 'Isa.,' [Heb.] 202)—

Why do the wicked trample thy dwelling-place?
Our adversaries tread down thy sanctuary.

Marti's suggested emendation is hardly an improvement upon this.

4. In 64 11 [10] the temple, over the destruction of which the liturgical poet laments, is described as 'our holy and our glorious house where our fathers praised thee,' which points to the first temple. But (1) the first and the second temple are regarded by Haggai (2 3 9) as the same house, and can be so regarded by another writer, and (2) the second temple had no doubt been enriched by offerings from the Jews abroad before the time of Ochus (cp Zech. 5 10 *f.*).

5. Ps. 74 points to the conviction that prophecy has ceased in Israel. But Is. 63 7-64 betrays no such conviction. We must, however, be quite sure of the correctness of the text of Ps. 74 9. There is much corruption close by. 'There is no prophet any more' is, on more than one ground, to he regarded as a gloss on the corrupt reading יורע, which should be מקדש ('sanctuary'). 'There is no longer among us any sanctuary.'

There is one alternative, no doubt. This is to suppose that the authors of Ps. 74 and 79 and of Is. 63 7, etc., threw themselves back imaginatively into the time of the Chaldæan invasion. The commemorative fast-days would provide an occasion for this. (So PSALMS, BOOK OF). This, however, is not quite such a natural view as that here adopted. One may admit that there is a general resemblance between most of the products of the later Persian period; but those which express the deepest misery can hardly find a home except in the period of the insane cruelties of that degenerate Persian king, Ochus. It is remarkable that there are parallels of thought, expression, and situation between Is. 63 7-64 12 [11], and Ps. 74 and 79, to which Robertson Smith has already given this date.

To a still later time belong two outbursts of bitter animosity in 50 10 *f.* 66 23 *f.*

The final redaction of chaps. 40-66 may be placed with probability in the early part of the Greek period.

22. Redaction of chaps. 40-66. The first half of the Book of Isaiah (unless chap. 33 be of a later date) was comnleted between 250 and 220 B.C. (cp § 15, end), and there appears to be no reason why the second half may not have reached its final form about the same time. On the redaction of Isaiah as a whole see above, § 1 (end).

23. Literature.

1. *Recent commentaries.*—For 'college students' no better hook can be recommended than Skinner's commentary in the *Cambridge Bible* (2 vols., '96, '98), with which Driver's *Isaiah* ('Men of the Bible') may be combined. For special students the commentaries of Delitzsch (4th ed., '89), Dillmann and Kittel (6th ed. of the *Jesaja* in *KGH*, '98), Duhm in *HK* ('92), and Marti in *KHC* (1900) are indispensable helps; on the whole Marti' is at present the most helpful commentary; but it needs supplementing. H. G. Mitchell's *Study of Is.* 1-12 (New York, '97) is a good book for those who do not read German.

2. Among the well. known excellent *introductions* to the whole OT, none is as critical from the point of view of 1900 as was that of Kuenen (*Ond.*(2) 2 ['89]; German translation, '92) ten years before. One special introduction has appeared (Cheyne's *Introduction*, etc., 95; Germ. transl. '97).

3. Among *dictionary articles* G. A. Smith's may be specially mentioned (Hastings' *DB* 2 485*b*-498*a*). This writer's earlier volumes on Isaiah ('Isaiah,' in *Expositor's Bible*, two separate parts, 88, '90); stimulating as they are, are open to very much adverse criticism. (English critics have lain too much under the spell of Dillmann.) This scholar is now giving way to the force of argument (whether his point of view is quite clear, careful readers of Duhm and Marti, and of similar hooks on other prophets, will be able to judge). His article, however, is, together with Skinner's unpretending but learned work, one of the most hopeful signs in English Bible-study, which at present in the OT department is too predominantly 'moderate.' G. A. Smith's inclusion of the 'theology' of Isaiah (a bad but generally accepted term) limits the criticism somewhat unduly, and leads him into statements which are not as securely founded as one could wish. But he is true to himself; and what he says, even when critically defective, is sure to be educationally most useful. The bibliography, which occupies over two closely printed columns, is so full that it would seem like imitation to give the like here. Besides, it is really better for the student to find out bibliographical details for himself from the references contained in first-rate books. C. H. H. Wright has a learned article in Smith's *DB*(2) 1 1450-1474, and Klostermann in *PRE*(2) 6 585-607. To learning Klostermann joins a singular independence of view; but he often leads the student on rough, unpassable ways.

4. *Investigations of parts of Isaiah.* Articles by B. Stade in the *ZATW* ('81-'84) have left their impress on all later works (cp *Intr. Is.*). Cornill, 'Die Composition des B. Jes.,' *ZATW* 4 83-104 ['84]. Lagarde, *Semitica* ('78, pp. 1-32); critical notes on chaps, 1-17. Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik* ('90); cp Siegfried's review, *TLZ*, '90, p. 568. We find these words in the preface, 'I can find no other epithet for Dillmann's treatment of the text but "antiquated." It cannot be right for an interpreter to put sentences into the mouth of such masters of speech as the prophets, which by the awkwardness of their form and the unnaturalness of their contents are nothing short of offensive.' Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jes.* ('85). Winckler, *AT Untersuch.* '97; *Altorient. Forsch.* '93, etc.; J. Ley, *Histor. Erklärung des zweiten Teils des Jes* ('93); J. Meinhold, *Die Jesaja-er zählungen Jes.* 36-39 ('98), valuable. König, *The Exile's Book of Consolation* ('99), based on two articles in the *Neue Kirchl. Zt.*, Nov., Dec., '98 (exegetical and controversial). Neubauer and Driver, *The 53rd chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish interpreters*, 2 vols. '76, '77. See also ISAIAH i.; IMMANUEL; MESSIAH, SERVANT OF THE LORD.

5. *Earlier works.* Among older commentators Vitringa (2 vols. fol., 1714) stands out by his exemplary thoroughness. But the reconstruction of exegesis produced its first great work in Gesenius's *Isaiah* ('20, '21); Hitzig ('33), Ewald (*Die Propheten*, '40, '41; 2nd ed., '67, '68), Dillmann (5th ed. of Knobel's *Jes.* in *KHG*, '90) worthily followed. Cp Del. *Jesaja*(4), 30-36, where the titles of Cheyne's earlier works on Isaiah are given; Che. *Proph. Is.*(3) 2 268-286; *Intr. Is.* 283-295.

6. *Text of Isaiah.* The greatest weakness in most commentaries on Isaiah is their too great dependence on the MT. Among the older exegetical scholars of our day no one has perceived this so clearly as Klostermann, as can he seen to some extent from his article in *PRE*(2) just referred to, and still more from his indispensable work, *Deuterojesaja, Hebräisch und Deutsch, mit Anmerkungen* ('93). If the present writer's *Book of Isaiah* in *SBOT* (Heb.), '99 (cp English edition, '98) should be grouped by scholars with this little work, and with the collections of critical emendations of other able workers, it will be a recompense. For many specimens of the fine work of Secker, Lagarde, Grätz, Duhm, etc., the reader may be referred to *SBOT*. Later results on several parts of Isaiah will be found in *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

ISCAH (יִסְכָּה; ιεσχα [ADEL]), daughter of HARAN i. 1 (Gen. 11 29). The strong probability is that 'the father of יסכה' is a variant of 'the father of מלכה' (similarly Ball, *Gen.* 59, foot). But instead of comparing Heb. *kasdīm* and Ass. *kaldu*, we can now see that יסכה comes from סלכה, which was a necessary emendation of מלכה. See MILCAH. T. K. C.

ISCARIOT. See JUDAS ISCARIOT.

ISDAEL, RVmg. GIDDEL (ιcδαηλ [BA]) 1 Esd. 5 33 = Ezra 2 56 GIDDEL, 2.

ISHBAAL (אִשְׁבַּעַל or יִשְׁבַּעַל, §§ 20, 31, 42, *i.e.*, man of Baal [= Yahwè]; cp the Greek forms ειcβααλ [end of 1], ιcβααλ [end of 2], also the form ESHBA'AL אֶשְׁבַּעַל, in MT of 1 Ch. 8 33 9 39: αcαβαλ, ιεβααλ [B] ιεβααλ, βααλ [A] ιcβααλ [L, ℵ in 9 39]).

i. Most critics hold that the true name of **Saul's**

[1] It could not be placed in its chronological order at the end of the book because of the unmitigated gloom of the conclusion.

successor was, not ISHBOSHETH (אִישׁ בֹּשֶׁת), but Ishbaal, and they account for the form Ishbosheth ('man of shame'—*i.e.*, of the shameful idol), and for the faulty pronunciation Eshbaal by religious scruple; see Hos. 2 16 [18] *f.*, and cp Hos. 9 10 Jer. 3 24 11 13 and 𝔊 of 1 K. 18 25; see also JERUBBAAL; MERIBAAL. Bosheth for Baal gratifies the love of alliteration.

ii. Jastrow thinks that Bosheth in Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth is a distortion of Besheth, which is the name of a Babylonian deity, as inferred from such names as Mutibašti, 'man of Bašt,' and suggests that Bašt (powerful?—cp *bašta*, *Am. Tab.* 57 5) may have been a designation of the consort of Baal (*JBL*, '94, p. 19 *ff.*).

iii. There is, however, still another explanation which may seem to avoid some of the difficulties of both these views (see MEPHIBOSHETH).

1. The youngest son of Saul,' and, under the tutelage of ABNER [*q.v.*], his successor. His authority is said to have extended over 'Gilead, the ASHURITES (Asherites? Geshurites?), Jezreel, Ephraim, Benjamin, and (in fact) all Israel' except Judah (2 S. 2 9 10 *b*). That his capital was fixed at Mahanaim on the E. of the Jordan shows that Saul's house felt itself safer in Gilead[2] than within reach of the Philistines, unless indeed we suppose with Winckler that Ishbaal was gradually pushed by the conquering David into trans-Jordanic territory. So much at all events is certain, that Ishbaal was a political nonentity; the true chief of the house of Saul was Abner. Ishbosheth or Ishbaal was too young for his position (the statement as to his age in 2 S. 2 10 implies a wrong chronological scheme), and equally devoid of shrewdness and courage. The precise amount of truth in the story of the dispute concerning Rizpah (2 S. 3 7-12) cannot be determined; Winckler indeed hazards the conjecture that Abner murdered Ishbaal in the hope of becoming king himself. The tradition or legend, however, ascribes Ishbaal's death to two of his captains. But the story is difficult. To a man 'reckoned' as belonging to the same tribe as themselves (see BEEROTH, BENJAMIN, § 3), who had also, when they came upon him, the sacredness attaching to a sleeper (see DAVID, § 11, col. 1032, n. 2), and who was above all 'the anointed of Yahwe,' they dealt a fatal blow (2 S. 4 2-7).[3]

A plausible explanation has been given by Ewald (*Hist.* 3 118 136). The two reputed Benjamites may have been descendants of the Canaanites, and have had to flee to GITTAIM (*q.v.*) from the Canaanitish town of Beeroth, when Saul 'put to death the Gibeonites' (2 S. 4 3, cp 21 2). The murder of Ishbaal would in this case be the performance of the sacred duty of avenging bloodshed.[4]

The Greek forms of the name are ἰέβωσθος [Jos.], ιεβοσθε [B], [ε]ιεβοσθαι [A], ειςβααλ [cod. 93]; Aq., Symm., Theod.]. In 2 S. 3 *f.* occurs the odd reading μεμφιβοσθε [BL], -Bat [A], hut ιεβοσθε [A¹ ? a ? in 3 7 and A ? (mg.) ib. 8]; ιεσβααλ [Aq., Symm., Theod.]. If the view maintained elsewhere (MEPHIBOSHETH) be adopted, the form 'Ishbosheth' has a better claim to he adopted than Ishbaal.

2. Either Ishbosheth (or a name which may underlie Ishbosheth; see MEPHIBOSHETH) or Ishbaal seems to be the true name of the first hero on the list of David's mighty men, which is to be restored in 2 S. 23 8 1 Ch. 11 11 (see JASHOBEAM). If we may follow the prevalent theory, Ishbaal is to be preferred; but in either case the name of David's hero has undergone a strange transformation. Anticipating the explanation given

[1] Another corruption of the name appears to occur in ISHVI [*q.v.*] in 1 S. 14 49.

[2] Wi. (*Gesch.* 2 149 *ff.*) has tried to make out that Saul was really a Gileadite of Jabesh who conquered the tribe of Benjamin, which had previously had the leadership of N. Israel on this side of the Jordan. But see SAUL, 1.

[3] The scene is vividly represented in 𝔊, which in *v.* 6 is to be preferred to MT (Driver Budde, H. P. Smith, etc.).

[4] It should be observed, however, that 2 S. 4 2*b*, 3 is a marginal gloss of uncertain age and authority (We. *TBS* 161). It has been suggested that David's treatment of the two captains is in a line with his treatment of the Amalekite who slew Saul 2 S. 1 14. But is this tradition to be trusted? See SAUL, ISRAEL: § 16; cp Wi. *Gesch.* ii. 195 *f.*

under Jashobeam (see JASHOBEAM, 1) we may remark (1) that out of the final *th* in *bosheth* ('shame' = Baal), combined with 6 from *den* ('son of'), a syllable *beth* has been produced in MT of 2 S. (the letters being transposed), thus completing Joshebbasshebeth (cp RV); (2) that, the final ן in (בן) having been dropped, the initial ה in הַחכמני, 'the Hachmonite') has been corrupted into a ת, thus producing the otherwise unknown word תחכמני (RV 'a Tahchemonite'); and (3) that the name of the warrior's father can be supplied from 1 Ch. 27 2. On the third point, notice the similar designations of Eleazar and Shammah in 2 S. 23 9 11 (and cp Budde, *SBOT*, *ad loc.*; Marq. *Fund.* 15 *f.*).

The corruption, however, of this passage reaches still further. In 2 S. we are told that the hero was 'chief of the captains' (so EV); from the sequel, however, it is clear that we should, with Wellhausen, read ראש השלשה, 'chief of the three' (cp *v.* 17*b*, 'these things did the *three* mighty men').[1] 'The three' was in fact the title of David's noblest heroes, next to whom came the 'thirty' (see DAVID, § 11*a*; ABISHAI). The verse continues most tantalisingly with three meaningless words, for a probable restoration of which see ADINO. At the close we hear of '800 slain at once.' In Ch. the number is put at 300; but the reading '800' (which 𝔊ᴸ both in Sam. and in Ch. increases to 900) is supported by the obvious fact that it was by outdoing Abishai (cp *v.* 18) that Ishbaal obtained the first place. The account of Ishbaal in 2 S. 23 8 should therefore most probably be read thus —'Ishbaal, son of Zabdiel, a Hachnionite, chief of the three. He brandished his spear against 800 men, slain at one time' (אחת).

The Greek renderings are ισεβος υἱὸς αχεμαιου [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 12 4], in S. ιεβοσθε [ιεβοσθαι] [A], ὁ χαναναῖος [BA], ιεσβααλ υἱὸς θεκεμανει [L]; in 1 Ch. 27 2, σοβαλ [B, ισβοαμ A, ιεσβοαμ L], ὁ τοῦ ζαβδ[ε]ιηλ; in 1 Ch. 11 11, ιεσεβαδα [probably a mere textual error for ιεσεβαλα], υἱὸς αχαμανει [B], ιεσσαιβαδα υἱὸς αχαμαννι [א], ισβααμ υἱὸς αχαμανι [A], ιεσσεβααλ ([Dr. *TBS ad loc.* mentions seven codices with the reading ιεσεβααλ and three with ισβααλ] υἱὸς θεκεμινα [L]).

3. A Korahite: 1 Ch. 12 6 (יָשָׁבְעָם; σοβοκαμ [B],[2] σοβοαμ [א], ιεσβααμ [AL]). See ISSHIAH, 2. T. K. C.—S. A. C.

ISHBAH (יִשְׁבָּח, § 54), the clan to which the people of Eshtemoa belonged, 1 Ch. 4 17 (ιεσαβα [A], μαρεθ [B, *i.e.*, Mered?], ναρε and ιασαφατ [L]). 𝔊 makes Ishbah a son of Jether; MT, as it now stands, mentions neither of his parents (see Be. *ad loc.*).

ISHBAK (יִשְׁבָּק, § 54; ιεσβοκ [AL]; ιεσβουκ [*D* in Gen.]; ιεσοκ [E in Gen.]; σοβακ [B in Ch.]), a 'son' of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25 2 1 Ch. 1 32). Identified by Fr. Del. (*ZKF* 2 91 *f.*) and Ball (Smith's *DB*(2), *s.v.*) with Yasbuk, a district in N. Syria mentioned by Shalmaneser II. in his monolith inscription (*KB* 1 159). Its king or chieftain was an ally of the Patinæans, and Yasbuk must therefore have lain somewhere between the Euphrates and the Orontes. Yasbuk suggests the spelling ישבוק.

ISHBI-BENOB (Ktb. ישבו בְּנֹב, Kr. יִשְׁבִּי ב׳; ιεσβι [BAL], εν νοβ [A]), the supposed name of a Philistine giant (see RAPHA), 2 S. 21 16 (not mentioned in 2 Ch. 20). The words so read, however (given more accurately in Kt. with ו instead of י), have to be taken with their context. Notice first, with Wellhausen, that the closing words of *v.* 15, ויעף דוד (EV 'and David waxed faint'), are very inappropriate in a description of a single combat. The verb should probably be וַיָּקָם, while ווו appears to conceal the name of the giant with whom David fought; thus we get the sense 'and . . . arose' (cp 1 S. 17 48). The two opening words of *v.* 16 should obviously be read וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בְּנֹב, 'and they (*i.e.*, David and

[1] 1 Ch. 11 11 reads 'chief of the thirty' (Kt.), or 'chief of the knights.' The former is read in S. by Be. and Gr.

[2] Kittel (*SBOT*) suggests that the καινα και σοβοκαμ of 𝔊 stands for καινα σοβοκαμ = και ιασοβο(κ)αμ, whence we should restore 'Ishbaal'; cp Marq. *Fund.* 16.

his men) tarried in Nob'; they should be replaced either after עִמּוֹ 'with him,' or before ויקם דוד (*v.* 15). The latter position is that recommended by Kittel (Kau. *HS*), who, appealing to the δαδου υἱὸς of 𝔊^L (see below), finds in דוד (end of *v.* 15), pronounced הוֹד, the name of David's antagonist. At any rate it seems plain that the words rendered 'and Ishbi-benob' should rather be read 'and tarried in Nob,' unless indeed we boldly correct 'Nob' into 'Gob,' and 'Gob' into REHOBOTH [*q.v.*].

Wellhausen, Kittel, and Rudde read 'Gob,' for 'Nob' comparing *vv.* 18 *f.* in MT. This is either, too much or too little. We know of no place called 'Gob'; but we do know of 'Nob.' It remains worthy of consideration, however, whether the hold step mentioned above would not really be a proof of true critical circumspection.

If 'Nob' is correct it may mean the place called Nobe by Jer. and now known as *Beit Nūba*, which is on an old road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, a little to the NE. of Aijalon and some 13 m. NW. of Jerusalem. Though really more than 700 ft. above the sea-level, it lies on flat ground. Twice in 1192 Richard I. stayed here with his army, nor can it be denied that it was a natural place for David and his men coming from Jerusalem (see DAVID) to tarry in, awaiting the Philistines (*vv.* 15 *f.*, 𝔊^L καὶ ἐξελύθη δαυιδ καὶ δαδου υἱὸς ιωας κ.τ.λ.; Pesh. has, 'and David and Joab and Abishai feared the giant'). T. K. C.

ISHBOSHETH (אִישׁ בֹּשֶׁת), 2 S. 2 8 *ff.* 4 1 *ff.* EV (following MT). See ISHBAAL, 1; MEPHIBOSHETH.

ISH-HAI, the son of (בֶּן־אִישׁ־חַי, ΥΙΟΥ ΙΕΣΣΑΙ [L]), a title of BENAIAH (*q.v.*, 1) in 2 S. 23 20 RV^mg.—*Hai* is a fragment of *Ḥail* ('valour'); the lost letter is supplied in the Kr. (בֶּן־אִישׁ־חַיִל), with which 1 Ch. 11 22 (ΥΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΥ [BAL]) agrees, and which EV follows. 'The son of a valiant man' (EV), however, is only half right; בֶּן־ 'son (of),' which was added by a scribe's error, should be omitted with 𝔊^BA (ἀνὴρ αὐτός—*i.e.*, אִישׁ הו[א]), unless αὐτός is a corruption of δυνατός). After all, it may be best to read בן איש ירחמאלי מק', 'son of a Jerahmeelite of Kabzeel' (Che.).

ISHHOD (אִישׁ הוֹד), 1 Ch. 7 18 RV, AV ISHOD (*q.v.*).

ISHI (אִישִׁי), in mg. of EV rendered 'my husband' (so 𝔊^BAQ Ο ΑΝΗΡ ΜΟΥ), the antithesis to Baali (Hos. 2 16 [18]). See HOSEA, § 6.

ISHI (יִשְׁעִי, § 51, abbrev. from ISAIAH (?); ΣΕΕΙ [B], ΙΕΣΕΙ [A]).

1. A Jerahmeelite, representing the sons of Appaim, 1 Ch. 2 31 (ισεμιηλ [B], ιεσσουει [L]). See JERAHMEEL, § 2 *a*.
2. Mentioned in a Judahite genealogy; 1 Ch. 4 20 (ες [A], ιεσσοι [L]).
3. Mentioned in a Simeonite genealogy; 1 Ch. 4 42 (ιεσεθεν [B], ιεσουε [L]).
4. A Manassite, 1 Ch. 5 24 (ιεσσει [L]).

ISHIAH (יִשִּׁיָּה), 1 Ch. 7 3; RV ISSHIAH, 1.

ISHIJAH (יִשִּׁיָּה), Ezra 10 31 AV. See ISSHIAH, 5.

ISHMA (יִשְׁמָא, § 51, abbrev. from ISHMAEL?), an obscure place- or family-name in 1 Ch. 4 3† (ΡΑΓΜΑ [B], ΙΕΣΜΑ [A], ΣΑΜΑΑ ΡΑΔΑΒΑΑ [L]).

ISHMAEL (יִשְׁמָעֵאל, 'El hears'; [Ε]ΙΣΜΑΗΛ [BADEL]) and ISHMAELITES, ISHMEELITE, 1 Ch. 2 17 AV (יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי; ΙΣΜΑΗΛ[Ε]ΙΤΗΣ [BAL]).

1. Position. 1. Ishmael, the son of Abraham and HAGAR (*q.v.*), is the personification of a group of tribes who were regarded as near kinsmen of the Israelites.

Their wild mode of life is admirably portrayed in the account of their ancestor—'he shall be as a wild-ass among men; his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell (as a dangerous enemy) over against all his brethren' (Gen. 16 12). Another passage states only that Ishmael dwelt in the desert and was an archer (Gen. 21 20).

According to some statements the home, or original abode, of Ishmael was the wilderness to the S. of Palestine as far as the frontier of Egypt. When Hagar is driven forth together with her child Ishmael, an angel appears to her in the desert of Beersheba (Gen. 21 14). The other account places the appearance of the angel 'between Kadesh and Bered' (Gen. 16 14). BERED (*q.v.*) is obscure; but the site of Kadesh (*'Ain Ḳudais*) is no longer doubtful (see KADESH, i. § 1). The statement in Gen. 16 14 agrees with the passage which represents Ishmael as dwelling in the wilderness of Paran (Gen. 21 21)—*i.e.*, the N. part of the Sinaitic peninsula. His mother was an Egyptian (Gen. 16 3 25 12; cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). The corresponding word in another account (Gen. 21 9) may perhaps be a harmonistic addition by the compiler; the same narrative, however, mentions that Ishmael's mother took him a wife out of Egypt (*v.* 21). On the other hand Esau, the ancestor of the Edomites, marries a daughter of Ishmael (Gen. 28 9 36 3); in both passages she is expressly designated as the sister of Nebaioth, Ishmael's firstborn; but whilst in the former passage she is called Mahalath, she bears in the latter the name of Basemath. In Gen. 26 34, however, Basemath is another wife of Esau. How this confusion is to be explained we cannot say; but it seems clear at least that the references to Ishmael's connection with Egypt on the one side and with Edom on the other, accord with the geographical position of the Ishmaelites in the N. of the Sinai desert. This, moreover, is the region explicitly assigned to them in Gen. 25 18, though there we read that their domain extended much farther in the direction of Arabia, for such is doubtless the meaning of the phrase 'from Havilah,' whatever uncertainty there may be as to the precise position of HAVILAH (*q.v.*), or as to the author's conception of it. The idea that the Ishmaelites were actually spread over this wide territory agrees with all that can be ascertained respecting the 'sons' of Ishmael.

2. 'Twelve sons.' According to Gen. 25 13 *ff.* (= 1 Ch. 1 29 *ff.*) Ishmael had twelve sons; these are to be regarded as eponyms of tribes or localities. In this case we have even less right to attach a strictly literal sense to the number twelve than in the case of the twelve sons of Israel (cp ISRAEL, § 2, GENEALOGIES, i. § 5). Nor is it possible to ascertain whether at any time there were twelve tribes forming some kind of religious confederation under the name of Ishmael—*i.e.*, 'God hears'—or whether the tribe of Ishmael, in consequence of its superiority, came to be regarded as the father of several smaller tribes, or whether, finally, this classification be due to some other cause.

That the genealogy cannot be treated as the expression of a fixed political system is abundantly clear from the fact that in an ancient narrative (Judg. 8 24) the Midianites are reckoned among the Ishmaelites, whereas, according to the genealogical lists in Genesis, Midian was a step-brother of Ishmael.

3. References. The name of Ishmael must have played a considerable part in very ancient times. Soon, however, it fell completely into the background. In 1 Ch. 27 30 the chief overseer of David's camels is the Ishmaelite Obil, which may be plausibly explained as a Hebrew, or specifically Ishmaelite, form of the Arabic *ābil*, 'camel-herd' (see ABEL). Another Ishmaelite (but see ABIGAIL, 2; ITHRA) married a cousin of David and was the father of the military chief Amasa (1 Ch. 2 17; ἰσραηλίτης [L], see AMASA). Moreover, J's version of the story of Joseph describes the people who brought Joseph into Egypt as Ishmaelites (Gen. 37 25 27 28 *b*), whereas E. calls them Midianites (𝔊^E renders 'in by ἰσμαηλῖται in *v.* 28). The Yahwistic narrator (8th century B.C.?) speaks of Ishmaelites carrying spices on their camels from Gilead to Egypt; he must therefore have been acquainted with Ishmaelite caravans engaged in traffic of this kind. In subsequent times we hear no more of Ishmael as an actually existing people; for the mention of the Ishmaelites, together with several other ancient peoples, in Ps. 83 7 [8] (Maccabæan), is a mere figure of speech referring to some hostile nation of the author's own time.

On the other hand, some of Ishmael's 'sons' are mentioned later, and even very much later; we find them, moreover, in several places separated by considerable distances. (1) The first-born, Nebaioth, not unfrequently appears as *Nabaitu* (not to mention slight variations of spelling) in Assyrian inscriptions[1] (see Del. *Par.* 296 *f.*, Schr. *KAT*(2) 147). As an example may be cited the great inscription of Ašur-bāni-pal (668-628 B.C.), *KB* 2 217 *ff.* This tribe seems therefore to have dwelt in the Syrian desert or farther S. Its name is not to be confounded with that of the NABATÆANS.

4. Nebaioth, etc.

(2) A considerable number of passages in the prophetical and poetical books make mention of KEDAR (*q.v.*), which is invariably described as a desert people in the full sense of the term.

The Assyrian inscriptions several times mention the *Kidru* or *Kadru* (see Del. *op. cit.* 299, Schr. *KGF* 101 *f.*, *KAT*(2) 147 *f.*). Once, in an inscription of Ašur-bāni-pal, the name is used even as a synonym of Arabia (see *KB* 2 215 *f.*, with the variants there given). Furthermore, Pliny (5 11, § 65) refers to the *Cedrei* as an Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of the Nabatieans (cp also *OS*(2) 111 17).

From these passages we may conclude with tolerable certainty that the tents of Kedar were pitched in the Syrian desert, perhaps encroaching upon Arabia proper.

(3) Adbeel is identified by Del. (*Par.* 301 *f.*) with the *Idiba'ila* or *Dibi'ila* (?) of Tiglath-pileser III.'s inscriptions. Their home, he states, was SW. of the Dead Sea, towards the Egyptian frontier—*i.e.*, in the ancient territory of Ishmael (but cp ADBEEL).

(4) Dumah is probably the eponym of the oasis of *Dūmā* or *Dūmat-el-Jandal*, now usually called *al-Jōf* (about half-way between Damascus and al-Ḥāïl, the present capital of Nejd), on the S. border of the Syrian desert.

In Pliny 6 28 (§ 157) the place appears as Domatha, in Ptol. 5 18 as δουμαιθα, and in Steph. Byz., on the authority of the well-informed Glaucus, as δούμαθα. See DUMAH.

(5) Massa seems to occur in Ass. as Mas'u (mentioned with Tēmā), a N. Arabian tribe (see Schr. *KB* 2 21, *KGF* 261 etc., *KAT* on Gen. 25 14, Del. *Par.* 302). Cp MESHA [i.] (Gen. 10 30).

(6) Tema (*Tēmā'*, 'south country,' from the root ימא, cp its synonym *Teman* from ימן) is doubtless identical with the modern *Teimā* or *Tēmā* (in the N. of the Ḥijāz). Tema was unquestionably one of the most important stations on the ancient trade route from Yemen to Syria. On its historical importance and on other biblical references see TEMA.

(7) Jetur was one of the tribes that waged war with the Israelites settled to the E. of the Jordan (1 Ch. 5 19). From *v.* 10 it would seem that they dwelt there in the times of Saul. This is, however, probably wrong; but the position may be right for the Chronicler's time. The domain of Jetur must accordingly have been not far from the Israelite Peraea; somewhat fuller information on the subject may be obtained from Strabo (753, 755, 756), who places the Ituraeans, a people doubtless identical wtih Jetur, in the southern part of the Antilibanus, and also, it would seem, in the eastern spurs of this monntain range. The Ituræi or Ityræi[2] are not unfrequently mentioned during the ages in question. They were partially subdued by the Jewish king Aristobūlus I. (107 B.C.) and compelled to adopt the Jewish religion (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11 3); buf it is scarcely probable that they remained faithful to the Mosaic law. Afterwards this country, like many other districts of Syria, served a succession of masters, until in 50 A.D., on the death of the last Iturcean king Sohemus (Sohaim), it was finally incorporated with the province of Syria (see Dio, 46 32, Appian, *Mithr.* 106, *Bell. Civ.* 5, 7, 10; Eutrop. 6 14; Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Dio, 59 12; Tac. *Ann.* 12 23). The Ituraeans were an unusually savage people, and the neighbourhood of Damascus suffered much from their depredations (Strabo, 755); 'omnium gentium maxime barbaros,' says Cicero in speaking of them (*Philipp.* 2 44). See JETUR, ITUREA.

Like the Ishmaelites of old, the Iturieans used the how as their chief weapon; several authors mention Ituræan archers in the armies of Rome (see Cicero, *loc. cit.*, *Bell. Afric.* 29; Lucan, *Phars.* 7 230, 514; Vopiscus, *Aurelian*, 11; and compare Vergil, *Georg.* 2 448; Vibius Sequester in Riese's *Geog. lat. min.* 158). Similarly, in Latin inscriptions dating from the time of the Emperors we read of Ituræan soldiers (*e.g.* *CIL* 3 4367, 4368, 4371). In some of the passages above mentioned the Iturieans are represented as Arabs (cp also Pliny, 5 23 = § 81), whilst in others the Arabs and the Iturieans are distinguished. In the fourth century after Christ the name of this people seems io have been obsolete. No genuine tradition as to Jetur or any of his brethren is to be found in Arabian literature, and the sole surviving traces of their existence are the geographical names Dūmā and Tēmā.

(8) Naphish occurs in 1 Ch. 5 19 together with Jetur, among the enemies of the Reubenites; but nothing else is known of this tribe. See also MIBSAM, MISHMA, HADAD, KEDEMAH.

Whether the language of the tribes who bore the names of Ishmael and of his sons was more nearlv related to Hebrew or to Arabic remains an open question. The former view might seem to derive some support from the OT. That a few of these tribes are occasionally described as Arabs would prove nothing to the ccntrary, for in the OT the term 'Arab' does not necessarily convey the precise ethnographical and linguistic sense which we attach to it at present (cp ARABIA, §§ 1, 3). In favour of the hypothesis that the Ishmaelite language was at least closely akin to that which we call Arabic, it may be mentioned that in an Assyrian inscription (*KB* 2 216) the god of Kedar bears the name of ***Afar** Samaïn*; here *Atar* is the Arabic *'Athtar*, not the Hebrew *'Ashtar*, whilst *Samaïn* admits of being taken as an ancient Arabic plural of *Samā*, 'heaven.' Of the Iturzean proper names in the inscriptions (*CIL* 3 4367 4371) some are undoubtedly Aramaic, others probably Arabic; but from these facts no certain conclusion can be drawn with regard to the original nationality of the people in question, as niust be apparent to any one who is moderately well acquainted with the personal names of those times and countries. Still less can we build an argument upon the Arabic name Suhaim, which was borne by the last Ituraean king, for of the use of this name there are other instances in Syria at that period, and it is moreover quite uncertain whether this Suhaim was himself of Iturzean extraction.

5. Language.

The occasional use of the name Ishmael in later times, long after it had become obsolete in reality, as a designation of the Arab race, and the theory of the Muslim genealogists, who regard Ishmael as the ancestor of one half of the Arabs, cannot be derived from any independent native tradition; it must be mere speculation based upon the OT. T. N.

2. b. Nethaniah b. Elishama; the murderer of GEDALIAH (*q.v.*), whom Nebuchadrezzar had made governor of Judah after the captivity of Zedekiah (Jer. 40 8 *ff.* 41 [LXX, 47 8 *ff.* and 48; ισραηλ B* vid. in 48 9]). The terrible episode is briefly told elsewhere (see ISRAEL, § 43). It is enough to mention here that it was an act of vengeance on the Babylonians. who had overthrown the family of David, to which Ishmael himself belonged. This conjecture is not only intrinsically probable, it appears to be proved by the fact that not only Gedaliah and his Jewish attendants but also 'the Chaldæans who were there' (*i.e.*, at Mizpah), namely, the warriors, fell victims to the rage of Ishmael. Another person was not less eagerly bent on this fell deed—this was the Ammonite king Baalis—the same perhaps who, at the beginning of Zedeltiah's reign, had sought to induce that king to head a confederacy against the Babylonians (Jer. 27 3).

[1] Quite distinct from this are the Aramæan *Nabatu* (of Tiglath-pileser III. and his successors), who appear to belong to a Babylonian subdivision (see KB 2 99 *ff.*).

[2] The spelling *Eturæi* occurs once in a military inscription (*CIL* 3 3446). On two inscriptions Ιατουραῖος, see *MDPV*, '99, p. 83 *f.*

With Baalis Ishmael designed to place the captives whom he carried away from Mizpah, among whom were relations of his own—certain 'daughters of the king,' whom Nebuzaradan had left. The plan was deeply laid; but word of it had got abroad, and but for his unsuspecting simplicity the honest and patriotic governor might have escaped (Jer. 40 15 *f.*). Treachery came to the aid of revenge. First, Ishmael and his ten companions were entertained at a meal by the hospitable governor, and then, perhaps at night, they set upon their host and all who were about him, and slew them. Even certain pilgrims, who arrived the next day with offerings for the 'house of Yahwè' (*i.e.*, the sanctuary of Mizpah?), were nearly all cruelly put to death, lest they should spread the news. Their dead bodies were thrown into the 'great cistern' (Jer. 41 9; we follow 𝔊) which ASA (*q.v.*) had long ago constructed in MIZPAH. This done, Ishmael and his caravan moved northward. They paused by 'the great waters that are in Gibeon'—possibly the ancient reservoir, the remains of which may still be seen on the W. side of the hill of *el-Jīb* (see GIBEON, §4). This gave time for Johanan (one of Gedaliah's captains) to come up with them. Ishmael and his ten warriors had to give way to superior force. Two of them were slain; the rest made good their escape to the Ammonites. The seventh day of Tishri (the seventh month), the day of Gedaliah's murder, was long observed by the Jews as a fast-day (see SHAREZER, 2).

3. b. Azel, of the family of Saul (1 Ch. 8 38 9 44).
4. Father of ZEBADIAH (*q.v.*) (2 Ch. 19 11; om. B).
5. b. Jehohanan, a captain who took part in Jehoiada's revolution (2 Ch. 23 1).
6. One of the b'ne PASHHUR among the priests in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end). Ezra 10 22 (σαμαηλ [B], -αιηλ [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 22, ISMAEL (ισμαηλος [BA]).

T. N., no. 1; T. K. C., no. 2.

ISHMAIAH (יִשְׁמַעְיָהוּ, § 33, 'Yahwè hears'; 1 Ch. 27 19 ϲαμαιαϲ [BAL]). 1. A Zebulunite, an overseer of David, 1 Ch. 27 19; see DAVID, § 11 *c* [i.]. 2. A Gibeonite, one of David's 'thirty,' 1 Ch. 12 4 (AV ISMAIAH, σαμέας [ℵ]); see DAVID, § 11 *a* [iii.].

ISHMEELITE (יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי), 1 Ch. 2 17 AV. See ISHMAEL, § 1.

ISHMERAI (יִשְׁמְרַי, abbrev. for 'Yahwè keeps'; ϲαμαρει [B], ιεϲαμαρι [A], ιαϲϲημ. [L]), b. Elpaal in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β) (1 Ch. 8 18†); perhaps the same as Shemer or Shemed in *v.* 12 (see SHAMED). See *JQR* 11 103, § 1.

ISHOD, RV **Ishhod** (יִשְׁהוֹד, as if אִישׁהוֹד, 'man of glory'), one of the sons of HAMMOLEKETH (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 7 18† (ιϲαδεκ [B], ϲουδ [A], ιεϲϲ. [L]; *Virum-decorum* [Vg.]).

As the lists of P and the Chronicler sometimes seem to contain different forms of the same name, it is probable that 'Ishhod' should rather be שׂהדו (as if 'witness' (*aramaic*)), suggested by 'Jegar-sahadutha' in Gen. 31 47; see GILEAD, HAMMOLECHETH.

T. K. C.

ISHPAH (יִשְׁפָּה), 1 Ch. 8 16 RV, AV ISPAH [*q.v.*].

ISHPAN (\?$!* § 54, meaning obscure), b. Shashak, a Benjamite; 1 Ch. 8 22† (ιϲφαν [B], εϲ. [A], ιεϲ. [L]).

ISHSECHEL, in RVmg., represents the אִישׁ שֶׂכֶל of Ezra 8 18, where AV has 'a man of understanding,' RV 'a man of discretion' (ανηρ ϲαχωχ [B], α. ϲαχω̄ [A], α. ϲυνετοϲ [L]). A proper name seems wanted. Did the editor substitute this phrase for an illegible name? More probably we should read יִשָּׂשכָר, Issachar (cp 1 Ch. 26 5).

T. K. C.

ISH-TOB (AV אִישׁטוֹב, [ε]ιϲτωβ [BAL], *ISTOB* [Vg.], ܐܝܫܛܘܒ [Pesh.]) is mentioned with Aram-beth-rehob, Aram-zobah, and Maacah in 2 S. 10 6 8 (but not in ‖ 1 Ch. 19 6 9). According to AV, it is the name of a state (otherwise unknown) which furnished twelve times as many warriors as Maacah. It appears certain, however, that the words 'a thousand men' after 'the king of Maacah' (see RV of *v.* 6) should be omitted; they must have arisen, by corruption of the text, subsequently to the time of the Chronicler (see 1 Ch. 19 7). Kittel (in Kau. *HS*) and Budde (in *SBOT*) preserve 'and' before 'Ish-tob' (ואיש טוב). This, however, is hardly natural; it seems better to read את איש טוב ועמו '(the king of Maacah) Ish-tob, and with him . . .' (see Klo.'s note). Ish-tob is apparently the name of the king (so Jos. Ant. vii. 6 1, Klo., Wi.); or rather, it is a substitute for his name, for it only describes the king as a 'man of Tob.' RV renders 'the men of TOB' (*q.v.*), which is philologically quite possible, though here improbable. The second reference to Ish-tob (ואיש טוב, *v.* 8) may be an interpolation from MT's version of *v.* 6.

T. K. C.

ISHUAH (יִשְׁוָה), Gen. 46 17 AV; RV ISHVAH (*q.v.*).

ISHUAI (יִשְׁוִי), 1 Ch. 7 30; and **Ishui** (יִשְׁוִי), 1 S. 14 49; RV ISHVI, 1, 2.

ISHVAH (יִשְׁוָה, § 54, 'he is worthy,' cp BARJESUS, § 1 *b*), one of the sons of ASHER: Gen. 46 17 (ιεϲϲαι [A], ιεϲουα [D], -ουρ [L], AV Ishuah); 1 Ch. 7 30 (ι[ε]ϲουα [BA], ιαϲουα [L], AV ISUAH). The name is absent from the parallel list in Nu. 26 44.

ISHVI (יִשְׁוִי, § 42; cp ISHVAH). 1. b. ASHER [*q.v.*, § 4] Gen. 46 17 (AV ISUI; ι[ε]ουλ [ADL]) = Nu. 26 44 (AV JESUI; ιεϲου [B*L], ιεϲουι [Ba.bA], ιεϲϲ. [F]) = 1 Ch. 7 30 (AV ISHUAI; ιϲουι [B], ιεϲουι [A], ιεϲϲουε [L]). The gentilic Ishvite (AV JESUITES) occurs in Nu. 24 44 (ιεϲου[ε]ι [BAL], ιεϲϲ. [F]).

2. The second of the three sons of Saul mentioned in 1 S. 14 49 (AV ISHUI; ιεσσιουλ [B], ισουει [A], ιεσσιου [L]). 𝔊AL represents the form אשיו=ישיו which is doubtless an alteration for אשבעל (cp 1 Ch. 8 33), see ISHBAAL, 1. All four names are given by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 8 33).

𝔊 evidently read י after ש, and Ewald (*Hist.* 3 108), Wellhausen, Driver, and others conclude that אשיו=ישיו or אשיהו, a transformation of אשבעל, Ishbaal (see ISHBAAL, 1). This is slightly forced, and, as Klostermann points out, Ishvi is replaced in 1 S. 31 2. It is surely obvious that the notice in 14 49, with a natural kind of art prepares the way for that in 31 2. But it would be rash to say with Klostermann that the two names may be synonymous. ישוי is simply due to textual error. The scribe wrote 'Jonathan, Malchishua, and Melchishua' instead of 'Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchishua.' But of the first מלכישוע all that remained was ישוע, which was corrupted into ישוי. The first three letters became effaced. That Ishbaal is not mentioned has already been accounted for. (He was not on the fatal battlefield. 𝔊's reading is but a guess.)

T. K. C.

ISLE, ISLAND (אִי; 𝔊 usually νηϲοϲ, but εθνη in Is. 41 1 42 4, θάλασσα in Jer. 25 22 Esth. 10 1 [also Dan. 11 18 cod. 87], *insula*). See GEOGRAPHY, § 21. EV uses the two words indifferently; see for example Is. 41 1 and 41 5; 42 10 and 42 12. In Jer. 47 4 AV 'country' and in Jer. 25 22 AVmg. 'region.' RVmg. frequently 'coastland' and once (Jer. 47 4) 'sea coast.' In Is. 42 15 RV retains the difficult 'islands'; 'dry lands' is the sense we expect, and this could perhaps best he reached by reading צִיִּים[1] (with Oort, Duhm, Grätz, Kittel) or rather צִיּוֹת. 'Far countries' is not a bad rendering of Lowth in some other passages of Is. 40-66—אִיִּים seems to connote distance.

The biblical writers draw within the circle of their hopes and aspirations a number of countries which were accessible by sea. 'Islands' for 'far countries' is also a common phrase in certain Egyptian records. 'Islands in the midst of the sea,' 'the lands of the sea,' and 'the end (or, ends) of the sea' are phrases used in the same connection with special reference to the coasts of Greece and Italy (WMM As. *u. Eur.* 334 359 363 369). The later OT writers constantly use the term, and we find the 'isles of ELISHAH' (Ezek. 27 9), the 'isles of

[1] Cp Saad.'s rendering of צִיִּים in Is. 23 13.

KITTIM' (Jer. 210, Ezek. 276); Phcenicia, too, and Caphtor are 'isles,' according to EV of Is. 23 2, and RVmg. of Jer. 47 4. This rendering is defensible in the passage in Jer. (if CAPHTOR [*q.v.*] be Crete), but not in that in Is. The occurrence of אִיֵּי הַיָּם in Is. 11 11 (𝔊 is arbitrary) is a subsidiary argument for making this verse and its context post-exilic. The writers of the Prophecy of Restoration (Is. 40-55, see ISAIAH ii., § 16 *ff.*) appeal to the 'islands' or 'far lands' to interest themselves in the successes of Cyrus and the rescue of the Jews. They even say that the 'far lands wait' (longingly) for Yahwè and for the teaching of his servant (Is. 42 4 51 5; cp Ps. 97 1). Very different language is used by a later prophet (Is. 59 18), who evidently belonged to a period of disillusionment, when the Gentile world (see GENTILES) seemed wholly given **up** to wickedness. 'Islands' in Ecclus. 43 23 (אִיִּים, *νήσους*), and 'island' in Job 22 30 (AV) are corrupt. On 'wild beasts of the islands' see JACKAL (4).

T. K. C.

ISMACHIAH (יִסְמַכְיָהוּ, 'Yahwi: sustains,' §§ 29 44; cp SEMACHIAH), a Levite, temp. Hezekiah; 2 Ch. 31 13† (ϲαμαχ[ε]ια [BAL], L adds *σεχενιας* and *θαισων*).

ISMAEL (ιϲμαηλ [BN^c.a AL]). 1. Judith 2 23 (μαηκ [N*]), RV ISHMAEL [*q.v.*]. 2. 1 Esd. 9 22 (ιϲμαηλοϲ [BA]). See ISHMAEL (6).

ISMAERUS (ιϲμαηροϲ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 34 RV = Ezra 10 34, AMRAM, 2.

ISMAIAH (יִשְׁמַעְיָה), 1 Ch. 12 4, RV ISHMAIAH (*q.v*).

ISPAH, RV ISHPAH (יִשְׁפָּה), b. Beriah in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 16 (ϲαφαν [B], εϲφαχ [A], ιεϲφα [L]).

ISRAEL [1]

CONTENTS

The mountains of Canaan are world-famous because they are the scene of the history of the Israelites—a history of gradual growth, brief prosperity, and slow yet glorious decline. For the original roots, however, of the people of Israel we must look elsewhere than in the land where its history was lived. It was not till it had become a growing tree that Israel was transplanted to Canaan, nobler already than when it first appeared, a wilding of the desert. It is true that in relating their reminiscences the Israelites expressed themselves as if in the very earliest times their people had been a full-grown tree planted in Canaan. Unquestionably in this mode of regarding the facts one can see the workings of a primitive nature; it makes the task of ascertaining the historical facts doubly difficult. Events of the wilderness period, which never come into the full daylight of history as they actually happened, are presented in a false light when they are related as events in the life of a united and settled people living and thinking under quite other conditions, such as Israel did not attain until centuries afterwards in Canaan. Thus the attempt to describe the first beginnings of Israel demands the exercise of all the skill and tact that the historian can command. First of all, he must make it his business to remove the materials of his story out of the false light in which he finds them. He must not carry back the settled and fully organised Israel of the land of Canaan into the wilderness, but must begin with separate pastoral tribes such as they were there. Next, he must constantly bear in mind the peculiarities of the narratives he works with—their legendary character, their conformity to a scheme, their didactic purpose (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2 *ff.*). At the same time, he must not allow his readers to forget the impossibility of reaching conclusions at once definite and certain about the beginnings of Israel. What can be done in this obscure period is really only tentative. It would be perverse, however, to be altogether silent, and *so* the attempt must be made.

1. Original descent. The scene of the movement which resulted in the creation of Israel as a people is the wilderness lying S. and E. of Palestine: more precisely, that portion of it which borders in the N. and W. on those lands of ancient civilisation, the regions of the Euphrates and the Tigris, of Syria and Egypt. The pastoral tribes that had their abode there, in as far as they can be reckoned as ancestors of Israel, belonged to the North Semitic stock, probably to the Aramæan group.

This, at least, is the assertion of Israel's own later tradition, when (1) in the patriarchal histories it uniformly represents its nearest kinsmen of *pure* blood as being Aramaeans (Gen. 24 29 *ff.*), and (2) in the liturgical formula preserved in Dt. 26 5 it designates its ancestor as a 'wandering Aramæan' (cp ARAM, § 3, col. 278). The name 'Hebrew,' far from contradicting this, actually confirms it, for עִבְרִי means one who comes from the lands bordering on the Euphrates (עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, Is. 7 20).[1] Nor is the philological difficulty, that the Hebrew language is not Aramaic, of any weight. What we now call Hebrew is precisely the language of Canaan (Is. 19 18), which makes its appearance in the Amârna tablets as early as 1400 B.C.; and the oldest Aramaic with which we are as yet acquainted (cp the Sam'al-Zenjirli inscription of King Panammu, temp. Tiglath-pileser III.) approaches the Hebrew of the land of Canaan very closely; the difference is one only of dialect (cp ARAMAIC, § 2). It may be conjectured that the language of the Bedouins of that period, on the borders of the cultivated territory of Syria, was very similar to this Old Aramaic. If some of their clans or tribes migrated into Canaan and settled there, the exchange, as far as language is concerned, was thus only one of dialect.[2]

2. In what sense was Israel in Egypt? Our earliest notice of these pastoral tribes is met with on the Egyptian monuments. Within the period of the nineteenth dynasty certain Edomites (see EDOM, § 3) seek admission into Egyptian territory, and Rameses III. (20th dyn.) commemorates a defeat he had inflicted on the Seirites (שֵׂעִיר). Now, the Edomites, as we know, are reckoned in the OT as blood relations of Israel. It is a matter of indifference whether these 'shepherds' (Šasu) found the means of subsistence failing them in the over-peopled wilderness, or whether the pressure of other tribes behind forced them westward over

[1] On the name see JESHURUN.

[1] See further HEBREW LANGUAGE, § 1, and cp EBER.

[2] [On the other hand it is most unlikely that there was any Aramæan element of importance in Palestine as early even as the time of Solomon (cp ARAM): Israel's theory of a general Aramæan origin may have arisen from the circumstance that *some* of the tribes belonged *to* a N. Semitic stock; cp GENEALOGIES i., § 4; TRIBES.]

the Egyptian border. We must at any rate regard it as a parallel case when Israel's ancestors sought admission into Egypt and received permission to feed their flocks in the land of Goshen—*i.e.*, the neighbourhood of Ṣafṭ el-Ḥenne (Gen. 45 10 46 34, etc., J).[1] Here they continued to observe the customs and usages of nomads, and consequently were regarded by the civilised Egyptians as utter barbarians who had neither part nor lot in their own public life. As to the period of this immigration into the eastern part of the Nile Delta, and the duration of the sojourn, we have no trustworthy data. Nor is it easy to say which of the 'twelve tribes' of Israel took part in it. According to the OT, indeed, all of them did so; but it can easily be shown that this representation is not historical. The number twelve is itself artificial and conventional, as among other peoples.[2] Nor can it be even plausibly made out from the narrative that all the 'twelve tribes' were contemporaneous (Simeon and Levi, Gen. 49 5-7; Benjamin, Gen. 35 16-20; the 'grandchildren' of Jacob—Ephraim and Manasseh, Gen. 48 8-22). Several of them first came into being in Palestine itself. It is only of Joseph that the OT itself predicates any specially close connection with Egypt (cp JOSEPH ii., § 11). In his case the tradition is clear; and the connection can hardly be purely imaginary, though it is now impossible for us to discern distinctly the historical nucleus of truth through the veil with which legend and poetry have enveloped it. To Joseph are to be traced back not only Manasseh and Ephraim, but probably also BENJAMIN [*q.v.* §§ 1, 3] (the three together being equivalent to Rachel): in other words, Israel strictly so-called. It is probable that Israel, like Ishmael or Jerahmeel, was originally a tribal name, assumed (like that of Joseph?) in contradistinction from other tribes of Hebrews, by the clans which had sojourned for some time in Egypt; but, since at a later date, in Canaan, the name embraced the whole people, we can understand how the later legend came to represent all the tribes which had had a share in the conquest and settlement of Canaan as having also taken part in the Egyptian sojourn.

3. The Exodus. The Exodus, historically viewed, is but one in a long series of movements having (in general) as their common goal the civilised land of Canaan. See EXODUS i.

Among the Bedouin tribes of that period, MOAB and AMMON (*q.v.* § 3) seem to have been the first to become sedentary (cp, however, GAD, § 7 *f.*)—Moab on the E. of the Dead Sea; Ammon on the NE. of Moab, on the Upper Jabbok (Dt. 2 10 *f.* 20 *f.*). Their example was followed by the Edomites (cp EDOM, § 4), who settled on both sides (and chiefly on the E.) of the Wādy el-'Araba. Their success exercised an irresistible fascination upon the tribes of the adjacent wilderness. These felt themselves touched with the breath of God, and their aimless wanderings gave way to a planned movement,—they now aimed at *Canaan!*

When and where they made their first inroad we know not, nor are we concerned to do more than trace the share which Israel took in this movement. We may, however, note in passing that the frequently suggested parallel between the Habiri of the Amârna tablets and the עברים of the OT does not, from this point of view, seem wholly inadmissible: only, it must not be so understood as to make the Ḥabiri identical with Israel.

From the confused mass of tribes and clans the august figure of Moses stands out in bold relief. The name is Egyptian (see MOSES); tradition reckons its bearer (doubtless because he was a priest) to the tribe of Levi. He was a shepherd in the service of Reuel (or, according to another account, of Jethro), the priest of the Midianites, and was also his son-in-law (Ex. 2 16-22; Hobab, son of Reuel, Nu. 10 29-32; Jethro, Ex. 3 1 4 18 18 1 *ff.*; on the other hand, a Kenite, Judg. 1 16 4 11). It may safely be assumed that the Midianite priest exercised an influence on Moses' work (Ex. 18 Nu. 10). The Midianites are repeatedly spoken of as merchantmen well acquainted with the trade routes (Gen. 37 28 36 Nu. 10 31); and we may be sure that all the news brought by caravans, about events in the wilderness and in the settled lands on which it bordered, never failed to reach the ears of their priest. Among other pieces of information came the news that the warlike AMORITES (coming down from the north; cp col. 1586, top) had invaded the territory of the Ammonites and Moabites in the districts to the E. of Jordan, and after conquering it for the most part, had founded within it two kingdoms—a more northerly, with Ashtārōth and Edrei as its two great towns, and a more southerly, with Heshbon for capital. Perhaps the vanquished may have called upon the wilderness tribes that were related to them to assist in doing battle with the victors; perhaps the tidings of what had occurred may have been inducement enough to form an expedition against the cultivated country beside Jordan. At all events, it was Moses who had the insight to take control of the movement and who became its leader.

At the mountain of God (Horeb, see SINAI), the legend runs, Moses heard the call of Yahwè his tribal god (Ex. 3 6, 'the god of thy father': cp 18 4) to summon back into the wilderness the tribe of Israel now sojourning in Egypt, and to give it a place in the forward movement. Moses betook himself to Egypt and demanded permission for the tribe of Israel to depart, the God of the Hebrews having commanded them to observe at Horeb, in the wilderness, a sacrificial feast—that of the Passover (Ex. 5 1-3 8 25 [21] *ff.* 10 8-10, cp 3 12 18). This appears to have been a skilfully chosen pretext. The demand, as relating to worship, was one that could with good reason be made, and the refusal of it must put the Egyptians in the wrong and rouse Israel's anger. Refused, however, it was. The explanation of this in the legend is that the Egyptians required the presence of the Israelites for forced labour on the building of the treasure cities, PITHOM and RAMSES. Still here and there (Ex. 8 28 [24] 10 10 *f.*) we catch glimpses of Pharaohs real suspicion. Not impossibly the Egyptians were acquainted with what had been happening on the borders of the Jordan, and with the agitation of the wilderness tribes, the growth of which, as being perilous to their suzerainty over Canaan, they wished to arrest. In the end, however, Pharaoh finds himself compelled to give the tribe of Israel the liberty to migrate that it asks, and Moses leads his shepherds with all their belongings—after the manner of pastoral peoples in their migrations—out of Goshen to the wilderness.

Both the routes which lead across the narrow isthmus between the marshes of the eastern branch of the Nile and the northern extremity of the Red Sea (יַם־סוּף) into the wilderness were blocked by walls and defensive works. Accordingly, when the Israelites had reached the vicinity of Pithom (Heroonpolis)[1]—at that time the present Gulf of Suez stretched so far inland—an Egyptian army suddenly presented itself in their rear. Escape seemed impossible: the wall and the water cut them off. The men despaired of deliverance. Moses alone did not flinch. He led Israel right up to the shore of the Gulf, the waters of which were being driven back by a strong east wind. Taking this natural phenomenon, perhaps already familiar to him, as a favourable token from YahwB, he caused the forward march to be continued during the night over the sea-bed that had been left dry, and the eastern shore was safely reached. The pursuing Egyptians were embarrassed by their war-chariots, and in the morning the waters began to return to their natural state and cut the enemy off. 'Thus YahwB saved Israel that day out of the hands of the Egyptians; and Israel saw the

[1] See GOSHEN i.

[2] The Hebrew genealogists have either to mention Joseph as one tribe, to make room for Levi (Gen. 46 19 *ff.*), or to omit Levi, so that Ephraim and Manasseh can be counted separately (Nu. 1 20-47). The number twelve may be the result of compromise (see GENEALOGIES i., § 5).

[1] See EXODUS i., § 10 *ff.*; GOSHEN i.

ISRAEL

Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore, and the people feared Yahwè, and they believed in YahwB, and in his servant Moses' (Ex. 14 30 *f.*).

Moses had summoned Israel out of Egypt, in the name of Yahwi:, to war, and victory had come to him before he had lifted a weapon. For all those who had lived through the experience it was a manifest work of God. The clans, which were already related by blood, felt themselves drawn together by a new bond of union through the common deliverance which God had vouchsafed to them. By the undreamed-of success he had achieved, Moses was accredited without question as the mouthpiece of God, and the people cheerfully yielded him obedience. He led them to Horeb (Sinai), the mount of God; and that was the scene not only of the sacrificial feast of which he had spoken to Pharaoh, but also of the institution of the 'Israelite' religion. A manifest work of God, a prophet of God to interpret it, a community of men who had experienced it and understood it—such were the conditions under which the new religion arose. It was based neither upon the order of nature as a whole nor upon the manifestation of any particular force of nature, but was called forth by events in human history, events in the spiritual life of men.

4. The new religion.

From this we perceive that in the religion instituted by Moses we have to do with a new apprehension of God. The name YahwB, certainly of primitive antiquity, and thus no longer capable of explanation by us, tells us nothing as to the nature of the Godhead.[1] Certain expressions in the OT (*e.g.*, Gen. 19 24), and perhaps also the conception that underlies the CHERUB (*q.v.* § 7), would seem to indicate that Yahwi: was originally thought of as a divinity of the sky. What was peculiar to and characteristic of the conception of God in the new religion was that he was not thought of as a personification of any natural force whatever, but was believed in as the lord over nature. He was not regarded as the one only God; but he was thought of as being the god to whom none of the other gods could be compared (as is shown by the old proper name Micah; see NAMES, § 37, MICHAIAH). His might, therefore, was terrible; he was greatly to be feared. He was, moreover, continually present in Israel; which made his help a certainty, but was a warning not to neglect him. Israel's victories were to be his victories; Israel's disasters were chastisements from him. The ordering of justice in Israel was to be determined and maintained by Yahwè; he was Israel's Lord and owner (בעל, see BAAL, § 1), for Israel was his handiwork. He had his abode in Sinai or Horeb, it is true; but he was not the deity of any land or city whose power and enjoyment of the gifts of civilisation he guaranteed. Being a wilderness deity, Yahwè was not attached to any definite place in the same degree as the gods of the more civilised peoples: he went wherever his people went.

The community which YahwB created meant more than a mere natural union of the clan and the tribe. The whole, it is true, continued to be confined within the tribal limits and to retain the tribal organisation; but the manifest work of God (the deliverance from Egypt) and the religious construction that was based upon this, founded all anew on a higher and historical basis, that had expression and evidence in the divine name, now filled with a new meaning. What bound the community together for the future as well as for the present was the exclusive worship of Yahwè (monolatry), the system of law introduced and practised by Moses, the source and guardian of which was YahwB, but above all the hope of possessing the land of Canaan. Moses made the conquest of Canaan, as a divine command and promise, an article in the religious constitution. The name Yahwè thus acquired a strong power of attraction for the desert tribes, as in its turn it gave the higher sanction of faith to a movement somewhat resembling that of the Arabs against the Byzantine empire. The war-cry was in the name of Yahwè; the sacred ARK (*q.v.*) instituted by Moses was the symbol of Yahwè the war-god who went forth with his people (Nu. 10 35 *f.*; [ישראל] יהוה אלהי צבאות; 2 S. 6 2). How many tribes at the outset put their faith in Yahwè's summons to war and entered into covenant with him by oath we do not know; doubtless Joseph or Israel (properly so called) formed the kernel of the new religious community.

Moses was the founder of the religion of Israel and the leader in Yahwè's war; he was priest of the sanctuary he had set up (Ex. 33 7-11), and, as such, he was also supreme judge (Ex. 18 Nu. 16 15*b*). A later age called him a prophet (נביא; Hos. 12 13 [14] Dt. 18 15), and even unique in his kind (Nu. 12 6-8); this, too, was not substantially incorrect. But lawgiver in the traditional sense, as author of the Pentateuch (תורה, ὁ νόμος, Jn. 1 17), or as the framer of a particular kind of government, the theocratic (Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 16), Moses certainly was not.

In Ex. 24 and 34 we still meet with traces indicating that the oldest tradition knew of certain 'words of Yahwè' or 'covenant-words' which had come down from the times when the religion was founded. These words, however, have been so mixed up with non-Mosaic matter in later collections of ordinances that we are no longer in a position to clear the Mosaic kernel. Speaking generally, we may say there can be no doubt that Moses, during the period of his judgeship, established legal principles or rules which became norms and precedents for succeeding times. But it is impossible, out of the collections of laws that have come down to us, to answer the question what these actually were; for every one of the collections in question dates from times in which Israel had already accomplished the transition to the agricultural life. See LAW LITERATURE.

Nevertheless, Moses remains the founder of Israelite law, just as much as he is the founder of Israelite religion. Israelite law—jus and *fas*—was, in fact, the essential part of the Israelite religion (דֶּרֶךְ יהוה, Gen. 18 19; מִשְׁפַּט י', Jer. 5 4). Apart from the fundamental law that Yahwk alone was to be sacrificially worshipped, Moses appears to have retained the traditionary and very simple customs of the wilderness in matters of worship; even images were not forbidden. In 2 K. 18 4, for example, the brazen serpent is carried back to Moses (cp Nu. 21 6-9, see NEHUSHTAN). In fact, we may be certain that it was in the sphere of worship that primitive customs (totemism, animism) continued to survive with greatest tenacity (cp IDOLATRY). The worshipping community, strictly so-called, continued to be the clan, as before (cp GOVERNMENT, § 8). With the above representation cp MOSES, PROPHECY.

Through the foundation of the religion by Moses the political and economical currents of the wilderness were directed into a new and deeper channel, the waters of which were augmented from a new source. The mysterious source of faith, touched by God, had opened, and now poured forth its stream with elemental power; the flood laid hold of and swept along all that it could reach. Indeed, if testimony were needed to the power of Moses's personality, it would certainly be found in the fact that he established himself as leader of the movement, gaining the upper hand over all outbreaks of impatience or despondency, yet without quenching the enthusiasm. For there were many delays. A long waiting-time was devoted to self-concentration and to experimental efforts at Kadesh Barnea, now *'Ain Ḳadīs* (Nu. 20 16 *13* Dt. 1 46; see KADESH, § 1), from which the 'mountain of God,' Sinai or Horeb, the scene of the founding of the religion, was probably not far distant. Relations were entered into and unions formed with the neighbouring or kindred tribes (*e.g.*, Midianites, Kenites, Kenizzites), while collisions with hostile tribes (Amalekites) were not unknown. An attempt to penetrate into Canaan by the shortest way—*i.e.*, from the south—proved un-

5. Movements in the wilderness.

[1] Its occurrence in North Syria—also among Aramæans?—has recently been proved (see further NAMES, § 112).

successful (Nu. 13 *f.* Dt. 1 20-45 Nu. 21 1); but the conjecture may be ventured that the peoples known as Kain and Kenaz were originally small groups which remained within the limits of Canaan as the result of this attempt.[1] The first real advance was gained by the flood of immigrants on the road to the land eastward of Jordan; thence it was easy to enter Canaan. Again and again the devastating waters broke through the slight harriers of public order in the civilised territory—principally, it would seem, in two main irruptions, the second of which was of such force that it covered Canaan for centuries.

The details of the movement cannot now be given. It is hardly possible to trace them, for tradition invariably gives the events of the wilderness life as if they related to the entire nation of Israel such as it was when finally settled in Canaan, and thus distorts the (presumable) facts. Moreover, all the narratives for the most part spring out of legend; many of them, also, have a purely didactic purpose. Legend laid hold of these occurrences with avidity; in the eyes of the hosts who actually took part in them—animated and exalted by religious faith—they were extraordinary, miraculous; how much more so they must have been in the memory of the people!

We can, however, perhaps still discern in dim outline the arrival of separate bands upon agricultural soil, and their attempts at settlement there. For if we compare the order of the tribes of Israel—the twelve sons of Jacob (Gen. 29 31 35 18)—with the notices we possess of their first appearance, their settlements, and in some cases their early disappearance, we are led to conjecture that Israelite legend has placed at the head of, the list those tribes which were the first to become sedentary, while those which were the last to do so are enumerated last. This criterion admits of being applied with tolerable certainty in the case of the first four Leah tribes (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah), as also in that of the tribes of Rachel (Joseph and Benjamin); and it may, accordingly, be conjectured that the younger Leah tribes (Issachar and Zebulun) were placed between these two groups out of regard to the time of their settlement in Canaan. The position of the Bilhah tribes (Dan and Naphthali) and of the Zilpah tribes (Gad and Asher) is obscure. Why were some assigned to Rachel, and others to Leah? Only this much can safely be asserted: they had come into existence not in the wilderness, but in Canaan.[2] Leaving these questions aside (see the articles on the several tribes) let us try, out of what can be discerned, to form for ourselves some picture of the manner in which Israel entered Canaan. But, first, as to Canaan itself.

6. Canaan; its civilisation, politics, and religion.

In virtue of its natural situation between such renowned seats of primeval civilisation as Babylon and Egypt, Canaan had at an early period itself become civilised. The oldest culture of Syria, as a whole, was manifestly derived from Babylon: Northern Syria immediately borders on the Euphrates, whilst Egypt, on the other hand, is separated from Southern Syria by a desert journey of several days. The peaceful influences of trade and the inroads of war had, accordingly, brought Babylonian culture to the West as early as the third millennium B.C. (cp CANAAN, § 9, TRADE). How closely the whole life of the inhabitants of Syria about 1400 B.C. was dependent on the culture of Babylonia and Egypt is attested for us in a tangible manner by the 'Amārna tablets,[3] consisting as they do, for the most part, of letters in the Assyrian language written in Babylonian cuneiform characters, and addressed from Middle and Southern Syria to the Egyptian kings, Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV., about the year 1400 B.C. They confirm the knowledge, previously derived from the Egyptian inscriptions, that from the time of the eighteenth dynasty (Thotmes I. and Thotmes III.) Syria had been under the suzerainty of the Pharaohs, a sovereignty which continued into the tenth century to be reasserted, though in a fitful way, from time to time—then becoming merely nominal, till finally Palestine fell into the hands of the Assyrians and the Babylonians. In this way Egyptian civilisation, beside that of Babylon, acquired a formative influence on Syria; the country had for long Egyptian governors and Egyptian garrisons; and Egyptian monuments were erected.[1] It was this twofold fertilising stream—from the Euphrates and from the Nile—that produced the peculiar civilisation of Syria and gave it the mixed character it possessed, although in the domain of religion and mythology the Babylonian substratum continued to prevail throughout.

The most important representatives of this civilisation were the Hittites and the Phœnicians. Whilst the political power of the Phenicians was limited to a narrow strip of coast in Middle Syria (see PHŒNICIA), the HITTITES (*q.v.*) moulded between the Orontes and the Euphrates a great empire which continued to subsist until about 1200 B.C. In the south, in Canaan properly so-called, there were, as the 'Amârna letters let us know, many petty princes, kings of cities, who ruled over the territory immediately adjacent to their capitals. They acknowledged the Egyptian suzerainty, but manifestly regarded it as a means of maintaining their own petty power, partly against envious riyals who were constantly accusing them before the pharaoh as rebels, and partly against the hostile inroads of foreign peoples (Amorites, Hittites, and Ḥabiri; cp CANAAN, §§ 12 *ff.*, and see above, § 3). Thus, for example, we find 'Abd-ḫiba of Jerusalem protesting his loyalty to the Egyptians, while complaining of neglect on their part. Indeed the land seems at this period to have been denuded of its Egyptian troops, and the sovereignty of the pharaohs to be falling into decay.

The religion of the inhabitants of Canaan belonged to the class of Semitic nature-religions. Originally their deities were simply personified forces of nature (*e.g.*, sky, sun, moon, thunder); but from their close connection with the civilisation of the country they had become the protectors of the most important human activitities and relations, such as agriculture, vine-culture, law, medicine, and war. The cultus showed manifold variety. The changing scene of life and death reproduced itself now in wild and extravagant sensuous revelry, now in the infliction of cruellest pain. Self-surrender and self-renunciation before God found expression even in the sacrifice of children (see FIRST-BORN). Yet the daily pursuits of the Canaanites—agriculture, gardening, vine-culture, cattle-rearing—impressed upon the worship, in the greater part of the country, especially in the 'hill-country' strictly so-called, a very simple, rustic character. Its forms may be supposed to have been on the whole uniform; yet, on the other hand, there was no such thing as a common order, hut rather a multitude of local cults. The deities worshipped were for the most part not called by their proper names, but designated as the 'lord' or 'lady' of the place where they were worshipped (*e.g.*, Baal of Hazor, Baal of Hermon, Baalath of Gebal; see BAAL, § 1, NAMES, § 42). The place of worship had an altar; beside (or upon) which was a sacred pillar (מַצֵּבָה, see MASSEBAH), a sacred tree, or its representative a sacred post (אֲשֵׁרָה: see ASHERAH), and, if the place aspired so high, an image of the god, with a priest and a house for it (see IDOLATRY). The more level districts of the country, especially those places

1 [For the view that Caleb and Jerahmeel were among these groups, see EXODUS i., § 6; HEBRON, § 1; JERAHMEEL, JOSHUA ii., § 15; KADESH 1 § 3.]

2 See RACHEL, LEAH.

3 [Tell el-'Amārna is the site of the town built by Khu-en-aten or Amen-hotep IV., near the Nile, about 180 m. S. of Memphis. Here the tablets were found in 1888 in the tomb of a scribe of Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. See CHEDORLAOMER, § 5; CANAAN, § 10; EGYPT, § 55.]

1 Thus, for example, the so-called Stone of Job in the Ḥaurān was identified by Dr. G. Schumacher of Ḥaifa in 1891, as being an Egyptian monument bearing the portrait of Rameses II. Cp EGYPT, § 58, n. 1.

which were touched by the important trade route between the Euphrates and the Nile (see TRADE), were, properly speaking, the seats of civilisation; the mountain country, on the other hand, was the home of the simplest, peasant-like manners and customs.

In the trans-Jordanic region the frontier between the settled parts and the area wandered over by Bedouin shepherds was unstable (GAD, §§ 5 *f.*, 10), and, consequently, the ordinances of the civilised life of Canaan were much less stringently observed. It has already been said that at the time of the onslaught of the Israelite warrior-hordes there were here two Amorite kingdoms, under kings named Sihon and Og, by whom the territory of the Ammonites and the Moabites had been seriously infringed on. These Amorite kingdoms, regarded by the Israelites as hostile territory, formed the first point of attack; the invasion was begun at the southern frontier on the banks of the Arnon (*Wādy el-Mōjib*): Nu. 21 13 Dt. 2 24 *ff.* See GAD, §§ 8, 11.

It is probable that the struggle in the trans-Jordanic region was begun by the four Leah tribes—Reuben. Simeon, Levi, Judah. The Amorite king Sihon was defeated at Jahaz on the borders of the wilderness, and Heshbon, his capital, with the rest of his kingdom, conquered up to the Jabbok. The king of the more northerly kingdom, which had its chief seats at Ashtaroth and at Edrei (by the *Yarmūk*), the gigantic Og (Dt. 3 11), was vanquished at Edrei (*Der'āt*). The tribe of REUBEN appropriated to itself the southern portion of the conquered territory (northward from the Arnon), and cattle-breeding continued to be its chief occupation (Nu. 32 Judg. 5 15 *f.*). The final settlement of the more northern territory seems not to have come to pass till a later day; on the other hand, Simeon, Levi, and Judah pressed on into the country to the W. of Jordan, and settled in the district of Shechem, and to the N. of that. When the independence of one of their clans (Dinah, called the daughter of Leah), which had settled in the city of Shechem itself, was threatened by the Canaanites, Simeon and Levi broke the compact that had been made with these, and massacred them wholesale (see DINAH). But the outrage brought destruction on their own heads. The tribe of Levi was scattered, and the few remnants of Simeon were driven to the extreme southern limits of the laud, where at a later date they had settlements alongside of Judah (Gen. 34 49 5-7 [cp We. *CH* 213 *f.* 354 *f.*]; Gen. 37 12 17 ?). The tribe of Judah migrated—voluntarily or under compulsion?—southward, along the western slope of the hill-country in the neighbourhood of Timnath and Adullam, formed connections with the Canaanites, suffered repeated losses, and finally obtained a permanent footing only by means of alliance with families that had their seats farther to the south (Perez and Zerah; Gen. 38). Cp CALEB, JUDAH.

7. Israelite immigrations.

The first impact of the Hebrew tribes had effected no permanent changes in the territory west of Jordan; but it was otherwise with the second. How long the interval of time between them may have been we are unable to determine; perhaps the traditional forty years of wandering in the wilderness (Am. 5 25, see WANDERINGS) originally referred to this period. The connection—no doubt there was a connection—between the two immigrations is obscure. It is even doubtful what share, if any, Moses had in the first assault. For, of course, Moses accompanied the ark; but this came up only with Israel properly so-called (the Rachel tribe of Joseph), so that we may take it that Moses arrived in the territory east of Jordan later than Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah. In Nu. 16 1 12-15 25 *ff.* an obscure reminiscence of disputes between Moses and certain Reubenite families has been preserved; perhaps on this occasion Reuben and other tribes may have broken loose from the leadership of Moses and taken their own independent way. Those who came after had at least one thing to thank their predecessors for: the way to the Jordan lay open, the Amorite power that barred it was destroyed. Yet the Rachel tribe of Joseph also seems to have paused, or to have been detained, for some time on the Moabite borders. For the hostile intentions of the Moabites, of which at a later date Israel was wont to speak in connection with the legendary figure of the Aramæan(?) Balaam (Nu. 22 *ff.* Josh. 24 9), probably concerned this tribe (hut cp BALAAM, §§ 1, 3 *ff.*). The Midianites, too, seem even then to have taken up an unfriendly attitude towards Israel (Nu. 22 4 7 25 31 1-20; cp, however, MIDIAN, § 3).

Moses did not himself reach the goal of the movement. Even in legend every trace of him disappears on Mt. Nebo, from the summit of which he is represented as having viewed the Promised Land; his grave remained unknown. A strange ending which even the later version in Dt. 1 37 *f.* 4 21 *f.* 32 48 *ff.* Nu. 27 12-14 does not succeed in making historically clearer. He lived only to see the first sproutings of the seed he had sown; a long time had yet to elapse before it took firm root or brought forth its first-fruits. The OT, indeed, speaks of Joshua as having been his successor, but only from the point of view that Israel was led to its goal by him. That Moses had any single successor is not to be supposed; in point of fact, he had many—warriors, priests, kings, prophets, scholars—each of whom in his own time and in his own way advanced or maintained the great work of the founder.

JOSHUA (*q.v.* i.), already mentioned in Ex. 33 11 as the 'minister' of Moses at the sanctuary, was simply the leader of the house of Joseph—Israel strictly so-called. The accounts of the book of Joshua, indeed, represent him as at the head of all the Hebrew tribes, even of that of Reuben. And, inasmuch as Joshua's victories laid the foundation of the possession of Canaan not only for Joseph but also for all the other tribes, this feature in the tradition is easily intelligible. But it is not historical; it is contradicted by what we read in Judg. 1 (cp JOSHUA ii., §§ 13 *ff.*). What actually happened was that Israel, escorting its sacred object, crossed the Jordan to Gilgal (see ARK, § 4) and conquered Jericho, Ai, and Bethel (Josh. 2-8 Judg. 1 22-26), the last-named being a commanding site on the ridge of the hill-country, and at the same time an ancient seat of Canaanitish worship. It appears to be an original feature in the tradition that Israel under Joshua waged a ruthless war against the Canaanites, that it regarded them as 'devoted' (חרם) to Yahwè, and therefore extirpated them (see BAN). It is certain, however, that the ban of Yahwè fell only on those who attempted to offer armed resistance to the victorious course of his hosts, and not even on these in every case. In this matter, tradition has on the whole generalised; all the more credible and instructive, therefore, are the exceptions which it records, such as the case of Gibeon and the surrounding district (Josh. 9; cp 2 S. 21 2). The region occupied or subjugated by the house of Joseph lay, approximately, between the plain of Jezreel on the N. and the head of what is now called the Wādy Bēt Ḥanīnā on the S.; it was the best part of the hill-country (cp EPHRAIM, § 3). If the younger Leah tribes really entered Canaan earlier than the tribe of Israel (= JOSEPH; *q.v.* i.) and the Bilhah and Zilpah tribes came into being there (by mixture of race), we may well suppose that they profited by the victories of the 'house of Joseph,' and even that in some cases Joseph actually fought their battles. It is possible to conjecture that such facts underlie the narratives of Josh. 10 *f.* (with Josh. 11, however, Judg. 4 ought to be compared).

According to the statements of the OT, the Hebrew tribes never come in Canaan into conflict with a power of any magnitude—only with minor potentates among whom there was no firm bond of union. It is otherwise, however, in an inscription found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Karnak, which speaks of a victorious fight

of Me(r)neptah the son and successor of Rameses II. with 'Israel' in Palestine itself.[1] Although the style of the inscription is far from being that of a sober historical narrative, we may learn from it (1) that even in Canaan itself 'Israel' had to fight with the Egyptians, and (2) that as early as 1200 B.C. 'Israel' was already in Palestine. Much, however, remains not clear. We are not told where 'Israel' encountered the Egyptians in Canaan—W. or E. of the Jordan—and we do not know whether or not the Israel with whom the Egyptians fought was identical with the 'house of Joseph' (= Israel). Rameses III. also fought in southern Syria (E. Mey. *GA* 1, § 263, *GA* 318 *f.*). Apparently, however, by 1200 B.C. Egyptian suzerainty in Palestine was no longer a reality but a name. At the same time the kingdom of the HITTITES (*q.v.*, § 8) was, it seems, broken up into petty principalities by the onset of the 'peoples of the sea' (cp Meyer, *GA* 1, §§ 263, 265). The successful occupation of Canaan by the Hebrew tribes will, accordingly, have to be assigned to the period 1230-1200 B.C., a time when a foreign power to control Syrian affairs and a home power that could unite the forces of the inhabitants in possession for purposes of effective resistance were alike wanting.

Amid such favouring circumstances an entrance into Canaan was effected by Israel; but it had not yet become a nation. A confederation of wilderness tribes is one thing; a consolidated, settled people is another. For this last the primary conditions are a permanent settlement and engagement in agricultural pursuits—conditions which in this case required more than one generation for their realisation. The settlement was carried on partly by warlike and partly by peaceful methods. The Canaanites were gradually pushed back (Ex. 23 29 *f.* = Dt. 7 20 *a* 22 Judg. 2 20-36). The Hebrews had already taken firm hold of the hill-country, while the Canaanites still dominated the plains by means of their dreaded war-chariots (Josh. 17 16 Judg. 1 19). In each case the details, we may be sure, worked out differently (cp GOVERNMENT, § 11 *ff.*). Where the conquerors had the upper hand entirely they violently took their possessions from the vanquished; those who up to this time had been masters had now to till the soil as serfs for the victors. Where the balance of power was more nearly equal, or where it varied, treaties were no doubt ultimately formed (*connubium* and *commercium*), so that Canaanite clans were received into the Israelite union of tribes, or, conversely, Israelite families became settlers in Canaanite cities (see ABIMELECH 2; SHECHEM; and cp Judg. 1 27 *ff.* 3 5 *f.*).

8. Gradual settlement.

One consequence of the transition to an agricultural life now became apparent—the difficulty of maintaining the original tribal organisation (cp GOVERNMENT, § 15). The land had been divided into communes or districts, and the new-comers began to reckon in terms of these; names were chosen in accordance with dwelling places. Thus one group of families of the tribe of Joseph which had become separate from the rest was called 'the Southern' (Ben-jamin, בֶּן־יָמִין) because it occupied the most southern part of the whole territory of the tribe. From its growing importance and especially its valour in war (Gen. 49 27), it received the rank of a separate tribe and came to be reckoned as the youngest son of Jacob, Gen. 35 16 *ff.* (cp BENJAMIN, §§ 1, 4). The remainder of the territory of Joseph, again, was divided between Manasseh (Machir) and Ephraim, who are designated as grandsons of Jacob. EPHRAIM (§ 1 *f.*) was really the name of a district in Canaan, so that this division of Israel also was named after its seat. The permanent settlement of the clans loosened the old tribal bonds, and, more particularly, as one of its results, weakened the old defensive power. Judg. 1 shows what were the weak points of the Hebrew tribes in western Canaan. What happened in the case of DAN (*q.v.*, i.) is particularly instructive. Unable to hold their own on the plain at the western base of the hill-country, they were driven back to the mountain land, but, not feeling secure even there, had no course but to migrate anew. They traversed the length of the territory of Israel, not without plundering an Ephraimite settlement, and at the source of the Jordan subdued the district of the city of Laish, which thenceforth bore the name of Dan (Judg. 13 4 17 *f.* Josh. 19 47). The northern tribes of Naphtali and Asher found themselves for long—the latter indeed permanently—in the minority and at a disadvantage as compared with the Canaanites (Judg. 1 31 *ff.*; *gĕlīl hag-gōyīm* = Galilee).

It would seem that much pressure was always required before the tribes could be got to renew the 'wars of Yahwè' against the Canaanites; the comforts and the pursuits of civilised life may well have impaired the old ardour and delight in the business of war. Yet the religious conscience had not altogether gone to sleep. From time to time clan-chiefs[1] of specially strong personality appealed to it, and did not fail to arouse the old heroism. What the call to arms in the name of Yahwè was then able to accomplish is like a reflected image of the warlike spirit of the earliest days of a religion, which was characterised equally by self-surrender to God, immovable conviction of his nearness and help, death-defying courage in the fight, wild enthusiasm after victory, and scorn, contempt, and even Gods curse, for all who refused to take part in the common cause.

The evidence of this is seen in the unfortunately ill-preserved song known as the Song of Deborah (see DEBORAH 1, § 3; JUDGES, § 7; POETICAL LITERATURE). Under the leadership of Barak and Deborah, the tribes bordering on the plain of Jezreel fight the Canaanites under Sisera near Taanach. The Canaanites are defeated, for Yahwè comes to the help of his people in a violent storm. It is remarkable that no mention is made of Simeon and Levi or of Judah, though there are references (in praise or in blame) to all the other tribes (four or five) in addition to those actually engaged (five or six). Here Israel already denotes more than the house of Joseph. In fact, the song seems to take for granted that all the ten tribes which are mentioned ought to have obeyed the war-summons of Yahwè; in other words, that they all belong to Israel. When and how this more extended employment of the name of Israel came in—whether gradually or as the result of a single event—we do not know; but the facts of the case seem to require the assumption that after a successfully accomplished occupation of the land the tribes were united by a solemn compact, as the result of which the name of Israel acquired a wider meaning. This may have been the historical occasion of the Elohistic narrative of the folk-moot in Josh. 24 (cp JOSHUA ii., § 10).

On the borders of the land also the Israelite tribes had their work to do—in the first instance, in the E. The westward migrations out of the wilderness were not yet at an end; other tribes sought to follow in Israel's footsteps. The Moabites, Ammonites, and Amalekites had taken Jericho (Judg. 3 13); the independence of Reuben was already at an end, and Benjamin had become tributary to Eglon king of Moab, when Ehud b. Gera freed his tribe from this imposition. After assassinating the king in his residence (where?), he called out the levies of Mt. Ephraim and regained command of the fords of the Jordan (Judg. 3). So Jephthah the Gileadite of Mizpah waged successful war, we are told, against the Ammonites (and Moabites?) who threatened Gilead (Judg. 11).

9. Troubles from without.

[1] Cp Spiegelberg, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1896, p. 593 *ff.*; Steindorff, *ZATW*, 1896, p. 330 *ff.*; Wiedemann, *Muséon* ('98), 1-19. See also EGYPT, § 59 *f.*

[1] On the transition from the rule of the heads of the leading families of the respective cities to that of tribal chiefs or τύραννοι, see GOVERNMENT, § 17.

Of greater importance, however, and richer in results, was the stand which Gideon, or Jerubbaal b. Joash, of Ophrah, a member of the Manassite clan of Abiezer, made against the Midianites. These nomads had invaded the territory of Manasseh with their flocks and tents, plundering and forcing into subjection the Israelites, who had formerly been their friends (Nu. 10 29 *ff.*)—just as the house of Joseph had at an earlier date treated the Canaanites. GIDEON (*q.v.*), filled with the spirit of Yahwe, led the levies of his clan—300 warriors—against the Midianites, surprised them, and put them to flight (Judg. 63-6 11-24 7 1 9-8 3). The story is a most instructive illustration of that union of religious feeling with warlike enthusiasm which characterises the early period of the national development of Israel (cp Gideon's war-cry, 'For Yahwè and for Gideon').[1]

The event enables us to perceive how great was the change which in the meanwhile had come over Israel.

10. Attempts at consolidation.

Once marauding shepherds, they had become defenders of the agricultural country—defenders against the cupidity of their former allies. Gideon himself rose to great consideration. His territory embraced the richest and most fertile part of the country from the plain of Jezreel southward to Shechem—a petty kingdom, it is true, yet already signifying more than the power of the earlier Canaanite kinglets. Here, for the first time since Israel's coming into Canaan, we observe a movement clearly pointing to a firm fusion of the parts into one whole ultimately to be gained. Gideon (if Judg. 8 22 *f.* really rests upon genuine tradition) declined any hereditary lordship over his territory—anything of the sort seemed to him heathenish—but after his death his (70) sons were accepted at first as masters. Soon the idea that monarchy is better than oligarchy (Judg. 9 2) found expression, and, relying upon this, Abimelech b. Gideon, of Shechem, sought to secure for himself the sovereignty over the Shechemites. The Canaanite citizens of Shechem decided in favour of their kinsman by blood, and with their support he hired a band of armed men, who, under his leadership, massacred Gideon's other descendants in Ophrah, Jotham alone escaping. Abimelech was now actually made king by the Shechemites; and for three years he ruled over 'Israel'—*i.e.*, over the territory of Gideon (Judg. 9 22). Violence and injustice were, however, the characteristics of his rule, and, though his reign may have strengthened Israel's position in Canaan (for Abimelech doubtless felt himself to be an Israelite), this unpleasant experience of regal government cannot have disposed the Israelites to regard it with much favour (Judg. 9 7-20). See ABIMELECH, 2.

The Philistines, like Israel, were immigrants in Canaan. The present state of inquiry (see PHILISTINES)

11. Israel loses its independence.

justifies the supposition that they first appeared in Palestine in the age of Rameses III., perhaps somewhat later than the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites. They settled on the southern coast, and, as they were not very numerous, they soon adopted the language, religion, manners, and customs of the Canaanites.[2] Their strength lay in their formidable armour and in their general military superiority. The slopes of the neighbouring hill-country, peopled by clans belonging to Judah (and Dan), became their subjects. Farther north, too, they pressed on, and advanced into the hill-country, defeating the tribes of Israel properly so-called again and again. The last of these defeats reduced Israel to despair. After an unsuccessful battle the sacred ARK (*q.v.*, § 5), then kept at Shiloh, was brought into the camp in the belief that Israel would thus become invincible. Rudely indeed was the illusion shaken (see ELI). It was an incomprehensible mystery, and morally as well as materially the power of Israel was broken.

[1] See JUDGES, § 8.

[2] Cp also CAPHTOR, CHERETHITES.

The land lay open to the Philistines, who stationed a governor[1] at Geba (1 S. 13 3 *f.*; Gibeah, in 10 5; see RV mg.),[2] and subdued and laid under tribute the more level country N. of Shechem as far as Carmel and the plain of Jezreel. It was probably at this time that the temple of Shiloh was destroyed (Jer. 7 12).

The Ark itself had been carried away by the Philistines, but did not, according to the narrative in 1 S. 6 1, remain long in their possession. Its return to Israel, however, is not represented as having produced any great effect. The tone of feeling was perhaps so closely akin to despair that the recovery of the symbol of the presence of Yahwè failed to revive the moral courage of the people. It is a phenomenon which we cannot help regarding as strange (see ARK, § 5).

From the midst of Israel itself was to proceed that new sense of strength which could alone nerve it to

12. Revival and consolidation under Saul.

its task. The youthful people had been growing to maturity, and only needed some one to awaken its dormant energy. It was the privilege of the seer SAMUEL (*q.v.*, i.) b. Elkanah, we are told, to find the gifted man who could do this. How early tradition represented the first meeting of Saul and Samuel is told elsewhere (see SAUL, 1, § 1). Distinguished even in outward appearance, the young Benjamite immediately approved himself to the patriotic seer as the divinely appointed prince (נגיד) of Israel. Soon the hesitation which Saul showed at first was dissipated. He was, in fact, changed by the 'spirit of God' into a hero and enthusiast, who was successful in arousing a similar religions and patriotic zeal among his countrymen.

It was in the danger which threatened Jabesh in Gilead, we read, that Saul first heard the call to action. Messengers from the besieged city had passed through all Israel, but found everywhere (we may presume) the same reception as in Gibeah; there was much weeping and lamentation, but no helpful suggestion. Saul alone knew how to rouse the faint hearts of the Israelites. Like Deborah and Gideon before him, he proclaimed a holy war [cp, further, SAUL, 1, § 1, end, and notes], and the proclamation produced its wonted effect. In warlike enthusiasm Israel recovered its victorious might, and at the same time experienced the delivering presence of Yahwè. Jabesh was relieved, and the question whether the tribes should submit themselves to regal authority was decided in the affirmative. The need was indeed great. Unless some strong will should take command of such energies as still remained and unite them, Israel would be ruined. Influences which had thitherto served to unite its separate elements—faith, worship, military force, law, order—were not enough to secure prompt and united action of the aggregate. Monarchy was the one system already familiar in the life of Canaan that seemed capable of bringing the tribes together. There were no doubt some arguments urged against it—an opposition which, we may safely suppose, had two roots. For (1) the Israelite love of freedom, an inheritance derived from the desert, was incompatible with anything that brought servitude in its train, and (2) the religion of Yahwè seemed inconsistent with monarchy, the proudest fruit of heathen civilisation. Both arguments, indeed, coincided in as far as the old piety belonged to the same period with the pastoral life. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that, at the time, the kingship of Saul was welcomed by the majority as a deliverance, as a saving ordinance of God for Israel. This view not only lies at the foundation of the representation of 1 S. 9 1-10 16 11, but also appears plainly in a portion of the younger narrative in 1 S. 10 20-24. A harmony between the two being nevertheless impossible, exclusive use is made in the present sketch of the older narrative.

[1] See next col., note 1.

[2] See GEBA, 1; GIBEAH, § 2 (3).

ISRAEL

The effect of Saul's exploit was that he was proclaimed king at Gilgal by the warriors. What means had he at his disposal for the accomplishment of his task? They were not, at the outset, great. At first his rule extended merely over Israel in the narrower sense of the word—Benjamin, Ephraim, Manasseh, and the more northerly tribes of Western Canaan—and the army at his command was but small, according to 1 S. 13 2, numbering only 3000 men. Nevertheless Saul straightway took the field against the Philistines; his son Jonathan smote their 'governor'[1] in Gibeah and thus raised the signal for revolt. But the enemy advanced in force to suppress the insurrection, and the courage of all but a faithful few of Saul's followers failed them. Jonathan changed the position of affairs by the daring exploit related in 1 S. 14 1-14, and it was Saul and his six hundred who completed the defeat which Jonathan had begun. Only when the rout was general did the men of Israel who had hidden themselves join their bolder brethren.

13. Saul's work as king.

This second success of the king was more brilliant than the first; it had been gained over the dreaded tyrants of the land, and Yahwb himself had come amidst the convulsions of nature (1 S. 14 15) to Saul's aid. The kingdom had greatly gained in strength. Unfortunately we know but little of what Saul did further for Israel. It is said that besides carrying on the war against the Philistines, he fought the Amalekites and restored the supremacy of Israel in the territory east of Jordan (1 S. 14 47 *f.* 15)—a statement not to be altogether set aside [cp SAUL, 1, § 3]. Saul's chief concern was, of course, the war with the Philistines. He gave the chief command of his army to his cousin Abner b. Ner; but brave men from all the tribes were welcomed *to* his banner (14 52). An independent command was certainly given for a time to David b. Yishai (Jesse) of Bethlehem,[2] in whom, as far as we know, we have the first case of a family of Judah coming into connection with the kingdom of Israel. Thus the course of events promoted the unification of Israel; even Judah, which until now had had but a very slight fellow-feeling with the Israelitish tribes, was brought within the range of the regal authority.

More than one reason is suggested by tradition for the introduction of the young David to his king (see DAVID, § 1 *a*). Suffice it to remark here that, whilst the melancholy from which Saul is said to have suffered and his change of feeling towards David are undisputed facts, the true grounds of his suspicion of David can no longer be ascertained from the tradition (1 S. 18-20). It is possible that a real or supposed intercourse of David with persons whom the king regarded as his opponents was the first cause of Saul's dislike of his son-in-law, and that jealousy of David's success in war and of his increasing popularity intensified this dislike into bitter hatred. At the fortress of Adullam, near the border of Philistia, the exile gathered round him a troop of 400 men who had nothing *to* lose and much to gain by fidelity to his person, and his fortunate marriage with the widow of Nabal (see DAVID, § 4, col. 1025; NABAL) secured a stable connection with the Calebites. But he could not long maintain his ground. He became the feudatory of Achish, the Philistine king of Gath, finding, however, means to win or retain the good graces of the chiefs of certain towns in Judah (1 S. 27 30). Cp Kamphausen, *ZATW* 6 74 *ff.* ('86).

14. The breach with David.

Meantime the Philistines had gained a brilliant victory over Saul, who had ventured to meet them in the plain of Jezreel. His too slightly equipped troops were driven back by these formidable warriors to the mountain range of Gilboa. Then this noble king, through whom alone Israel had gained courage to resist its tyrants, after seeing his sons fall, perished by his own hand [cp SAUL, 1, § 4]. He could not bear the thought of falling alive into the hands of 'the uncircumcised.' Well might those hated foes of Israel triumph at *so* complete a ruin of Saul's patriotic enterprise! And well may we be surprised at the darkness which closed in upon a champion *so* heroic! What was the cause of this blighting of his hopes? Had he overrated Israel's strength in comparison with that of the Philistines? Did the bow break in his hands because he had stretched it too far? We may venture to think *so*, and to believe that his morbid melancholy was partly to blame for this miscalculation of his powers. [For another view of the course of events see JUDAH, § 5, SAUL, § 4.]

15. Fall of Saul.

After their victory the Philistines occupied the cities of the Plain of Jezreel and those by the Jordan[1] (*e.g.*, Beth-shan); the hill-country, however, and the land beyond Jordan they left unmolested. Probably they were too weak in numbers *to* attempt more. We may be sure, however, that Israel as a whole was in at least as bad a position after this defeat as before Saul's first victories: *i.e.*, the tribes on the W. of the Jordan, in as far as they had to serve in Saul's army, became once more tributary to the Philistines. Judah, therefore, shared this fate. This is not to be proved from the OT; but the circumstances in themselves and the subsequent events under David (2 S. 5 17 *ff.*) make the theory in a high degree probable.[2] Still, to one acquisition of the preceding period Israel held fast, as a pledge of a better future—regal government. The victorious contests of Saul with the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Aramæans provided a sure refuge for royalty on the land to the E. of Jordan (2 S. 2 8 *f.*). It is, the merit of Abner to have saved the tribes then beginning *to* grow together from the loss of this bond of union. The tribes of Israel on both sides of Jordan (except Judah) recognised Ishbosheth (ISHBAAL, 1) as king, while David, at the direction of an oracle of Yahwb, took up his abode at Hebron. There he was formally anointed 'king over the house of Judah' (2 S. 2 1-4).

16. Subjugation of Israel.

The unpleasing story of the brief reign of Ishbaal may be sought elsewhere (see ABNER, ISHBAAL, 1). After the deaths of Abner and Ishbaal, David exchanged his tribal kingdom (which he had ruled, it is said, for $7\frac{1}{2}$ years) for the sovereignty which he had long coveted. With the general consent of the tribes, he was made king of all Israel at Hebron (2 S. 5 1-3). To this period belongs the remarkable notice in 2 S. 5 17, 'When the Philistines heard that they had anointed David king over Israel, all the Philistines went up to seek David.' As king of Judah, David had still been their vassal; as king of all Israel he naturally broke with his past, and so the Philistines understood the situation. And if, before the close of his tribal kingship, he had already possessed himself of the important Jebusite fortress of Zion (above the Gihon in the Kidron valley at Jerusalem), it becomes all the easier to understand the conduct of the Philistines. For it was the conquest of the Jebusites that made free communication possible between Judah and the northern tribes, so that we must regard it as one of the means by which David sought at once to announce and to achieve his object—the inclusion of the northern tribes within his kingdom. Now that this object was gained, the forbearance of the Philistines was exhausted. There were, it would seem, repeated and violent contests between them and David (cp 2 S. 5 17-25 21 15-22 23 9-17), the traditional stories of which breathe the very spirit of the old accounts of the 'Wars of Yahwb' (cp Judg.

17. David king.

1 So the present writer renders נציב, with Stade. For another possible view see SAUL, § 2, n.

2 [On the question of his real native place, see JUDAH, § 4.1

1 'And when the men of Israel who were in the cities of the plain and in the cities of the Jordan saw,' etc. (1 S. 31 7; read בְּעָרֵי for בְּעֵבֶר with Klost.)

2 Cp Kamphausen, *ZATW* 6 43 *ff.* ('86).

79*ff.* 1 S. 14). Finally, David, who was intimately acquainted with the military tactics of the Philistines, achieved the liberation of his people. Whether Israel freed itself by its own unaided efforts, or whether the Philistines were simultaneously attacked by the Egyptians (see DAVID, § 7, end), cannot be decided. The fact remains that David avenged the death of Saul and his sons, completed his work of delivering Israel from the Philistines, and even perceptibly curtailed their territory at the foot of the hill-country. The monarchy, to which men had clung even at the worst of their disgrace and humiliation, had stood the test, and could lay claim to the divine sanction of success. The goal set by Moses in constituting the religion had been reached : the tribes found themselves now in sure possession of the land of Canaan.

18. The new Israel.

This had, however, involved a struggle of about two hundred years, in the course of which much that was old perished, and much that was new came into existence. There were now many who had little or no connection with the old state of things, whether from oneness of blood or from common memories. The old and the new clans and tribes, especially Judah and its allies—and perhaps we should here once more include the Bilhah and the Zilpah tribes (cp above, §§ 5, 7)—were united under the royal sceptre into a new whole—the people of Israel. Its roots were in part quite distinct ; but the young stems, in as far as they maintained themselves, gradually grew in Canaan into one free. The process had begun immediately on the abandonment of the nomadic life, and reached its completion under the first kings. Practically, indeed, it attained its goal when David reconstituted the tribe of Judah and closely united it with Israel, with Jerusalem for the national centre (see DAVID, § 10). And when, finally, the latest-won of all the cities of Israel became not only the royal residence but also the seat of the most venerable of Israel's sacred objects, the ARK (*q.v.*, § 6) (2 S. 6), the history of the genesis of Israel as a nation was at an end ; and now we may say that we have gained the presuppositions on which the further history of the nation rests.

19. Boundary wars.

The chronology of David's reign is uncertain. Let us, therefore, though this has been done elsewhere (DAVID) classify and summarise, from our present point of view, the events of David's reign. His wars were not, generally, wars of conquest ; their aim was the defence of the boundaries of the kingdom, especially east of the Jordan.[1] Before David, Saul had had the same object. That the Moabites should have been treated with such cruelty (2 S. 8 2 ; contrast 1 S. 22 3 *f.*) is surprising, but may with some plausibility be explained (see DAVID, § 8 *a*). The occasion of the Ammonite war is expressly told us (2 S. 10 1-5), and owing to the connection of David's misdemeanour with Bathsheba with an episode in this war, the campaigns against Ammon are described with some fulness. The war was closed with the conquest of Rabbath-ammon and the punishment of the people (see AMMON ; DAVID, § 8 6). Aramaean tribes took part in the earlier battles, but without any benefit to their Ammonite allies. These were ZOBAH, BETH-REHOB, ISH-TOB, and MAACHAH i. ; neighbours of the Ammonites to the north, and of Israel to the east (cp DAVID, § 8 *b*). In connection with this we hear of a victory over Hadadezer, king of Zobah, at Helam (2 S. 10 15-19*a* 8 3 *f.*), which is probably not to be combined with the encounter described in the previous passage. This lends support to the statement in 2 S. 8 6 that David levied tribute from the Aramæans, even though we must admit the further statement that the Aramæan kingdom of Damascus became a permanent dependency of Israel to be open to grave suspicion.[2] And it is probably a trustworthy tradition that through these struggles David's warlike fame spread far and wide, and that king Toi (Tou, 1 Ch. 18) of Hamath (Hamath-zobah, 2 Ch. 8 3 ; see HAMATH) at this time did homage to David through his son Joram (Hadoram, 1 Ch. 18). Lastly, on the southern frontier, there was a long and bitter struggle with the Edomites which ended in the reduction of Idumza to the condition of an Israelite province (see DAVID, § 8 *c*).

20. Extent of the realm.

As the land of Israel received no additions under the reign of Solomon, the limits of the kingdom after the wars of David may appropriately be glanced at here. The area occupied by Israel and Tudah is indicated in 2 S. 24 1-9 ; to the SE., on the Moabite side, the valley of the Arnon marks the frontier (Josh. 13 9 16 Nu. 21 13 *f.*) ; to the E. the boundary is vague ; northward it extends as far as to the head of the Jordan at Dan (cp 1 K. 15 20 2 K. 15 29) ; in the W. it is limited by the Phœnician territory ; and southward it reached the latitude of Beersheba ; the current expression is 'from Dan to Beersheba.' The kingdom of David and Solomon, however, certainly extended its authority and sphere of influence considerably beyond these limits. The subjugation of Edom opened up the way to the Red Sea at Elath. Moab was a tributary state (2 S. 8 2), as was also Ammon (2 S. 17 27), unless from 2 S. 12 31 we are to infer complete subjection. The Aramaeans living towards the Yarmūk, already put under restraint by Saul, became tributary to David and were compelled to surrender many districts to Israel. The boundaries of the Israelite territory eastward of Jordan were always varying ; in the NE. the people were really of mixed origin. On the one hand, it seems plain that in the early period of the monarchy there was a considerable immigration of clans belonging to the house of Joseph (Nu. 32 41 *f.*) ; on the other hand, we find an Aramæan of influence (see BARZILLAI, 1) settled at Mahanaim (2 S. 17 27 ; cp 19 38 [37]). It is quite impossible at this point of the frontier to draw the line between Israelite territory, properly so called, and the sphere of Israelite influence beyond that territory. On the N. David's rule made itself felt to the border of the Canaanite kingdom of Hamath, on the Orontes ; this appears from the current expression 'to (or from) the entering in of Hamath' (Am. 6 14 1 K. 8 65 2 K. 14 25 Judg. 3 3 Josh. 13 5). The phrase is elastic, and has received various interpretations ; but originally it probably meant the point where the plateau of Ijon begins to fall away northwards towards the open valley between Lebanon and Antilibanus. The territory thus defined, though not in itself large, formed a more important kingdom than had been known in southern Syria for centuries, and such as might fitly be regarded as a splendid proof of the might of the God of Israel. (Note the enthusiasm which breathes in the oracles of Balaam.)

21. Internal affairs.

Let us now turn to David's internal administration. Some idea of this may be gained from the two lists of his chief officers (2 S. 8 15-18 20 23-26). Here special importance attaches to certain features. (1) The body-guard of 600 trained warriors (see DAVID, § 11 *a*), from which we must clearly distinguish the national levy which was placed under the command of Joab. (2) That priests should be included among the king's officers was a necessity, as David from the first had established a royal sanctuary, manifestly with a view to heightening the prestige of his rule. The relations between the monarchy and worship went on steadily extending in process of time until at last, under Josiah, they were decisive for the history of Jndah (see below, § 38). (3) It fell to the king to administer the sacred. law of Israel (2 S. 8 15 15 2-6). This was plainly his holiest duty, apart from, that of leadership in war ; in its discharge he was the immediate servant of God. For this function also, as a layman, he required the continual support of priests learned in the law. Unfor-

1 On David's wars as a whole, cp DAVID, §§ 6.8, where references to recent works are given.

2 See Budde, *Ri. Sa.* 254 and cp DAVID, § 8 6, ARAM, § 5 *f.*

tunately, we know very little about the range of the king's judicial activities; apart from the legal protection of the weak and needy (2 K. 6 26 *ff.* 8 3 *ff.*), he seems, in his judicial capacity, to have occupied himself chiefly in the mitigation and restriction of certain rigours of the common law (2 S. 14 1-11; cp 1 K. 20 31). Cp GOVERNMENT, § 18 *ff.*

For David the greatest difficulty unquestionably lay in resolving the discord between Israel and Tudah. He was greatly helped, no doubt, by his judicious choice of a capital,[1] and by the fact that Saul had now no surviving descendant capable of holding the reins of government. David also in his later years was careful to show due consideration for Israel, just as at an earlier time he had been at pains to figure not as the enemy but as the heir of Saul. From the account of the rebellion of his son ABSALOM (2 S. 15-19) it is evident that the most important accomplices belonged to Judah, not to Israel (cp, *e.g.*, 2 S. 19 11-15 [12-16]); and from this, as well as from 1 K. 1 9 (end), it seems a legitimate inference that the interests of his own tribe were subordinated by David to those of Israel. For obvious reasons, the tension of feeling was greatest in Benjamin, the tribe of Saul, as the narratives of SHIMEI (2 S. 16 5-12) and of the revolt of SHEBA (2 S. 20) sufficiently show. The accounts of the successive rebellions dimly reflect the vicissitudes of the popular temper, and if David contrived to maintain himself upon the throne we may be sure that it was not merely on the ground of legal right, but mainly by the force of his strong personality. Marvellous indeed is the inconsistent variety of this great man's character. The reader must have vividly realised for himself the simple and half-savage manners of the period in order even to conceive how this man, whose kingly hand was deeply stained by bloody acts of injustice (not to speak of less grave errors), could have been of a deeply religious nature, and a pious Israelite. Yet even the oldest narratives furnish us with many instructive proofs that this really was the case (2 S. 9-20). How succeeding generations idealised him need not he retold here. The idealisation was by no means entirely unjustified.

22. David's policy and character.

The question of the succession was decided by David himself amid peculiar circumstances which have been described elsewhere (see ADONIJAH). There were two parties at court—that of Adonijah and that of Solomon. The latter obtained the sanction of the aged king by reminding him of a promise which he had given to Solomon's mother Bathsheba (1 K. 1 13 17); the result was that Solomon was anointed king, by David's order, amid the rejoicings of the people. No blood was shed at the time, hut after David's death several lives had to be sacrificed in order to extinguish for ever all hostile personal interests.[2] The vacancies caused by the death of Joab and the deposition of Abiathar were filled up by the appointment of BENAIAH (1) and ZADOK (1 K. 2 35).

23. Solomon.

The few, though doubtless important, facts respecting Solomon which no critic can gainsay will he collected elsewhere (see SOLOMON). We shall here use them with the special object of illustrating the claim now made for Israel (unified into a new people by David) to a share in the civilisation of the neighbouring Asiatic nations. The internal changes which this involved were no doubt necessary, but were, for religious reasons, encompassed with difficulty.

Close relations were maintained by the new king with Egypt and Tyre. Indeed, as far as the former country was concerned, these relations were to some extent forced upon Solomon. The pharaoh himself[1] appeared in Palestine, and captured the city of GEZER, which lay not far from the commercially important road from Egypt to the Euphrates. He married his daughter to Solomon, and gave her as a dowry the city which he had conquered (1 K. 9 16). The OT is silent as to the obligations towards Egypt assumed by Solomon—for such there must have been. They would probably include the protection of the trade route, and the contribution of Israelitish troops to the pharaohs army (Dt. 17 16),—in a word, the recognition of Egyptian supremacy.

24. Foreign relations.

With Hiram I. king of Tyre, who at that time maintained a certain overlordship over all Phœnician cities (cp Meyer, *GA* 1, § 283 *ff.*), Solomon had a permanent treaty. Whilst the former supplied materials and skilled workmen for Solomon's buildings, the latter repaid him with the produce of his land and the cession to him of the district of CABUL (*q.v.*) (1 K. 5 10 [24] *ff.* 9 10-14). Moreover, the two rulers undertook in partnership certain commercial enterprises (1 K. 10 22). Towards the NE. of Israel, on the other hand, the earlier struggles with Aram were renewed, for Rezon b. Eliada of Aram-Zobah founded at Damascus a new kingdom which involved Israel in severe contests. In the SE., the province of Edom revolted under the leadership of a scion of its royal house who fled to Egypt, though he seems to have had no lasting success.

Within Israel Solomon destroyed the last sporadic traces of Canaanite independence (1 K. 9 20 *f.*). The commissariat of the court and the army was provided for by dividing the land into twelve departments (1 K. 4 7-19 27 *f.*; see SOLOMON). He imported war-chariots and horses from Egypt, and stationed them in selected cities.[2] He built fortresses which mark ont clearly the limits of his territory and the routes that he wished to protect. His realm skirted the Mediterranean from Carmel to Dor (cp DOR, § 2) (1 K. 4 11). Like other great kings, he was a builder on a large scale; but he could only carry out his projects (which included palace and temple in combination, Millo, the walls of Jerusalem, frontier fortifications, and garrison fortresses) by imposing ruthless *corvée* on his people. The insurrection of JEROBOAM (*q.v.*, 1) was due to the popular indignation at this forced labour. It failed; but its energetic leader found refuge, like other political offenders, at the court of Sheshonk, in Egypt (see SHISHAK).

25. Internal affairs.

There were three traditional elements in Solomon's greatness, each of which continued quite late to be proverbial—wisdom, power, and wealth (1 K. 3 5-14). Of these the last can most readily be accounted for; it arose out of Solomon's share in the commerce of Western Asia. To begin with, he dominated (probably in concert with Egypt) a portion of the maritime route which was the means of communication between Egypt and Babylonia (Assyria), together with its lateral branches (Megiddo; cp TRADE). He had in his power the trade which centred in ELATH (*q.v.*), and even sent ships of his own by the Red Sea to OPHIR (Southern Arabia?). Finally, he appears (1 K. 10 22) to have joined Hiram in sending ships across the Mediterranean to Tarshish (Spain). How much ground there may be for the other elements in the legendary picture of him (see, *e.g.*, 1 K. 3 15-28 10 1-13) we are hardly in a position to say. Even if we allow for exaggeration, however, it is certain that the splendour of his reign was never matched in the history of Israel. He was not indeed such a king as the prophetic writers describe by the name of 'Shepherd' (*e.g.*, Jer. 23 4 Ezek. 34 23). His ideal was that of the ordinary Oriental monarch. He

[1] See DAVID, § 10, and cp Sta. *GVI* 1 270 *f.*; JUDAH, § 5.

[2] The harshness of Solomon's treatment of Joab was felt by the narrator of 1 K. 1 *f.* himself. In 1 K. 2 5 31 *ff.* we have his way of accounting for it. Better that Joab should himself expiate his deeds of blood than that David's posterity should suffer for the neglect of blood-vengeance. See, however, DAVID, § 11, col. 1033.

[1] Was it perhaps Pisebḫa'ennu? See Meyer, *GA* 331. It was, at any rate, one of the last kings of the 21st (Tanitic) dynasty.

[2] [See BETH-MARCABOTH, MARCABOTH.]

loved display, and his subjects had to defray the cost. Hence the many overseers of taxes and works who appear among his officers. Under David we hear nothing of them, nor can the difference be accidental.

Nevertheless, we must not unduly depreciate what Solomon contributed towards the accomplishment of the task allotted to Israel. As long as this people stood outside the civilised world, it was impossible that its lofty faculty should hear fruit in the history of mankind. It was much that Solomon by the material greatness of his reign gave that compactness to the body politic which Israel needed as a condition of progress. As for religion, by building the temple at Jerusalem, which was at first nothing but the court sanctuary, Solomon closely associated together monarchy and cultus, while at the same time he provided a sacred place that became for a distant future the most precious token of the divine presence and help.

Israel's transition to civilisation is an event of great importance, the effects of which may here he briefly elucidated. In different spheres there arose the same question : What can Israel adopt from the heathen civilisation of Canaan without impairing or losing its faith in God? There were not lacking indeed, now and in the centuries that followed, some who clung to the simple piety of the wilderness (shepherds, Rechabites, Nazirites); hut theirs was a lost cause; the mass of the people decided for civilisation. Along with the agriculture of the Canaanites, Israel adopted the cultus of the land of Canaan (holy places, feasts, sacrificial customs), and transferred it to YahwB. No doubt there were priests who did the best they could to correct this cultus in accordance with later religious views (Ex. **34** 14 *ff.* 23 14-19); hut the superstitious multitude certainly imbibed the fancy that the fruitfulness of the soil depended on the continuance of the old religious ceremonies. Here lay the root of that hard struggle between Yahwi: and the 'Baalim' which even the prophets were unable to end.

26. The new civilisation.

There were two other influences which Israelitish religion had to contend with. First, political friendship and commercial intercourse with neighbouring states involved, according to the ideas of the time, some recognition of the divinities of those states and of their cultus; these became guests of Israel (cp 1 K. 11 7 *f.*) This did not accord, however, with the strict conception of the old ordinance of monolatry (Ex. 34 14). Next, Israelitish law had to undergo a complete transformation before it could meet the requirements of a country of agriculturists. With a view to this, Israel had again to go to the school of its heathen neighbonrs, who alone had the knowledge and experience required for such a reform. 'Criminal law' was perhaps less affected by these changes; but 'civil law' had to be largely modified, in order to suit entirely new conditions. That this process gradually went forward in an Israelitish sense is vouched for by the collection of laws in Ex. 21-23, and also by the fact that the prophets of the eighth century fought for the law of Yahwè then in force in Canaan as old and well known. Israel's peaceful labours and increasing security in Canaan produced the impression that the 'wars of YahwB' had achieved their object. Hence more and more Yahwi: lost his significance as a god of war, and the sacred ark became a symbol of divinity in general (see ARK).

The engrafting of Canaanitish civilisation on the Israelitish stock produced its fairest fruit in a store of legends, large fragments of which are still extant (cp GENESIS, § 5). It was formerly supposed that we had here a strictly Israelite heirloom. But how improbable it is that Israel should have brought with it from the desert legends which presuppose civilised conditions! Add to this that Assyrio-Babylonian literature has revealed to us similar stories of such high antiquity that there can be no doubt of the dependence of the biblical narratives (J in Gen. 1-11) on them.[1] It is natural to suppose that Israel received these legends from the lips of the Canaanites, transforming them by infusing into them its own religious ideas. Presumably this was how the stories of the patriarchs arose. (See ABRAHAM, ISAAC, JACOB.) It is obvious that Abraham is closely connected with the primitive sanctuary at Hebron, whilst Isaac belongs to Beersheba, and Jacob to Bethel. The Canaanitish meaning of these names [the original form of which is obscure] must he very uncertain. It is clear, however, that when Jacob received the additional name of Israel, it was because this patriarch was the first to be fully adopted by Israel proper, as a sign of which he is represented as father of the twelve Israelitish tribes. It is clear, too, that in constituting these legendary figures its own ancestors, Israel attached to them all that was significant for its own individuality and history — origin, wanderings, fusions and partings, religion and cultus. To them was ascribed the divine favour and the human virtues in which Israel prided itself. The variety in their treatment, and the specific individuality that was developed for each, may perhaps be accounted for by variety of origin. Abraham became a type or ideal of Israelitish piety; Jacob more a picture of the actual Israelite of history. These transformations may have been accomplished between the tenth and the eighth centuries B.C. They teach us not only with what delight and ease Israel accommodated itself to its new relations, hut also how strong and yet assimilative a faculty was at the service of the religions convictions of its leaders. That these were to he sought, in the first instance, among the priests and prophets cannot be doubted.

27. The Patriarch legends.

With the death of Solomon, the unity of the monarchy and of the nation was at an end. Popular sentiment in Israel was against Rehoboam; Israel did not even come to Shechem at his request, but he at Israel's; Israel, not he, laid down the condition; the suppression of the revolt under Jeroboam had left behind it angry feelings towards the house of David. The old men, in their mild wisdom, hoped the best from a policy of compliance. Rehoboam, however, sided with the younger men, who recommended him to try intimidation. This was the signal for the open rupture. The excitement was great. Adoniram, the overseer of the public works, was stoned; Rehoboam himself had to seek safety in precipitate flight. That Jeroboam, the former opponent of Solomon, was proclaimed king over the northern tribes, including Benjamin, shows clearly the connection of the movement with earlier events (cp JEROBOAM, 1).

28. The Disruption.

The division of the nation into two kingdoms was regarded differently by the two parties. The Judaean view of it comes out in Is. 7 17 1 K. 12 19 (cp סִבָּה, *v.* 15); the Israelite in Dt. 33 7, and in the Ahijah-story (1 K. 11 29 *ff.*). Although the latter owes its present form to Judaean editorial work, it yields the very interesting fact that an Israelitish prophet took occasion from Solomon's policy to condemn in the name of Yahwè any longer domination of Israel by the royal family of Judah: he regarded, that is, Solomon's proceedings as a violation of divine ordinances. Rut if the kingship of Jeroboam was demanded by Yahwè through his prophets, it was legitimate in the best sense of the word, and not at all a revolt against YahwB. At the same time Israel reasserted its old right to provide for its own government, which did not, however, exclude a willingness to recognise the Davidic rule in Judah (1 K. 12 16)—a remarkable fact which shows how quickly and haw deeply this new tribe of David's creation had struck root. Not even the well-earned popularity of David, however, had been able to fill up the gulf between Israel and Judah. By his magnetic

1 [Cp CAINITES, CREATION, DELUGE.]

personality he had drawn and held together the two parts for a time; but there had been no real blending. Whilst Israel, with or without Judah, felt itself to be complete both in religion and in politics, for Judah the separation meant a serious loss. Hence the longing for reunion continued to live in Judah; the weaker part forgot not the time of its splendour, and afterwards included the revival of it among its hopes.

It is possible that Jeroboam I. treated the ancient Tights of the tribes and clans with more consideration than Solomon; but evidence is wanting. In matters of cultus he trod in the footsteps of David and Solomon. According to 1 K. 12 25 *ff.*, he turned Bethel (and Dan ?)[1] into a royal sanctuary (Am. 7 13), erected two golden oxen (see CALF, GOLDEN) in honour of Yahwè, appointed priests as royal officials in connection with them, and held at Bethel, as Solomon had held at Jerusalem (1 K. 8 65), a great harvest thanksgiving festival for Israel. The capital of the new kingdom was Shechem.

The disagreement between the two kingdoms made war inevitable. Rehoboam regarded the Israelites as rebels; hence'actual hostilities may have been opened by him, as the late addition in 1 K. 12 21-24 assumes. The short statements, 1 K. 14 30 15 6 *f.* 16, however, are certainly to be understood of a state of war, not of a series of important battles; and matters remained in this condition under Rehoboam's immediate successors, Abijam and Asa, down to Jehoshaphat (some sixty years). At the same time Rehoboam seems to have sought to render still more complete the readiness for war that he owed to Solomon (2 Ch. 11 5-12), and so to secure the existence of the weaker kingdom of Judah. If, however, its position was not seriously endangered by Israel during his time, this was probably in consequence of Egypt's reasserting itself once more as overlord in Southern Syria. Shishak had, according to 1 K. 14 25 *ff.*, laid Judah under contribution; according to his own monument, preserved at Karnak, he had traversed the whole of Palestine, pillaging and plundering (see SHISHAK). This marauding expedition, however, had no permanent result : lasting and effective protection for Judah could be found only in some greater power in Syria itself. Hence the kings (even Rehoboam?) attached importance to inducing the Aramwan kingdom of Damascus to take up an attitude friendly to them and hostile to Israel. Physical conditions favoured this endeavour, as the Aramwans—Israel's enemies from of old—were cut off from the maritime district by the intervening Israelitish territory. Besides, the Judaean king, Asa, appealed (1 K. 15 19) to a treaty already formed between his father Abijah and Tabrimmon (Ṭāb-Rammān) of Damascus. These attacks from the E. fully occupied the northern kingdom, and seemed to guarantee a quiet life for Judah. But appearances were delusive : the clever calculations of the politicians of Judah proved incorrect. For the fierce and prolonged Syrian wars not only most painfully weakened the northern kingdom, but also drew Judah into the current of Israelitish politics. And so it happened that the disruption of the kingdom is closely connected with the decline of the power of Israel as a whole in Palestine. The course of events in detail was briefly as follows.

That Israel kept a good watch over its eastern frontier we see from the measures taken by Baasha, who had slain Nadab the son of Jeroboam I. during the siege of the Philistine town of Gibbethon, and was reigning over Israel with TIRZAH [*q.v.*] as his capital. He prudently came to terms with the Aramæans (1 K. 15 19), and then, taking up the war against Judah with energy, cut off its people from all communication with the north. In this extremity king ASA (*q.v.*) sent all the treasure that remained in the royal palace and temple to BEN-HADAD I. (*q.v.*), king of Damascus, with the petition

29. Israel, Judah, and Syria.

[1] Cp Klo. *Sa.Kö.*, *ad loc.*

that he would 'break his league with Raasha' (1 K. 15 19). Benhadad thereupon overran the territory of Israel at the upper Jordan as far as the W. shore of the lake of Gennesaret (see CHINNEROTH), and compelled Baasha to break off the war with Judah. Asa was thus enabled to push forward his frontier a little farther N. (see ASA). Baasha on his side (we may suppose) prosecuted the war with the Aramaeans (cp 1 K. 16 5), and thus Judah enjoyed comparative peace (1 K. 15 16-23).

The rise of the dynasty of Omri was important for Judah as well as for Israel. The new king was a successful warrior, who, after a sharp struggle for the throne (ELAH, 2; ZIMRI, 3; TIBNI; 1 K. 16 8-22), was proclaimed king by the army before Gibbethon. The normal relation between Israel and Judah had hitherto been one of hostility. But we find that when Jehoshaphat, son of Asa king of Judah, went to Samaria to meet Omri's son Ahab (1 K. 22 2 *ff.* 45), there was an alliance presupposed between the two kingdoms, an alliance, however, in which it was Israel's place to dictate and Judah's to yield. This dependence of Judah is shown by the military service rendered to Israel on several occasions during the Syrian wars (1 K. 22 2 K. 8 28 3) and against Moab (2 K. 3 4 *ff.*); probably it did not extend further. Nor can it he decided whether the peace between the two kingdoms was brought about by war or by negotiation, or whether Omri already had views tending in the direction of reconciliation. We know but too little about this king, who had the wisdom to make Samaria his capital, and also brought Moab again under tribute, but was not, it seems, a conspicuously successful king (see OMRI). Ahab, at any rate, stands out in the meagre narratives of the Syrian wars as so strong a personality that one feels inclined to trace the reconciliation with Judah to his firm and skilful policy. The losses and concessions of Omri (1 K. 20 34) may well have made this step a necessity. The result was that in several successful campaigns Ahab drove the Aramaeans out of the territory of Israel and compelled them to restore the cities which they had previously conquered (1 K. 20 2-34). He established with Benhadad II.[1] (1 K. 20 34) a commercial compact, with equal mutual rights, between Damascus and Israel, and formed a friendly relation with Ethbaal (Ithubaʿal) of Tyre, whose daughter Jezebel he received in marriage (1 K. 16 31). Meantime the contemporary king of Judah made an attempt to renew the Red Sea trade (see JEHOSHAPHAT, 1). Thus for a time internal peace enabled both kingdoms to revive the famous traditions of the days of Solomon.

Then there rose out of the north, more and more audibly, the angry mutterings of a dreadful war storm. Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria (860-824), following in the footsteps of his father Ašur-nāṣir-pal, had reached in his victorious career the neighbourhood of the middle Orontes. At Karkar (854 B.C.) his course was indeed checked by a large army of the allied kingdoms of middle and southern Syria, the latter represented by Ahab its overlord; but the attack was resumed in 849 and 845 (see AHAB). This was a summons to union for the southern kingdoms of Syria; in the presence of the incessantly advancing power from the north, the old distinctions between great and small must disappear. The enmity between Israel and Aram had rooted itself too deeply, however, to be dispelled forthwith by the recognition of their common danger. Boundary disputes raked up the embers of hate and easily fanned them into flame, and in one of such the heroic Ahab, who bad gone forth in company with Jehoshaphat of Judah to the reconquest of the city of Ramoth in Gilead, met his death (see AHAB, RAMOTH-GILEAD). Nevertheless, the friendly relation between Israel and Judah continued. It had been sealed by the marriage of Jehoshaphat's son

30. New com-p. Assyria.

[1] Or was it Benhadad I., as Winckler snpposes? See BEN-HADAD, § 3.

Jehoram with Athaliah the daughter of Ahah. Yet Israel's star was obviously on the decline. In the reign of Ahaziah the son of Ahab, MESHA king of Moab threw off the yoke of Israel (cp the Mesha inscription), and the attempt made by Ahaziah's successor Joram, with the help of Jehoshaphat, to invade and subdue Moab from the south, failed (2 K. 3 4-27). Not long afterwards Edom freed itself from Judah, and even the Canaanite city of Libnah, on the western frontier of Judah, asserted its independence (2 K. 8 20-22). On the E. frontier of Israel, however, the Syrians were unable to make any advance, as the attacks of Shalmaneser II. were renewed every three or four years.[1] When Hazael had succeeded Benhadad at Damascus (844-843 B.C.), Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah encountered him at Ramoth in Gilead, the very place where Ahab had received his death-wound from the Syrians. Now, however, Israel was in possession of the city, which was not the case in the time of Ahab. Israel's position had, therefore, improved in this direction.

The subversion of the dynasty of Omri by Jehu ben-Nimshi gave a severe shock to the established order of things.

31. Revolution of Jehu.

The story of this bold warrior's deeds of blood is told elsewhere (see JEHU). 'Come with me,' he said to Jehonadab ben-Rechab (see JONADAR, 3), 'and see my zeal for Yahwè' (2 K. 10 16). This self-landation was not entirely groundless. An oracle of Elisha suggested his revolt (see below), and the violent extirpation of Baal-worship is in the spirit of a traditional action of Elijah. In external affairs the headstrong usurper had to moderate his energy. Hazael of Damascus was defeated (842; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28) and besieged by Shalmaneser II.; and, though the siege failed, Jehu found it advisable to buy the favour of the Assyrian by payment of tribute (cp the 'Black Obelisk' of Shalmaneser, *KB* 1). In Judah too the sanguinary measures of Jehu gave the signal for violent disputes about the crown. On the death of Ahaziah, Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, had the descendants of David slain in Jerusalem, one alone escaping the hands of the assassins. Perhaps she hoped, as queen of Judah, to be able to take vengeance for her kindred on Jehu. We only hear, however, of the vengeanre by which she was herself overtaken. After the lapse of six years the chief priest Jehoiada proclaimed Joash, the one Davidic prince who had escaped, king, and ordered Athaliah to he slain in the royal palace. Thus the kingdom of Judah was, after a brief interruption, recovered for the family of David. These bloody revolutions, however, weakened the powers of resistance of both kingdoms, and loosened the restraints of religion and morality; and when Hazael of Damascus ceased to be disturbed by Shalmaneser (*i.e.*, in 839) Israel and Judah had to feel the full weight of his arm. Hazael conquered the east of the Jordan (2 K. 10 32 *f.*[2]), and traversed the west as far as Gath; indeed he was restrained from an attack on Jerusalem only by great presents (2 K. 12 17 [18] *f.*). This obsequiousness on the part of Joash was regarded, perhaps, as cowardly and premature, and he paid the penalty with his life (2 K. 12 20 [21] *f.*; cp JOASH).

Amaziah, the son of Joash, was indeed admitted to the throne; but his courage and daring, although they probably gained Judah some advantage over Edom, brought, later, the greatest humiliation on his country. A wanton challenge, sent to Joash king of Israel, was expiated by the captivity of the king and the occupation of Jerusalem by the foe. No wonder that Amaziah fell a prey to the same fate as his father (2 K. 14 19; cp AMAZIAH, 1).

[1] The narrative 2 K. 6 24-7 20, according to Kuenen, relates to the time of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu; according to Winckler, however to that of Ahab, before 854 B.C. See JEHORAM AHAB.

[2] [These verses are evidently out of their original donnection. Instead of 'to cut Israel short' (לקצות), read 'to be wroth with Israel' (לקצוף), with Targ. and Hitz.]

It is, however, surprising that the crown did not now become the prize of ambitious politicians or daring soldiers, as was the case in Israel. That the people of Judah did not renounce the Davidic family throws a fresh light on the popularity of its founder. Amaziah's son, Azariah or Uzziah (see UZZIAH, 1), was raised to the throne; and through him a last period of quiet and of conscious strength was opened for Judah, as it had already opened for Israel. It is true, Azariah was probably in some degree dependent on Israel. Still, we may infer from Is. 2 that his was a prosperous reign, and we know from 2 K. 14 22 that he extended the influence of Judah once more to Elath on the Red Sea. Of the Israelitish kings Joash and Jeroboam II., we learn that they obtained fresh successes against the Aramæans when the Assyrian kings Rammān-nirāri III. and Ašur-dan III. fought against Damascus in 806 (or 803) and 773.[1] Jeroboam II. is even eulogised as the 'deliverer' of his people; he is regarded as having restored in its fullest extent the earlier dominion of Israel (2 K. 13 22-25 14 23 *ff.*; cp Am. 6 13).

These years of peace and renewed vigour revived the pride and courage of the northern Israelites. But they

32. Decline of Israel.

were due, after all, to the weakness and inertness into which the Assyrian kings had lapsed (772-746), and when in 745 Tiglath-pileser III. (on the question of his original name see PUL) mounted the throne, the Syrian states could see that a last life-and-death struggle had begun. The internal disorganisation was heightened by dissensions within the parties which recommended, now adhesion to Assyria or to Egypt, now self-defence in alliance with the states of Syria, as the one means of escape from the danger of annihilation. Thus Menahem, who had marched 'from Tirzah' (but see TAPPUAH) against the regicide Shallum, and dealt with him as he had dealt with Zechariah (2 K. 15 8-15), placing the crown on his own head, sought in 738 (on the date see CHRONOLOGY, § 33) to prop himself on Assyria by paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 15 19 *f.*). On this occasion, we are told, the king of Assyria 'came into the land' of Israel for the first time. Menahem's son Peltahiah was made away with, however, hy the Israelitish-Aramæan party, and Pekah son of Remaliah put in his place (see, however, PEKAHIAH). We learn the aims of this party from the war begun by its leaders, Rezon of Damascus and Pekah of Israel, against Ahaz of Judah. They wished to turn the ruling dynasty out of Jerusalem, and place the son of Tāb'ēl (probably = Rezon; Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 74 *f.*) on the throne of David, because Ahaz of Judah had shown himself averse to their plan of holding together in alliance against Assyria (Is. 7). Ahaz flung the warning of the prophet Isaiah to the winds (cp AHAZ, § 2 *f.*), and, like a clever politician, asked Tiglath-pileser III. to help him against his too powerful enemies, who were now joined in the S. by the Edomites (2 K. 16 5 *ff.*). Tiglath-pileser added the northern and eastern frontiers of Israel to his kingdom, sent the principal inhabitants into exile in Assyria (2 K. 15 29), marched into the S. of Palestine, appointed Hoshea, one of the Assyrian party, king of Israel (2 K. 15 30), and put an end to the kingdom of Damascus (734-732). Hoshea submissively paid tribute for some years till he was seduced from his allegiance by the promises of 'So, king of Egypt.' Hitherto this king has been taken to be pharaoh Šabako, or some Egyptian petty-king. But Winckler (*Muṣri*, etc., *MVG*, '98, i.) finds in him an officer of the N. Arabian land of Muṣr, which was unwilling to let itself be driven by the Assyrians from the trade-routes of S. Syria. Shalmaneser IV. (727-722) besieged Hoshea in Samaria for three years. It fell to his successor Sargon, however (722-705), to reduce the city (722). The upper classes (to the number of 27,290) were deported to Mesopotamia and Media,

[1] [Cp ASSYRIA, § 32; DAMASCUS, § 9.]

whilst foreigners from the banks of the Euphrates were settled on the vacant lands. By this policy the Assyrian kings sought not only to break the power of a subjugated nation, but also to secure the subjection of its country by filling it with people who could only preserve themselves by close adherence to Assyria.

Such was the end of the N. Israelitish kingdom. It shared the fate of the other states of northern and mid Syria. It fell a prey to the Assyrian policy of conquest, after the wars with the Aramaeans had drained a large measure of its strength. This must be our verdict as long as we take into account only the action and reaction of ordinary forces. In Israel, however, there were not lacking men who saw in the fate of Israel a divine judgment. Of such, we know the prophets Amos and Hosea. They and their successors have so much importance in the history of Israel that we cannot be content with a mere mention of their names; but, in order to do them justice, it is necessary to reserve a fuller treatment of their position and activity for another place (see PROPHETS).

33. Effect on Judah: prophetic and popular views.

The chief point to notice respecting the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries is this—that with one accord they took a view of the situation of Israel which was repugnant in the highest degree to the mass of the people. That no less a punishment than annihilation was impending over Israel (Am 5 1 *f.* 9 1-4 Is. 5 1-7) was a statement that could not be reconciled with the popular view of the nature of Yahwè. That men could be found to come forward with such a message is a phenomenon which is especially strange in Judah, because the expeditions of the Assyrians against southern Syria, subsequently to **734,** were not dangerous to that kingdom. It is true, Assyria had, since **722,** become the next neighbour of Judah, which had to send its yearly tribute to Nineveh; but, for all that, Ahaz could boast that he had secured his land, his capital, and his throne, whilst his opponents, first Damascus, and then Israel, had been extinguished by Assyria. Facts spoke for Ahaz, not for Isaiah the prophet (Is. 7 *f.*); and the multitude, as the fashion then was, interpreted this as showing that Judah had received a guarantee of the divine goodwill towards it, and a recognition of its superior piety. The proud and powerful Israel had fallen; the despised Judah had been delivered. For the present and for the future Judah had become heir to Israel for good as well as for evil. As people went up to Jerusalem from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria to sacrifice to Yahwè (Jer. **41** 5), many—such as found it possible to do so—would remove their home from Israel into Judah on the conquest of Samaria (722); for the hopes of the whole nation naturally rested in the remnant that had been found worthy of obtaining deliverance. All this raised the self-respect of the men of Judah and enhanced the importance of Jerusalem.

34. International politics.

But at the same time, just as before in the case of Israel (see above, § 32), there arose political parties, which by their struggles used up what strength remained to the diminished people. As Hezekiah hen Ahaz (from 720 B.C. onwards, see CHRONOLOGY, **§ 36)** was no friend of Assyria, we can understand that Judah did not throw away opportunities of manifesting its aspirations after independence. About the time of the revolt of Hamath, Merodach-baladan made himself master of Babylon and sought (*circa* **720 B.C.**) to incite Hezekiah to a common contest with Sargon (cp Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 135 *ff.*). To what extent Hezekiah entered into these negotiations we are not told; but very soon Sargon re-established his dominion over Syria, and therefore over Judah, after defeating at Raphia the Egyptians (or, according to Winckler [see above, § 32] the army of the N. Arabian Muṣr; 720 **B.C.**). The year **713** found Hezekiah negotiating again with Ashdod and Egypt (again, according to Winckler, the N. Arabian Muṣr), but the conquest of Ashdod in 711 (Is. 20, see ASHDOD) put a speedy end to the warlike programmes. Hezekiah no longer held aloof from the mighty movement that shook the whole Assyrian empire on the death of Sargon in **705.** Indeed, partly with his own consent, partly against his will, he was regarded as the head of the allied forces of southern Syria, which looked on this occasion of revolt with all the more confidence in a successful issue, because Babylon had risen once more in the East, and Egypt (or rather Muṣr-Meluḫḫa in N. Arabia) too was taking an active interest in the concert of nations. In **701** Sennacherib, Sargon's successor (704-682), having first of all reduced to allegiance the eastern part of his kingdom, set out for Syria. There his first step was to compel to submission by the battle of Eltekeh (cp Josh. 19 43 *ff.* ?), and lay under tribute, the S. Syrian states—among them Hezekiah, whose mercenaries refused obedience (Del. *Ass. HWB* **171; 2 K.** 18 14-16). Later, he sent a division of his army from Lachish against Jerusalem, and demanded the surrender of the city, so as to secure his rear. Isaiah exhorted the resourceless Hezekiah to hold fast, and predicted the preservation of Jerusalem; and in point of fact, perhaps on learning of disturbances in Babylon, Sennacherib withdrew (2 K. 18 17-19 9*a* 36 *f.*). As it is improbable that Tirhakah, who apparently did not complete the overthrow of Egypt until **691,** took part in the events of **701,** the conjecture has been advanced that on a later expedition to the SW. of his kingdom, undertaken against Egypt, Sennacherib once more threatened Jerusalem in vain, being compelled to retreat by a severe misfortune, as is intimated in 2 K. 19 9*b*-35 and Herod. 2 141.[1]

The preservation of Jerusalem from the Assyrians made not the slightest change in Judah's political position. On the other hand, it was a success of the greatest moment for the cause of Yahwè and of far-reaching importance for the establishment in Judah of the religious ideas of the prophets. For, whilst the prophetic movement came to an end in Israel with the dissolution of the state, in Judah it had time to gather strength and prove itself in overcoming internal opposition. Thus there was formed by degrees that 'remnant,' the seed of the future, which could be entrusted with the intelligent guardianship of Israel's historical inheritance. Isaiah was the originator of this movement in Judah. With enthusiasm and with finished eloquence, he spoke of Yahwè as the sovereign of the world, and of the power of faith or trust in him, also of the vanity of the worship of images (cp HOSEA, § 7) and the transitory nature of all worldly might, of the imperishable character of Yahwè's work in Israel (= Judah, Jerusalem), and the perfection of the future kingdom of David. Nor were those who adopted his ideas few or lacking in influence. The measures, too, of Hezekiah, that aimed at a purification of the cultus (2 K. 18 4) owed their inception to the effect produced by Isaiah's labours; though the preference for Jerusalem as the only place of worship is certainly more in accord with the popular interpretation of the experiences of the last generation and the interests of the royal priesthood. On this question cp HEZEKIAH.

35. Effect on religious ideas: Isaiah.

The broad stream of popular life inclined for the present to the other or heathen side, if we may so call it. In its sense of weakness the people looked for divine help, and did not omit to propitiate Yahwè, as popular conceptions of him required, with costly sacrifices (Mic. 6 6-8). Political parties demanded close alliance with Assyria (or Egypt), while the prophetic party taught that Assyria or Egypt was to be regarded merely as an instrument in the hand of Yahwè. Manasseh b. Hezekiah, who came to the throne about the same time as Esarhaddon

36. Opposite party.

1 Cp Stade, *ZATW* 6 173 *ff.* ['86]; Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 26 *ff.*; Che. *Intr. Is.* 212 *ff.*; also Tiele, *BAG* 314 *ff.*

(681-668) and reigned till 642, joined unreservedly the ranks of the partisans of Assyria, and was able to carry out to the full the policy begun by his grandfather Ahaz. Perhaps Esarhaddon's expeditions against Egypt in 674 and 672 led him to show marked favour to everything foreign. In honour of Assyria, he made arrangements in his temple for the Assyrian star worship (2 K. 215 2312). The approval of his people he hoped to secure by once more permitting and patronising the traditional forms of Canaanitish-Israelitish cultus, the so-called worship of the high places that Hezekiah had restricted. Even the Canaanitish cult of Moloch (= Melek, King), child sacrifice, was transferred to Israel's god YahwB (Jer. 731 195 Ez. 2026 *ff.* 30 *f.*; cp Dt. 1229-31), and the king himself, like Ahaz before him, set his people the example of this self-sacrificing worship, which was supposed to be well-pleasing to God (2 K. 216 163). It only indicates the terrible anxiety that oppressed the minds of the people that men did not refuse to offer even their own children in sacrifice to the gods. Manasseh further constituted the temple of YahwB a sanctuary for the most diverse cults, so as to accommodate with his altars and images the manifold relations of the international trade into which Judah was now led as a dependency of the Assyrian empire. Never had the attempts of the kings of Israel to initiate the people into the civilisation of W. Asia succeeded as they did under Manasseh (2 K. 219)—for a considerable time. In religion, however, the faith and simple piety of the people were in the greatest danger. Still, their representatives knew the meaning of the struggle, and showed themselves ready not only to contend but also to suffer for their cause. Neither compulsory measures nor the prospect of external advantages made them waver. Manasseh, however, persevered in his policy throughout his whole reign. If the Chronicler relates the contrary (2 Ch. 3311-17), he is only reproducing the legend that grew up, under the influence of later theories of divine retribution, out of an incident which was probably simply this, that Manasseh favoured the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukīn against his brother Ašur-bāni-pal, and then obtained pardon of the latter at Babylon. Amon ben Manasseh followed in his father's footsteps; but he soon fell a victim (640) to a court conspiracy. This was, however, suppressed by the people, who came to the succour of the Davidic dynasty, and proclaimed Josiah, Amon's eight-years old son, king.

37. Religious reform.

By this revolution the Assyrian party was thrust aside: it had to give place, in the government and at the court of the young king, to men of national sentiment or prophetic ideas. The fruit of this change was nothing less than the laws of Deuteronomy and the cultus reform of Josiah (621 B.C.). From 2 K. 22 *f.* we learn only how the king was won for the cause, not who it was that gave the real impulse in this praiseworthy enterprise; but we can have no doubt that it was the prophetic party, though it may seem strange that we see them putting their own hands to the work of reforming the existing conditions rather than, as one might expect, enunciating ideas and principles. It was really necessary, however, for the prophets, if they were not to speak and suffer in vain, to descend from the bold heights of their ideals into the sphere of rude reality. In this they remained true to their old demands with all their rigidity. Fighting for Yahwe and the true Israel, they sought to banish every heathenish element from the popular life, or, where that was impossible, transform it—it., make it Israelitish. From this point of view we can understand how, despite previous procedure and their own ideas (*e.g.*, Hos. 812 Is. 112 Jer. 721-23), they made questions of cultus a matter for legislation. The cultus was, as it were, the open door through which heathenism was continually breaking in upon Israel, as the experiences of the times of Manasseh just past had abundantly shown. To close this door the prophets certainly needed powerful allies—namely, the priesthood of the royal temple at Jerusalem and the king himself.

38. Kings as religious leaders.

The priests were needed, because the future position of the temple and its officers was in question; and the king, because without him uniform changes in the cultus of the whole people would at that time have been quite impossible. Originally, indeed, the position of prince brought with it no right to interfere with the cultus: the management (of the cultus) was the affair of the families and clans, and later, in Canaan, of the tribes and cantons.[1] The kings, however, without in any way changing the old state of things, had added royal sanctuaries where, apart from the cultus of their own clan, they could on special occasions assemble the entire nation to a great sacrificial festival. According to the varying exigencies of the political alliances of the day, they even practised the cult of foreign deities. Thus it was that the kings acquired a claim and found an occasion to interfere in matters of cultus outside the limits of their own clan. (See the history of Jehu, Joash h. Ahaziah, Hezekiah, Manasseh.) It was these relations that made it imperative that the originators of the reform of the cultus should secure the introduction of the laws by the king himself. (On the nature and significance of the new law book, see DEUTERONOMY, § 4 *ff.*)

The inception and execution of the religious reforms of Josiah coincided with Occurrences of the gravest import within the Assyrian empire.

39. Decline of Assyria: Scythians: advance of Egypt.

About the year 645 B.C. Psa(m)eṯik I. had asserted his independence of Assyria and again reunited Egypt under one sceptre. Soon afterwards his army advanced into Syria. If Herodotus (2157) is to be believed, siege was laid to the city of ASHDOD (*q.v.* col. 327) for twenty-nine years (640-610?)—whether the defenders were Assyrians or a native power we do not know. It would not be astonishing to find that, even thns early, Assyria had refrained from opposing the forward movement of Psa(m)eṯik, for it was about this time that barbarian hordes of Scythian origin poured down from the north of Asia into the Assyrian empire like a devastating flood (Herod. 1103 *ff.* 41; cp ASSYRIA, § 34, EGYPT, § 67). Even if in doing so they compelled the Medes, who were also now threatening Assyria, to look to their own safety, these wild and rapacious invaders must inevitably have had the effect of greatly loosening the reins of Assyrian authority in W. Asia, and probably also, in some parts, of breaking them altogether. It would appear that Psa(m)eṯik I. succeeded by gifts and entreaties in averting the Scythian irruption from Egypt; but Ashkelon was plundered by them. They must nndoubtedly, therefore, have at least touched on the borders of Judah also, but without penetrating into the hill-country properly so called. Under the awe-inspiring impression produced by these new invaders—they were Aryans, not Semites—the prophets Zephaniah and Jeremiah, about 630-626, once more renewed the vaticinations of their predecessors as to the coming judgments of YahwB, which, following the new development in the knowledge of God and of the world, they now represented as a universal assize or judgment of all nations. If the Babylonians found it possible to cast off the Assyrian yoke with impunity and establish a kingdom of their own under Nabopolassar in 625 (cp ASSYRIA, § 34), assuredly some increased freedom of movement must have been possible about the same time also to Syria, which lay so much farther off; and it is, therefore, not in the least improbable that Josiah was able to lay hands upon parts of what had formerly been the kingdom of Israel without resistance (cp 2 K. 2315 19 *ff.*). Everywhere the collapse of the Assyrian power began to be reckoned upon as certain. As soon as the

[1] Cp GOVERNMENT, § 17 *f.*

hordes of the Scythians had passed, or had reached some point of rest, Cyaxares of Media, in alliance with Nabopolassar, set out against Nineveh to strike the decisive blow. That powerful fortress was taken in 607-606 and levelled with the ground. The sovereigns of Assyria then disappeared from history. Not, however, the empire over which they had ruled; the victors took possession of their heritage. Egypt also claimed its share in what the Assyrian kings had been compelled to relinquish; Necho II. (609-595) led an army against the lands bordering on the Euphrates. At Megiddo in the plain of Jezreel he was opposed (608) by JOSIAH (*q.v.*), who, we may be sure, acted as he did trusting in Yahwè, and because he regarded it as his mission to avert a renewal of foreign dominion over Syria. The Greek and Carian mercenaries of Necho proved, however, too powerful for him. He had to pay the penalty for his bold endeavour with his life. He was deeply mourned by his people, who found themselves misled (2 K. 23 29 *f.*; cp 2 Ch. 35 20-27 1 Esd. 1 25-32) by the hopes (pitched far too high) which the reign of the pious Josiah had inspired. (See JOSIAH.) Jehoahaz, son and successor of the lost king, was forced to do homage to the new master of S. Syria, whom he overtook at RIBLAH (*q.v.*) on the Orontes. Necho, who was on his northward march, sent him to Egypt as a prisoner (2 K. 23 31-34 Jer. 22 10 *ff.*), filling his place, as tributary king of Judah, by the choice of his more trustworthy elder brother Jehoiakim (Eliakim) (2 K. 23 34 *f.*).

Until the fall of Nineveh Necho was left undisturbed in the gratification of his ambition: the whole of Syria up to the Euphrates became Egyptian. No sooner, however, had Nabopolassar seized the Babylonian crown than he despatched his son and successor Nebuchadrezzar II. (604-562) to check the Egyptian advance. At the battle of Carchemish on the Euphrates (605) Necho was defeated and compelled to abandon Syria (Jer. 46 2)—perhaps, however, not all at once, for, according to 2 K. 24 1, it was not till about 600 B.C. that Jehoiakim acknowledged the suzerainty of Nebuchadrezzar.

40. Babylon supreme.

Thus the result of these great changes, as far as Judah was concerned, was disappointing; in spite of the well-meant reforms of Josiah, and in spite of the downfall of Nineveh, it found itself politically in no better case than under Hezekiah and Manasseh; the only difference was that Babylon had stepped into the place of Nineveh, and that the Egyptians had once more, and with emphasis, resumed their old relations with Syria. The religious disappointment to which we have referred (§ 39, end) was followed, as might be expected, by a strong reaction (Jer. 44 15-19), which vented its rage especially on the prophets, as the Book of Jeremiah repeatedly shows. The policy adopted by Manasseh, but consistently opposed by the prophets, of friendship with foreigners, seemed only too clearly justified by facts. Once more, therefore, we see renewed at the close of the history of Judah the old coquetry with two great foreign powers,—with this difference, that the bnlance of favour now inclined towards the newly-recruited Egyptian empire.

41. Revolts.

Three years passed, and Jehoiakim renounced his allegiance (598). Nebuchadrezzar's army promptly invested Jerusalem; the boy-king Jehoiachin, who had succeeded his father, quickly surrendered himself and his officers to the Babylonians. Nebuchadrezzar passed sentence of exile (*i.e.*, deportation) both upon him and upon the noblest of the Jews, assigning to them (among them to the prophet Ezekiel) new dwelling-places in Babylonia. It is from this event in the year 597 that Ezekiel reckons the years of the 'Babylonian captivity' (Ez. 1 2 8 1, etc.; on 2 K. 24 1-16 cp Klostermann).

Nebuchadrezzar plainly considered this humiliation of the little kingdom enough to render it harmless for the future. He handed over the government to a son of Josiah, a full brother of Jehoahaz (Jer. 37 1 2 K. 23 31 24 18), Zedekiah by name, of whom he exacted a solemn oath of fidelity (Ez. 17 13), at the same time causing the poorer inhabitants to take the places of the richer owners of the soil whom he had banished. There was an error, however, in his calculations: the Jews had a stubbornness and a power of resistance for which he had not allowed. The poorer people triumphantly took possession of the estates of their exiled countrymen (Ez. 11 15), and many prophets, the opponents of Jeremiah, foretold a speedy end for the foreign supremacy (Jer. 27 14 *ff.* 28).

As early as in 593, plans were being matured in Jerusalem for a general rising of Judah and its neighbours (Jer. 27 1 *ff.*); the stimulus may have come from Egypt, where Psa(m)eṭik II. had succeeded to the throne in 594. On this occasion Zedekiah came to the conclusion that it was better to prove his fidelity by appearing in person before Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 51 59 *ff.*). Later, however, he gave way to the persuasions of Hophra (Apries, 588-570), when that Pharaoh intervened in the affairs of the Phoenician cities (Herod. 2 161), and so this weak king dealt a fatal blow to the independence of Judah and to the house of David.

42. Sack of Jerusalem.

In 586, after a siege of a year and a half, the army of Nebuchadrezzar forced Jerusalem to surrender, the Egyptians who were advancing to its relief having meantime been repelled (Jer. 37 5). Zedekiah sought safety in flight; but before he could cross the Jordan he was captured near Jericho. Nebuchadrezzar, who had remained in his headquarters at Riblah, received his prisoner sternly, and sent him in chains to Babylon. Within a month NEBUZARADAN (*q.v.*) set fire to the finest buildings in Jerusalem, including the royal palace and the temple, made great breaches in the city walls, and sent some seventy of the higher officers and nobility to Riblah, where Nebuchadrezzar caused them to be executed. Once more the inhabitants of Jerusalem suffered the penalty of exile, their lands being assigned to those of the poorer class who were left behind.

43. Gedaliah.

The sorely weakened people received for their governor Gedaliah, son of Ahikam. It was a skilful choice, as Gedaliah was much trusted and from his father's time had been on terms of close friendship with Jeremiah (Jer. 26 24). He fixed his residence at MIZPAH (*q.v.*), and forthwith fugitives from far and wide rallied round him to strengthen the bonds of national union. How this promising attempt was ruined by a revengeful prince of the house of David, who treacherously fell upon and murdered both Gedaliah and those who were about him (some of whom were Chaldæans), is told elsewhere (see ISHMAEL, 2). It is an episode the details of which well deserve special study, and we need only add here that Johanan b. Kareah delivered the captives whom Ishmael had carried off from Mizpah, and afterwards, for their greater security, conducted the trembling Jews[1] to Egypt. The aged Jeremiah was, against his will, a member of the party. (See Che. *Jeremiah, his Life and Times*, 188-200).

44. Review.

Thus came to pass that death of Israel as a nation of which Amos had long before spoken (Am. 5 1 *f.*). The resistance had been brave; but the enemy was not to be denied. The strength and tenacity which were natural to it had, in the case of Israel as distinguished from its neighbouring kinsfolk, been intensified by a faith in God that was higher than theirs. It was not without reason that men in the olden time had spoken of the great heroes of the 'wars of Yahwè.' As this highly naturalistic form of religious enthusiasm gradually gave way before the

[1] They had good reason to tremble. A Chaldæan army was still besieging Tyre (585-573), and in 582 there was a third deportation of Jews to Babylonia.

ISRAEL

influences of a peaceful civilisation, there grew up within Israel itself through the activity of the prophets a religious opposition which was highly prejudicial to the national well-being. It is undoubtedly correct to regard the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries as the true heroes of the Israelite genius. We must not allow ourselves to forget, however, that they were responsible for the destruction of the nation's old satisfaction with itself, and that the heads of the people often quite honestly regarded them as troublers of the public peace (see, *e.g.*, 1 K. 18 17 Am. 7 10 *f.*). Upon this internal malady supervened external dangers (Hos. 5 12 14), and thus the effective strength of the nation was doubly impaired, even quite apart from the internal jealousies and rancours of the various tribes and clans: Ahab, Jehu, the Syrian wars in the north, and Manasseh in the south are typical instances. In the later history of Judah the influence of the prophets comes into the very forefront. What arrests and almost astonishes is the disproportion between the soaring flight of religious thought and its practicable impotency. The prophets felt themselves to be messengers of the God of the whole world to the nations (Jer. 1 5 10), at the same time that his people were going helplessly to ruin. Faith rebels at the irksome limitations of space, and feels itself strong enough to face the world. Less attractive to behold is its shadow-like double, — the blind stubbornness and pride, which in Jeremiah's time cannot conceive the possibility that Yahwè, the God of the world, could ever cast off his own. Hence the strange juxtaposition of diffidence and boldness, of courage and despair. That petty selfishness and personal hatreds should be added to these at a time when 'to be or not to be' was the question which let loose every passion need not startle us. For the multitude it was an unintelligible and depressing destiny, that the people of Israel should on account of its faith be precluded from taking a place among the great kingdoms of the world. To us this is no longer a riddle: we give our pity to the vanquished brave, our admiration to the little flock, helpless and despised, which recognises an inward renewal as the only way of healing, accepts suffering as a merited chastisement, and, in humble expectation, waits for the day when God shall bring to victory the cause of his own in the sight of all the world. From the midst of such a company a new Israel did indeed actually spring up; but it was not a new people.

45. State of things in Judah.

We must not allow ourselves to picture the land of Judah after 582 as a mere howling wilderness. According to Jer. 52 28-30, 4600 men in all were carried into exile out of Jerusalem and Judah: this will represent a total of some 14,000-18,000 soh — certainly but *a* modest fraction[1] of the entire population, although doubtless representing its best and most vigorous elements. If we take into account also those who had migrated into Egypt, we may safely assume that among those who remained behind were included but few persons who had had experience in the conduct of public affairs. The necessary consequence was that the residents felt themselves reduced to a state of apathy and helplessness. The establishment of such a condition in the conquered land was no doubt in the interest of the conqueror; but it was not a state of complete desolation. A strong Edomite inroad from the SE. still further diminished the territory of what had once been the kingdom of Judah, and forced the Judahites who still remained into closer contiguity (see EDOM). The Calebites whom they drove from Hebron moved up into the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, which at a later date was spoken of as their native seat (1 Ch. 2 50 *ff.*; see CALEB, § 4). Jerusalem remained throughout the centre of the community, and sacrifice was even offered among the ruins of the temple (Jer. 41 5; cp Lam. 1 4). As the resident remnant were now without any natural head — we hear nothing of any Babylonian governor — resort was naturally had to the ancient division of the people according to families and clans, or even according to local communities, and the care of the common interests was handed over to the heads of families (elders).[1] Although no doubt there still remained a few who continued to cherish the old proud spirit (Ez. 33 24-29), the mood of the majority was humble, anxious, subdued in the extreme. The community lay helpless, exposed to the insults of its neighbours; men felt that they had been smitten to the earth by the divine anger; the proudest hearts were crushed by trouble (Lam. 2-4). The truth of the prophet's predictions as to the fate of Israel and Judah had been personally experienced in the direst measure, and all that now remained was with shame and confusion of face to answer the prophet's summons to repentance and amendment; the anniversaries of the sad events of the downfall were observed with fasting and mourning (Zech. 7 *f.*). In thus turning to God, hearts gradually began to glow again at thoughts of Yahwè's faithfulness and might. The rights of Zion over against the nations were no longer despaired of; hopes of a vindication, of a day of vengeance, began to be cherished, and men to wait on Yahwè (Lam. 5).

For most of the exiles in Babylonia, also, the destruction of Jerusalem was as startling as it was unexpected.

46. In Babylonia.

Relying upon prophetic utterances (Jer. 27-29 Ez. 12 21-13 23), they had, from 597 B.C. onwards, looked forward to a speedy release and return to Jerusalem. They regarded themselves as the true Israel, and proudly looked down on those who had been left behind in the old home (cp Jer. 24 Ez. 11 1-21). For this attitude their past certainly supplied them with good reasons; but they did not in the least degree answer the requirements which had been made of a true Israel by the prophets. The chiding discourses of Ezekiel (especially 1-24) show all too clearly that as yet there was no sign of a 'new heart' in them. The capture of Jerusalem in 586 seems at last to have had this consequence, that the exiles, as Jeremiah (29 4-9) had already counselled, began to lay their account with a more prolonged sojourn in foreign parts. To what degree they were distributed over the country at large we do not know; in several localities (Ezek. 13 8 1, etc., Ezra 8 7) they were settled in considerable numbers, and here they maintained in full force the old clan relations, not only *de facto* but also by means of registers (Ezra 8 17, cp Ezek. 13 9). Doubtless it fared better on the whole with the exiles than with those who had been allowed to remain behind in the old country. This holds true very specially of those who had no desire to assert Israel's loftier place among the nations, who simply threw themselves into the ordinary tasks of daily life, and soon, amid the widely ramified trade and commerce of the great world-state, found themselves better off than they had formerly been among the lonely hills of their highland home. Most of them, it must, however, be said further, became lost to their own nation, just as already the descendants of the exiles of the kingdom of Israel had become absorbed by their new surroundings in Mesopotamia and Media. The disadvantages of a life in a foreign country were felt to the full, on the other hand, by all those who were unable to forget the God of Israel and

47. Religion and literature.

his 'holy city' (Is. 52 1). According to the ideas then prevailing, it was a literal impossibility to serve Yahwè in a foreign, unclean land (Hos. 9 3-5; cp Ps. 137 4). All the more did it become incumbent to practise whatever served to maintain the connection with home. Personal intercourse with Jerusalem, which at first had been vigorously maintained (Jer. 29 1 *ff.* 25 51 59 Ezek. 24 26), naturally became less after the laying waste of the city and the repeated measures for reducing its population; the pious-minded found themselves in the end restricted to the memories,

[1] Cp GOVERNMENT, § 24.

the cherished customs, and the writings they possessed. It being impossible to worship Yahwè by sacrifice, they kept up all the more assiduously such customs as had in themselves some sort of independent existence apart from the temple-worship :—prayer (in which the face was turned towards Jerusalem ; see 1 K. 8 48), fasting, circumcision, Sabbath observance ; the last two, in particular. came to be distinguishing marks of Israel as opposed to heathendom. At the same time this thought found entrance, that renunciation of one's will and the surrender of the heart to God was the true sacrifice, well pleasing to God (Ps. 51 16 [18] *f.*).

Special diligence was devoted to the preserving, editing, and multiplying of hooks, and, consequently, the calling of the scribes (ספרים) rose to great importance.[1] It was to the 'law'—*i.e.*, to Deuteronomy and similar collections, as, for example, Lev. 17-26, which they edited and transcribed—that their attention was given in the first instance. Under the leadership of the prophet Ezekiel, who in chaps. 40 *ff.* of his book lays down specifications for the building of the temple, and prescribes its services after the manner of a legislator, advance was steadily made along the path indicated in Deuteronomy—that of imposing a special stamp upon the worship of Israel by means of laws. New, hut in full accordance with the circumstances and temper of the period, was the express enactment of regular days and sacrifices of propitiation (Ezek. 45 18-20). The editing of works of a historical nature was carried on along the same lines as those on which it had been begun in Judah before the Exile—viz., the past was measured by the standard of the law which had been in force since 621, and so was found to present little that was good (cp the books of Kings).[2] The thoughts were wholly those of Judah, though the name was that of Israel. The conceptions of prophetic circles, as these had developed and taken root in Judah in consequence of the activity of the prophets from Isaiah onwards, became victorious in the religious field, and it was from these that the new post-exilic Israel took its origin. Judaism, it is true, developed many noticeable characteristics which we are not as a rule accustomed to observe in the prophets (because they are there only in rudiment). The law in the later sense of the word has its roots in Deuteronomy; hut it is impossible to separate Deuteronomy from the influence of the prophets. Is. 1 19 *f.* already confronts us with the thought that everything depends on Israel's obedience or disobedience. The idea of retributive justice in itself is of venerable antiquity, and not confined to the religion of Israel ; but the prophets had actually put it forward as the key to an understanding of history, and with a view to securing the freedom and responsibility of the individual, had so modified it (Jeremiah and Ezekiel) as to represent retribution as visiting the guilty person alone, and even as judging the individual exclusively according to what might be his attitude at the moment of judgment. Out of this arose a new conception of the divine precepts. They became for Israel the conditions under which it was capable of receiving the divine gifts (Dt. 28 *ff.* Lev. 26) : by fulfilment of the law alone could Israel, whether the nation or the individual, receive life (Ezek. 20 11 Lev. 18 5 Neh. 9 29). The interest in worship, which henceforth has free scope in the laws, first meets us in the legislation of Deuteronomy, and was first aroused by the prophetic view that the worship of Israel ought to have its foundation in the proper history of Israel. The type of personal piety also displayed in Judaism had its pioneers in the later prophets. What Jeremiah had begun in his touching dialogues with God—the expression of the experiences and emotions of the individual soul—the Israelite, by nature lyrically disposed, now took up with great warmth as the motive of his religious poetry. Repentance, supplication, thanksgiving, praise, doubt, assurance of faith, now find their expression in a form that will continue to be the form for religious emotion to the end of time. A closer self-examination, a recognition and confession of sin—manifestations of the religious life so frequently met with after the Exile—were demands of the prophets (Jer. 3 21 *ff.* Ezek. 36 31 *ff.*) with which many in Israel learned in exile to comply. For the exiles were now actually living through and experiencing the nation's death in the land of the heathen ; the pain and the sorrow of it was gradually leading many to recognise the full truth of what the prophets had judged. Those thus disciplined learned to bow themselves submissively under the hand of God, and to bear the suffering willingly as a merited punishment (עֲנָוִים, 'עַבְדֵי(', 'עֶבֶד ·'). In such an attitude they became reconciled to God ; out of the promises of the prophets the aspiration after deliverance drew strength for hope to live by ; and this hope became all the livelier in proportion as Yahwè came to be sincerely acknowledged as the only God of heaven and earth. From him it was possible to expect Israel's vindication in the sight of the heathen nations even against the mightiest world-powers.

48. Dawn? The first indication of a turn of affairs for the better was the liberation of Jehoiachin (Jeconiah), and the bestowal on him of regal honours by Evil-merodach (561-560 ; cp 2 K. 25 27-30. Or was it not until Neriglissar ?). Yet other, more weighty, indications kept expectation alive for a considerable time. As there was now peace between Media and Babylon, the existing relations of the great powers seemed stable. All the greater was the tension when at last heavy storm-clouds began to gather over Babylonia. Cyrus II. of Persia had become (since 550 B.C. ; see CYRUS, § 2) the next neighbour of Babylonia, and was too insatiably energetic to curb himself at the frontier of that empire. The kingdom of Lydia—*i.e.*,

49. II. Isaiah. all Asia Minor—had been conquered in a single campaign, and as the conqueror passed along the northern border of Babylonia the author of Is. 40-55 discerned in his triumphant march a premonition of the coming vengeance of God upon proud Babylon. At last the hour for a message of peace and comfort to suffering Israel seemed to have come. The prophet spoke in soul-stirring strains of the mighty deeds of YahwB the God of the world—deeds by which he was to free his people from servitude to the heathen, bring them marvellously back to their own land, and there, before the astonished gaze of all the nations, make them great and glorious *as* never heretofore. He designated Cyrus as the instrument, the anointed, of YahwB, through whom Jerusalem and the temple should be again restored ; he spoke of the grand mission of pious Israel, to bring to the heathen the knowledge of the one true God. He gave exulting expression—he, a nameless prophet—to his sure confidence in the victory of the monotheistic faith ; he saw fulfilling itself before his own eyes and amid the forms surrounding him that which by all the ordinary laws of human existence can only be the growth of a long-continued development.[1]

50. Cyrus. We turn now to the actual sequel. Nabonidus having proved himself incapable of defending the country against the invader, the people of Babylonia hailed Cyrus as a welcome deliverer. The most important cities, including Babylon itself, fell into the hands of the Persians without any serious struggle (538 B.C.). Cyrus, therefore, had no occasion to resort to the harsher rigours of war. On the contrary, although himself a follower of the Zoroastrian religion, he caused himself to be credited with being also a favourite and a worshipper of Merodach (see CYRUS, § 6), his policy being thus most favourably distinguished from the fanatical measures of Semitic princes against the gods and temples of conquered peoples. The Old Persian religion allowed him, and his successors, not only to respect, but also to promote the religions of

[1] Cp EDUCATION, §§ 5 *ff.*; SCRIBES.
[2] Cp HEXATEUCH, §§ 18 *ff.*; HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 7.

[1] Cp ISAIAH ii., § 16 *f.*

other nations. He was thus in a position to respond to the religious wishes of the Jews. He gave orders to restore the temple of Yahwè, 'the God of heaven,' in Jerusalem, and sent SHESHBAZZAR (*q.v.*)—doubtless himself a Jew, and perhaps even a descendant of David—with suitable powers, as his governor to Judah. There, we are told, he laid the foundation of the new temple; but we learn also that an arrest was soon afterwards laid upon the enterprise (Ezra 5 13-16). There can hardly be any doubt that Sheshbazzar was accompanied to Jerusalem by prominent compatriots, such as Zerubbabel, a descendant of David and Joshua b. Jozadak the priest, and that they were able to appeal to royal authority in the prosecution of their aims (cp Ezra 6 1-5). We may doubt, however, whether, as the Chronicler affirms (Ezra 1 1-6), Cyrus gave a general permission for the return of the exiles to their native land.

51. Sheshbazzar.

This was the first event that brought some stir into the quiet and secluded life of the Jewish population at Jerusalem. The impulse, however, seems to have met at first with opposition and obstruction rather than support. Although we have no trustworthy information on the subject, this is certainly intelligible. The returned exiles, with the powers committed to them, would soon become troublesome to the native-born Jews, with their rights and privileges. Moreover, it seems very probable (cp Ezra 4 1-4) that the people of Samaria—among whom, notwithstanding their intermixture with foreigners (2 K. 17 24 Ezra 4 2 8-10), the worship of Yahwè survived (2 K 17 25 *ff.*) and was later brought into connection with Jerusalem (2 K. 23 15 19 *f.* Jer. 41 5)—endeavoured at first to reap some benefit for themselves from the permission of Cyrus to rebuild the temple, by making common cause with the Jews. Hence the first impulse resulting from the permission of Cyrus may have led to collisions in which the influence of the governor and the goodwill of the exiles spent themselves.

52. At Jerusalem.

Yet the event of 538, in itself unimportant, was like the little stone flung into a confined sheet of water, which creates a long-protracted disturbance. Nineteen or twenty years later the movement to build the temple was begun again by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. Zerubabbel, who now appears as Persian governor of Judah, a man of Davidic descent, and Joshua the 'high priest,' to whom Zechariah (3 7) expressly attributes the control of the temple precincts, begin with the people of Judah the restoration of the temple in 519. The inactivity of the co-religionists is met by the prophets with the promise that zeal displayed in building the temple will bring down the blessing of God—*i.e.*, the final realisation of the prophetic ideals of pre-exilic and exilic times—the overthrow of the great heathen empires, the gathering of the exiled and dispersed, the rehabilitation of the Davidic monarchy, and the recognition of Yahwè at Jerusalem on the part of the heathen. The temple was actually completed on the 23rd of Adar 515 (with Ezra 6 15 cp 1 Esd. 7 5 and Jos. *Ant.* xi. 4 7). It had been built by the people of Judah without help from the Persian government.

53. Restoration of the temple.

This appears clearly from Ezra 5 3-6 15, which refers to the latter part of the period of building. According to Ezra 6 8-10, indeed, Darius directs that the expenditure should be refunded out of the revenues of the province of Syria and Phœnicia, and that a regular allowance should be paid for the maintenance of the daily ritual of the temple. But it may be doubted whether this order was really carried out.

The restoration of the temple was an important achievement. In spite of its unpretentious appearance, the temple constituted an important rallying point for the native population, and exerted a strong attractive power on those who lived remote from Jerusalem (cp Zech. 6 10). Naturally it became more than ever imperative for the Jews that they should have a care for the regular service of the sanctuary. Nor was this, in the circumstances of the time, a simple or easy matter. The duty fell in, indeed, with the tendency of religious life in the times immediately preceeding the Exile, as we know from Deuteronomy and Ezekiel. But neither was there any longer a king in Jerusalem to maintain the court sanctuary, nor can we find any trace of the provision of Darius (Ezra 6 9 *f.*) having been carried out. Since, moreover, there was at that time, as Ezra 6 3 *ff.* shows, no real Persian governor at Jerusalem, the priesthood, with Joshua the 'high priest,' a descendant of Zadok, at their head, were simply dependent on the good will of the people. But, as appears from expressions in Mal. and Is. 56 *ff.*, this does not seem to have secured them any adequate provision. There was no fixed order to unite willing and unwilling in a common contribution with regularity. The wealthy heads of families cared only for themselves (Is. 56 10-12). To the utter absence of any spirit of friendly co-operation were added calumny, fraud, and violence. The administration of justice was feeble or subservient to avarice. A large proportion of the people were poor and suffered actual distress. The pious, who anxiously endeavoured to be obedient to the word of Yahwè, felt themselves much oppressed by these conditions. The promises of a better time not having been realised, the zeal of the pious seemed to have been vain; it was paralysed by the practices of those who would hear of no sharp distinction between the service of Yahwè and their heathen surroundings. Intermarriage between people of Judah and Canaanites was by no means rare, and through the influence of the old family ties a blending of religious cults was brought about, in which the heathen as the stronger became victorious (cp Neh. 13 23-27). Of these two tendencies, which might be called Jewish-Canaanite and Jewish-prophetic respectively, the former maintained close relations with the people of Samaria—whose peculiar history had forced them to a similar course—who now endeavoured to establish rights in the temple at Jerusalem. Naturally the adherents of the prophets would acknowledge no such rights; but even those who favoured the cultivation of closer relations hesitated to change so radically the rights of the temple (fully recognised as these were) and perhaps thereby to endanger their stability. The people of Samaria retorted by resuming an attitude of open enmity, making the Jews feel their superior power (Is. 62 8 *f.*). It is not strange that in these circumstances a satisfactory ordering of the temple worship was not attained.

54. Difficulty of reorganisation.

Even external peace was not unbroken. Although the expeditions of the Persians against Egypt (517. 485, 455) did not affect the Judæan highlands, the revolt of Megabyzos, satrap of Syria, against Artaxerxes I. (465-425) would affect the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The condition of things, was therefore, deplorable in Jerusalem about the middle of the fifth century B.C. (Is. 59 15 *f.*).

It was by Nehemiah and Ezra that a deliverance was effected. In firm faith in Israel's future, with great dexterity and immovable tenacity, they fortified the defenceless Jerusalem, and established the temple worship by the organisation of the Jews as a religious community.

55. Nehemiah.

As to the chronological order of the events that secured this result difference of opinion prevails; especially marked is this in the case of the arrival of Ezra and his caravan at Jerusalem (Kuen., Ed. Meyer, and others—458 B.C., under Artaxerxes I.; Kosters—about 430 B.C. under the same king; van Hoonacker—398.397 B.C. under Artaxerxes II., Mnemon). The account given in the following paragraphs agrees in the main with the theory of Kosters (*Het Herstel*, 1894; see EZRA ii., § 9).

Nehemiah, a cup-bearer of Artaxerxes I., Longimanus (465-425), learned in Susa from some men from Judæa that Jerusalem lay in ruins and its people were groaning under a burden of wretchedness. He obtained of the king leave of absence and authority, as governor of the district of Judah, to attend to the fortification of Jerusalem. Arrived in Jerusalem in 446-445, he devoted

his attention in the first place to external relations. The strenuous efforts of the people of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood enabled him to restore the walls of the city in fifty-two days. The people of Samaria, with Sanballat of Bethhoron at their head, vainly sought by open threats and hidden craft to put obstacles in his way. The plunder of the poor by the rich during the building of the walls he restrained by earnest admonition and the example of his own unselfish conduct. He did not allow himself to be intimidated in his plans by prophetic threats or by the ambiguous attitude of leading members of the community actively allied with Sanballat and his dependants (Neh. 1-6). He took systematic measures for the safety of Jerusalem, and secured an increase of the population by immigration from the surrounding district (Neh. 7 1-5 11 1 *f.*). Of his further doings during the twelve years of his first stay at Jerusalem we have no information; but he appears even then to have taken in hand the regulation of the temple service (Neh. 12 44, cp 13 4-10). In 434-433 he returned to the Persian court.

56. Second visit. Soon, however, he came back to Jerusalem. Henceforth he devoted his attention particularly to religious affairs. Arrangements in favour of the priesthood he rescinded, banished from Jerusalem even a member of the high priestly family who had become allied by marriage to Sanballat, provided for regular payment being made to Levites and singers, insisted on strict observance of the Sabbath, and sought to prevent mixed marriages (Neh. 13 4-31).

57. Ezra. Many indications favour the opinion that the expedition of Ezra was connected with Nehemiah's second journey to Jerusalem, and was perhaps even occasioned by Nehemiah. At the head of some 1800 men of Judah (= 5500-6000 souls), Ezra, priest and scribe, left Babylon with the two-fold mission assigned him by the king—(1) of submitting the state of things in Judah to the test of his lawbook, and regulating it accordingly (Ezra 7 14 25 *f.*); (2) of bringing to Jerusalem the rich presents of the king and his retinue, of the province of Babylonia, and of the Jews' co-religionists (Ezra 7 15-19). Ezra's enterprise aimed accordingly at pronouncedly religious ends. In the externally mixed and internally disunited people loosely congregated round the temple, Ezra's companions were to form the solid kernel of a new 'Israel' that should render obedience to the law of God, and so could cherish with a good conscience the hope of being worthy to experience the fulfilment of the divine promises (cp Dt. 28 1-14 Lev. 26 1-13). In fact, a company of 6000 souls invested with royal authority might well seem capable of bringing about a thorough-going reform in Judah.

Yet Ezra encountered great difficulties. These would spring not only from the religious contrast between those who came from Babylon and those that were native born, but also from the sudden increase of population produced by this influx of families of the highest rank. It is only, however, of the religious movement begun by Ezra that we hear. Learning with horror and grief of the mixed marriages that were common in all ranks he assembled the people in front of the temple and endeavoured to arouse in them the sentiments he himself felt. His acts and words produced a profound impression. A resolution was passed that a searching investigation should be instituted with a view to dissolving the mixed marriages in the district of Jerusalem. Whether a real separation, however, was made at this early time between 'holy' and unholy is not quite clear from Ezra 10. At all events, Ezra had by his religious energy produced a lasting impression on the multitude.

58. The congregation. His greatest achievement, accomplished with the co-operation of Nehemiah, was the organisation of the new Jewish community (about 430 B.C.). This came into existence by the heads of families pledging themselves by formal subscription (cp Neh. 9 *f.*) to the observance of the law (Neh. 9 38-10 31 [10 1-32]) and other regulations with reference to the temple services (*vv.* 32-39 [33-40]).

The prescriptions quoted from the law (*v.* 31 *f.*) point to Ex. 23 and Dt. 15. The measures decreed and imposed upon itself by the assembly (*vv.* 32-39 [33-40]) aim at regulating the temple service by contributions made by the community in common (temple tax, firstlings, firstborn, tithes), and culminate in the concluding assertion, 'We will not neglect the house of our God.'

59. The new law. It was apparently after this organisation of the community—not, as the present order of the book of Nehemiah implies, before it—that Ezra's law-book was solemnly read in public (Neh. 8 1-12). As its first effect is mentioned (*vv.* 13-18) the new celebration of the feast of 'Tabernacles,' which plainly answers to the prescription now to be found in Lev. 23 39-43. This leads to the assumption that the law-book of Ezra contained in the main the Law of Holiness (P_1 or H) and the oldest parts of the Priestly Code proper (P_2 or P_G; see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9). The amplification of this book and its combination with the older parts of our Pentateuch will have followed soon after (see CANON, § 23 *ff.*). How far Ezra himself had a share in this work we do not know. At all events, the work undertaken by Nehemiah and Ezra was thus completed, inasmuch as the laws demanded by the new conditions of things were accorded authority equal to that of the older collections (cp § 61). This fact is reflected in the later Jewish legend according to which the Law was written out anew by Ezra (4 Esd. 14 19-22 40-47; *Pirkē Ābōth*, i. 1, 2). We have another important monument of the constitution of the post-exilic community in the list of its families and local communities (Ezra 2 = Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5) adopted by the Chronicler as a list of exiles returned in the time of Cyrus see EZRA ii., § 9). According to it, the number of men in the community amounted to 42,360—*i.e.*, some 521,000 souls.

60. Idea of congregation. Before proceeding with the history of this newly constituted community, we must briefly set forth its characteristics and its relation to the pre-exilic people of Israel. The fundamental idea of Ezra's new creation is clearly dependent on those by which it was preceded—Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, 'Law of Holiness' (see LEVITICUS):—it is that of a holy people in a holy land. Since the predominant conception of holiness was in the ritualistic sense of purity, we have the impression of the whole community being regarded precisely as a sacrificial brotherhood of the old times. The stranger (נָכְרִי, בֶּן־נֵכָר) is excluded; marriage with him makes unclean; circumcision and the Sabbath are the badges of the Jewish community, and serve, along with the observance of other prescriptions, to sanctify the land. In fact, it was the organisation of the Jewish community after the Exile that for the first time completely abolished the old sacrificial communion of families or clans. All its members contributed alike to the maintenance of one and the same cultus at the single sanctuary. Thus the post-exilic community in regulating the cultus by law took up a position completely in harmony with that sketched by the last representatives of prophecy at the beginning of the Exile. But, unlike them, it was not content with expelling from Israel everything heathen. It sought in the institution of a common cultus a bond, firm and strong, to unite in a close fellowship the individual members—an end secured formerly by the establishment of the monarchy. Hence to the highest representative of the ecclesiastically reorganised community—the high priest—were transferred also badges of royalty of many kinds (*e.g.*, ANOINTING [*q.v.*, § 3]).

61. The Torah. The support and strength of the community was the new law-book, which was certainly regarded by those in authority merely as a seasonable modification and completion, and therefore as the legitimate successor, of Deuteronomy. The application of it became a learned accomplishment.

It was written and its provisions were many and varied. Moreover—and this was the chief difficulty—it was not enough to know the written law. That contained only certain prescriptions, namely those which had been regarded as of special importance when the various collections were made. The system as a whole, the mode of procedure, the various legal precedents, were unwritten. Without a knowledge of the latter, however, administration of justice in Israel was really impossible: the written law could be used only by one who understood the place and significance of the several statutes in the whole body of law, and their use in accordance with the ancient unwritten law of established usage. Hence the skilled use of the law fell more and more out of the hands of the priests and became the affair of the 'scribes' (ספרים), who, no doubt, not infrequently belonged to the priesthood (cp, *e.g.*, the case of Ezra himself). The more influential the scribes became, the more would the priesthood have to reckon with them. The sphere of Jewish law and Jewish legal administration cannot be measured according to the modern distinction between spiritual and temporal, ecclesiastical and political. The 'affairs of Yahwè' (cp the antithesis in 2 Ch. 19 11) included besides the cultus the whole realm of law. In Israel law had always been counted as a holy affair of Yahwè's; the Jewish community could not for a moment give this up if it recognised obedience to the will of Yahwè as its mission: according to Ezra 7 25 *f.*, the royal powers vested in Ezra do not indicate in this respect any restriction of any kind.

62. Sacrifice of political claims.

On the other hand, Nehemiah and Ezra tacitly abandoned political independence, and in so doing gave up a vital part of the hopes and ideas of the prophets. This very sacrifice, sore as it was, opened to them a way of escape from a desperate position, and guaranteed them not only room for their undertakings, but also the strong support of the imperial power. The followers and adherents of the prophets, indeed, were offended; and there must have been some deeper influence at work than the mere bribes of his enemies, when we find Nehemiah complaining even of enmity on the part of the prophets (Neh. 66-14). The result, however, confirmed the policy of Nehemiah and Ezra; and it is accordingly no matter for surprise that in the sequel the position of the prophets fell grievously in popular esteem (Zech. 13 2-6). The abandonment of political independence, however, was only a preliminary. The coming glorification of Israel before all the heathen was the goal for the sake of which Nehemiah and Ezra sacrificed their laborious work on points of detail and minor matters. The old political programme of the prophets was retained or reconstructed in the form of eschatology. The position accorded to strangers in the Jewish community clearly establishes the character of this sacrifice as a mere preliminary. Following Deuteronomy, the law-book of the post-exilic community decides (Ex. 12 49 Lev. 24 22) that there should be one law for native (אורח) and foreigner (גר); indeed, foreigners have the option of circumcision, and can thus become completely merged in the community. This is a fruit of the universalism of the prophets. On the other hand, from civil qualifications the *gēr* is excluded.[1] This would aim at keeping the civil community pure as the birthplace of the future nation, preserving a true 'Israel' for the time of the great crisis. In the Jewish constitution instituted by Nehemiah and Ezra, accordingly, what we find is a well thought-out attempt to secure for the remnant of Israel, even without political independence, the enjoyment of their religious inheritance in its fullest extent.

Notwithstanding the emphasis that was, especially in the beginning, laid on the community, piety was a concern of the individual. In this respect the views that meet us in the Memoirs of Nehemiah and Ezra (see Ezra ii., § 5) are instructive.

63. Practical religion.

Every male member of the community who had passed his twentieth year had to pay the temple tax (Neh. 10 32 [33] *f.* Ex. 30 11 *ff.*). Except where the nature of the case demanded otherwise, it was the individual that was aimed at in the provisions of the law. The sufferings of nearly 200 years were, indeed, recognised in the true prophetic spirit as divine punishment for the sins of the nation. A thoroughgoing reform would, it was hoped, end the long chastisement and usher in a time of grace. But, although there was no doubt about the common guilt, everyone was required to acknowledge and confess his sin (cp Ezra 9 6 *ff.* Neh. 9). There thus began to prevail in the Jewish community a constant consciousness of sin. The stiffneckedness so often spoken of must give place to self-abasement and humility before God (ענוה). As obedience to God came to be obedience to the law, to be solicitous (חָרֵד) about the law was accounted specially praiseworthy. Certainly we have coming to us from post-exilic times the noblest testimony to the supreme blessing of communion with God (*e.g.*, Ps. 73 23 *ff.*), and touching descriptions of a soul's conflict with unmerited suffering (Job). They show us that personal piety then flourished in strength. Still, under the dominion of law religion could not fail to become prevailingly a matter of form and outward act. The contrast was similar in another respect. The monotheistic attitude of mind toward God was assured; it directed men's eyes beyond the Jewish community on to the other nations. The worship, however, to which men were devoted moved in narrower bounds on the ruins of a popular religion that was no more.

64. Political constitution.

The formation of the Jewish community did not impose on their land a new constitution. The law accommodated itself to traditional relations, supplementing them and filling them with the new spirit. If no special governor for Jerusalem were appointed, the district was administered from Samaria by the resident Persian officer, who appears to have had an adviser at Jerusalem (Neh. 11 24). Taxation and military service were in his hands. The highest place among the native population was occupied by the 'elders' or 'nobles,' the hereditary representatives of the families settled in the capital. In their hands was the civil and, in conjunction with special judges, apparently also the judicial administration, except in as far as these matters were attended to locally (cp Ezra 5 3 *ff.*). From this, it seems, arose the γερουσία, senate or synedrium, the existence of which, however, we are not able to prove till the Greek age (198 B.C.; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 33). An officer, however, who at first ranked alongside these, soon rose above them all, even above the descendants of David,—the high priest. He ruled in the sanctuary and administered temple dues paid by all alike. The sacred office, therefore, easily became a prize for the ambitious and avaricious, and occasionally an object of sanguinary struggle. As Josephus says (*Ant.* xi. 48 xx. 10), the constitution was accordingly an aristocratic oligarchy.

In the country towns also there were 'elders' and 'judges,' the latter of whom were probably subject to appointment (Dt. 16 18 Ezra 7 25). The basis for this new arrangement was plainly provided by the old organisation of the nation by clans. The officers often mentioned by Nehemiah (*sĕgānīm*; EV 'rulers'; RVmg. 'deputies') were persons appointed by and subordinate to the Persian governor (Neh. 5 17).

65. Samaria.

Nothing shows more clearly the deep impression made by the constitution of the Jewish community than the imitation of it in the land of old Israel, at Shechem. The alliance of the leading families in Samaria and Judæa had found in Nehemiah an undaunted opponent. He did not shrink from expelling from Jerusalem a descendant of the high priest Eliashib who had married a daughter of Sanballat (Neh. 13 28), and all prospect of nearer rela-

[1] Alfr. Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Israeliten u. d. Juden z. d. Fremden* ('96), 160 *ff.* See STRANGER.

tions was excluded by the organisation of the community. What they had not been able to attain in common with the Jews, the Samaritans accomplished, however, for themselves, with the assistance of the Jewish fugitives. They installed the Zadokite from Jerusalem as their high priest, built a temple on Mt. Gerizim, and adopted the Pentateuch, with certain alterations, as their law (see CANON, § 25).

By Josephus, indeed (*Ant.* xi. 8), these events are brought into connection with the expedition of Alexander the Great ; but, since there can hardly be any doubt that Josephus has incorporated in his narrative the statements of Neh. 13 28, he must have assigned them too late a date (*see* CANON, § 25).

The organisation of the Samaritan community must have been completed not later than the first half of the fourth century B.C.

The history of the Jewish community after the Exile is known to us only in part. About the close of the Persian and the beginning of the Greek period we know very little. During the long struggle of the Egyptians for freedom from Persia (408-343 B.C.) not only was Syria often traversed by Persian armies, but also it was itself the scene of battles fought under Artaxerxes III. Ochus (358-338) with great vigour and ferocity. The Jewish community would certainly suffer. It appears, however, also to have made common cause with the insurgents in Egypt and Syria. For, about 351, Ochus seems to have had part of the populace of Jndzea conveyed, apparently by Orophernes (the HOLOFERNES [*q.v.*] of the Book of Judith), to Hyrcania (and Babylonia), and it was presumably in the years 348-340 that the persecutions inflicted on the Jews by Ochus's notorious general, the Egyptian eunuch Bagoas (=Bagoses, Jos. *Ant.* xi.7 1), fell.[1] Undoubted allusions to these events are not to be found in the OT; but passages in Is. 24-27, also 63 7-64 12 [11], Pss. 44 74 79 89, have lately been referred to them.[2]

66. Persian period.

The weight of the intolerable oppression led the Jewish community to hail the wonderful triumphal progress of Alexander the Great as a divinely sent deliverance (cp Is. 24 14-16 Ps. 46 ?). The change of rule seems to have been accomplished peaceably as far as Jerusalem was concerned, though hardly with the Special favour personally shown by Alexander that Josephus mentions (*Ant.* xi. 8). But Alexander's brilliant victories were not followed by peace. After varying contests between Antigonus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy, including even a conquest of Jerusalem by the last-mentioned ruler, probably after the battle of Gaza 312, the S. part of Syria was, in consequence of the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), assigned to Ptolemy I.

67. Seleucidæ.

Under the wise and judicious rule of the first three Ptolemies (306-221) the Jewish community, probably for the first time, enjoyed a considerable period of peace and quiet. The battles fought against the Seleucidæ in the middle of the third century (cp Dan. 11 6 *ff.*) did not, it would seem, affect the highland district, and the religious peculiarities of the Jews were respected by the Ptolemies. We must, accordingly, suppose that at this time there was a strengthening and extension of the community. The advance of the Seleucidze in Syria did not at first produce any change in the favourable position of the Jews. The victory of Ptolemy IV. Philopator over Antiochus III. the Great at Raphia (217 B.C.) was, indeed, hailed by the Jews with joy. When, however, after 202, Antiochus III. resumed and pursued with better success his plans of conquest, the inclinations of the Jews were transferred to him. After he had defeated the Egyptian general at the sources of the Jordan in 198, the Jews made voluntary submission to him and assisted him in driving out the Egyptian garrison from the citadel (Akra) of Jerusalem. We can

[1] Cp W. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien* ('92), pp. 170 *f.* 175 *f.* [For the *name* cp BAGOAS, BIGVAI.]
[2] Che. *Intr. Is.* 358 *ff.* Cp ISAIAH ii., §§ 13, 21.

hardly credit all that Josephus tells of the consequent favour shown by Antiochus (*Ant.* xii. 3 3 *f.*); hut we may infer from it that the Jewish community prospered under this representative of the house of Seleucus. From that time onwards (198-7 B.C.) Judæa belonged to the kingdom of the Seleucidze.

We come here upon the surprising phenomenon of a Syrian party—*i.e.*, one friendly to the Greeks—controlling opinion in Jerusalem. The Chronicler, who compiled the books of Chronicles and also Ezra and Nehemiah (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 15) in the first half of the third century, proves beyond a doubt the complete victory of the ideas for which Nehemiah and Ezra had fought. The history of the past is there recast as if the standards of the present had always prevailed in Israel. This directly concerns also the estimation in which foreign innovation was held. But it would be wrong to conclude that there were none but orthodox (*so* to speak) in the Jewish community. The Psalms show that such as remained true to the law had much to complain of in the way of calumny and violence on the part of the 'godless,' whom, it was hoped, Yahwè would sometime cut off from the community in judgment. These were such members of the community as favoured the foreigner. According to the descriptions in the Psalms, they were to be found in the more wealthy classes. Their reliance on the kingdom of the Seleucidze is explained by the fact that it was there that Greek life was able to get a hold and root itself. The Egyptians were so set and fixed in their way of life and their civilisation that even the Ptolemies could not move them. Alexandria, the creation of Alexander the Great, and other places in the Delta, became famous seats of Greek culture and commerce. But it was otherwise in W. Asia. The natural boundaries of the nations had already been abolished by the Assyrians and Chaldeans (Is. 10 13 *f.*), and throughout their empire there had been a blending of races and religions. The equalising influences of trade and commerce increased under the rule of the Persians, who opened new routes. But the state created by the Asiatic conquerors was only a loose collection of separate groups in which the old native forms survived. When the Greek cenquerors had forced an entrance for themselves, a great swarm of peaceable stragglers followed in their train, and had no difficulty in making their way into the loose groups and forming alliances with them. Naturally it was in the newly-founded or newly-colonised Greek cities that this process began, and it was even later confined in general to the towns (the settled country was now Aramaic, the desert Arabian). Greek education, art, and trade were pursued ; new markets were opened up ; luxury and unstinted self-indulgence gave life a seductive lustre.

68. Contact with Hellenism.

It was the Jews outside of Jerusalem, in the Diaspora, that made the first acquaintance with Hellenism (cp DISPERSION, HELLENISM). We cannot trace with any certainty the rise of Jewish communities in foreign lands. The accounts in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1 3 4), of forcible settlements in Egypt and Asia Minor have been called in question. It is more likely that trade interests led the Jews abroad, and that allied families joined them in the leading commercial towns. Here they learned to speak, think, and live as Greeks. They were sought out by anyone who came from Jerusalem (Ecclus. 31 9-11); and they in their turn visited Jerusalem, their spiritual mother, and told how greatly the world was changed. And for Jews the outer world had long ago come to have a two-fold significance: it was not only the power that was hostile to Yahwè, who would yet break its strength, but also the multitude of those who would sometime bow themselves before him and bring offerings to him at Jerusalem. Hence it was not simply a sign of unbelief or apostacy if men had regard for the

69 a. Diaspora.

new forms of the world, and did not forget the man in the Jew—and the man at that time was the Greek, fairly launched on his career of cosmopolitanism. Writings such as Koheleth, Jonah, Ecclesiasticus testify to this—each in its own way. Ecclesiasticus allows even the external demands of Judaism to fall into the background in order to lay the emphasis on the demand for fear of God and moral conduct. Such a conception of life approximated to that of the Greek popular philosophy of those times. In the far-reaching current of universalism such inner relations must not be under-estimated. In the intercourse between Judaism and Hellenism it is certainly the lower motives of conduct that come more clearly forward—vanity, greed, lust of power, licentiousness. For the men of distinction and wealth at Jerusalem this was the main thing (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4).

69 *b*. Two parties.

There were at this time two among the priestly families at Jerusalem that contended for the leadership—the Oniadæ and the Tobiadæ.[1] The Oniadæ were the pious guardians of the prophetic inheritance rescued from the exile, and set their hopes on the mild rule of the Ptolemies. The Tobiadæ, on the other hand, regarded the strict separation of Israel from other nations, especially from the dominant Greeks, as hurtful; they were, therefore, in favour of the Seleucidæ. Rut perhaps the qnestion was one of political ascendancy more than of religious antagonism. Matters came to an open conflict when Ptolemy VI. Philomētor planned the subjugation of southern Syria (173 B.C.). The high priest Onias[2] felt himself so strong that he drove the Tobiadæ and their partisans from Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* i. 1 1). These sought help of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (175-164), who gladly seized the opportunity to get the better of Ptolemy's friends in Jerusalem. Any compendious account of the struggles in 173-170 for the high-priesthood in Jerusalem is difficult owing to the frequent contradictions of our two sources—Josephus and 2 Maccabees. The course of events was perhaps somewhat as follows: Antiochns IV. displaced ONIAS in favour of his hellenizing brother JASON. The latter in turn had to make way for MENELAUS in 171. In the first campaign of Antiochus IV. against Ptolemy, Jason came back and drove out Menelaus, but was unable to retain his position. He was perhaps slain by Onias (170 B.C.). Onias found an asylum for himself and his followers in Egypt (cp § 71 below). Menelaus was restored by Antiochus to the high-priesthood, and, as years passed, was the better able to ensure the king's protection since the latter had incensed against himself all the more seriously-minded Jews.

70. Antiochus Epiphanes.

On returning from Egypt in 170 B.C., Antiochus made his way into the temple and plundered it. This desecration of the Sanctuary aroused the religious feeling of the Jews, and showed them that they had nothing to expect in the way of appreciation of (not to speak of consideration for) their peculiarities. Even the more shortsighted and careless recognised the danger that threatened the Jewish community from the side of Greek civilisation. Any prospect of accommodation or even reconciliation vanished. The tension on both sides increased; even at this time there may perhaps have been bloody encounters in Jerusalem. But Antiochus did not on this account give up his plan of getting the little group of strange enthusiasts on the southern border of his kingdom out of his way; for him Jerusalem was nothing but an inconvenient focus of disturbance and insubordination. When, in 168 B.C., he had to retire before the Romans from Egypt, he sent an officer (Apollonius? 2 Macc. 5 24), who took the city by surprise, and turned the ancient city of David into a military fort (Acra, 1 Macc. 1 33 *f.*), the garrison of which held the inhabitants in terrified submission.

Antiochus wished to destroy with a firm hand the real roots of opposition, and, accordingly, directed his measures against the Jewish religion. The cultus was suppressed; the altar of burnt offering was changed into a place of sacrifice to Zeus (1 Macc. 1 54 59); the Torah rolls were burnt; Jewish customs (Sabbath, circumcision, etc.) were forbidden; those who remained faithful to the law in spite of the pressure brought to hear on them were executed (December 168 B.C.). The high priest submitted. He plainly regarded it as possible to retain, as a Hellenistic Jew, the position of head of the Jewish community. With the energy which had been manifested at Jerusalem, the king's officers attempted also in the country districts to compel the Jews to offer heathen sacrifices and adopt heathen usages. Thus the work of Nehemiah and Ezra, moderate and conciliatory as it was, which offered a last retreat for the religion of Israel, was dissolved.

The fall of the power of Persia had left the way to the East open to Greece and all that it brought with it, and this it was that stifled the life of Judaism. Having nothing like it to oppose to it, Judaism was powerless against it: devout persons fled for their faith before it. To combat this faith in itself was not the intention of Antiochus; he did not understand it or even perceive that it was, just as at that time the Jews were nowhere understood by the Greeks. All that Antiochus saw in the Jewish faith was the source of passionate quarrels that he had to compose. As the priestly nobility were ready to fall in with him, we must not wonder that Antiochus imagined that he could win the compliance of the people also. But this calculation proved to be false: the Jews resisted. In virtue of his sovereign rights, he demanded of the Jews by force what other Syrian peoples had yielded to the Greek power without difficulty. And here we find his fundamental mistake: he saw nothing more in Yahwè the god of the Jews than in (say) Dagon the god of the Philistines, or in Melkarth the god of the Phoenicians.

71. Effect of his policy.

The attitude of the Jews towards the violent measures of Antiochus was very various. The priestly aristocracy in Jerusalem submitted; for them probably the question of influence and their revenue was all-important. Onias the high priest, who had fled to Egypt, became the originator of a religions schism by which he seems to have meant to remove the ground from under the feet of the Palestinian Jews. With the permission of Ptolemy VI. Philometor (181-146), he built (in 170) on the ruins of an Egyptian sanctuary at Leontopolis in the district of Heliopolis (= *Tell el-Yehūdīyya*) a Jewish temple (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9 7 13 3, *BJ* vii. 10 2 *ff.*, cp DISPERSION, § 8). This remarkable undertaking was fitted to draw the Jews of Judaea who had remained true to the law in the same direction as the legitimate high-priesthood had gone—namely, to Egypt (cp Is. 19 19). There can be no doubt that at that time many went this way; it seemed a way out of the hopeless night. Most, however, of the devout-minded people could not bring themselves to abandon Yahwè's holy city, and its claim to be the holy city for all nations. They fled into the wilderness and hid themselves in clefts and caves. If attacked on the Sabbath they would quietly submit to death rather than desecrate the day by fighting.

72. Revolt.

This passive resistance, however, was suddenly changed into active. An aged and honoured country priest at Modein, a place between Bethhoron and Lydda, slew a Jew who was offering sacrifice according to heathen ritual, killing the Syrian officer at the same time. Fleeing eastwards, Mattathias made his way in safety with his five sons over the mountains, and there in the wilderness entered into an agreement with others of like mind to fight, if

[1] Cp H. Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung* (Gött. ['95]).

[2] The Onias II. and Onias III. of Josephus are probably originally one and the same person. Cp further Wellh. *GGA*, '95, pp. 947-957.

attacked, even on the Sabbath. This **was** the signal for a religious war (**167B.** C. **).** It was a desperate act, the most foolhardy in the whole history of Israel. Faith and holy indignation, exasperation and burning hate, drove the Jews to strain their powers to the utmost. They achieved indeed remarkable feats, aided by the natural advantages afforded them by their native mountains. The Maccabees, however, would have succumbed to the armies of the Seleucidze had not the latter by their endless contests for the throne themselves provided an escape.

The example of Mattathias and his sons won over the adherents of the Law. Many sufferers from persecution, along with the union of the Assidæans (*Ḥăsīdīm*, חסידים; I Macc. 2 42), joined them. Their first step was to use force against the renegade Jews, destroy the signs of heathenism in the land, and restore the customs of Israel. Meanwhile Mattathias died after handing over the work to his sons Simon and Judas.

73. Judas.

The latter, Judas 'Maccabæus' (see MACCABEES, THE), undertook the leadership in the war (**166** B.C.), and proved himself a devout and courageous man, equal to the task he had undertaken. It was only under him that the war with the Syrians themselves began. He first defeated Apollonius (I Macc. **3** 10 *ff.* ; cp 2 Macc. **5** 24) ; then, at Beth-horon, Seron the military commander of Cœle-Syria ; then, at Emmaus (='*Amwās*), Gorgias, supported by the viceroy Lysias ; and lastly, at Beth-zur, Lysias himself (**165B.** C.). The generalship as well as the success of Judas reminds one vividly of the battles fought by Saul and David against the Philistines ; faith-inspired enthusiasm, foolhardy valour, and judicious tactics, taking advantage of the natural difficulties of the ground, helped the Jews to victory. Thus, master of the open country between Bethzur and Beth-horon. Judas determined to make the capital the religious centre of revolt.

74. Cultus reorganised.

(Mizpeh, north of Jerusalem, had hitherto been the place of resort for common prayer and lamentation.) The temple site was secured against attack from the Syrian garrison in the Acra; new priests were installed, upholders of the law ; the signs of heathenism were removed from the sacred precincts ; the legal cultus was restored in its full extent. On the 25th Kislev (December) **165** B.C. (exactly three years after its profanation) the temple was formally dedicated—a ceremony that was afterwards commemorated by a yearly feast (חנכת הבית, Ps. *30* title). For Judas and his party these achievements were very important. They not only dismayed the friends of the Greeks and animated the hopes of the supporters of the law, hut also robbed the schismatic attempt of Onias of all danger as far as Palestine was concerned. What a revolution in men's frame of mind had already occurred in Judah we learn from the Apocalypse of Daniel, which was written about this time (see DANIEL, § 8 *f.*, and cp DEDICATION, FEAST OF).

The religious feeling of the author had already recovered its equilibrium ; the leaders of the heathen party are derided ; the faithful adherents of Yahwè are comforted, Yahwè himself brings to an end the rule of the heathen, his eternal kingship over the world passes to pions Israel ; whoever has died without participating in the divine reward will receive it after the resurrection ; the great distress is the pledge that the longed-for time, the glorification of Israel in the eyes of all nations, is at hand. The prophetic picture of Israel's future, repressed by Nehemiah and Ezra has powerfully affected the author's thoughts. The victories of Jndas count for little with him (Dan. 11 34) ; it is not success of human power that he desires for Israel ; what he saw at hand is wrought by God himself—it is the end, the consummation. The ideas of the prophets appear in him in an eschatological form ; the goal of his hopes is heaven *and* earth ; the glory of Israel is the work and gift of God, not the fruit of the toil and labour of man.

The thoughts of the Maccabees led, **as** very soon appenred, to a different goal. The garrison of the Acra in Jerusalem, which was threatened by the growing power of Judas, sent word of their straits to King Antiochus V. Eupator about 163 B.C. The regent Lysias accordingly marched forth with the young king at the head of a large army against the insurgents, drove them hack from the south to Jerusalem, and shut them up on the fortified temple-plateau.

75. Religious conflict becomes political.

Matters threatened to go hard with Judas, when unexpectedly an arrangement was come to, by which the king allowed the Maccabees the free exercise of their religion, and promised them indemnity, while they in exchange were to hand over the sanctuary,—in addition to which, however, they had subsequently to consent to the dismantling of their fortresses.

The occasion for the religious war was thus removed, and the disastrous step of Antiochus IV. in **168** retraced. In consequence the question naturally arose : Ought not Judas and his followers to lay down their arms ? Many thought so ; in particular the Assideans ; and so when ALCIMUS (*q.v.*), who was a priest of legitimate descent and had been nominated by Demetrius I. to the high-priesthood in succession to Menelaus, now at last deposed (171-164 B.c.), was about to be brought into Jerusalem by Bacchides the governor by military force, they declared themselves ready for peace (I Macc. 7 12 *ff.*). Following the example of Nehemiah and Ezra, they for the present asked nothing more than religious freedom. Judas, on the other hand, would not hear of any such end to the war ; for the sake of religious freedom, and in addition to it, he was determined to achieve political liberty. This too was a revival of prophetic ideas, yet without any such eschatological transformation as is met with in Daniel. The antithesis of the two tendencies, which was not at the outset absolute and irreconcilable, arose in part from divergent views of the situation at the moment, a situation in which Judas had no confidence. However this may be, it is at this date (**162** B.C.) that the war of religion may be said to close, and the Maccabean struggles for secular power to begin.

Judas's distrust of Bacchides and Alcimus soon proved to have been justified. The confidence that had been reposed in them they rewarded with violence and blood ; as ruler of the capital and of the country, Alcimus favoured the friends of the Greeks, and the situation once more became similar to what it had been between 173 and **168.** After the withdrawal of Bacchides, however, Alcimus was unable to maintain his authority, and Demetrius I. ordered Nicanor to break the power of Judas. But an ineffective campaign ended in the defeat and death of that general in a battle between Beth-horon and Adasa on the 13th Adar (March) **161.** Bacchides, on the other hand, once more joined by Alcimus, had better success. He routed the army of Judas near Eleasa (?), and Judas himself fell in the battle (**161** B.C.).

The cause of the insurgents seemed utterly ruined (I Macc. 9 23 *ff.*) ; all they could do was to maintain themselves in the wilderness of Tekoa as a party of freebooters.

76. Jonathan.

Bacchides meanwhile sought by comprehensive measures to give peace and security to the country in the interests of Alcimus and his followers, yet without interfering with religious liberty. When, however, after the death of Alcimus (**160** B. C.), a renewed effort to bring Jonathan and his followers under his power had proved abortive, Bacchides decided to enter into the negotiations for peace that Jonathan had proposed. In other words, he now sought to restore order in the country by the help of the very man whom, in common with the Grecian party, he had regarded as the arch disturber. The hellenizing priestly aristocracy thus lost their external support. Jonathan dispensed justice at Michmash and cleansed the land of Hellenisers. Only in Jerusalem and other strongholds did the foreign garrisons and their Jewish supporters retain command. The land itself now finally emerged from a state of war (158 B.C.). This was the first political success of Jonathan.

From this time onwards the rule of the Maccabees or Hasmonaeans advanced steadily, as Jonathan was able to secure one advantage after another for himself from the contentions between the various claimants for the throne of the Seleucidæ. Moreover, the majority of the people were manifestly on his side. When, in 153, Alexander Balas was set up as king in opposition to Demetrius I., the latter sought the friendship of Jonathan by giving him permission to surround himself with an armed force. Jonathan transferred his abode to Jerusalem, and fortified the temple hill, and, except from the Acra and Bethzur, the Syrian garrisons were withdrawn. Demetrius was, however, outbidden by Alexander Balas, who designated Jonathan high priest and sent him a purple robe and a crown. Jonathan's ambition was stronger than his fidelity. At the Feast of Tabernacles in 153 B.C. he assumed the high-priestly office which had for seven years been vacant (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10). Since Demetrius I., as it fell out, was worsted, Jonathan was able actually to enjoy the fruits of his crafty policy. In 150 B.C. Alexander showed him great honour at Ptolemais, and designated him a high official (στρατηγός and μεριδάρχης) of the kingdom of Syria. Attempts to bring him into suspicion failed of their object. The contentions for the throne between Demetrius II. (see above, col. 1068) and Alexander Balas in 147 B.C. brought Jonathan new advantages; defeating Apollonius, the governor of Cœle-Syria appointed by Demetrius II., he received the town and district of Ekron. After the death of Alexander Balas (145) Jonathan bid defiance to Demetrius II. and besieged the Acra at Jerusalem, and when the king summoned him to Ptolemais in indignation Jonathan contrived to turn his anger into good will. His present dignities were confirmed, and the province of Judah, to which three districts (Apherema, Lydda, and Ramathaim) were added in the north, was declared free of tribute. What engagements Jonathan entered into on his side we do not know (1 Macc. 11_{28} *ff.*). Anyhow, he was unable to get further concessions from Demetrius II., although it was by his soldiers that the king was rescued from the insurrectionary populace of his own capital. It is easy, accordingly, to understand Jonathan's taking the earliest opportunity of joining the side of the king's enemies. A former officer of Balas, Trypho (Diodotus) of Apamea, came forward as guardian of Balas's young son, still a minor, and proclaimed him king as Antiochus VI. (145 B.C.). In return for valuable presents and confirmation in all his dignities, Jonathan undertook, along with his brother Simon, to drive out the troops and other supporters of Demetrius II. from southern and middle Syria, and assume possession of the land in the interest of Antiochus VI. The carrying out of this commission meant nothing more than the stamping out by force of any opposition the two brothers might encounter. This, however, did not satisfy Trypho, who was aiming at the crown for himself. He decoyed Jonathan to Ptolemais and confined him there.

77. Simon.

Simon made his way to Jerusalem, where the people, supposing that Jonathan was already dead, elected him leader. He prepared to resist Trypho, who attempted to force his way into Judæa but had to withdraw without success after pretending to treat about handing over Jonathan. The execution of the latter at the command of Trypho at Baskama in Gilead left a free field to Simon (142-135 B.C.). He carried on the measures for securing the land, and concluded formal peace with Demetrius II., which not only put an end to war, but also secured absolute freedom from tribute, an event of such importance that Jewish dates were thenceforth reckoned from it (Sel. 170=143/142 B.C.). Next year, too, Simon forced the Syrian garrison to withdraw from the Acra. Thus disappeared from Jerusalem and Judaea the last mark of foreign supremacy. In 141 the people solemnly conferred on Simon the hereditary rule as high priest, commander-in-chief, and ethnarch (cp 1 Macc. 14_{25} *ff.*). Simon struck the first Jewish coins (1 Macc. 156). Thus out of the war against Greek civilisation there had arisen a new Jewish state.

Simon and his successors not only maintained the position they had won, but also extended its influence. This was the easier that the kingdom of the Seleucidæ was more and more falling apart. Simon must also be regarded as the first of the Maccabees to gain the friendship of the Romans with a view to securing his position in Asia (142 B.C.; 1 Macc. $14_{24\,40}$; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7 3; Justin xxxvi. 3). From a contest with Antiochus VII. Sidētes (of Σίδη in Pamphylia), who, after unavailing negotiations, entrusted his general Cendebaeus with the war, Simon came out victorious. He was honoured as a circumspect and righteous ruler. His violent death, however, was like a presage of the end the new line of rulers was to meet. Along with two of his sons he was murdered at the castle of Dok (DOCUS), near Jericho, by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who sought to make himself master of the land. But John Hyrcanus, Simon's third son, anticipated him and secured the support of the people of Jerusalem, where he ruled from 134 to 104.

In the beginning of his reign Hyrcanus was hard beset by Antiochus VII., who subjected Jerusalem to a long siege.

78. John Hyrcanus.

That Hyrcanus came off after all without loss of terrjtory may be attributed perhaps to Antiochus's policy, perhaps to the influence of the Romans in Hyrcanus's favour (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 84 9_2). On his expedition against the Parthians Antiochus VII. lost his life (128 B.C.), and Hyrcanus once more asserted his independence. He maintained a standing army of mercenaries, built the so-called Baris on the NW. of the temple site (*Ant.* xviii. 4_3), and concluded a firm alliance with Rome (*Ant.* xiv. 10_{22}). He extended by conquest the narrow limits of his rule towards the E., S., and N. He destroyed the temple of the Samaritans on Mt. Gerizim, subjugated the Idumaeans in the S., and compelled them to accept the Jewish Torah. The siege of the city of Samaria brought him once more, however, into serious conflict with the Seleucidae, a conflict from which it was probably the powerful word of Rome that delivered him. Hyrcanus still regarded himself as in the first place high priest. and also enjoyed a high degree of popular favour. Yet even in his time emerged the opposition of the Pharisees against his family, which was only furthered by the closer connection between the Hasmonaeans and the Sadducees. Hyrcanus's son and successor, Aristobūlus I. (Judas), saw no means of securing his power save that of putting out of the way several members of his own family. He subjugated and made Jews of the Ituræans at what had till then been the N. limit of his domain (in Galilee?), and assumed the title of king. After a reign of one year (103 B.C.) he was succeeded by

79. Alexander Jannæus.

his brother Alexander Jannæus (see JANNÆUS), who secured the throne by the murder of a brother (102-76 B.C.). In his reign the complete secularisation and transformation of the ruling priestly family became very obvious. He bad coins struck, for example, not only with inscriptions in Hebrew characters, but also with bilingual inscriptions in Greek characters, in which he designated himself simply king. His aim was to extend as much as possible the bounds of his kingdom, and so he was almost constantly in the field or besieging fortified positions. His operations against Ptolemais involved him in a disadvantageous war with Ptolemy Lathyrus, from which he finally escaped only through the intervention of Ptolemy's mother, queen Cleopatra of Egypt. East of the Jordan, he subdued Gadara and Amathus; on the coast, Raphia, Anthedon, and Gaza.

The changing fortune of war, but still more his

strained relations with the Pharisees, deprived him of the favour of the people. At first he sought to quench in blood every appearance of hostile feeling. When, however, he was defeated by the Arabian chief Obadas and lost his whole army, the popular fury broke into open revolt. People were not afraid even to go the length of rousing against the Hasmonaeans Demetrius Acærus (Eucærus), one of the last of the Seleucidze. Alexander Jannzeus was defeated at Shechem and fled to the hills. Then the shame and regret of his people came to his succour. A considerable body of armed men gathered about him, with whom he cut his way through the opposing forces; and he came to temporary terms with Demetrius. Blood then flowed in streams to secnre peace at home for this inhuman high priest.

The last years of his reign Alexander spent once more in foreign wars, especially with the Arahiars. These had now for several centuries been slowly pressing forward out of the desert into the cultivated land, had already settled at certain points (Edom and Lebanon), and were now trying, like the Hebrews more than a thousand years before, to push forward into the heart of the country. Alexander Jannæus encountered them repeatedly on his military expeditions—successfully east of the Jordan, where he conquered Gerasa (?), Golan, and Seleucia. It was on one of these expeditions that he met his death (76 B.C.). His career strikes one as strange—it is as if the Hasmonæan had assumed something of the wildness and ferocity of the Seleucidze. At all events, the inner contradiction inherent from the first in the Hasmonzan priest-kingship was now undeniable. If the advice he is said to have given his wife just before his death with regard to the conduct of the government (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 155) be authentic, something of this contradiction must have been felt by Alexander Jannzeus himself. He is represented as having advised his wife Alexandra (Hebr. Salomè or perhaps more correctly Salma) to concede greater influence to the Pharisees—*i.e.*, to go farther in giving spiritual affairs their rightful place.

Alexandra ruled from 75 to **67.** She made over the high-priesthood to her oldest son Hyrcanus. an irresolute indolent man, and held back her second son. the daring Aristobfilus. from any share in public affairs. The power and extent of the kingdom—which was, roughly, equal to what it was in the days of David—she maintained intact, without entering on wars of any seriousness. In internal affairs the Pharisees were supreme (see below, § 83). Their feeling of satisfaction with the rule of Alexandra found expression in edifying fables, in which they extolled those days as a time of special felicity. Scarcely, however, had Alexandra closed her eyes, when there broke out between her sons that struggle for the succession in the course of which the kingdom of the Maccabees went down. Aristobūlus II. defeated Hyrcanus II. at Jericho, and forced him to enter into an agreement acknowledging Aristobūlus as king and high priest. But this peace was short-lived.

80. Alexandra.

Soon there appeared at the head of the opposition to Aristobūlus an Idumzan named Antipater, whose father of the same name had been governor of Idumæa under Alexander Jannæus. This man, the father of the future king Herod, acquired great influence, and contracted alliances widely, in particular with Arbtas king of the Nabatzeans. He persuaded Hyrcanus to seek refuge with him, and induced Arbtas, in consideration of promised cessions of territory, to make Hyrcanus king of Judzea by force. Arĕtas actually defeated Aristobiilus, and drove him, supported by the Jews, to take refuge in the temple stronghold, where, with the priests, he defended himself boldly.

Such was the state of affairs in the Maccabzan kingdom when Pompey sent his legate Scaurus to Syria abont Easter 65 B.C. The rival brothers made him the same offer as the price of his support. Scaurus decided in favour of Aristobūlus, and ordered Arĕtas to return to his country; Hyrcanus had to content himself with a diminished territory. But Pompey himself had not yet spoken the final word. He was assailed with presents and embassies, and finally the two brothers themselves, as also representatives of the people who wished the ancient priesthood restored, received a hearing at Damascus in the spring of 63 B.C. Pompey wished to defer sentence; but when Aristobfilus appeared to be preparing to resist, Pompey pursued him with his army to his stronghold of Alexandrium, and then on by way of Jericho to before Jerusalem. Aristobolus wavered, swaying between defiance and dejection. Pompey had him taken prisoner. The party of Hyrcanus gave over the city, while the supporters of Aristobiilus maintained the temple stronghold. Pompey found himself compelled to subdue this by a regular siege. After three months the Romans forced their way through a breach into the sacred enclosure, where a frightful massacre ensued, the Jews even slaughtering one another. Accompanied by his followers, Pompey visited the interior of the temple, without, however, touching the sacred furniture, and next day gave instructions that the regular sacrificial cultus was to he restored. Hyrcanus received the high-priestly office and with it a principality of diminished extent, and subject to tribute, while Aristobfilus had, with his family, including his two sons Alexander and Antigonus, to follow the conqueror to Rome. The freedom of the Jews had lasted but eighty years (142-63 B.C.). Its end was lamentable. The spirit that gave it birth had long been gone.

Before investigating the last fortunes of the Jews in Palestine under the Romans, we have to notice some internal events which occurred during the rule of the Maccabees. The latter had practically changed the religious community of Nehemiah and Ezra into a secular state; but they were far from subverting the institutions which had arisen out of that community. The high priest remained—they themselves were the high priests; and side by side with them there was still the college of elders (γερουσία), an aristocracy in which the social organism culminated.

81. Synedrium.

It is probably to this body, with the high priest, that the phrase 'community of the Jews,' חֶבֶר הַיְּהוּדִים, on the coins of the Maccabees from the reign of John Hyrcanus onward refers. At a later date the council usually received the Greek designation *synedrion*, Hebraised as sanhedrīn (סַנְהֶדְרִין).

However, though this supreme council remained, the seats in it were filled by supporters of the Hasmonzeans. In the previous period (§§ 76 *ff.*) the members had been the heads of the clerical and the lay nobility (besides the high priest); the ruling class thus formed received the name of Sadducee (from Zadok; cp Ezek. 44 15 *f.*). It may be asked whether any of these old families attached themselves to the Hasmonaeans. All that we know is that, by the favour of the Hasmonaeans, a new aristocracy arose, and, to a large extent, monopolised the seats in the Synedrium. This was the share of power accorded to them. That Alexander Jannzeus gave the council but little scope is not surprising. They had ample compensation, however, under his successor Alexandra. The president of the council was the high priest, and Alexandra was a woman. Besides recognising the independence of the council, Alexandra gave seats and votes in it to the long-repressed party of the Pharisees. Their conceptions of religion and law thus received complete recognition, and the function of public judgment was transferred to the so-called Scribes, the *sōphĕrīm* or masters of legal science. This was no slight curtailment of power for the once omnipotent lay nobility.

The leadership of the Synedrium remained with the priests—in the last instance with the high priest—but these found themselves compelled at all points to take account of the scribes who enjoyed the popular favour.

The membership of the supreme council reached the number of seventy-one.

The two parties brought into prominence by the changes in the Synedrium under Alexandra, the Pharisees and the Sadducees, claim our special attention.

82. Sadducees. The Sadducees, in the strict sense of the word, indeed, were, as already stated (§ 81), displaced by the Hasmonaeans. As the name persisted, however, we must suppose it to have been transferred to the new priestly aristocracy and their followers.

This is not difficult to understand, for on the one hand the ascendancy of priestly families remained, and on the other hand the same antitheses which had manifested themselves before 'the wars of religion, reappeared in an altered form. Before the wars, the priestly régime, by its friendliness to Hellenism, had imperilled religion, and *now* it seemed as *if* the secular *rule* of the *Hasmonæans* were about to overwhelm it altogether. Before the wars the *Assidæans* with the scribes at their head had been drawn together for the defence of *the* heritage left by Nehemiah and Ezra; now it was the Pharisees who came forward on behalf of the law and against the national state which was breaking up the foundations of the law and of the religious community.

'The Sadducees represent the new state which grew out of the Maccabean rising, the Pharisees, the community of which the Torah was the first and final cause' (Wellhausen, *Phar. u. Sadd.* 24 *f.*).

83. Pharisees. The Pharisees were energetic in the assertion of their principles certainly; but they renounced all political aims. They were not political like the Sadducees; like the Assidæans, whose heirs they may probably be said to be, they held by the ideals of Nehemiah and Ezra. The Pharisees were the 'scribes' who in dead earnest sought to turn the law into practice with the utmost literality, and thus, if they did not create a new type of piety, they at least remodelled the old on much sharper lines.

It is in this sense that the name Pharisees ought to **be** taken (see SCRIBES AND PHARISEES); whether assumed by themselves or bestowed by others it well expresses their arrogant claim to be the true Israel. In particular, they **put** the sanctity of the sabbath upon a new level, and exacted an outward purity by a constantly increasing number of precepts, so that religious fellowship became more and more the fellowship of a school, and piety a highly specialised **art.** 'The unlearned cannot guard himself against sin, and the layman can never be truly pious' (Hillel). Ignorance of the Pharisaic teaching was in itself an evidence of want of righteousness; acquaintance with their legal precepts was held to be the only means for the attainment of true righteousness. Hence it is written in the Mishna (*Sanh.* **113**): 'It is a graver sin to say aught against the learned in the law than to say aught against the law itself.'

As regarded the future of their people (see the Book of Daniel, and cp ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 47, 58 *f.*), the Pharisees expected to see the world-supremacy of Israel established by the immediate hand of God from heaven, and deemed it an impertinence to try human means of establishing it. The foreign rule of the Greeks (and afterwards of the Romans) they also considered contrary to the will of God; yet they held it more tolerable than the existence of a national state by which everything was secularised; in point of fact they could not dispense with foreign rule, for its disappearance would take away the condition on which their very existence depended—the law of the post-exilic community. To the national and political questions of the day they had no answer ready; they simply pointed to the future which God was to give. That a party like this should have been able to acquire so great an influence over the people is extraordinary; it is only partially explained by the secular rule of the Maccabean priestly kings. We must also bear in mind that the people longed for a spiritual food which their priestly leaders could not give them, and *so* betook themselves to the Pharisees who claimed, not without right, to be champions of the law.

Besides these two parties Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 59) mentions a third *αἵρεσις* or 'sect'—that of the ESSENES (*q.v.*).

84. Essenes. In point of fact these were a brotherhood, somewhat of the nature of a monastic order. Josephus (*l.c.*) introduces them about the middle of the second century B.C. (cp *Ant.* xiii 11 2). The name signifies 'the pious ones' (Aram. חֲסַיָּא), and seems to point to an origin similar to that of the Pharisees. The part they played in the history of Israel was quite unimportant. One of the leaders in the war against Rome was an Essene (Jos. *BJ* ii. 20 4).

To return now to the narrative. In 63 B.C. Pompey constituted Syria a Roman province, thus establishing the Roman hold upon the western portion of the kingdom of the Seleucidae.

85. Hyrcanus and Antipater. The Jewish portion properly so called—Judæa, Galilee, and Peræa—he left under the high priest, Hyrcanus, who, however, was subordinate to the governor of the province and paid taxes to him. At the same time Pompey 'liberated' from the Jewish rule certain towns on the coast and in Peræa, which soon united themselves into a league, the so-called DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*). Aristobūlus *and* his children Pompey took with him to Rome. These arrangements were a severe blow to the power of the Hasmonæan dynasty and its supporters, the Sadducees. It need not surprise us, therefore, if some resistance was offered; and so strong was the attachment of the people to the native house that in every attempt at revolt a native army was always at command. Jewish history henceforward, accordingly, down to the accession of Herod, is mainly a record of the rebellions against the Romans and of the disturbances connected with the Roman civil wars so far as these affected Syria.

Aristobūlus's eldest son, Alexander, had escaped from Pompey and summoned the Jews to arms against his uncle Hyrcanus, the nominee of Rome. The governor of Syria, Gabinius, however, in 57 B.C., shut him up in the stronghold of Alexandrium and compelled him to lay down his arms. In the revolt, Gabinius, plainly with the view of further weakening the Jewish power and lessening the influence of Jerusalem, the capital, broke **up** the Hasmonæan territory into five administrative divisions—those of Jerusalem, Jericho, Gazara, Amathus, and Sepphoris. A second revolt was headed by Aristobūlus himself, who, with his younger son Antigonus, had escaped from Rome; but he was taken prisoner in Machærus and sent back to the imperial capital. Whilst Gabinius was engaged on an Egyptian expedition, a third rising was led by Alexander; but his army was dispersed in 55 B.C. by Gabinius, who had hastened back and now rewarded Hyrcanus and Antipater for their fidelity to Rome by cancelling the arrangement made two years before, and restoring Hyrcanus to his former authority. M. Licinius Crassus, the triumvir, who succeeded Gabinius in the following year, seized the temple treasure of Jerusalem; and after his death the quæstor Cassius Longinus suppressed a fourth revolt of the Hasmonæan party which had broken out, under the leadership of Pitholaus, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee (Taricheæ). Pitholaus was put to death and Alexander brought under pledges to keep the peace (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 5 *ff.*, *BJ* i. 8). Julius Cæsar's purpose of sending Aristobūlus against the followers of Pompey in Syria was frustrated by the poisoning of Aristobūlus before he could leave Rome (49 B.C.). Shortly afterwards Alexander the son of Aristobūlus also was put to death, by Pompey's orders, at Antioch. Antipater was more fortunate when, after the battle of Pharsalus and the death of Pompey (48 B.C.), the victorious Cæsar was pressed hard in Alexandria. *So* useful was Antipater to him that Cæsar acknowledged his debt to the Idumæan by the gift of the Roman citizenship and immunity from taxes. At the same time he confirmed Hyrcanus in his high-priestly office. Antigonus too, the son of Aristobūlus, presented himself before Cæsar in Syria and pressed his claims; the only result, however, was that Cæsar bestowed still more signal marks of favour upon Antipater, whom he appointed 'steward' or procurator (*ἐπίτροπος*) of Judæa. At the same time he constituted Hyrcanus and his sons hereditary allies of the Romans, guaranteeing them immunity from imposts, with other

privileges, and granting permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8-10, *BJ* i. 9 *f.*).

Thus the Jewish aristocracy gained nothing by all its scheming. The power of the hated Idumaean, Antipater, went on increasing, and although he was astute enough to pose always as the faithful servant of his lord, in point of fact, under the languid administration of Hyrcanus, he had a free hand. He carried on the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and established good order throughout the country, committing the administration of Jerusalem and the south to his son Phasael, and that of Galilee to his son Herod. The Jewish aristocracy, from their own point of view, were fully justified when they sought to get rid of both him and his sons. For this a pretext was supplied them by a high-handed proceeding of Herod, who, in Galilee, had caused to be executed without reference to the council a certain Hasmonæan commander, Ezekias, and certain of his followers who had sought at their own hand to continue the opposition against the Roman supremacy. The dominant party in Jerusalem persuaded Hyrcanus to call Herod to account before the council in Jerusalem. Herod duly appeared, but not as a culprit, and, supported by Sextus Caesar, the governor of Syria, succeeded in overawing the council so that no judgment was given. Once more he returned at the head of an army and threatened the city; but Antipater was able to appease his wrath. The aristocratic party, however, did not rest content with this. Some years later when C. Cassius Longinus, one of the murderers of Caesar, was living in Syria (**44-42** B.C.), Antipater was poisoned, probably with the connivance of Hyrcanus, by an Arabian prince (Malichus) who seems to have been in his service.

Whilst Malichus was still seeking to gain time, however, before striking again, Herod got rid of him by an assassin's hand (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11, *BJ* i. 10 4 *ff.*). Though Antipater had fallen, his family retained or even increased its power. Herod earned on all hands thanks and praise when, in 42 B.C., he successfully repelled, on the borders of Judaea, an attack made by Antigonus with the support of Ptolemy Mennai of Chalcis (Lebanon). Hyrcanus himself publicly showed his favour for him by giving him in marriage his granddaughter Mariamme, a daughter of Alexander. By liberal presents Herod strengthened his hold on Antony, who made Syria his headquarters for some time after the battle of Philippi (**42** B.C.), in spite of adverse deputations from the hostile party in Jerusalem. Phasael and Herod were appointed tetrarchs and charged with the government of the Jewish provinces of Palestine (41 B.C.; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 12 1 *ff.*). However, though all promised well for Herod, it was only to last for a short time. This was how the change occurred. Lysanias of Chalcis, son and successor of Ptolemy Mennai, had carried on negotiations between Antigonus and the Parthians under Pacorus who, in 40 B.C., had pressed into the province of Syria, with the result that the conquering invaders were induced by great promises to make Antigonus king of Judæa. The stroke succeeded; Antigonus found a sufficient number of anti-Roman followers; in Jerusalem itself the parties came to blows. The Parthians induced Hyrcanus and Phasael to go for purposes of negotiation into the camp of the Parthian satrap Barzaphranes; at his instance they were made prisoners at Ecdippon (Achzib) by the sea-side. Herod escaped the machinations of his enemies by a timely flight to the fortress of Masada by the Dead Sea, where also his family found safety. In this way Antigonus (Heb. Mattathias) came once more into the heritage of his ancestors (40-37 B.C.). Hyrcanus and Phasael were handed over to him by the Parthians; the former he caused to be incapacitated (by mutilation) for the high-priestly office; Phasael committed suicide. The Parthians, after seeking to compensate themselves for their services by extensive raids, carried Hyrcanus off to Parthia, where, however, at the intercession of the Jews in that country he was set at liberty (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13 3 *ff.*, *BJ* i. 13).

86. Herod.

Herod, however, did not give up his cause for lost. His request for money being rejected by Malichus (the Nabatæan prince), he applied to Antony, journeying by Alexandria and Rhodus to Rome. By large promises he induced Antony, who saw how useful he might become, to nominate him through the Senate (with the support of Octavian) king of the Jews. After only seven days Herod was able to set ont for his new kingdom (40 B.C.). His way to the throne, however, was not to be as smooth as he hoped. In 39 B.C. he landed at Ptolemais. With the help of Ventidius, the governor. of Syria, he first relieved his brother Joseph in Masada and then appeared with his army before Jerusalem. Antigonus, however. had bribed the Roman general Silo, and Herod was soon compelled to retire to Galilee; nor did he again resume operations in Galilee and Judaea (where meanwhile his brother Joseph had fallen) till after he had received fresh encouragement from Antony who was hurrying through to the siege of Samosāta in Commagene. In the spring of **37**, however, Herod again attacked Jerusalem, and with the help of Sosius the governor captured it after a five months' siege. Antigonns, who had surrendered to Sosius, was, at the instance of Herod, beheaded in Antioch. Thus, after three long years from his nomination, Herod actually came to his throne (**37-4 B.C.**). The Idumaean house of Antipater had by Roman help vanquished the party of the Sadducees (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 14-16, *BJ* i. **14** 183).

87. Herod, king.

Two things Herod considered to be indispensable for his government—the continued friendship of the Romans and the extinction of the Hasmonaean party. The former object he sought to secure by princely gifts of money; the latter he came near attaining by putting many of the adherents of Antigonus to death: he also lowered the dignity of the high-priesthood by filling the office at his pleasure. To keep on good terms with Antony was an anxious task, as Cleopatra of Egypt coveted southern Syria, and Alexandra, widow of the murdered Alexander (see above), found it to her interest to intrigue with Cleopatra against Herod. The latter had conferred the high-priesthood upon an 'obscure' priest from Babylon named Ananel (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 2 4), thereby giving great umbrage to his mother-in-law Alexandra, who had wished to secure the office for her son Aristobūlus. To avoid losing Antony's favour through Cleopatra, Herod forthwith deposed Ananel, and appointed the handsome and popular Aristobiilus in his place. Nevertheless Alexandra still found cause to complain of Herod, and was meditating a secret flight to Cleopatra with her son, when the scheme was betrayed, and Aristobiilus was put to death (35 B.C.). The end of the long story is that Herod's good fortune did not desert him even when Alexandra complained to Cleopatra: Herod once more pacified his patron. Cleopatra made sure of large tracts in Palestine ceded to her by her lover, including the fruitful region of Jericho. All this was on the eve of the decisive battle of Actium. To please Cleopatra Herod had to take the field against the Arabs, whose tribute he had to collect for the queen. He succeeded in conquering them; but it was a hard struggle. Then came the fresh difficulty of winning over to his side the new master of the world, for Antony's cause was ruined. His cunning suggested to him what to do. First, he put out of the way the aged Hyrcanus (whom in the beginning of his reign he had brought back from Babylonia) as an alleged conspirator, and then he went in person to Rhodus and laid his crown at the feet of the victorious Octavian. The result was as he had calculated. Octavian not only confirmed him in his position, but soon after the death of Cleopatra bestowed upon him her domains, as well as other important places in S. Syria. With a single break (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 9 *f.*) Herod retained the favour of

Augustus down to the end of his reign; Josephus declares that he 'was beloved by Caesar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Cæsar' (Jos. *BJ* i. 204) Some years later (circa 25 B.C.) he removed the last danger to his crown. The only remaining male descendants of the Asmonæan family were the sons of Baba (Sabba?). He accused them of treason and caused them to be slain.[1]

The position of Herod in the Roman Empire was that of a ***rex socius.*** His title and authority he held from Caesar and the Senate. He had to defend the imperial frontier and to furnish auxiliary troops, but was not allowed to make treaties or wage wars at pleasure. On the other hand, he had full freedom in the management of domestic affairs, and was not laid under any tribute, or made subject to the authority of the Roman governor of the province of Syria. The confidence placed by Augustus in his capacities he fully justified. The ravages committed by the Arabs of Trachonitis had caused great complaints. With great skill Herod penetrated into this difficult region, and enforced peace,[2] receiving from Caesar a large territory to the NE. (Batanea, Trachonitis, Gaulanitis). In 20 B.C. Herod was also endowed with the tetrarchy of Zenodorus (Ulatha and Panias).[3]

88. Herod's policy.

Favoured by the *pax Romana*, Herod did much for the cultivation of the land. He created magnificent cities (Samaria = Sebaste ; Strato's Tower = Caesarea) and built numerous fortresses, temples, theatres, and baths. He extended and beautified the temple site at Jerusalem, and built anew the temple itself. He helped his people in many ways (see, *e.g.*, the account of the famine),[4] and yet he could only now and then secure their full approval.[5] Never did the Jews feel affection for his person ; they rightly saw in him the obedient servant of Rome, and were all the less ready to forget that he was only a 'half Jew.' His reign did nothing to lessen the tension between Jew and Greek ; it rather increased the tension, although he made extraordinary efforts to introduce the seductions of Hellenism into the 'holy mountain.' In a certain sense his aims were those of Antiochus Epiphanes; but he more nearly reached them. He knew the Jews well, and generally speaking spared their religious feelings; the affair of the high-priesthood is an exception. To Hellenise such a people as the Jewish, however, was no longer possible; neither by gentleness nor by severity could the effects of the great Religious War be obliterated. Besides, Herod had really no skill in the arts of compromise and conciliation. He was too passionate, too suspicious, too domineering to he able to inspire confidence. To the end he never lost the tyrant's lust for power, never enjoyed the settled stability of a really strong monarch. Indeed, one may doubt whether he had any wish beyond keeping his power over the Jews ; their Hellenisation he did not seriously care for. His entire policy can be explained from this point of view—even to some extent his abominable murders, though it must be admitted that these were partly stimulated by circumstances which could not but excite his jealousy.

Herod's reign was not wanting in splendour. His love of display manifested itself in the magnificent buildings which he erected both within his kingdom and beyond it (cp Jos. *BJ* i. 21). He had connections with prominent representatives of the culture of the time—notably Nicolaus Damascenus. The visit of M. Vipsanius Agrippa to Jerusalem threw the Jews into veritable transports of joy (*Ant.* xvi. 2). The foundation of Herod's power, however, was hollow. His extraction indeed made him unfit to be a national king, and in

1 On this period see Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1-6, *BJ* i. 18 4-20.

2 Note the story of the 500 Jews from Babylon who could shoot arrows when riding on horseback (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 2 1). For the whole episode see *Ant.* xv. 10 1 xvi. 9 2 xvii. 2.

3 *Ib.* xv. 10 3, *BJ* i. 20 4.

4 *Ant.* xv. 9 1 *f.*

5 *Ant.* xvi. 2 5.

his heart he was more Greek than Jew (*Ant.* xix. 7 3). What is more, a national kingdom was no longer what the Jewish community desired. Religion had taken a new turn under the influence of the Pharisees; it was now much more supramundane; the law and the monarchy it held to be irreconcilable. However zealously Herod may have sought at first to meet the Pharisees' views, they could never become his friends. They refused to take the oath of allegiance, just as the Essenes did (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10 4 xvii. 2 4). The old aristocracy he himself had deprived of its influence; to support his rule he had therefore nothing to rely on hut force. He never shrank from employing any means, however ghastly, to gain this end (*Ant.* xv. 8 10 4 xvii. 6, *BJ* i. 336). Cp further, HEROD, § 3 *ff.*

89. The succession.

In his first will, made after the execution of Alexander and Aristobūlus, his two sons by the Hasmonæan Mariamme (6 B.C.), Herod had appointed Antipater his son by his first marriage to succeed him. Even before the execution of Antipater in 5 B.C., however, this arrangement had been exchanged for another according to which Antipas, his youngest son, by his marriage with the Samaritan Malthacè, was to be his heir. Shortly before his death (4 B.C.), he cancelled this settlement also, and designated Archelaus[1] as king, Antipas and Philip[2] tetrarchs—the former of Galilee and Peræa, the latter of Trachonitis, Batanæa, Gaulanitis and Paneas. The validity of this will he himself made to depend on its confirmation by Augustus. Hence his heirs one after the other betook themselves to Rome to find safe anchorage for their ship while the storm of revolt was already raging at home. Before Augustus gave his decision, fresh petitioners arrived. It was a deputation of Jews deprecating the continuance of the existing order of things, and desiring that the whole country might be brought immediately under the Roman sway. Augustus, however, decided in favour of Herod's last will. Archelaus as ethnarch became ruler over Idumæa, Judaea, and Samaria, with the exception of the cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippus, which were incorporated with the province of Syria; Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis as far as the Jordan (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 9-16).

This apportionment of Herod's dominions did not last long, so far as the realm of Archelaus was concerned (4 B.C.–6 A.D.). A deputation of Jews and Samaritans complained to Augustus of his arbitrariness and cruelty, and Augustus, the emperor, summoned him to Rome and deposed him, relegating him to Vienna in Gaul. His dominions became part of Syria, but under the special charge of a procurator (ἐπίτροπος) of equestrian rank (6-41 A.D.).

90. Procuratorship.

The procurators were so called, originally, from the duty which fell to them of collecting the revenues for the imperial treasury. As administrators of a given district they had at the same time the military command, and also judicial prerogatives. These last the procurators of Judaea used but seldom. The ordinary dispensation of justice was left in the hands of the highest native court, the Synedrium, whose position received thereby fresh importance. The *jus gladii*, however, remained exclusively with the procurator. For military purposes he had not, like, the legate-governor of Syria, Roman legions at his disposal, but only auxiliary troops raised in the country itself (Καισαρεῖς καὶ Σεβαστηνοί). The military headquarters were at the residence of the procurator—Caesarea; but there were garrisons all over the country ; in the citadel Antonia at Jerusalem, for example, a cohort was stationed. The imperial taxes the procurator collected through the native authorities ; how wide were the ramifications of these is shown by the list of eleven toparchies enumerated by

1 An elder son by Malthacè.

2 Son of Cleopatra of Jerusalem.

Josephus (*BJ* iii. 3 5). The local taxes, on the other hand, were farmed out to contractors (*publicani*, τελῶναι), who, as a rule, doubtless, were Jews. The Jews had to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor; and though worship of the emperor was not exacted of them, sacrifice for him was offered in the temple twice daily. The Jewish worship stood under the protection of the Roman state; but this did not exclude a certain amount of supervision of temple matters by the Roman officials. As a rule it was customary to spare Jerusalem the sight of the imperial emblems ('effigies') carried by the troops (cp ENSIGN).

Such in brief were the arrangements set up in the domains of Archelaus in 6 A.D. — arrangements which had been desired by the Jews at the death of Herod. The system conferred upon them a higher degree of self-government, and therefore of liberty to follow their own laws and customs, than they had previously enjoyed. An aristocratic constitution with the high priest at its head (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10) again came into being. The aristocratic families reaped the chief advantage from this, although in the Synedrium they had to share the power with the Pharisees. The high priests were named, however, by the Roman governors, and it only too soon became evident that the immediate rule of the Romans did not tend to tone down but rather to exaggerate points of difference.

The procurators who held office in Judæa from 6 to 41 A.D. were: Coponius, M. Ambivius, Annius Rufus, Valerius Gratus (15-26), Pontius Pilate (26-36), Marcellus (36-37), and Marullus (37-41) (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2 2 4 2 6 10). At first no doubt unwittingly, but afterwards certainly of malice, they often wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Jews. Pontius Pilate went so far in this that a complaint laid by the Samaritans before the legate L. Vitellius (35-39 A.D.) proved effectual; Vitellius sent Pilate on his defence to Rome and took measures to quiet the agitated spirits in Jerusalem. He handed over to the priests the high-priestly robes which had been kept in Baris-Antonia since the days of John Hyrcanus, and caused his army on its march against the Nabatæans to avoid Jerusalem so that the holy land of the Jews might not be desecrated by the imperial emblems (37 A.D., cp Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4 3 5 3). These little courtesies, however, were wholly inadequate to heal the ominous breach which was daily driving Jews and Romans farther apart.

91. Quirinius: Zealots.

With the first procurator Coponius the imperial legate P. Sulpicius Quirinius (Lk. 2 1 *ff.*) had come as governor to Syria, and in 6-7 A.D. carried out the Roman census in Judæa. This new method of taxation excited great horror and aversion. The high priest Joazar, a son of Boethus (*Ant.* xv. 9 3), was able indeed to turn aside the threatened storm; but the proceeding left a deep mark behind it in the rise of the Zealots—a political party which regarded the payment of taxes to the foreigner as the token of a sinful servitude (God alone requiring to be honoured as king and lord), and therefore advocated war to the death for the establishment of the divine kingship, according to the promise. The founders of the party were Sadduk the Pharisee and Judas the Galilæan (of Gamala) who may probably be regarded as son of the so-called 'robber' Ezekias who was put to death by Herod (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10 5 xiv. 9 3 *ff.* xviii. 1). The very designations of the two leaders would lead us to expect to find in this new party a combination of the doctrines of Pharisaism with the practical aims of Hasmonæan patriotism; and this expectation is realised in the attitude the Zealots actually took. From the Pharisees they took over the then current form of prophetic eschatology—the divine kingship, destruction of the enemies of the nation, freedom, the Messiah, etc.; from the Hasmonæans, the precepts which enjoined a bold fight for religion and fatherland. To expect the divine kingship yet quietly to accept the kingship of the godless, they regarded as a sinful absurdity. The Pharisees repudiated this departure from the purity of their principles (cp Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1); but the intensified religious interest which had been diffused throughout the nation by their own influence had prepared the soil for the seed of the Zealots. Between the Sadducean aristocrats (who had again come to the helm after the deposition of Archelaus) and the Zealots, collision was inevitable; the two parties were mutually irreconcilable, as had already been seen at the census of Quirinius. The more the Jews had experience of the harshness of the Roman rule, the more numerous did the Zealot party become. As contrasted with the half-hearted they came forward as thoroughs, as the out-and-out party who not only taught about the kingdom of God but also were willing to put their lives into jeopardy to set it up. Their immediate result was to keep their own people and the Romans in a state of unrest; but their ultimate aim was to secure the mastery of the capital. So soon as they had reached it, the hour would have struck for the last decisive struggle with the Romans.

92. John the Baptist.

In this position of parties there arose once more, unexpectedly, the prophetic summons: Turn ye (שׁובו; μετανοεῖτε). Since Mal. 3 7 had been uttered, it had fallen into oblivion; it seemed indeed to have become unnecessary. However, John the Baptist (28-29 A.D.) with his call to repentance presented a picture of the future quite different from that cherished by his contemporaries. The alternative to repentance was judgment, and if he was right, it was on the Scribes and Pharisees that the divine judgment would fall first. His preaching found much acceptance, and before his career was cut short by Herod Antipas (see below, § 95) Jesus of Nazareth had raised the same cry, not in the wilderness, but in the haunts of men.

93. Jesus.

To Jesus the right way to God was clear; he himself exemplified that way, and he so taught concerning it as to make it easy for any one to find it. His thoughts show the closest contact with the religious tendencies of the time; evidently they took shape under the pressure of the questions which were stirring his contemporaries. They had their own roots, however, in a supramundane sphere, and therefore could not be confined by the narrow limits of Judaism. To the call to repentance Jesus added as a motive that the kingdom of God was at hand, thereby characterising the traditional piety as powerless to reach that divine goal. In his teaching he used the same terms as the popular leaders of the time; but he put other ideas into them. Without discarding the current conceptions of a coming judgment and regeneration of the world, he substituted for a Jewish world-theocracy, the idea of a kingdom of kindred souls bound together by their common faith in God and love to man. He dissolved the strange combination of heavenly and earthly elements which formed the latest Jewish eschatology, and thus cleared away the last remnants of the popular religion, — including of course the popular conception of the Messiah. He taught men to apprehend not only God but also the fellowship of man with God in a spiritual manner. For him as for them, the kingdom of God was a divine institution, a divine gift; but it was for men themselves ever to create it afresh and extend it among themselves day by day. All this and more may be historically said of the teaching of the Master (see JESUS, § 11 *ff.*), who at length crowned his work by enduring a shameful and painful death as of God's ordering, and as the way to complete ultimate success.

All this meant an open breach with Judaism. The ruling classes scorned the means of raising their religion to a higher plane pointed out to them by Jesus of Nazareth. Nay, more: they pronounced him a blasphemer when in his appearance before the high priest

he acknowledged himself to be the Messiah—not of course in the sense attached to the word by current Judaism (see MESSIAH, § 6), but in the sense of being the final exponent of the full divine meaning of the religion of Israel. This new forthsetting by his ministry obtained such a degree of independence and strength as no longer to require the shelter of a nationality or of a national religion, and became capable of forming a society of its own, drawn from humanity at large. Judaism, in isolating itself from the course of this development, had to take the consequences. When Christianity and Judaism gradually separated, it was as if a mighty river had changed its bed : a feeble current still crept along the old channel ; but the main, the perennial, stream flowed elsewhere.

94. Philip the Tetrarch. We turn now to the northern portion of Herod's divided kingdom. As we have seen, the north-eastern part had been assigned to Philip, Herod's son by Cleopatra of Jerusalem. 'Philip' built himself a new capital, Caesarea (Philippi), near the most easterly of the Jordan sources on the site of the ancient Paneas, and with the title of tetrarch governed the eastward-lying territory, mainly inhabited by Gentiles, as far as the mountains of the Ḥaurān. It was to his zeal for building that the fishing village Bethsaida (called by him Julias after the daughter of Augustus) owed its promotion to the rank of city. He married Salome (see § 95), and died without issue in 33-34 A.D. Josephus speaks of him as a wise and just prince (*Ant.* xviii. 46). After his death his dominions were thrown into the province of Syria till 37 A.D., when Caligula bestowed them, with the tetrarchy of Lysanias (Abilene), upon a grandson of Herod and Mariamme—Agrippa I., the son of Aristobulus,—with the title of king (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2 I 46 6 10).

95. Antipas. The territory assigned to Herod Antipas, on the other hand—Galilee and Peræa—was mainly peopled by Jews. For the protection of the main road through Galilee he fortified Sepphoris, while towards the S., as a frontier fortress against the Arabs, he built Betharamphtha (Beth-haran) which he named Livias or Julias; but in this line of activity his greatest work was the foundation and adornment of Tiberias. His first wife, whom he married for political motives, was a daughter of the Nabatæan King Aretas; after his repudiation of her he allied himself with the ambitious Herodias (see HEROD, § 7). Through her daughter Salome she procured the death of John the Baptist (29 A.D.), whom Herod Antipas had caused to be imprisoned in the fortress of Machaerus (see JOHN THE BAPTIST, MACHÆRUS). King Aretas began hostilities on account of the repudiation of his daughter, and inflicted a severe blow upon Herod (36 A.D.). At the instance of the latter, Tiberius ordered his legate Vitellius to suppress Aretas ; but while halting at Jerusalem on his way to Nabatwa, Vitellius (37 A.D.) heard of the death of Tiberius and forthwith abandoned the expedition. The bestowal of Philip's tetrarchy on Agrippa I. by Caligula led Herodias to urge her husband to go to Rome for a royal title also. At the same time, however, Fortunatus, an ambassador of Agrippa, arrived in the capital with heavy charges affecting the fidelity of Antipas; and as the latter was not able entirely to clear himself, he was deposed by the emperor and banished to Lugdunum in Gaul, whither he was followed by Herodias, his territory being added to the dominions of King Agrippa I. (39-40 A.D.; see HEROD, § 12).

96. Petronius. Under Caligula (37-41 A.D.) a heavy storm-cloud gathered over Jerusalem. In 39 A.D.—thus immediately after the outbreak of the bloody persecution of the Jews in ALEXANDRIA (*q.v.*)—a conflict between the Gentile and the Jewish inhabitants of the emperor's city of Jamnia gave occasion for a command by Caligula to P. Petronius, the governor of Syria, to have the statue of the emperor set up by force in the temple at Jerusalem. If the Jews refused compliance they exposed themselves to the wrath of the emperor, who sought the customary divine worship for his own person in good earnest ; but compliance would involve disloyalty to their law. They proceeded accordingly in troops to Ptolemais where Petronius was collecting his army, and laid before him solemn protests against what was being proposed. In Tiberias, whither Petronius had betaken himself, the Jews convinced him still further of their inflexibility in this matter, and he accordingly came to the resolution to try to change the emperor's mind. This had in point of fact already been accomplished by Agrippa I. who was then staying in Rome; but when the report of Petronius reached the emperor's hands he was thrown into such a furious passion by the obstinacy of the Jews that he sentenced Petronius to death for disobedience. Tidings of the murder of Caligula (Jan. 41) arrived, however, in time to prevent the execution of this order. Thus the storm-cloud passed away and the outlook of Judaea became brighter than even the boldest had ventured to hope (Phil. *Leg. ad Caium*, § 30 *ff.* ; Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8).

97. Agrippa I. One of the first acts of the emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) was not only to confirm Agrippa in his former dominions but also to add to them Judæa and Samaria. Thus without once drawing sword this gay and showy knight of fortune had come into the entire kingdom of his grandfather Herod. He held it for three years (41-44 A.D.). He knew how to utilise with skill both persons and circumstances alike in Rome and in Palestine. In Jerusalem and elsewhere, where it seemed expedient, he hela himself up as the patron and supporter of the approved Pharisaic Judaism of the day. In Caesarea, as everywhere else among foreigners, he was the man of Greek culture, the friend of the Romans. During his brief reign the land had rest. He even received the praise of the Pharisees, who, we may be sure, would hardly have remained permanently his supporters. Against the heads of the young and growing Christian Church he took violent measures (Acts 12 1-19). He even made faint tentative efforts to give an anti-Roman character to his reign. He began the building of a strong wall round the northern suburb of Jerusalem ; but the legate Marsus procured the imperial prohibition. He also summoned five Roman vassal princes of Syria and Asia Minor to Tiberias ; but Marsus again ordered them back to their places. Agrippa I. died suddenly in Caesarea; his Gentile soldiers welcomed the tidings with joy (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 4-9).

98. Procurators. Claudius, yielding to the representations of those around him, decided not to nominate the son of Agrippa I. (also called Agrippa), now seventeen years of age, to the vacant throne, but to place the whole territory under procurators subordinate to the governor of Syria. Very soon again there arose the strained relations which had been found so intolerable in Judaea and Samaria under the previous procurators from 6 A.D. onwards. The first procurator, Cuspius Fadus, revived the old controversy as to the custody of the high-priestly vestments; but, by the emperor's command, the arrangement arrived at by Vitellius in 36 A.D. was adhered to (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 1), and the supervision of the temple, as well as the right to nominate the high priest, was now bestowed upon Herod of Chalcis (41-48 A.D.), a brother of the deceased Agrippa. What the disposition of the Jews was is indicated by the appearance of the prophet-adventurer Theudas, with whom, however, Cuspius Fadus made short work (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 51 ; cp Acts 536). His successor Tiberius Alexander, of Jewish-Alexandrian origin, caused the sons of Judas of Gamala, Jacob and Simon, to be crucified—no doubt as being prominent among the Zealots (*Ant.* xx. 5 2). After the ravages of a great famine, the exasperation of the Jews against the ad-

ministration of Ventidius Cumanus (48-52) began to show itself in open insurrection. During the feast of the Passover, a soldier of the Roman guard had insulted the Jews; their complaints led the procurator to take certain defensive measures which in their turn caused a great panic in which many lives were lost (*Ant.* xx. 53). A Roman soldier seized hold of a roll of the Law; the excitement of the Jews over this was so great that Cumanus caused the soldier to be beheaded (*Ant.* xx. 54). Festival ,pilgrims from Galilee were attacked by Samaritans, the Jews retaliated, and when Cumanus sternly interfered, the leading people in Jerusalem had the utmost difficulty in averting a general outbreak. The dispute was referred by the governor Ummidius Quadratus to the judgment of the emperor, who at the instance of young Agrippa sentenced Cumanus to banishment (*Ant.* xx. 61 *ff.*; *BJ* ii. 12 3 $; otherwise Tac. *Ann.* 12 54).

The successor of Cumanus, Antonius Felix (52-60 A.D., see FELIX), was so arbitrary and cruel that discipline broke down and public order threatened to disappear. The Zealots from their hiding-places made the country insecure; it availed little that Felix effected numerous executions and caused their leader Eleazar, who had been taken captive, to be sent to Rome. They began to be looked upon as the champions of liberation from the Roman yoke; their following increased and they secretly leavened the masses with the spirit of revolt. They were named, from the weapon (sica) which they carried concealed under their garment, Sicarii. They assassinated at their own choice, but also at the instigation of others; for example, at the instigation of Felix himself they murdered Jonathan the high priest, who had become an inconvenient monitor. Fanatics, both honest and dishonest, possessed by the eschatological ideas of the time, were continually throwing the sparks of religious enthusiasm among the excited and inflammable masses (cp Acts 2138; *BJ* ii. 13 4 *f.*). Even the Jewish governing class, the priestly and the lay aristocracy, became disintegrated, each fragment using such power as it had for selfish ends (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 5-8; *BJ* ii. 132-6). Meanwhile, the oversight of the temple, and the right to nominate the high priest, after the death of Herod of Chalcis, was conferred by Claudius upon his nephew Agrippa II. (about 50 A.D.), who also received the territory of Chalcis and afterwards (about 53 A.D.), in place of this, the former tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, as well as the territory of Varus (Noarus) with the title of king (*Ant.* xx. 5 2 7 1 9 7).

99. Felix: Sicarii.

The flame of avowed revolt burst forth not in Jerusalem but in Caesarea. Here in this half-Gentile, half-Jewish city a dispute for supremacy had arisen between the two classes. After Antonius Felix (52-60) had been recalled by Nero and a successor (Porcius Festus, 60-62) appointed in his place, the Gentiles of Caesarea succeeded in procuring from Nero a decision by which the Jews were deprived of their equality of standing (ἰσοπολιτεία) with the Gentiles. To the Jews this gave occasion for the great insurrection. For some years indeed it remained confined to Caesarea and the surrounding country, and did not in the first instance spread as far as to the capital. Porcius Festus (see FESTUS) exerted himself in vain, however, to quell the rising. His successors Albinus (62-64) and Gessins Florus (64-66) disregarded all law and justice to such a degree that pacification became impossible. The Sicarii could not be exterminated; those who could entered into arrangements with them for securing life and position (so, for example, the wealthy Ananias of Jerusalem, who at one time had been high priest); other influential people surrounded themselves with a sort of bodyguard so as not to be helpless at a time when everyone was taking the law into his own hand. Albinus indeed took some trouble to conceal his misdoings; but Gessius Florus did not shrink from the employment of open violence and thus drove even the peaceably disposed of the Jews to retaliation. A coarse insult to the Jews in Caesarea had again led to street riots. As even the native soldiers took part against the Jews the latter quitted the city, taking their books of the Law with them—an occurrence which for Josephus marks the beginning of the war (*BJ* ii. 144).

100. Festus.

The anger excited in Jerusalem by these events had not yet died down when Florus caused seventeen talents to be taken from the temple treasure, plainly because the Jews had failed to pay their taxes (*BJ* ii. 165). Popular indignation now expressed itself in intemperate speech against Florus, who thereupon appeared in Jerusalem with his soldiers, would grant no terms, and gave orders to plunder the Upper City, also causing many inhabitants of Jerusalem —among them Roman citizens—to be crucified. Soldiers summoned from Cæsarea answered the friendly greeting of the Jews, by his orders, with coldness and rudeness, and attempted by a *coup de main* to seize the Antonia and the temple. This plan, however, was not successful; Florus returned to Cæsarea and sought to stir up the Syrian governor Cestius Gallus against the Jews. The prudent bearing of Gallus at this juncture, combined with the appearance of Agrippa II. in Jerusalem, produced a short lull; but when Agrippa spoke not only of obedience to the emperor, but also of submission to Florus, the anger of the people burst forth against him also, so that he had to leave the city. A band of Zealots established themselves in the fortress of Masada by the Dead Sea. At the instance of Eleazar, son of Ananias, it was determined that henceforth offerings of those who were not Jews should no longer be received in the temple—and thus that the daily sacrifice by and for the Roman emperor should be discontinued.

101. War threatens.

The supreme council of Jernsalem exerted itself to the utmost against this rebellious decision. Florus left it to itself; but Agrippa sent to its aid 3000 horsemen with whose help it carried on a struggle for four weeks against the war party who held the temple. The party of rebellion soon began to gain ground, burned the archives containing the records of indebtedness, obtained possession of the Antonia citadel, and shut the adversary up in the royal palace. A son of Judas of Galilee the founder of the Zealot party, Manaem (Menahem)[1] by name, conducted the siege. The garrison—Roman and native alike—desired to capitulate; but free exit was allowed only to the natives, among them the troopers sent by Agrippa. The former high priest, Ananias. was put to death and soon afterwards Manaem also, who had made himself hated for his cruelty. At last the Roman garrison also had to surrender; though their lives had been promised them on oath, all were massacred, their captain alone excepted. On that same day the Jews who had remained in Caesarea were put to death or thrown into prison by the Gentile inhabitants. In retaliation armed bands of Jews went round the border places inhabited by Gentiles plundering and massacring. The Gentiles replied with a persecution of the Jews which extended as far as Tyre and Ashkelon and even Alexandria. As Florus was helpless, Cestius Gallus now marched into the Jewish territory with an army. Galilee he soon subdued; and during the feast of Tabernacles he made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. After some skirmishes before the gates the army gained possession of portions of the city and began to attack the north side of the temple. The rebels had already given up their cause for lost, when suddenly Cestius Gallus ordered the retreat. The Jews followed him and inflicted heavy losses. Once more songs of victory were sung by her own people within the capital. This was the prelude to the war of May-November, 66; the war party had triumphed both at home and abroad.

Formal preparations for war were now begun on both

[1] Cp MANAEN.

sides. In Jerusalem everything had to bend before the zeal of the war party, or else take its departure. The aristocracy themselves took in hand the defences of the country.

102. Formal war.

The Jewish territory from Lydda to Peræa and from Idumæa to Galilee was divided into seven districts, each under its own commander; thus for example Galilee was assigned to Josephns the Pharisee, destined afterwards to become the friend of the Romans, and the historian of the war. He has himself described the measures he took for the defence of Galilee (*BJ* ii. 20 *f.*; *Vit.* 7 *ff.*). It is quite clear from what he says how hard—even to impossibility—was the task of uniting in common defence against the Romans those who had been so long accustomed to deeds of violence. No wonder that the more thoughtful spirits were filled with anxiety. Nero, whom Cestius Gallus had betimes apprised of the state of affairs, summoned his proved general T. Flavius Vespasianus to Achaia and charged him with the conduct of the war against the Jews in revolt. Vespasian caused his son Titus to bring the fifth and the tenth legions from Alexandria while he himself proceeded to Antioch and took command of the fifteenth legion along with the auxiliary troops supplied by three kings in alliance with Rome—Antiochus of Commagene, Soëmus of Emesa, and Agrippa II. Father and son met in Ptolemais where they began operations.

The first measures taken were against Galilee. The city of Sepphoris had already received a Roman garrison and was being held against Josephus. As soon as the army of Vespasian appeared upon the scene, the Jews withdrew into the fortified cities. Of these the first to succumb to the Romans was Jotapata (1 Panemos = July 67). Josephus himself, who had already reported to headquarters the evil case of his army, conducted the defence and was seized in a hiding-place by the victors. He ingratiated himself with Vespasian by the prophecy that both he and his son were destined for the imperial throne, and was detained in friendly captivity. After having advanced along the coast as far as Joppa, Vespasian made his headquarters with Agrippa II. at Cæsarea Philippi, whence he caused Tiberias and Taricheae—both cities belonging to Agrippa—to be brought back to their obedience. The storming of the fortress of Gamala in Gaulanitis proved no easy task (Sept.-Oct. 67). But when in addition to this the garrison of Mount Itabyrion (Tabor) had also been overcome and Giscala the home of the Zealots had opened its gates to Titus, the whole of Galilee was at the feet of the Romans, though John of Giscala, the leader of the rebels in the last named city, had indeed eluded Titus by a ruse and made his escape to Jerusalem. Vespasian fixed the winter quarters of the fifth and fifteenth legions in Cæsarea Palæstinæ and those of the tenth in Scythopolis.

103. Galilee.

The tidings of the unprosperous course of events in Galilee, when they reached Jerusalem, where the high priest Ananias and Joseph son of Gorion were nominally in command, had the effect of letting loose the full storm of rage and fanaticism against the Romans. The arrival of John of Giscala with his Zealots added fuel to the flames. With the fanatics, to be old or prudent was to be indolent and weak. In the country about Jernsalem the struggle of parties came to bloodshed; the issue soon declared itself in favour of the fanatics. The conflagration now reached Jerusalem itself. It directed itself in the first instance against those who, there was some reason to fear, might seek to quench it—against the high-priestly nobility and their adherents, and in particular against the Synedrium as it had hitherto existed. It had hitherto been unfortunate enough in its efforts against the enemies of the fatherland, and in the judgment of the excited masses this constituted a fault which in those stirring times demanded instant punishment. The ordinary processes of law and justice seemed too long or too uncertain, and the power of those who administered them as dangerous to the sacred cause. Accordingly, no trial was conceded to those priestly nobles who in the meantime had been arrested and cast into prison; they were put to death where they were and the cruel perpetrators of this crime (Ex. 22_{27}) were praised as deliverers of the people out of the hands of traitors. Regard for their own safety bade the Zealots take into their own hands the supreme authority. As, however, the populace, under the influence of Ananus, assumed a threatening attitude, the Zealots withdrew themselves to the temple area, the strong walls of which afforded them protection, The priority of claim to the high-priestly office asserted by certain priestly families they declared to be abolished, and, appealing to an ancient custom, they reintroduced election of the high priest by lot.

104. At Jerusalem.

The leading members of the Synedrinm showed unwillingness to accept such a reversal of existing arrangements without a struggle. The people sided with them and actually forced the Zealots back from the outer temple enclosure into the sanctuary itself. In order to save the latter from desecration Ananus opened negotiations and in doing so gave his confidence to John of Giscala who already on previous occasions had acted as negotiator for the Zealots and now finally went over to their side, accusing Ananus of acting in prearranged concert with the Romans. He counselled the Zealots to call in the aid of the Idumæans if they wished to escape certain death at the hand of Ananus or the enraged people. His advice was taken and soon 20,000 Idumaeans, eager for war, stood before the walls of Jerusalem. Ananus sought to bring them to reason; but under cover of a dark and stormy night, the Zealots slipped from the temple and led the Idumaeans through the sleeping city up to the temple hill and into the inner precincts, whence they now commenced the attack upon the outer temple court and the city. Ananus and his associates were slain and many citizens with them; others were thrown into prison. The triumphant Zealots introduced a new council (Synedrium) of 70 persons, but again dispersed it at the point of the sword when it proved unconformable to their wishes. The Idumæans perceived too late the red nature of the work for which their aid had been invited. Filled with shame, they left the blood-saturated city in the hands of the Zealots, who put to the sword all suspected persons, and reduced Jerusalem to helpless subjection (Jos. *BJ* iv. 3-6).

Vespasian watched this feverish outburst with the coolness of a practised general. He very well knew that the more the strength of the city was wasted by this internal struggle, the feebler would be the resistance he would at last have to overcome. The reports by numerous deserters as to the ambition of John and the envy and ill-will with which he was looked upon by others confirmed him in his watching attitude. The revolution in the capital made itself felt, however, also in the surrounding country. The Sicarii extended their predatory raids as far as from Masada to Engedi. Following their example others also banded themselves together for plundering the cities and villages, amongst them in particular the desperado Simon bar Giora of Gerasa (*BJ* iv. 7 2 9 3). At last, in March 68, Vespasian resumed the war. He reduced Peræa as far as to Machærus and thereafter occupied the districts of Thamna, Lydda, Jamnia, Ammaus, Bethneptepha[1] and Idumæa. Next he marched by way of Ammaus (where the fifth legion had its camp) and Neapolis (Sichem) down into the Jordan valley and threw a garrison into Jericho (June 68), thus drawing, however widely, the first line of investiture round the centre of the rebellion.

105. Vespasian.

At this juncture, tidings of the death of Nero (9th

1 [Βεθλεπτηνφῶν, Niese, Jos. *BJ* iv. 81.]

June, 68) reached Vespasian in Cæsarea. He determined to delay the siege of Jerusalem and await the orders of the new Emperor, Galba. Thus the summer passed away, as also the succeeding winter, Galba having been murdered in Jan. 69 and Otho named as his successor. This inaction was, to the Jews eager for battle, hard to bear; but in the meantime they kept their swords in practice in fratricidal conflicts, and thinned their own ranks by all kinds of jealousy, envy, and evil passion. Simon bar Giora plundered right and left through the whole of the territory still unoccupied by the Roman troops, from the district of Akrabattene in the N. down to Idumæa in the S., drove the Zealots back to the shelter of the walls of Jerusalem and made himself master of Idumæa and its capital Hebron. In Jerusalem itself a mutiny broke out against John; his Idumaean soldiers resolved to call in the help of Simon against the Zealots, who had again retreated to the temple hill. Simon, in this manner became master of the city in April 69, and exerted himself to get the Zealots expelled from the temple also (*BJ* iv. 9 i *ff.*).

Vespasian now drew his lines more closely round the city. In June 69 he advanced from the N. as far as Bethel and EPHRAIM (*q.v.*, ii.), and in the S. his general Cerealis subjugated Idumaea and held it in check by garrisons. The way to Jerusalem was now open; but once more grave tidings from Rome hindered him from taking the decisive step. Vitellius had taken the place of Otho on the imperial throne. The news roused the disapprobation of the legions stationed in the E., and in July 69 Vespasian himself was acclaimed emperor from the Nile to the Danube, and hastened to Rome. The siege of Jerusalem was thus left to Vespasian's son Titus, who had at his side Tiberius Alexander, formerly procurator of Judaea, now governor of Egypt, and Josephus, now freed from his captivity.

106. Titus. Titus marched upon Jerusalem from Cæsarea at the head of the fifteenth and twelfth legions by way of Samaria, while the fifth legion advanced from its camp at Ammaus and the tenth from Jericho. Titus pitched his camp one and a half hours northwards of Jerusalem (April 70). The leaders of the revolt within the city had in the meantime gone on with the building of the outer wall which had been begun by Agrippa II. (see § 97), and had even sent messengers to the many Jewish colonies on the Euphrates to stir them to revolt (*BJ* vi. 6 2). Jerusalem itself was full of the numerous visitors who had come up for the Passover feast. so that feeling was highly strung; it expressed itself in loud shouts of joy when Titus at the head of a body of horsemen was almost surrounded by a band of Jews close by the northern wall of the city. The Zealots had in the meantime split into two factions: Eleazar son of Simon had made himself master of the inner sanctuary and confined John of Giscala to the outer temple precinct and its immediate southern neighbourhood, so that John had to defend himself on two sides—against Eleazar and against Simon bar Giora who was master in the city. When, however, Titus proceeded to place the fifteenth, twelfth, and fifth legions on the height to the north (Mt. Scopus; see NOB) and the tenth legion on the Mt. of Olives to the east, the Jews combined: A vigorous attack was made upon the tenth legion while it was engaged in the work of entrenchment; but it was repulsed by the bold intervention of Titus. While Titus was making preparations for the investment properly so-called, John succeeded in getting the better of Eleazar and his people in the inner sanctuary, and thus Jerusalem no longer had three parties, but only two—John with 8000 men and Simon with 15,000. Titus directed his first attack, with embankments, towers, and battering rams, against the first wall in the neighbourhood of the Tower of Hippicus. Not until the blows of the rams had begun to fall did the contending parties within the city begin to come to their senses and think of uniting in a common defence. By the fifteenth day of the siege, the seventh day of Artemisius (approximately May 70), the Romans had already forced their way into the northern quarter of the city enclosed by the first wall. Immediately Titus pushed forward his camp and began to breach the second wall. After five days his troops were able to advance through it; but in the vigorous street fight which ensued they were repelled by the Jews and constrained to fight for three days more for the reconquest of the walls.

Meanwhile the siege operations now began to be directed against the citadel of Antonia and the Upper City. Titus sent Josephus a second time to summon the Jews to surrender (*BJ* v. 33 9 2 *ff.*). He knew that pestilence had already broken out in the overcrowded city, and also that famine was beginning to make itself felt, and he wished, if possible, to preserve the city and especially the temple from destruction. The leaders, however, refused to negotiate; they proudly placed their reliance on the temple and the almighty power of God. The inclination of the people was in the other direction; whoever saw a convenient opportunity stole away from the city and went over to the Romans. Those in command were roused by this to all the greater vigilance. Intimidation was not spared, and stringent measures were taken to exact provisions for the soldiers from the wealthier inhabitants. To add to these difficulties Titus now put into force with greater strictness the military law regarding deserters. Yet all these untoward circumstances together could not break the spirit of the defenders. How great was their resourcefulness and how desperate their courage the Romans found by experience. After seventeen days' labour four embankments had been raised—two against Antonia and two against the Upper City. Those before Antonia the Jews undermined and destroyed by fire; those before the Upper City with the machines were also set on fire by them during a hard-fought struggle.

107. Blockade. These losses had their effect on the besiegers, and raised grave doubts whether the means hitherto employed would suffice for the reduction of the city. Hence Titus resolved on a strict blockade. A rampart—39 stadia in circumference, with thirteen watch towers—was completed by the legions in three days (*BJ* v. 122).

The position of affairs in the city daily grew worse; famine led to the most inhuman acts. The preternatural suspiciousness of the Zealots was always discovering new traitors who had to lay down their lives that the city might sleep secure. Still, the hope of a divine intervention and of the Messianic empire (*BJ* vi. 5 2 *ff.*) still held its own through all the pangs of hunger, all the shouts of combatants, and all the bloodthirsty jealousy of opposing parties. What amazing abysses does not human nature here disclose!

In twenty-one days the Romans had raised four new embankments which were watched with the utmost vigilance. Shaken by the rams a part of the wall at the Antonia citadel collapsed; but the Jews had already erected a second behind the breach. This also the Romans surmounted on the 5th of Panemos (approx. July), and accordingly could assert the mastery in the citadel. On the 15th of Panemos the daily sacrifice in the temple (תָּמִיד) ceased to be offered. Well might the courage of many sink. Titus, first through Josephus and afterwards personally, pleaded that the temple might be spared; but all in vain. Nothing was left for it but that the struggle should be carried out to its issue within the sacred enclosure. The first battle being indecisive, the Romans built a new embankment against the wall of the inner precinct, while the Jews destroyed the chambers between the Antonia and the inner temple enclosure—partly by fire.

On the 8th of Lous (*ca.* August) the rams were brought to bear on the **walls** of the inner forecourt.

As nothing, however, could be effected either by their means or by scaling ladders, the gates were set on fire. When these actually began to burn horror paralysed the defenders. Titus, however, on the following day, caused the flames to be extinguished. His sole object had been to secure a freer path for the larger attack which he had planned for the 10th of Lous. Before this could quite be carried out by the soldiers, however, one of the party tossed a burning brand into one of the chambers surrounding the temple. The wildest consternation ensued among the Jews. Titus ordered the extinction of the fire; but the Roman soldiers pressed on, and put the horror-stricken Jews to the sword. Scarcely had Titus for the first time cast eyes on the Holy of Holies when the flames were already crackling under the door; soon they sprang aloft and enveloped all. On this very clay a prophet had summoned the people to the temple to see the fulfilment of the signs of deliverance. The raging flames, the infuriated soldiers, the groans of the wounded and the dying, all spoke with another voice. It was the judgment. The words of John the Baptist and of Jesus of Nazareth had come true.

108. Burning of the gates, temple, etc.

Thoiisands perished in the temple flames; some of the Zealots sought safety in the Upper City. The Romans set up their standards in the sanctuary, sacrificed before them, and hailed Titus as Imperator. After an ineffectual attempt at an arrangement with the authorities he ordered the city to be burned. The Jews now retired into the palace of Herod and gave up the rest of the city to the spoiler. Once more the legions had to set about engineering works, and on the 7th of Gorpiaius (*ca.* September) 70 A.D., machines were brought to bear. It was now plain that the powers of resistance of the besieged had been broken at last; when the wall fell their pride turned into helplessness and cowardice, and they sought to hide themselves in the subterranean passages. On the same day the Roman soldiers made their way through the Upper City, burning, plundering, and massacring. Of the Jews who survived, the leaders were put to death, and the finest-looking of the youths were preserved to grace the triumph; of the remainder, some were sent to the Egyptian mines, many were sent as presents into the provinces for use in scenic displays. Death or captivity was also the lot of those who had hidden themselves in the subterranean passages; John of Giscala was sentenced to imprisonment for life, Simon bar Giora was set apart for the triumph. City and temple were destroyed, only the western portion of the city wall with the three towers of the palace of Herod was left standing, so as to admit of the 10th legion and some auxiliary troops having their camp there. Of the rich plunder, there were afterwards exhibited to the Romans in the joint triumph of Vespasian and Titus the Golden Altar of incense, the golden candlestick, and also the book of the Law.

Three strongholds still remained in the hands of the Jews; Herodeion and Masada to the W., Machaerus to the E. of the Dead Sea. Herodeion surrendered to Lucilius Bassus, who now commanded the 10th legion, without a struggle; Machaerus, only after a protracted siege. As Bassus died soon afterwards, the siege of Masada fell to the lot of his successor, L. Flavius Silva. This fortress stood at a height of more than 1500 ft. above the level of the Dead Sea, on the almost inaccessible summit of a mountain (now es-Sebbeh), and since the commencement of the war had been held by the Sicarii under Eleazar, a relation of Judas of Galilee. After great exertions the soldiers of Silva at last succeeded in making a breach in the walls; but the defenders had already constructed behind it another wall of timber and earth. This withstood the blows of the ram better than the stone wall had done; but it was capable of being set on fire by the besiegers.. Hereupon Eleazar persuaded his band to a solemn resolution to commit suicide together. When, accordingly, on the 15th of Xanthicus (*ca.* April) 73, the Romans made their way over the burning wall into the fortress, they did not find a single man alive. Masada was afterwards held by a Roman garrison.

109. Judæa.

Vespasian had already settled what was to be done with Judæa, by an order addressed to L. Bassus. The whole scene of the rebellion, as it had been handed over by Nero to Vespasian as a special province, he now claimed as his private property. Caesarea Palæstinæ was converted into a Roman colony (Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea) and continued to be the seat of a governor (who at the same time commanded the 10th legion) as well as the administrative capital. The 10th legion lay for the most part at Jerusalem. Eight hundred veterans were settled at Emmaus near Jerusalem. All Jews within the Roman empire were required to pay the traditional temple tax, the didrachma (Mt. 17 24), into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This determination unquestionably was a very deep wound to Jewish susceptibilities. As a general rule, however, the position of the Jewish religion as a *religio licita* within the Roman empire was not assailed. Nowhere except in Egypt was violence resorted to. Fugitive Sicarii had fomented disturbances in the Jewish community in Alexandria, and this led Vespasian to order Lupus the governor to destroy the Jewish temple founded by Onias (see HERES). Lupus and his successor, Paulinus, plundered the temple of its dedicated gifts and sacred vessels, closed it and rendered it inaccessible. The Jewish worship had been. carried on here for the space of 243 years (Jos. *BJ* vii. 104 has 343 years, by an error).

1pasiān's-measures.

It was but natural that a paralysing reaction should follow the fearful struggle of the Jews with the Romans. Not only were their physical forces exhausted; the community had—a more serious matter—been deprived of its religions centre. Its highest authority, the Synedrinm, had even before the siege of Jerusalem been destroyed by the war party (§ 104). Now, with the destruction of the temple, the cultus also had been brought to an end; the priests had been deprived of their vocation, the community of its appointed representation in the presence of God. The mother-country itself was now compelled to live after the manner of the Jewish diaspora. The Pharisees, with Johanan b. Zakkai at their head, settled in Jamnia and addressed themselves to the task of once more rallying the dispersed of Israel around the Law. They revived the Synedrium into new life by the formation of a court of justice consisting of seventy-two members (זְקֵנִים), which disposed of civil causes arising between Jews in Judaea and, so far as was practicable without conspicuous disregard of Roman rights, also dealt with criminal cases. This court of justice could not pretend to any legal title; it owed its existence to the necessities of the case; but it seems in all probability to have been ultimately recognised by the Romans. Soon it rose in importance to such a degree that its pronouncements were recognised by the whole diaspora. Its head, who bore the title of *nāsī'*, ethnarch, or patriarch, received from every Jewish community yearly dues, which were brought by so-called 'apostles.' The study of the Law and the practice of Pharisaic piety were also carried on with all the zeal proper to persecuted causes. What had been lost—temple and worship—every effort was made to preserve, so far as was possible by means of writing; the ancient precepts for the regulation of Jewish social life in Judaea were modified in such a way as to admit of their being applied under the altered conditions.

111. Reorganisation of the Jews in Judæa.

The Jews in Palestine adapted themselves to the new circumstances with remarkable rapidity. This can be

explained to a great extent by the reaction which followed the feverish days of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The Jews were glad to take refuge under the shelter of any new arrangement, however temporary and inadequate. They sought for comfort in their abiding sorrow, certainty in their doubt, some fixed point towards which they could direct their thoughts and hopes. This they found in the teachings of their rabbins, versed in the Scriptures, from whom they learned to accept their misfortunes submissively as a chastisement from God. This was certainly a wholesome salve for broken spirits. Nevertheless the rabbins had not learned from the terrible divine judgment the thing which in truth most concerned their peace. They impressed upon the Jews the old transcendental hope that at the time appointed by God the redemption—*i.e.*, the world-theocracy—would come (cp Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Esd.). It was the very depth of their unprecedented humiliation which seemed to justify the expectation that the hour of deliverance was not far off. Nor was it long before the determination was again arrived at to seek to hasten the event by their own efforts.

112. New rebellion.

The Emperor Domitian caused the didrachma tax (which, as we have seen, had from 70 A.D. onwards to be paid to Jupiter Capitolinus) to be exacted with particular strictness, and forbade conversion to Judaism (which still had its supporters even within the precincts of the imperial palace). He is said also to have sought, like Vespasian before him and Trajan after him, to exterminate the Davidic family by persecution. These measures show how greatly the power of the Jewish diaspora was still felt by the Roman empire. It was in the places where the diaspora was strong that the first risings took place when Trajan waged war on the Parthians on the eastern frontier of the empire. Egypt, from the Thebaid to Alexandria, trembled before the wild outburst of Jewish hatred against the Greeks and the Romans. In Cyrene also it burst forth with bloodthirsty ferocity. In Cyprus the Jews carried out a fearful massacre and destroyed the city of Salamis (*circa* 116 A.D.). Trajan sent one of his ablest generals, Marcius Turbo, to Egypt; but it was only by degrees that he succeeded in quenching the fire of rebellion in the blood of its instigators. Even in Mesopotamia the Jews rose and threatened to bar the emperor's return from Ctesiphon. Here it was Lucius Quietus who restored order with remorseless firmness. Even down to the first year of the emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) the agitation seems to have shown itself—perhaps even in Palestine—in commotions of diminishing intensity.

113. Struggle with Hadrian.

Towards the end of his reign Hadrian unintentionally furnished the occasion for a rising of the Jews in Judæa itself. Circumcision had beeen forbidden by law in the Roman empire, being placed in the same category with castration. The prohibition was regarded by the Jews—though by no means levelled exclusively at them—as a prohibition of the exercise of their religion. Further, Hadrian issued orders that the now deserted Jerusalem should again be rebuilt as a Roman colony. This expression of imperial goodwill towards their ancient capital the Jews regarded as the worst of injuries, the deathblow to all their dearest hopes; for the execution of the emperor's command would mean nothing less than the conversion of Jerusalem into a Gentile city. The zeal of the Jews was accordingly kindled once more on behalf of the city of their God, and they flew to arms on the sacred soil of Judaea. Probably the disturbances first began about 132, after the emperor's second visit to Syria in 131. So far as we can learn from the scanty notices preserved to us, the struggle took the form of a guerilla war only; the insurgents fixed their quarters in fastnesses, caves, and subterranean dens, and sought as best they could to expel the Romans from Judaea.

114. Revolt of Bar Kocheba.

The leader was a certain Simon, better known by his surname, Bar Kosiba or Bar Kocheba; the first of these two forms indicates his origin genealogically or locally (cp 1 Ch. 4 22), the second his dignity (see Nu. 24 17) as Messiah; he was doubtless of Davidic descent: His coins bear the legend 'Simon Prince of Israel.' The Roman Governor Tineius Rufus was unable to quell the rebellion which burst out on all sides and spread even beyond the boundaries of Judaea. Jerusalem was 'liberated,' as the legend on the coins of Simon has it, and the sacrificial system was probably again revived; perhaps an attempt was also made to rebuild the temple. The entire Jewish diaspora supported the movement, so that 'the whole world was thrown into commotion' (Dio Cassins 69 13). It seems probable that Hadrian himself lingered for a while near the scene of the struggle; and he summoned his best generals to deal with it. Julius Severus, who came from Britain, brought it to a triumphant end. The closing scene took place not at Jerusalem but at BETHER (*q.v.*, cp Ezra 2 20 𝔊, see GIBBAR), now Bittīr, to the south-west of Jerusalem. In the eighteenth year of Hadrian (134-5) the little fortress was captured after a brave resistance, Bar Kocheba himself having already been slain. The whole war probably lasted 39 years (132-135 A.D.). It was bloody in the extreme, and brought Judaea to the lowest ebb. The captive Jews were offered for sale at nominal prices on the market place beside Abraham's oak at Hebron, or sent off to the slave markets of Gaza and Egypt.

115. Jerusalem becomes Ælia Capitolina.

What the rebellion had been intended to prevent now took place without resistance. Jerusalem was built as a Gentile city and received the name of Ælia Capitolina, with the rights of a Roman colony but without the *jus Italicum*. On the former site of the temple was built a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with an equestrian statue of the emperor Hadrian. No Jew was permitted to enter the precincts of the city; once more it was to be the possession of heathen deities and their worshippers. Such was the end of the history of Israel on the mountains of Judaea.

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H. G.

ISSACHAR (יִשָּׂשכָר; [ε]ιccαχαp [BAL], sometimes ιcαχαp [B*ᵇF]; in Rev. 7 7 some MSS ιcαcχαp; Jos. ιcαχαpηc; on the name see below, §§ 3, 6 end), apparently the name borne by the inhabitants of the tract lying between the highlands of Ephraim on the S. and those of Naphtali on the N.; between the lowlands of Zebulun on the NW. and the deep Jordan valley on the E.

Issachar finds prominent mention in the present text of the battle-song in Judg. 5. It would be natural that the brunt of the struggle should fall there. It is noteworthy, however, that whilst Josh. 21 28 (1 Ch. 6 72 [57]) assigns Daberath to Issachar, Josh. 19 12 places it on the border of Zebulun. Moreover, in the passage where Issachar is mentioned in Judg. 5 the text is uncertain. There is no quite unambiguous evidence that Deborah or Daberath (whether a person[1] or a town)[2] or Barak, belonged to Issachar (see DEBORAH, § 2 *f.*). Can there have been a desire to suppress the name of Issachar? It is not quite impossible. The writer to whom is due the enumeration of tribes summoned by Gideon (Judg. 6 35) and of tribes that gathered together to pursue Midian (7 23), if rightly represented by MT,[3] omits Issachar—the very tribe which, one would suppose, would be most intimately concerned, and (if we suppose that Purah is a corruption of Puah; see GIDEON, § 1 *n.*) may have supplied Gideon with his attendant. Similarly, Issachar is allowed no part in the fight described in Judg. 4. Still more strange, perhaps, is the omission of the same tribe from the list of those summarily told of in the latter part of Judg. 1.[4] Moreover in the 'Blessing of Jacob' the reference to Issachar is rather disparaging, and in both the 'Blessings' Issachar yields precedence to Zebulun, although in Gen. 30 Issachar is the elder of the brothers. Is all this accidental? Or can a reason be found?

1. Rarely mentioned.

Issachar's being a Leah-tribe associates it with Zebulun (cp the connexion of the two in Dt. 33 18 *f.*), and they are mentioned together in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5 14 *f.*): their territories were contiguous. What is

2. Special Cults?

noteworthy, however, is that the 'Blessing of Moses' connects the tribes not as comrades in war (as in Judg. 5) but as guardians of a great religious fair (Dt. 33 18 *f.*); as if they had formed a northern confederation like that of Shechem which had its religious centre, according to Winckler (*GI* 2 56), on Shechem's sacred mountain. On what mountain such a gathering of northern clans may have been held does not appear; possibly on Tabor (Herder, Graf, Steuernagel 7) or Carmel (Knohel, Bertholet). Nor have we any clue as to the deity who was thus honoured, unless we can venture to find a veiled hint in a well-known story connected with the birth of Issachar and Zebulun.

Reuben found *dūdā'īm* (see MANDRAKE). These naturally belonged to Leah, the fruitful mother; but Rachel bartered for a share. Issachar and Zebulun were born to Leah, Joseph to Rachel. Whatever be the meaning of Reuben's-being assigned to Leah (see REUBEN), the tribe was mixed up with GAD [*q.v.* § 3]. Now Mesha tells us (*l.* 12) that when he took Ataroth from Gad he carried off אראל דודה, which implies a cult of some kind. The Gadite cult may have been shared by Reuben: unless, indeed, 'Reuben' in Gen. 30 14 was originally 'Gad,' whose birth has just been told of (*v.* 11): Gad could he called Leah's son. If there underlies the story of the *dūdā'īm* the fact of an old cult, it is a little difficult to extricate it naturally; but it is noteworthy that the Issacharite tribal hero Tola, or his clan Puah, is said to be 'son of Dodo' (דודו; the text of the passage, however, is doubtful; see § 7).

It seems certain that popular etymology connected the name Issachar with the Hebrew root שׂכר, 'wages' (cp the gloss 6 ἐστὶ μισθος [BAL] and Jos. ἐκ μισθου νενόμενος) and in J's form of the theory the hire had to do with the mandrakes (Gen. 30 15).[1] It has been thought that religious ideas sometimes led to the omission of certain tribe-names (cp GAD, § 2). If the omission of Issachar was intentional, the reason may have been political (see below, § 4); but implications involved in the 'Duda' story might be enough. Or if the connection of the name with an Egyptian god Sokar (which is in fact one of the alternatives proposed by C. J. Ball, *SBOT* on Gen. 30 18; see below, § 6) was held by some in ancient times, it is barely possible that this may have been disadvantageous'to the tribe.

3. Name.

The first syllable of Issachar may possibly have been taken by J to be the Hebrew word אִישׁ (so We. *TBS*, p. v, also 95 *f.*, and Ball, *op. cit.*), the whole name being explained as 'man of hire.' Another popular explanation may have been יֵשׁ שָׂכָר (cp Jer. 31 16 = 2 Ch. 15 7 Eccles. 4 9); perhaps also יִשָּׂא שָׂכָר.[2] The theory that the name is compound is not impossible (cp § 6). Many modern writers, however, incline to the view that it is simple.[3] Thus Ball compares the Arabic aškar;[4] Nestle (*AJSL* 13 175 *f.* ['97]) seems to favour Wellhausen's comparison of the Nabataan name Σαχρηλ-ος,[5] and Cheyne thinks Issachar is a popular corruption of Yizraḥ[ēl] (יזרח[אל]), which he has suggested as perhaps the original of Israel (ישראל) and of Jezreel (יזרעאל) (see JACOB, § 6): Jezreel lies on the Lorders of Issachar. On the second part of the name see further, below, § 6.

1 Moore, Budde and others.
2 C. Niebuhr; Wi. *GI* 2 126.
3 Of course the text may be corrupt; see GIDEON, § 1, where it is proposed to read 'Issachar' in the Gideon story for Asher (Judg. 6 35).
4 We. *CH* 215 suggests that Issachar may have been included in Joseph; Bu. (*RiSa* 44 *ff.*) and Moore (*Judg.* 49) suggest that it was omitted through accident or design in abridgment.

1 In E Leah gave up her handmaid to Jacob (*v.* 18).
2 The name appears in the consonantal text invariably as יששכר. This is printed יִשָּׂשכָר, that is with the Ḳrē יִשָּׂכָר; but in different authorities occur the following five other forms: יִשָּׂשכָר (without *daghesh*), יִששָׂכָר, יִשְׂשָׂכָר, יִשַּׂשְׂכָר, יִשְּׂשָׂכָר; on which see Ginsburg, *Introd.* 250-254 (cp Baer-Del. *Gen.* 84 *f.*).
3 The view that the second ש was meant to show that the ש is שׂ, not שׁ, is supported by Nestle (*AJSL* 13 175 *f.*, *Trans.* ZX *Or. Cong.* 2 62) who, however, believes that the ש was really שׁ. The double ש may, however, be due to 'Volksetyrnologie.'
4 'Sorrel,' or 'reddish-brown' of horses (cp Lane, *ad voc.*, Wi. *GI* 2 281, n. 1); cp Gen. 49 14*a*, and note the derivation of חמור (see Ass): The phonetic equivalent of Issachar in Arabic is *yaškur*, which occurs as a tribal name (see, *e.g.*, Yāḳūt 3 288 *l.* 14); cp ישכראל in a Minæan inscription from Madā' in Ṣāleḥ (DHM *Ep. Denk.* no. xxv. 1.4; see further Muller's note, p. 48).
5 *Heid.*(1) 3, n. 5; 2nd ed. omits.

If we judged by appearances we should conclude that in historical times Issachar played no important part. Some of the kings of Israel, however, appear to have been men of Issachar.

4. Share in history.

There seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that one of the older sources of Kings called Baasha 'son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar' (1 K. 15 27).[1] Of the origin of Omri nothing is said; but that he also was of Issachar is for several reasons not improbable.[2] If then there is anything in the notion that there was a tendency to avoid mentioning Issachar (see above, §§ 1-3) it might be suggested that under the Jehu dynasty it became the fashion to disparage the 'house of Issachar.' It would not be strange if this were *so*. On the other hand Jehu himself may have belonged to the house of Issachar.[3]

That would be the most natural explanation of his being called in inscriptions of Shalmaneser II. 'son of Omri' (**KAT** 189 *f.* 208); note also the phrase 'statutes of Omri' (Mic. 6 16; see OMRI 1). However that may he Jehu was **a** trusted general of Ahab and Jehoram. The last king of the line was slain near Ibleam. Jehu's father's name is given as Jehoshaphat, the name (not **a** common one) of the governor of Issachar in the list in 1 K. 4, where in MT (*v.* 17) he is said to be son of Paruah but Paruah should probably rather be Puah, the Issachar clan.[4] Jehu is oftener, however, called son of Nimshi. This is obscure; hut if we may explain it on the analogy of the Punic גרנם ‖ to גרנעם, Nimshi would imply the cult of **a** god שַׁי, which might be the same as that referred to in the Issacharite BAASHA [*q.v.*].[5]

On the other hand Jehu may have been a southerner.

There are not lacking features of his policy that would fit in with such **a** theory (see JEHU, § 2), and Nimshi may have been n southern name (cp Abishai, Amasa; and, for the first part of the name, Naomi and Elnaam [1 Ch. 11 46]).

Whether the dynasties of Omri and Jehu were from Issachar or not—and the saying in Gen. 49 14 *f.* suggests that Issachar supplied, rather than employed, gangs of labourers—there were not wanting influences that might have enabled men of that tribe to take a leading place. If 'nature has manifestly set Esdraelon in the arms of Samaria,'[6] it has also assigned it a different lot. Commenting on the 'Blessing' of Issachar (Gen. 49 14) G. **A.** Smith says (p. **383**) 'To the highlander looking down upon it, Esdraelon is room to stretch in and he happy.' The most important point, however, is that the plain of Megiddo is the natural route from Sharon to the Jordan. From the earliest times it contained the sites of fortress towns (see **ESDRAELON**). Though its connection with Ephraim and with Gilead was very close, we have no hint how it became connected with Israel; perhaps in self-defence against the inroads of the still unsettled peoples of the east; or in connection with some other great struggle.'

5. Geographical conditions.

It appears that at one time the plain of Megiddo was pretty completely under the power of the Philistines.' At least, the Zakkar(ī) (Ṭà-[k]-ka-ra-[y]), who were associated with them had firmly established themselves at Dor in the 12th century.[2] Who the people were who suffered from these intruders we are not told. It might be supposed that they would hardly be Israelites, who probably settled first in the highlands; that the strangers would be interested merely or mainly in the trade-routes and the cities lying on them, and that it was from them that these were won by Israel. That may be so. The struggle, echoes of which we find in Judg. **5**, may conceivably have had this very result. No more, however, can we be sure that the land was found in the undisturbed possession of 'Canaanites.' We hear of the district first in the time of Thotmes III. and **it** was thereafter more or less continually in the power of Egypt or contesting that power. The Amarna correspondence, however, shows us not only the open country but also the towns (*e.g.* Megiddo [*KB* 5 193]) threatened by the Habiri. The one thing that seems to be clear is that the population must have been even more than usually mixed.[3]

6. Prehistoric times.

It is not impossible that some Egyptians might remain when Egypt finally withdrew. At least, there would be natives or settlers who had been attached to them in one capacity or another, especially mercenaries. The Egyptian derivation of the name Issachar referred to above (§ 3), therefore, is perhaps not quite impossible. Issachar is the only name of the 'twelve tribes' (besides Naphtali) from which no gentilic is formed in the OT,[4] which makes it not improbable that it is a compound name. The Moabites knew a neighbouring people as Ish-gad (see GAD, § 1). It may be, then, that there was in the Gilboa district a community known to their neighbours by some such name as Is-sachar—*i.e.*, the men of the god Sakar—as Ish-gad were the men of the god Gad (GAD, § 1 *f.*).[5]

Another theory (Che. *Crit. Bib.*) not open in the same way to the objection referred to below, regards יששכר as **a** popular euphonic adaptation of **a** primitive tribal name Ish-heres (ישחרם) 'man of the sun'; cp the place-name Beth-shemesh (Josh. 19 22); hut the author of this theory prefers the explanation Yizraḥ [ēl] mentioned above (§ 3, end).

The difficulty (referred to above) in the way of snpposing that 'Issachar' contains **a** reference to **a** god Sokar, is that, although, according to the Sakkāra list, **a** king of the second dynasty (the Sesōkhris of Manĕtho) bore **a** name compounded with that of this deity, and such compounds were favourites (Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 159) in the old empire (cp Seker-ḫ'a-ba'u; Lieblein, *Dict. de noms hiéroglyphiques*, no. **1359** and others), there does not appear to he any evidence that the name of this god was used in forming proper names outside of Egypt.

1 𝔊A's οικον εισαχαρ, indeed, may not he strong evidence confirmatory of MT; but 𝔊B need not be opposed really. βελααν ο υιος αχεια may be **a** dittograph of βαασα υ. α. due to homoioteleuton (αυτον . . . οικον) (the χαρ of 𝔊B's εχαραξεν [εχαρακωσεν (L)] for war of 𝔊A's επαταξεν looks oddly like the end of ισσαχαρ). 𝔊L adds Ισσαχαρ of MT after βεδδαμα (= βελααν of 𝔊B).

2 He was chief general under the 'house of Issachar,' and we are *not* told his origin. It is plain that Ahab had **a** palace at Jezreel (although 'which was in Jezreel' in 1 K. 21 1 may be an insertion [𝔊 om.]), which continued to be the home of the family. The original owner of the hill of Samaria may have been an Issacharite (cp the clan of Shimron). It should not be ignored that in the Chronicler's list of Davidic tribal princes, ihe prince of Issachar is called Omri (1 Ch. 27 18). Naturally in such **a** list (cp Gray, *HPN* 185 *f.* 188), no stress can be laid on this; hut traditional names do occur in the list: see Ephraim, Benjamin. (By **a** strange coincidence the plain of Megiddo is now called Merj ihn 'Āmir.) Here might he mentioned also the Phœnician policy of the house of Omri. Cp Smith, *DB*(2) *14876*, Guthe, *GVI* 138.

3 Still, one of his house was called Jerohoam.

4 The ר may be from שַׂר which perhaps stood between פוה and יששכר, as in 𝔊B υιος φουασουδ εν ισσαχαρ (*i.e.*, בן פוה שר ב׳), and practically in 𝔊L υ. βαρσαουχ (*i.e.*, בן פוה שר = בן ברשוח) εν ισσ.

5 If the Jehu dynasty also belonged to the house of Issachar **a** political reason for the rise of a fashion of disparaging Issachar is hard to find.

6 GASm. *HG* 379.

7 Gnthe (*GVI* 73), who accepts 1 S. 11 as it stands, infers from Saul's choosing Bezek as mustering place (1 S. 11 8) that he counted on drawing from Issachar and the northern tribes. Bezek, however, is just opposite Jahesh, and Winckler's argument (*GI* 2 158, etc.), that Saul **was** a Jabeshite (cp SAUL), is certainly plausible. Even if it were to be held, with Cheyne, that Jabesh-gilead is a corruption of some other name, Guthe's inference is not conclusive: the mention of Bezek might be **a** consequence of the corruption (see SAUL, § 1, near end).

1 This statement may stand even if it should be held that the people referred to in the original form of the story in Sam. as holding Israel in subjection were not the Philistines. See SAUL, § 4, and ZAREPHATH, where other related changes in the reading of the traditional story are proposed.

2 WMM, *MVAG*, 1900, 1.; cp DOR.

3 Guthe thinks that Issachar and Zebulun came from across Jordan and probably were pushed into their later seats by Joseph when it followed (*GVI* 50). Cp § 8, end.

4 In the case of איש יששכר, however, in Judg. 10, it is just possible that a final , has been lost before the following והוא. Otherwise we must insert מִ (Moore), or substitute it for איש, before יששכר. It is difficult, at all events, to follow Budde (*ad loc.*) in regarding the text as sound. Nu. 25 8 14, which he cites, do not seem to be really parallel, the meaning there is '*the* Israelite': here it is '*an* Issacharite.' See, further, the article cited below, next col. n. 3.

5 Of the Egyptian god Sakar not very much is known. His name is met with chiefly in combination, as Ptah-Sokar, or Ptaḥ-Osiris-Sokar. Originally apparently a sun-god, he 'became the god κατ' ἐξοχήν of the Memphite Necropolis,' ultimately giving his name to the modern village Saḳḳāra (Wiedemann, Petrie).

It is true the letters SKR (סכר) occur in several proper names at Carthage : a god חטרמס[כ]ר (*CIS* 1 253 [254] ; cp חטר מיסכר in a Maktar inscr., Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 149); גרמסכר (*CIS* 1 267 372; Eut. 152); but in each case סכר is preceded by ם, and the name עבדמסכר (in a Sidon inscription : *Rev. d'Ass.* II. 3, p. 76 ['91]) seems to show that the divine name *is* not סכר but מסכר. Nor is the name סכרבעל, also at Carthage (*CIS* I 1218 1354), decisive. There does not seem to he any unambiguous case of בעל preceded by a divine name. סכר is therefore probably, as elsewhere, for זכר (so Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 1 36). We find a Sacar (שָׂכָר) in 1 Ch. 11 35, as father of David's hero Ahiam the HARARITE (of Arad? Adoral) ; but in ‖ 2 S. 23 33 Sacar becomes Sharar. See also ISHSECHEL.

In 1 Ch. 26 5 a certain Issachar is seventh son of Obed-edom ; but there may he dittography : השׁשי יששכר. Similarly in the case of Sacar, the fourth son (*v.* 4) : השלישי ושכר.

The later history of Issachar is obscure (cp SCYTHIANS).

7. Later genealogies. How few people are expressly said to have belonged to Issachar has been noted already (§ 4, begin.). For an interesting case see SHUNAMITE, SHULAMITE ; for a tradition regarding N. Israel's great prophet, see HOSEA, § 9. With Belemoth, the name of his supposed birthplace, cp 𝔊's Baithemoth mentioned below, § 8.

On the Issacharite 'spy' (Nu. 13 7) see JOSEPH i., § 1 n. On the representatives of Issachar in the list (1 K. 4) of Solomon's prefects and in the Chronicler's list (1 Ch. 27) of David's captains (שַׂר) of trihes (Omri) see above, 5 4, with footnote (4).

In Tola we have a typical case of the equivalence of 'genealogies' and 'annals.' According to Judg. 10 1 *f.* 'Shamir in Mt. Ephraim' boasted that it was the resting-place of Tola, son of Puah, son of Dodo, an Issacharite 'judge' of Israel. In P s 'genealogy' of Issachar part of this story appears as a simple list of names.[1] For 'Tola the son of Puah who dwelt (יושב) in Shamir' we find four sons *of* Issachar : Tola, Puah, Jashub[2] (ישוב), Shimron.

In the genealogical lists there is nothing equivalent to the 'ben Dodo' inserted in Judg. 10 1 after Puah. It is therefore not improbable that 'ben Dodo' is to be explained as a marginal note,[3] and 'Mount Ephraim' as a (perhaps erroneous) gloss on Shamir or Shimron (𝔊BAL Σαμαρεια); cp Gen. 46 13 Num. 26 23 *f.* 1 Ch. 7 1. It is not likely that the genealogy contained a name KAREAH.[4]

With regard *to* the Issachar clan names it is remarkable that Shamir is a precious stone (DIAMOND, § 2), whilst Tola is a dye-producing worm, and Puah, apparently, a dye-producing plant. On this coincidence see, further, ZEBULUN.

To the four names given in P the Chronicler adds eleven descendants of Tola, four of whom are 'sons' of Yizrah-yah (cp above, § 3, end).

P s geographical details about Issachar are not clear.

Instead of a 'boundary' (*v.* 18) we find a list of towns (omit AV 'toward,' RV 'unto'—*i.e.*, the ה of יזרעאלה—with the versions), ending with a fragment of boundary

8. P's boundary. (*v.* 22)—Tabor (𝔊B γαιθβωρ ['land of Tabor'?], 𝔊A θαφωθ, 𝔊L θαβωρ, some MSS βαιθεμωθ : see below, n. 5), and two unknown places : SHAHAZUMAH and BETH-SHEMESH. The (thirteen : *so* Pesh.[5]) towns in the list are JEZREEL (*Zer'īn*) on a northern promontory of Gilboa, CHESULLOTH (*Iksāl*) below the hills of en-Nāṣira, SHUNEM (*Sōlem*) on the SW. slope of Nebi Dahi, HAPHARAIM perhaps (el-Farrīye?) on the hills between Carmel and el-Lejjūn SHION perhaps ('Ain Sha'in?) across the plain NW. of Neb: Daḥi, ANAHARATH perhaps ('Arrāne?) on the lower hills west of Gilboa, RABBITH [*q.v.*], KISHION (Kidshon?; Tell abu Ḳudēs?), EBEZ (*q.v.*), REMETH (*q.v.*), EN-GANNIM (*Jenīn*), EN-HADDAH (for En-harod?, *'Ain Jālūd*), and BETH-PAZZEZ. To these places is to be added JARMUTH (Josh. 21 28) = RAMOTH (1 Ch. 7 73 [58]), which is the third of the four Levitical cities in Issachar : Kishion (Josh.) = Kedesh (1 Ch.), Daberath, Jarmuth = Ramoth, and En-gannim (Josh.) = Anem (1 Ch.).

1 On the question of the relative priority of P's list and Judg. 10 1, see the article referred to in n. 3.

2 For the variants see JASHUB.

3 See an article on the genealogy of Issachar and Tola in the *OLZ* 3 366 *f.* [1900], where, for example, it is suggested that 'ben Dodo' possibly means 'son of his *dōd*'—a gloss due to the fact that Tola is represented as son of his younger brother.

4 The reading Καριε (Καρηε) in eight minuscules, *six of which omit 'ish Yissākār*, is probably a fragment of 'Issachar' or יששכרי (see preceding col. n. 4).

5 𝔊 almost unanimously omits *v.* 22 *b*. MT reads 'sixteen.' Possibly 'to Tabor' (בתבור) was read as a place-name : Beth-bar(?) ; cp several of 𝔊's variants. This would give sixteen towns.

According to Josh. 17 10 (also P) Issachar bordered on Manasseh on the (S.) W. (cp EPHRAIM, § 6), whilst according to *vv.* 11-13 (J) the most important cities in Issachar (see § 5)—Beth-shean, Ibleam, Taanach, Megiddo (with Dor)—were, 'with their districts,' claimed by Manasseh and eventually made dependent by Israel (cp Judg. 1 27 1 Ch. 7 29). H. W. H.

ISSHIAH (יִשִּׁיָּה [once יִשִּׁיָּהוּ] = אישיהו, 'man of Jah'[1]; ιεσσ[ε]ια [BAL]).

1. AV ISHIAH, an Issacbarite (1 Ch. 7 3, εισια [B], ιεσ. [A], ιωσ. [L], *Jesia* [Vg.]).

2. AV JESIAH, a Korahite. one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 6. ישיהו, ιησουνει [Bℵ], ιεσια [A], ιεσσουε [L], *Jesia* [Vg.]). See DAVID, 5 11 (*a* iii.).

3. The head of the b'ne Rehabiah (1 Ch. 24 21 om. B, ιεσιας [A], ιωσ. [L], *Jesias* [Vg.]) ; in 1 Ch. 26 25 his name appears as JESHAIAH (יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, ωσαιας [BA], ιωσηε [L]).

4. AV JESIAH, b. Uzziel (Jahaziel), a Levite (1 Ch. 23 20, ισεια [B], ιωσιας [L], *Jesia* [Vg.]), of whose sons Zechariah is alone mentioned (*ib.* 24 25, ισια [B], ασ. and ισ. [A], ιωσιου [L]).

5. **Ishijah**, RV **Isshijah**, one of the b'ne HARIM in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end); Ezra 10 31 (ιεσσιας [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 32, ASEAS (ασαιας [BA]).

ISSUE (זוֹב, מָקוֹר, etc.), Lev. 12 7 15 2 etc. See MEDICINE.

ISTALCURUS (ιсταλκουρου [A]), 1 Esd. 8 40. See ZABUD, 2, and cp UTHAI.

ISUAH (יִשְׁוָה), 1 Ch. 7 30 ; RV ISHVAH.

ISUI (יִשְׁוִי), Gen. 46 17 ; RV ISHVI.

ITALIAN BAND (η σπειρα η καλουμενη ιταλικη), Acts 10 1. See CORNELIUS, § 1, and cp ARMY, § 10.

ITALY (ιταλια). From the age of Augustus the word Italy was used as a geographical term in the same sense in which we use it now. See further ROME ; ROMANS.

It occurs four times in the NT, viz., Acts 10 1, 'the Italian band' (see ARMY, § 10, CORNELIUS, § 1); Acts 18 2, the expulsion of the Jews 'from Italy,' ‖ 'from Rome' ; Acts 27 1, Paul's voyage to Italy, *i.e.*, to Rome ; Heb. 13 24, 'those of Italy' (see HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO, § 9).

ITCH (חֶרֶס), Dt. 28 27†. See DISEASES, 3.

ITHAI (אִיתַי), 1 Ch. 11 31. See ITTAI.

ITHAMAR (אִיתָמָר, derivation uncertain, 'father of Tamar'? אי being perhaps for אבי, cp ABIEZER and I-EZER; but אי is more probably a fragment of a divine name, see ICHABOD, JEZEBEL ; ιθαμαρ [BAFL]), the name of a guild of priests which, to judge from 1 Ch. 24 3 *f.*, was of less importance than that of ELEAZAR (*q.v.*). See GENEALOGIES, § 7 [iv.], ZADOK, and cp C. Niebnhr, *Gesch. d. ebr. Zeitalters*, 1 280. It is in accordance with this that in the priestly genealogies Ithamar appears as the youngest (4th) son of Aaron, Eleazar being the third (Ex. 6 23 28 1 Nu. 3 2 *f.*, cp Lev. 10 6 12 16 [P]). In P s description of the wanderings Ithamar is represented as superintending the Gershonites and Merarites (Nu. 4 28 33 7 8). The Kohāthites (to which the high-priestly family belonged) are not under his charge. The guild is mentioned again in the list of the returning exiles (Ezra 8 2 = 1 Esd. 8 29, ιεταμαρου [B]). It is curious to notice that in this passage the name occurs in connection with the b'ne Phinehas and Gershom. The supposition that Eli was a member of this guild is manifestly uncritical, and has been shown to rest upon a misunderstanding ; see ELI, § 2.

S. A. C.

ITHIEL (אִתִּיאֵל, perhaps 'El is with me,' cp IMMANUEL ; and see NAMES, § 28), in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 7† (αιθιηλ [BA], σεθ. [ℵ ; a dittographed σ], εθ. [L]).

Although the Nabatæan name איתיבל is closely parallel (*CIS* 2 196), its meaning is equally uncertain—'Bel exists,' or, 'he whom Bel leads' ; to render 'Bel is with me' is, of course, impossible, since the preposition את is not used in Aramaic.

1 Quoted by Driver (*TBS* 92) in connection with the mysterious ISHVI (*q.v.*).

ITHIEL AND UCAL (לְאִיתִיאֵל וְאֻכָל, τοις πιστευουσιν θεω και παυομαι), personal names in Prov. **30** 1, where RV renders 'The words of Agur the son of Jakeh; the oracle. The man saith unto Ithiel and unto Ucal.' It is usual to retain 'Agur son of Yakeb' as the name of some unknown Jewish or non-Jewish sage, but to get rid of Ithiel and Ucal by changes of points or consonants. Thus Kamphausen (Kau. *HS*) renders *v.* 1 (after the heading), 'The man speaks (saying), I wearied myself about God, I wearied myself about God, and pined away' (וָאֵכֶל; so Del., Frank.). This, however, implies an unusual construction of the verb לָאָה with an accusative. Hitzig, Delitzsch, Frankenberg prefer to make אֵל, 'God,' a vocative; but the context does not suggest an address to God. 'Agur son of Jakeh' is almost equally hard to explain. Toy owns perplexity. 𝔊BNAC, however, puts us on the right track. τοῖς πιστ. θεῷ represents לְמַאֲמִינֵי אֵל, all of which can still be traced in MT, except that א stands for the second מ (see further *Crit. Bib.*). The text probably is, 'The words of the man (called) hak-kōhéleth, the guilty one, to those who believe in God.' Cp KOHELETH. T. K. C.

ITRLAH (יִתְלָה), Josh. 19 42 RV, **AV** JETHLAH.

ITHMAR (יִתְמָה), a Moabite, named in David's army-list (1 Ch. 11 46†; εθεμα [BN], ιεθ. [A], ιεθαμ [L]).

ITHNAN (יִתְנָן, § 10), a town in the southern part of Judah,[1] mentioned along with Kedesh and Hazor in Josh. 15 23 (ασοριωναιν και μαιναμ [B] for Hazor and Ithnan; ιθναζιφ [A] for Ithnan, Ziph in *v.* 24; ιθναν [L]). See ETHNAN.

ITHRA (יִתְרָא), 2 S. 17 25†. EVmg. JETHER (*q.v.*, 3).

ITHRAN (יִתְרָן, 'eminent'; cp JETHRO). 1. A Horite clan-name, Gen. 36 26 (ιεθραν [ADE], ιθ. [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 41 (γεθραμ [B], ιεθραν [AL]). See DISHON.

2. In a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 37 (θερα [B], ιεθερ [A], om. L). In 1 Ch. 7 38 the name apparently recurs as JETHER 6 (יֶתֶר, ιεθηρ [B], ιεθερ [A]). 𝔊L gives εθραν (*i.e.*, Ithran?) for Ulla the father of Hanniel and Rizia (*v.* 39); see ARAH, i.

ITHREAM (יִתְרְעָם, § 46, cp ABIATHAR, JETHER, JETHRO, AMMI [NAMES WITH], and see below; see also Gray, *HPN* 49 55; ιεθρααμ [B], ιεθροας [Jos.]), the sixth son of David by Eglah, 2 S. 3 5 (ειεθααραμ [A], ιεθραμ [L]), 1 Ch. 3 3 (ιθαραμ [B], ιεθρα[α]μ [AL]); see DAVID, § 11*d*. The name is miswritten JERIMOTH (*q.v.*, 9) in 2 Ch. 11 18, where we should probably read 'Mahalath (see MAHALATH), daughter of Ithream and of Abihail daughter of *Saul*.' The Chronicler, who draws from an older source, not knowing Abihail (a name corrupted elsewhere into MICHAL) as a daughter of Saul, has emended שאול into אליאב (Eliab). Accepting the old view which identifies Ithream's mother EGLAH (*q.v.*) with Michal, Klostermann suggests that Ithream (*i.e.*, 'residue of a kinsfolk') described the child of Michal as a representative of the almost extinct family of Saul. In itself this view is not unplausible (cp Judg. 7 6), at least if Klostermann's explanation of Eglah be in some form accepted; but it seems to the present writer to be opposed by the analogy of the names Rehoboam, Jeroboam. To explain Rehoboam as 'the people is wide,' and Jeroboam as 'the people increases' (see NAMES, § 46) appears arbitrary; *am* in such names (when genuine) is, *at any rate in the older period*, presumably a divine title (see AMMON, § 1), and Ithream ought to mean 'the (divine) kinsman is pre-eminence.' T. K. C.

ITHRITES, THE (הַיִּתְרִי, αιθαλειμ [BA], ο εθρι [L]), a family of Kirjath-jearim, 1 Ch. 2 53 (see SHOBAL). In 2 S. 23 38 1 Ch. 11 40 Ira and Gareb are called Ithrites: 2 S. (αιθειραῖος [B*], εθειραῖος [Ba.b], εθθεναῖος [B], εθραῖος, τεθρίτης [A], ιεθερει, ιεθεμ [L]), Ch. (ηθηρει, ιοθηρει [B], ιθηρει, ιοθηρει [ℵ], ιεθερι [A], ιεθρι [L]). In 2 S. 23 38 αιθειραῖος [B] seems to suggest a reading הַיַּתִּרִי (Th., Klo., Marq., H. P. Smith)—*i.e.*, a native of JATTIR (*q.v.*), in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 48 21 14).

[1] So Jerome (*OS* 118 33, 'Ethnan in tribu Juda') and Eusebius (*ib.* 254 57, Εθναμ φυλῆς Ιουδα).

ITTAH-KAZIN (עִתָּה קָצִין), Josh. 19 13, RV ETH-KAZIN.

ITTAI (אִתַּי, εθθει [BA], ιθι [L], εθις [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 9 2], εσθαιος [*ib.* 10 1]). 1. A Gittite, who with 600 Philistines entered into David's service shortly before Absalom's rebellion (2 S. 15 18 *f.* [προς] σεθθει [B in *v.* 19]). So far as the text is intelligible, it would appear that Ittai — his name was probably once in *v.* 18*b*, thus providing a natural introduction to *w.* 19*a*—was a 'stranger' (נכרי) who had been exiled from his native place (reading מִמְּקֹמֶךָ, 𝔊, Vg.), and David advises him to return and take back his brethren with him, adding a benediction[1] (see TRUTH). In the fight against Absalom, he is a commander of the third part of the army. The rapidity with which Ittai, who when we first meet him had only been a short time with David (2 S. 15 20, תְּמוֹל בּוֹאֶךָ), springs to the high position of commander along with Joab and Abishai (2 S. 18 2 5 12) is surprising. It is natural to suppose that he was one of David's well-tried warriors, perhaps one who had been with him during his residence at Ziklag. It is hardly safe to identify him with 2 (below).

2. Ittai, one of David's heroes, who, probably to distinguish him from 1 (above), is styled 'b. Ribai from Gibeah of the children of Benjamin,' 2 S. 23 29 (εσθαει [B], om. A, εθθι [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 31 ITHAI (אִיתַי, αιρει [B], αιθει [ℵ], ηθου [A]). S. A. C.

ITUREA—*i.e.*, the territory of the *Ituræans*, which should mean especially (see ISHMAEL, § 4 [7], and cp GASm. *HG* 545) the southern part of the Antilibanus. It is mentioned in AV of **Lk.** 3 1, where the appearance of the new prophet, John the Baptist, is elaborately dated. The passage which, according to RV, runs, '. . . and his brother Philip (being) tetrarch of the region of Ituræa and Trachonitis,' and according to AV, '. . . of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis,' is in Greek (Ti. WH), Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας. Which of the renderings is correct? It is important to notice that in Acts 16 6 the AV and the RV differ once more. The best MSS have τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (so Ti. WH). This, as appears from Acts 18 23[2] (if the text is right), should mean, in Lk.'s style, 'Phrygia and the region of Galatia.' Herod Philip, then, on this view of Lk.'s meaning, held a tetrarchy composed of two districts called respectively Ituræa and Trachonitis; but here two difficulties arise.

a. It is at any rate doubtful whether there is a single Greek writer before Epiphanius[3] (*Her.* 19) and Eusebius (OS 268 93) who uses Ἰτουραία, 'Ituræa,' as the name of a country.

Appian, in a list of countries, mentions Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίων[4] (*Civ.* 5 7), and though in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 Dindorf reads Ἰτουραίαν, Niese's and Naber's reading Ἰτουραίων is proved to be right by the following words, which refer to the people of the Ituræans.[5]

This, however, is the less serious difficulty. In Acts 18 23 it is possible to read with (apparently) Pesh. τὴν Γαλατικὴν καὶ Φρυγίαν χώραν, and apart from Lk.'s presumed usage,[6] it would be not unnatural to understand the words of Lk. 3 1 as implying that Ituræa and Trachonitis were partly at any rate the same region.

[1] On the text see Dr. *ad loc.*
[2] τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν [Ti. WH].
[3] Ramsay, *Expositor*, '94*a*, p. 52.
[4] Ramsay, *ib.* pp. 52, 146.
[5] πολεμήσας [Ἰτουραίους] καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκτησάμενος.
[6] See Chase, *Expositor*, '93*b*, p. 405. Blass and Chase are on one side, Lightfoot and Ramsay on the other, in the interpretation of Acts 16 6.

b. The next difficulty is geographical. It is quite conceivable that a wild, semi-nomadic race like the Ituraeans may, when their home on the Antilibanus was taken from them, have migrated into Trachonitis (proper), and that this region was therefore sometimes spoken of as Iturzean. G. A. Smith very aptly refers to the migration of many Druses from the Lebanon to the Jebel HaurZn (to the SE. of the Ḥaurān, on the edge of the desert), which has therefore acquired the second name Jebel ed-Driiz. There is, however, no historical proof that the Ituraeans migrated in this way, and that hence their name attached itself to this new abode; and in view of the extreme care with which Lk. describes the date of the Baptist's appearance, it cannot be thought likely that **Lk.** would have used this second, popular name ('the Ituraean region') for Trachonitis, when there were other territorial names which had so much better a claim to be referred to in connection with Herod Philip.

For of what did the tetrarchy of Herod Philip consist? Josephus tells us. It was Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and certain parts of the 'house of Zeno (or Zenodorus)' about Paneas (*Ant.* xvii. 11 4, *BJ* ii. 6 3). Now even if we grant (for argument's sake) that the latter territory,[1] not (according to the hypothesis just now rejected) Trachonitis proper, may be intended by 'the Ituraean (region)' in Lk. 3 1, who can think it likely that Lk. would mention the region of Paneas[2] in preference to the names of more important territories? Surely he would rather have selected Gaulanitis (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8 1) or Auranitis (xvii. 11 4). Is it not on the whole probable that he actually did so? No names are more liable to corruption than those of places. In the very passage which has occasioned this article (**Lk.** 3 1) there are traces of the existence of a false reading Ἰδουμαιας for Ἰτουραίας; what if Ἰτουραίας itself is **a** corruption of αὐρανίτιδος? Omit ιδ, which, after ιτ, would be a natural transcriptional error, and yon have a group of letters which might easily be confounded with *ιτουραιας*. This is preferable, not only to the rather improbable conjectures mentioned above, but also to the suggestion of Holtzmann (*HC* **157**) that by an anachronism the evangelist assigns to Philip the territory afterwards possessed by Agrippa.

See the discussion between Chase and Ramsay, and between Ramsay and G. A. Smith in the ***Expositor***, '936, '94*a*; and cp Schiirer, *Hist.* 2, Appendix 1. T. K. C.

IVAH (עִוָּה), 2 K. 18 34, RV IVVAH. See AVVA.

IVORY (שֵׁן, 'tooth,' implying that the Hebrews knew that ivory was not a *horn*; MT, and consequently EV, twice assume that שֶׁנְהַבִּים[3] also means 'ivory').

Apart from such sources as the tusks of fossil elephants and allied animals, and of the narwhal, etc., which may practically be neglected, ivory is derived from the incisor teeth or tusks of the ELEPHANT (*q.v.*). It is the solid dentine or central substance of teeth, which, alike on account of its mass, its fine 'elastic quality, and its property of taking a high polish, has always had a high commercial value.

1. Source. The Tyrians, it appears, obtained ivory from Dedanite or Rhodian merchants (Ezek. 27 15; see DODANIM); the Israelites, in Solomon's time, through a ship or ships of their own, from **OPHIR** (*q.v.*, 1 K. 10 22, cp *v.* 18). It is generally supposed that part of this ivory came from India,' though the African elephant has always been the main source of the commodity (this on account of the large size of the tusks, and because there are tusks in both the male and the female). Assyria received **a** small quantity from Egypt through Phœnicia—usually in the form of skilfully chiselled plaques or ornaments. Generally, however, it was imported in its rough state; the Assyrians themselves worked it up. This will account for the different style and character of the actual finds (cp Perrot-Chipiez, ***Art*** *in Chald.* **2** 319 *ff.*). The Egyptians obtained their ivory partly from Ethiopia, which was reputed to be very rich in it (cp Pliny, 8 10), partly from Cyprus (Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 317 **322**; WMM, ***As.*** *u. Eur.* 336, n. 2; cp Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, **1** 140 191; EGYPT, § *33*). On the coast of Asia Minor there was an ivory industry of great antiquity (cp *Il.* **4** 141-144).

2. Use. Ivory being a hard and durable substance, many articles, carved and veneered, have survived to our time both in Egypt and (especially) in Assyria. Cant. 5 14 has been quoted as referring to such objects; but *'esheth* (עֶשֶׁת) perhaps rather suggests **a** *muss* of ivory than an artistic product (see Siegfried, ***ad*** *loc.*). 'Vessels of ivory' are mentioned only in Rev. 18 12; but ivory was used by the Israelites as well as other peoples in the decoration of palaces (1 K. 22 39; cp Am. **315** and, if correct, Ps. 45 8 [9]). The Ninevite palaces were certainly inlaid with ivory (cp Hom. *Od.* 4 63, chambers of Menelaus). Amos (**6 4**) refers in anger to the 'beds of ivory' of the nobles of N. Israel (the reference to Zion in **6 1** can hardly be original).[2] In Taylor's cylinder inscription it is said that in the tribute of Hezekiah to Sennacherib were 'ivory couches, splendid seats of ivory' (Schr. *KAT*(2) **293**; cp BED, § 5). Rather strangely we read in Cant. **7 4** [5] of **a** 'tower of ivory.' Some particular tower seems to be meant (cp *v.* **5 44**); but where and what was it? Delitzsch thinks that it was panelled with ivory externally—a difficult supposition (see below). Among the Phœnicians ivory was used to ornament the ship's

3. Other references. deck (or rudder[?] Ezek. 27 6), just as, at an early age, ivory was used by the Greeks in the handles of keys or bosses of shields, etc. It is prohable, however, that the above list of references should be shortened.

Thus in Ps. **45** 8 [9] and Cant. **7 4** [5] שֵׁן, 'ivory,' only appears through a corruption of the text. In the former passage שן מני should probably be שְׁמָנִים, 'ointments' (Che. *Ps.*(2)), and in the latter הַשֵּׁן should be הַשְּׂנִיר (**Wi.**) or שְׂנִיר (Che.). See Winckler (*AOF* 1 293 *f.*), and more fully Cheyne (*JQR*, Apr. '99), who takes 'the tower of Lebanon which looks towards Damascus' to be a variant of 'the tower of Senir.'

Some additions, however, may be made to the list.

Thus in 1 K. 10 22 many read 'ivory and ebony' for 'ivory'; in 1 Ch. **29** 2 the same reading is possibly right for 'onyx stone'; and in Is. **2** 16*a* '**ships** of Tarshish' should not improbably be 'palaces of ivory.' See EBONY.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

IVVAH (עִוָּה), AV Ivah, 2 K. **18 34** **19** *13* Is. 37 13†. See AVVA.

IVY (κισσός), 2 Macc. **6 7**. See BACCHUS.

IYE-ABARIM (עִיֵּי הָעֲבָרִים), Nu. 33 44 RV, AV IJE-ABARIM.

[1] No stress can be laid **on** Eus. OS **268** 93, Ἰτουραία ἡ καὶ Τραχωνῖτις; for, though Eusebius was a native of Palestine, he does not escape geographical mistakes, especially when dealing with the E. of the Jordan.

[2] *G.* A. Smith argues that 'if the name [of the Ituræans] spread down the slopes **of** Anti-Lebanon SW. towards Galilee [see **Jos.** ***Ant.*** xiii. 11 3], it is quite possible that it also spread down the same slopes SE. upon the district of Paneas' (*Expositor*, '94*a*, p. 236). Schiirer, too, remarks (***Hist.*** **2** 11 *ff.*) that this district formerly belonged to the Ituræan state.

[3] שֶׁנְהַבִּים (**1 K. 10 22** 2 Ch. 9 21, AVmg. '**elephants' teeth**,' ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντινοι [only A in 1 K.]) has been taken to mean 'tooth of the habbim' (הַבִּים), which Schrader (*KAT*(2) 187) connects with Ass. *šin al-ab*, 'tooth of halah'. but the authority for this supposed Assyrian name for the 'elephant is most insecure (cp ELEPHANT, n. 2). 'Ivory' in Ass. is šinni-pīri, or, in the Amarna tablets, šinni-bīri (cp *Zeit. f. Völkerpsych.* **13** 249), and, unless **we** emend הבים to הַפִּיל ('elephant,' cp Syr. ܦܝܠܐ, etc.), it is best either to identify with the Egypt. *ab*, *ebu* (cp Lat. *ebur*), 'elephant' (with this we might combine the theory of an ultimate Sanskrit original [*ibhas*? cp ἐλέφας]), or to read 'ivory and ebony' (שֵׁן (וְ)הָבְנִים) **as** proposed elsewhere (see EBONY).

[1] J. Kennedy's article (*JRAS*, Apr. '98, pp. **241-288**) comes to a different conclusion. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

[2] Cheyne would change צִיּוֹן, 'Zion,' into צרתן (see ZARETHAN).

IYIM (עִיִּים), Nu. 33 45 RV, AV IIM.

IYOB (אִיּוֹב), Job 1 1 RVmg., EV JOB.

IZHAR (יִצְהָר, 'it (?)shines' or 'oil,' § 54; ιc[c]ααρ [BAFL]), b. Kŏhāth, a Levitical family name (Nu. 3 19, AV IZEHAR; Ex. 6 18, ιccαχαρ [B] ιεccααρ [F]; *ib.* 21, cααρ [F]; Nu. 16 1, ιαccααρ [F*], P; 1 Ch. 62 [5 28], 18 [6 3], ιεcc'ααρ [L]; 38 [6 23], 23 12 18†). In 1 Ch. 6 22 [7] the name is less correctly Amminadab (but *ισσααρ* [AL]); see AMMINADAB (3). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iii. *c*).

The gentilic is **Izharite** (יִצְהָרִי, 1 Ch. 21 22, *ισσαρει* [B], *ισσααρι* [A], *υἱοὶ ισααρ* [L]; 26 23, *ισσααρ* [B], AL as 21 22; *ib.* 29, *ισσαρει* [B], *ικααρι* [A], *ιεσσααρι* [L]; AV once **Izeharite**, Nu. 3 27, ὁ *σαριεις* [B*], *ισσ.* [Bab], *σααρεις* [A], *ισσ.* [FL]).

IZHAR, RV; AV JEZOAR (יִצְחָר, kt.; וְצֹחַר, ḳrē), a son of ASHHUR [*q.v.*] of Jndah; 1 Ch. 4 7 (cααρ [BA], εicαρ [L]). For ḳrē, see **ZOHAR, 3.**

IZLIAH (יִזְלִיאָה), 1 Ch. 8 18 RV, AV JEZLIAH.

IZRAHIAH (יִזְרַחְיָה, 'Yahwè rises,' §§ 35, 53; cp ZERAHIAH) b. Uzzi, an Issacharite: 1 Ch. 7 3 (ζαρεια [B], ιεζραα [A* vid.], ιεζρια [A1 and A], ιεζερια [L]), cp **ZERAHIAH** b. Uzzi (1 Ch. 6 6 [5 32] etc.). The identical name appears also in the EV under the form JEZRAHIAH [*q.v.*].

IZRAHITE, (הַיִּזְרָח), 1 Ch. 27 8. See ZERAH.

IZRI (יִצְרִי—*i.e.*, a man of יֵצֶר; a Jezerite, see JEZER), a son of Jeduthun (1 Ch. 25 11, לַיִּצְרִי, ιεcαρ[ε]ι [BA], ιεζ. [L *v.* 14]). In 1 Ch. 25 3 his name appears as ZERI (צְרִי; *σουρ[ε]ι* [BAL]).

IZZIAH (יִזִּיָּה), Ezra 10 25 RV, AV JEZIAH.

J

JAAKAN (יַעֲקָן), 1 Ch. 1 42† RV, AV JAKAN (*q.v.*).

JAAROBAH (יַעֲקֹבָה, § 73; cp ASHARELAH, JESHARELAH, a Simeonite name (1 Ch. 4 36: ιωκαβα [B], ιακ. [A], ιεκεβα [L]).

JAALA (יַעֲלָא [Gi. Ba.], other readings יַעֲ' and יַעֲלָה [Gi.]), Neh. 7 58, or **Jaalah** (יַעֲלָה, §§ 53, 68), Ezra 2 56. The b'ne Jaala, a group of children of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM, and cp EZRA ii., § 9).

The readings are: Neh. 7 58 (*ιεληλ* [B], *ιεαηλ* [NA], *ιεδαλαα* [L]) = Ezra 2 56 (*ιεηλα* [B], *ιελα* [A], *ιεδλαα* [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 33, JEELI (*ιε[ι]ηλ[ε]ι* [BA], *ιεδλαα* [L]).

JAALAM, RV **Jalam** (יַעְלָם, §§ 54, 64; ιεγλομ [BADEL], an Edomite clan, 'son' of Esau (see EDOM, § 2), Gen. 36 5 (ιεγλουμ [E]) 14 18 (ιεγλωμ [Dvid.]); 1 Ch. 1 35 (ιεγλαομ [L]).

JAANAI, RV **Janai** (יַעְנַי, also יַעֲנַי [Gi.]), a Gadite (clan), 1 Ch. 5 12† (ιανειν [B], -ναι [A], ιωανι [L] ὁ γραμματεύς; cp SHAPHAT [4]).

JAAR (יַעַר), Ps. 132 6 RVmg. See KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 3.

JAARE-OREGIM (יַעְרֵי אֹרְגִים), 2 S. 21 19; see ELHANAN, § 2.

JAARESHIAH (יַעֲרֶשְׁיָה), 1 Ch. 8 27 RV, AV JARESIAH (*q.v.*).

JAASAU, RV **Jaasu**, RVmg. **Jaasai** (יַעֲשׂוּ, Kt. יַעֲשָׂי; cp יַעֲשִׂיאֵל, §§ 31, 52), one of the b'ne BANI in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10 37 (*iasi* [Vg.], *'uthi* [Pesh.], καὶ ἐποίησαν, *i.e.*, וַיַּעֲשׂוּ [BℵA], om. L), whose name may be recognised in the ELIASIS of ‖ 1 Esd. 9 34 (ελιαcειc [BA], om. L, formation analogous to אֶלְעָשָׂה).

JAASIEL (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל, § 31; 'El performs,' one of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 11 47, AV JASIEL (εccειηλ [B], εc. [ℵ], εccιηλ [A], ιεcc. [L]). He is called הַמְּצֹבָיָה (6 *μειναβεια* [BX], 6 *μεσωβια* [A], 6 *μασαβια* [L], DE MASOBIA [Vg.]). AV and RV (by a virtual emendation of the text) render this 'the Mes(z)obaite.'

The reading is conflate; we must read either הַמִּצְפִּי, 'the Mizpahite,' or מִמִּצְפָּה, 'from Mizpah.' The designation was no doubt suggested by 'Igal ben Nathan of Mizpah' in 2 S. 23 36 (see IGAL, 2). פ and ב were easily confounded (cp the play on מַצֵּבָה and מִצְפָּה in Gen. 31 49 52). Probably Mizpah in Benjamin is meant by the Chronicler, who gives the name Jaasiel to a *Benjamite* prince, b. Abner, in 1 Ch. 27 21 (*ασειηρ* [B], *ασιηλ* [A], *ιασσ.* [L], *iasiel* [Vg.]).

On the names in 1 Ch. 11 41*b*-47, see DAVID, § 11 (*a* ii.).

T. K. C.

JAAZANIAH (יַאֲזַנְיָהוּ, § 32; 'Yahwè hears or 'weighs'; cp AZANIAH; יַאֲזַנְיָה, Jer. 35 3, Ezek. 11 1; יְזַנְיָהוּ, Jer. 40 8; יְזַנְיָה, Jer. 42 1; ιεζονιας [BℵALQ]).

1. Son of the Maacathite, a captain (2 K. 25 23; *οζονιας* [B]; Jer. 40 8, JEZANIAH). Probably identical with Jezaniah b. Hoshaiah, Jer. 42 1 (*αζαριας* [BℵAQ])—in 43 2 called AZARIAH [*q.v.* 16] (*αζαριας* [Bℵ?AQ], *αζαχαριας* [ℵ*]), which is read by 𝔊 [except Qmg.] in the former passage. Cp JOHANAN (9).

2. b. Jeremiah a Rechabite head (Jer. 35 3; *ιεχονιαν* [BℵA]).

3. b. Shaphan, head of seventy elders of Israel in a vision of **Ezekiel (Ezek.** 8 11; *ιεχονιας* [BQa]).

4. b. Azzur, a leading Jerusalemite (Ezek. 11 1; *ιεχονιαν* [BAΓ]).

JAAZER (יַעְזֵר), Nu. 21 32, etc. See JAZER.

JAAZIAH (יַעֲזִיָּהוּ, 'Yahwè strengthens,' cp JAAZIEL; § 29; οζ[ε]ια [BA], οζιας [L]), one of the 'sons' of Merari (1 Ch. 24 26 *f.*).

JAAZIEL (יַעֲזִיאֵל, 'God strengthens,' cp JAAZIAH; § 29), a Levite, of the second degree, a temple musician (1 Ch. 15 18, οζειηλ [Bℵ], ιηουλ [A], ιειηλ [L]).

For 'Zechariah, Ben, and Jaaziel' we should, omitting בן, read 'Zechariah and Jaaziel' (𝔊L Z. *υἱὸς ι.*), cp Ki. *SBOT* Chron.,' *ad loc.* With the omission of the initial י the name appears again in *v.* 20 as עֲזִיאֵל (AZIEL, *οζ[ε]ιηλ* [BℵAL]). The proper vocalisation is undoubtedly עֻזִּיאֵל, a reading to which the versions point.

JABAL (יָבָל), Gen. 4 20†. See CAINITES, § 11.

JABBOK (יַבֹּק, ιαβοκ [BADEFL], but ιαβωκ [L in Josh. 12 2 Judg. 11 13 22]; ιαβακχος or ιοβακος [Jos. *Ant.* i. 20 2]).

1. Course, etc. The 'luxuriant river' is the significant name of the tortuous stream which divides the hill-country of Gilead (see GILEAD, § 3), and finally reaches the Jordan just above *ed-Dāmiyeh* (see ADAM, i.), about 25 m. in a straight line N. of the Dead Sea. Like the Arnon it has a continuous stream; the whole course, not counting the windings, is over 60 m. (G. A. Smith). It is now called (from its clear blue colour) the *Nahr ez-Zerḳā*. It is famous in Hebrew tradition from its connection with Jacob's change of name (Gen. 32 22 [23]), and also as the boundary between the kingdoms of Sihon and Og. In Dt. 3 16 Josh. 12 2 it is called 'the border of the B'ne Ammon'; the phrase applies to the upper part of the Jabbok, where, circling round, it passes RABBATH-AMMON, near which are its sources. Cp Nu. 21 24 Judg. 11 13 22. On the N. of the Jabbok are the ruins of Gerasa (see GILEAD, § 7), between which place and Philadelphia, Eusebius (OS 263 78 130 30) rightly places the river.

F. B.

At what precise part of the Jabbok the ford referred to in Gen. 32 22 [23] may be supposed to be, is uncertain.

2. The reference in Gen. 32 22 [23]. The story containing the reference is composite, and the narrators J and E appear to be not quite consistent (see GILEAD, § 3). The Zerḳā is 'always fordable, except where it breaks between steep rocks' (GASm. *HG* 584). That there is any play on the word Jabbok, as if there were 'some sympathy between the two tortuous courses' (*ibid.*), is scarcely probable. We have two explanations of names in the narrative already (Israel and Penuel), and hardly expect a third. Besides, there is the possibility that in the original narrative the Yarmnk (which is the boundary between Gilead and Bashan), not the Jabbok, was the river referred to.

The **word** rendered 'wrestled' is another difficulty. Not improbably ויאבק has become corrupted out of וַיָּרָב (ויארב), owing to the vicinity of יבק. See *Crit. Bib.*

F. B., § 1; T. K. C., § 2.

JABESH (יָבֵשׁ or יָבֵישׁ, *i.e.*, 'dry';[1] (ε)ιαβ(ε)ις [BAL], ιαβησος, ιαβισος, ιαβις [Jos.]), or, more

1. References. fully, Jabesh-gilead (י׳ גִּלְעָד, ιαβ(ε)ις [της] γαλααδ, της γαλααδιτιδος), the scene of Saul's first warlike exploit (SAUL, § 1), and the place where his bones were for a time buried (1 S. 11 1-10 31 11-13 2 S. 21 12 1 Ch. 10 11 *f.*). It is mentioned in the Am. Tab. (*Jabiši*, 237 28). The importance of Jabesh was recognised by David. By sending presents to its citizens (2 S. *26*, crit. emend.; see SAUL, § 5), he sought to counteract the policy of Abner, and to promote his own candidature as king of all Israel. Very possibly, too, Jabesh was the birthplace of Shallum and of Elijah (see SHALLUM, 1; ELIJAH, § 1, n. 1). It is, however, only a late post-exilic narrative (Judg. 21 8-14) which asserts that in the time of the Judges, by a combined effort of all Israel, the population of Jabesh-gilead was exterminated, with the exception of four hundred virgins who were married to the survivors of Benjamin (see BENJAMIN, § 5; JUDGES, § 13). How long did the importance of Jabesh last? Does Josephus mean to say, in his paraphrase of 1 S. 11, that Jabesh was in his day still the 'metropolis' of the Gileadites[2] (*Ant.* vi. 5 1)? At any rate, in the time of Eusebius it was only a village (κώμη), which is described by him as on the eastern tableland, six R.m. from Pella, on the road to Gerasa (OS 268 81; cp 225 98, and Jer. *Comm. ad Jud.*). The great city of Pella had risen beside it and been made capital of the province; this probably led to the decline of Jabesh and its final ruin.

The site is a matter of doubtful conjecture. Robinson (*BR* 339) thought that Jabesh might be on the site of ed-Deir ('the convent'), on the S. bank of the

2. Site. wādy, about 6 miles from *Faḥl* or Pella; but this place is perched upon an eminence difficult of access, and quite off from the road leading from Pella to Jerash.[3] The ruins of Meriamin, however, which evidently belong to a large and ancient town, are not exposed to this objection; they are at a distance of one hour forty minutes from Pella. No other site, according to Merrill, conies into competition with this (see, however, Buhl, 259). About Meriamin there is plenty of room for an army to operate. Robinson did not actually visit ed-Deir, which cannot be the true site. At any rate, the old name Jabesh still survives in that of the Wādy Yābis, which enters the Jordan valley about 10 m. SSE. from Beisān (Bethshan), nearly opposite Ibzik (Bezek).

T. K. C.

1 See NAMES, § 100. The name doubtless belonged first to the wādy, then to the town also (Moore, *Judges*, 497).

2 He says ιαβις δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, but he continues in the historic present πέμπει.

3 Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 439; so Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, 174. On the Roman road referred to, cp Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 277 *f.* Van de Velde (2 349-352) and Porter (*Handbook*, 317) agree with Robinson; Furrer (in Riehm, 664 *a*) gives his weighty authority to Merrill's site.

JABESH (יָבֵישׁ), father of SHALLUM [*q.v.*, i. 1], 2 K. 15 10 13 *f.* (ιαβεις [BAL]; in *v.* 10 αβ. [A]). It is probable, however, that 'son of Jabesh' means 'a man of Jabesh-gilead' (so Klo., St., We.). See GINATH.

JABEZ (יַעְבֵּץ, ιγαβης, γαμες [B], ιαγβης, γαβης[1] [A], ιαβιης, ιαβηλ, ιαβ[ε]ις [L]). According to the MT (1 Ch. 4 9 *f.*) Jabez is like Melchizedek, 'without father or mother,' and the place which bears his name (1 Ch. 2 55) is of 'unknown site' (Hastings, *BD* 2 5246); but the riddle can with some probability be solved.

יעב in יעבץ (1 Ch. 2 55) is a duplication of ישב[י] (Kr., 𝔊); ץ is a corruption of ק, the first letter of קרית; רית in קרית fell out owing to the following תר. A misplacement of words followed, and ספר in קרית־ספר was mistaken for ספר (*i.e.*, סֹפְרִים).

Probably the true reading is ומשפחות ישבי קרית־ספר, 'and the families of the inhabitants of Kirjath-sepher' (called Beth-gader [?] in v. 51).[2] The names of the 'families' referred to alsobecame corrupted. Tir'athaim[3] probably conceals יַתִּרִים or יַתִּרְתִים, men of JATTIR [*q.v.*], or of Jattirah; Shim'athim[4] should be אֶשְׁתְּמֹעִים, men of Eshtemoa; and Sucathim[5] should be שׂוֹכָתִים, men of Socoh or Socah.[6] All the places referred to are to the SW. of Hebron, in the neighbourhood of Debir or Kirjath-sepher. The Chronicler adopted the statement which his authority gave, hut seems to have been puzzled by the (corrupt) word 'Jabez.' He probably supposed that a person called Jabez was connected with the early history of Kirjath-sepher, and produced a new story to account for the 'enlargement of the border' of Kirjath-sepher in connection with the supposed derivation of Jabez (from *'oṣeb*, 'pain'). This story is a substitute for that in Judg. 1 14 *f.* (Josh. 15 18 *f.*); there is no party feeling in it (C. Niebuhr); it expresses the Chronicler's perplexity, and also, in the prayer of Jabez, his piety. Probably *v.* 9 *f.* should come after v. 13; the 'brethren' of 'Jabez' should be the sons of Kenaz.

This view of the passage precludes conjectures as to the Kenite 'scribes' of whom MT speaks (cp Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten*, etc., 80, n. 1). No 'scribes' were referred to in the original text. The latter part of 1 Ch. 255 must be taken by itself. It alludes to the fact that the Kenites dwelt in the S. of Judah; and it is probable that there is a lacuna in the text (cp HEMATH).

T. K. C.

JABIN (יָבִין, § 53; 'He (God) perceives'; ιαβ[ε]ιν [BKARTFL]), king of Hazor (see HAZOR, 1), who warred against Zebulun and Naphtali (Judg. 4 2 7, ιαμειν [A]; and 1 S. 12 9 [𝔊 only]; ιαβιν [L], [ε]ιαβεις [BA]). He has really little to do with the narrative in Judg. 4, which in its present form has been shown to consist of a combination of the story of Jabin with that of SISERA (*q.v.*) against Israel. By making Sisera Jabin's general, the two accounts have been made to harmonise roughly, and it is difficult to say how much of the original history of Jabin has been omitted in favour of that of Sisera. It may be conjectured that at the tents of Heber, Jabin met a fate similar to Sisera's at the hands of Jael.

In the less original account in Josh. 11 1-9 (ιαβεις [BA]), due to E, and worked over by D, the war of the two tribes against Jabin is characteristically magni-

1 𝔊BA also gives ὡς γαβης in 4 10 (MT בְּעָצְב; 𝔊L ἐν διαπτώσει).

2 Cp GEDER.

3 תרעתים, αργαθιειμ [BA], θαραθει [L].

4 שִׁמְעָתִים, σαμαθιειμ [BA], -θειν [L]. But *v.* 53, שֻׁמָתִי, ησαμαθειμ [B], -ν [A], ὁ σαμαθι [L].

5 שׂוּכָתִים, σωκαθιειμ [BA], σουχαθειμ [L].

6 A late editor may have supposed a connection of the (corrupt) names with terms connected with the religious system of his day (תְּרוּעָה, שְׁמָעָה, סֻכָּה); cp Vg. *canentes et resonantes et in tabernaculis commorantes.* See We. *De gent.* 30; and cp Be. *ad loc.*

fied into the conquest of all N. Canaan by Joshua and all Israel. A preliminary trace of such a scheme is seen in Judg. 4 2, where Jabin is already called 'king of Canaan who reigned in Hazor.' See Moore, *Judges* 108 *ff.*; and JUDGES, § 7.

JABNEEL (יַבְנְאֵל, 'God builds'; ιαβνηλ [AL]). 1. Shortened into **Jabneh** (יַבְנֶה, 'he [God] builds'; 2 Ch. 26 6 (*αβεννηρ* [B], *ιαβεις* [A], *ιαβνη* [L]); the JAMNIA and JEMNAAN of a later day. A Philistian city between Ekron and the sea (Josh. 15 11; *λεμνα* [B]); cp Jabni-ilu, the name of a prince of Lachish in the Amarna tablets (Wi., 218 4). According to Petrie, Thotmes III. mentions two places called Yehema, one of which is our Jabneel, and the other is the mod. Yemma, near Megiddo (*Hist. of Eg.* 2 327; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 160). The Priestly Writer includes Jabneel within the limits of Judah (Josh. 15 11); but the earliest evidence of Jewish occupation is in 2 Ch. 26 6, where Uzziah is said to have taken the city and demolished its fortifications. It is next mentioned in the time of Judas the Maccabee. Two accounts have come down to us—one historical, viz., that the two generals Joseph and Azarias made an unsuccessful attempt upon Jamnia (1 Macc. 5 55-62); and the other most probably a falsification of history, viz., that Judas made a night attack upon 'the Jamnites,' setting fire to the haven[1] (for there was a port also called Jamnia) together with the fleet, 'so that the glare of the light was seen at Jerusalem, two hundred and forty furlongs [stadia] distant' (2 Macc. 12 8 *f.*).

According to Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 6 7; *BJ* i. 2 2) Jamnia was taken at last by Simon the Maccabee. But it can hardly have become part of the dominions of the Hasmonæans (see 1 Macc. 10 69, 15 40) until the time of Alexander Jannæus, who subdued all the cities of the coast from the Egyptian border to Carmel with the exception of Ashkelon (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 4). It became Roman under Pompey (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4 4; *BJ* i. 7 7), and, having apparently become greatly depopulated, was restored and repeopled by Gabinius (*BJ* i. 8 4). It was given hy Herod to his sister Salome (*Ant.* xvii. 8 1), who in turn gave it to the empress Livia (*Ant.* xviii. 2 2; *BJ* ii. 9 1). Strabo (xvi. 2 28) speaks of it as a village which, along with the district pertaining to it, had once been able to send 40,000 men into the field. In Caligula's time its population was principally Jewish (Philo, *De Leg. ad Caium*), and when the heathen section of the inhabitants erected an altar to the emperor it was immediately destroyed by the Jews. This, being reported to the emperor by the procurator Herennius Capito, was the occasion of the imperial order that the image of Caligula should be set up in the temple at Jerusalem (see ISRAEL, § 96). In the Jewish war Jamnia was taken by Vespasian. It was to this place that Johanan b. Zakkai retired after having been, by a singular stratagem, conveyed out of thd doomed capital to the Roman camp.[2] There he formed a Sanhedrin, and so Jamnia became the religious centre of the Jewish people down to the collapse of the revolt of Bar Cochba (135 A.D.). In the fourth century it was but a *πολίχνη* (*Onom.* 266 35); hut its bishop took part in the Council of Nicæa.[3] In the time of the Crusaders a castle called Ibelin stood on the site of the ruined city, which was supposed to have been not Jabneel, but Gath.

The statements of ancient writers respecting the position of Jamnia are very precise (see, *e.g.*, 2 Macc. 12 9, quoted above). It is represented by the modern *Yebna*, a considerable village, 12 m. S. from Joppa, and 4 m. in a direct line from the sea. There are ruins of the ancient port at the mouth of the Nahr Riibin (see BAALAH, 3) to the NW. The district is fertile, and traces can still be seen of the plantations which once adorned the neighbourhood of the haven.

2. An unidentified site in the territory of Naphtali (Josh. 19 33 *ιεφθαμαι* [B]), doubtless the Ἰάμνεια or Ἰαμνειθ of Jos. (*BJ* ii. 20 6; *Vit.* 37), in upper Galilee, which from about 23 B.C. formed part of the tetrarchy of Zenodorus, and afterwards of that of Herod Philip (Jos. *BJ* ii. 6 3; *Ant.* xv. 10 3; xvii. 11 4; *BJ* i. 20 4). It must therefore be sought somewhere about Lake Hiileh or in the neighbourhood of Bāniās. The combination of this Jabneel with Kefar Yama (now the ruins called *Yemma*, 7 m. S. of Tiberias), adopted from the Talmud by Conder (*PEFM* 1 365; cp Neubauer,, *Géogr.* 225), seems difficult to reconcile with the true border of Naphtali (see BEZAANANNIM). T. K. C.

1 For other references to the seaport see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 4; Pliny, *HN* v. 13 68; Ptol. v. 16 2 6.

2 Grätz, *Hist. of the Jews*, 2 326 *f.*

3 At Mahoza (Portus) Jamniæ there was still a convent of St. Stephen in the sixth century.

JACHAN, RV **Jacan** (יַעְכָּן, § 54; χιμα [B], ιαχᾱ [A], ιωαχα [L]), a Gadite (1 Ch. 5 13†).

JACHIN AND BOAZ. Jachin (יָכִין; ιαχουμ [BL], -ν [A], ιαχειν [Jos. *Ant.* viii. 3 4]) was the name of the right-hand (*i.e.*, southern) pillar 'at (Klo., 'before') the porch of the temple,' and Boaz (בֹּעַז; Βααz [L], Βοοc [A], Βαλαz [B], [α]Βαιz [Jos.]) that of the left-hand (*i.e.*, northern) pillar (1 K. 7 21 = 2 Ch. 3 17); see PILLAR, and cp the 'pillars by the posts' in Ezek. 40 49 (see Toy's note *SBOT* [Eng.] *Ezek.*, *ad loc.*).

The names are enigmatical; we cannot evade an effort to explain them. So much is clear at the outset that, like the names of the walls of Babylon (see BABYLON, § 7), they must have a religious significance. The walls, and the pillars in question as well, have names because they are sacred objects. We can advance a step further by considering what these enormous pillars were. They seem originally to have been symbols of the 'vast mountain of the gods' (see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF) in the far N., the brilliance of which, faintly suggested by the burnished bronze of the pillars, is described by Ezekiel (28 16; cp Herod. 2 44, and see CHERUB, col. 742, n. 4). That mountain had two special features—its firm strength and the abode of the Elōhim on its summit. We may expect therefore to find these two points expressed in the names. Jachin will therefore express the immovableness of the symbolic pillar; cp Ps. 65 6 [7], מֵכִין הרים, 'who establishes the mountains.'

This explanation at any rate appears certain, whether or not we bring Jachin into relation to the name Akna-zapn, which Erman reads on the so-called 'Stone of Joh' (rather, Stone of Rameses II.) in Ḥaurān (see EGYPT, § 58, n. 1).

Boaz ought to refer to the mountain dwelling-place of the divine beings. It is difficult, however, to verify this assumption. בעז looks like a mutilation of a longer word. The initial ב is a hindrance to our takmg y from the root עזז, 'to be strong.' בְּעֹז בעל, 'by the strength of Baal,' is hardly the right form; we expect a statement such as עזב[על], 'strong is Baal.' This, however, would not give us the *variety* which we look for; such a name would be too nearly synonymous with Jachin, and the initial ב cannot be ignored. We may conclude, therefore, that the last letter ז is a fragment of a word; the preceding letters בע are surely a mutilation of בעל (cp *βεεζεβουλ* in ℵB's text of the Gospels; *e.g.* in Mt. 10 24).[1] Looking next at the Psalm which Solomon is said to have sung on the completion of the temple, we notice that two of the striking phrases in it are הכין, for the 'establishment' of the sun in his glorious mansion in the sky, and בית זְבֻל, for the 'high house' or temple in which Yahwè was to dwell for ever (Che. *OPs.* 212). The word זְבֻל in the latter phrase is precisely what we want. Not impossibly, therefore, the full name of the pillar on the left hand is Baal-zebul ('Lord of the high house').[2] The idea which it expressed was familiar to the Phcenicians; a synonymous title was Baal-zaphon (see BAAL-ZEPHON). It was also not unknown to the Israelites (see BAAL-ZERUL). In later times, probably, the name of the second pillar was deliberately mutilated, because of the new and inauspicious associations which had gathered round it. It was after all a Phœnician (Hiram) who had given

1 Westcott-Hort's unwillingness to suppose an accidental (*Introd.* 159) error is surprising. If Beel-zebul is unknown except from the NT, Baal-bēth (Zenjîrli inscr. of Panammu, l. 22) and Baal-meon are not. זְבוּל is the זְבוּל of 1 K. 8 13, Ass. *bît zabal* (see *KAT*(2) *ad loc.*).

2 See *ZDPV* 14 31 155; Sayce, *HCM* 295, n. 1.

the name; a later age did not approve of Solomon's close connections with heathen peoples.

Subsequently to this pious alteration of the name, one of the supposed ancestors of David (see DAVID, § 1, n. 1) was furnished with the name Boaz (only found late), to indicate that he was a pillar of the Davidic family (cp Tg. on 2 Ch. 3 17).

A few other conjectures may, in conclusion, be mentioned. 𝔊 in Chron. renders Jachin κατόρθωσις and Boaz ἰσχύς. Ephrem, who is followed among moderns by Thenius, combines the two words (pointing בְּעֹז) into a prayer for the firm establishment of the temple. EVmg. explains Jachin, 'He shall establish,' and Boaz, 'In it is strength'; more plausibly WRS, (*RS*(2) 208) interprets the former 'The stablisher'; the latter, 'In him is strength.' Klostermann deals more boldly with MT; he adopts יָכּוֹן, 'It shall stand (well),' from 𝔊; and emends בעז into בַּעַל עֹז, 'Lord of strength' = 'the strong' (cp B's βαλαζ). In view of the close bond which united Tyre and Jerusalem in the time of Solomon, and the fact that it was a Phœnician who named the pillars, Mr. S. A. Cook suggests that בעז may be a corruption of בעל, 'Baal,' and that יָכִין might have been understood to be the Phœn. equivalent of יהוה (Ph. כון, 'to be' = Heb. היה, הוה).[1] T. K. C.

JACHIN (יָכִין, 'he [God] establishes'; cp Jehoiachin; ΙΑΧΕΙΝ [BKADL]; in Gen. ΙΑΧΕΙΜ [A], ΑΧ[Ε]ΙΝ [A*vid.L]; in 1 Ch. 9 10 ΙΩΑΧΕΙΜ [L]; 1 Ch. 24 17 ΑΧΕΙΜ [B]).

1. A son of Simeon, Gen. 46 10 Ex. 6 15 (ιαχει [A]), Nu. 26 12. In the parallel text, 1 Ch. 4 24, the name is JARIB (1). **Jachinite** (יָכִינִי, ιαχινει [B], -ειvι [AL]) occurs in Nu. 26 12.

2. Head of a priestly family; 1 Ch. 9 10 24 17 Neh. 11 10.

JACINTH is given by RV for לֶשֶׁם (ΛΙΓΥΡΙΟΝ; *ligurius*) in Ex. 28 19 39 12, where AV has LIGURE; also in EV of Rev. 21 20 (ὑάκινθος; RVmg. 'sapphire'), and in AV of Rev. 9 17 (ὑακίνθινος = 'of jacinth,' RV 'of hyacinth'). In Ex. 28 19, RVmg. gives 'amber'; cp Enoch 71 2, where the streams of fire (Dan. 7 10) are likened to 'hyacinth' (Di. and Charles).

The *hyacinthus* of the ancients (mentioned in Rev.) was probably our sapphire (see SAPPHIRE). It is now commonly held (see, *e.g.*, Riehm, *HWB*(2)) that the Heb. *lěšem* (λιγύριον) is the jacinth, for a description of which see below. This, however, appears to be a mistake. It is probable that לשם is simply a miswritten חַשְׁמַל *ḥašmal*[2] (see AMBER), or perhaps rather, חַלָּמִישׁ *ḥalmiš* (see TARSHISH, STONE OF). This may enable us to account for the superfluous καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον which comes between ἴασπιν and λιγύριον in 𝔊 of Ezek. 28 13 (where, apart from this, the fuller catalogue in 𝔊 is to be adopted). חשמל is in fact understood by many to mean an alloy of *gold and silver*; ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον seems to be a gloss on the word חשמל or חלמש (which must have stood in the true text of Ezekiel), intended to correct the rendering λιγύριον. We are of course not bound to agree with this gloss, but the word חשמל or חלמש ('white sapphire'? but see AMBER) may with some confidence be substituted for לשם. Elsewhere (see TARSHISH, STONE OF) it has been shown that the word also appears disguised as תרשיש, *taršiš*. It is no objection to this theory that *taršiš* and *léshem* both occur in the list of precious stones in Ex. 28 17-20, for this list comes from P, who makes up such lists as he best can, and does not mind including variants.

The true jacinth is a red-coloured variety of silicate of zirconium, those varieties which are yellow-brown or green being distinguished, if transparent, by the name of *jargoon*, while the dull-coloured varieties, more or less opaque, are termed rightly zircon. The true jacinth, when polished, is peculiarly brilliant. It is extremely rare. Probably many of the antique camei or intagli reputed to be jacinth are merely hyacinthine garnets; garnets, however, have a lower specific gravity. T. K. C.

JACKAL. (1) תַּן* *tun* (perhaps = 'howler') is found only in the pl. תַּנִּים[1] (the fem. form תַּנּוֹת, Mal. 1 3, is probably due to corruption; Stade reads נְאוֹת, 'pastures' [cp 𝔊 δόματα [BℵAQ], perhaps for δώματα, but 𝔊 may have connected the word with נתן; l'csh. 'dwellings']); AV renders DRAGONS (but 'sea-monsters' in Lam. 4 3); RV JACKALS.[2] Throughout Palestine the common jackal is by far the most common of all the beasts of prey.

It is the same jackal which is so well known elsewhere, and has spread through SE. Europe and SW. Asia as far as Burmah, as well as through N. Africa. As its name (*Canis aureus*) implies, it is of a reddish-gold colour, darker in the upper parts.

Jackals usually hunt in packs, but at times are seen in pairs or even alone. They are comparatively harmless to man, and, as a rule, feed on carrion; but they also attack and kill fowls, lambs, kids, etc., and even weakly sheep and goats. They do not, however, refuse fruit, and are especially fond of sugar-cane. The cry of the jackal may be heard every night by the traveller in Palestine (cp Mic. 1 8). As a rule they are nocturnal, but not exclusively so; they hide during the day in disused stone-quarries, caves, and especially in deserted ruins (Is. 13 22 34 13 35 7). Jeremiah's hearers, therefore, knew what he meant when he spoke of Jerusalem's becoming a 'place of jackals' (Jer. 9 11 [10] 10 22; cp 51 37 49 33).

(2) In Judg. 15 4 Ps. 63 10 [11] Lam. 5 18, RVmg. gives 'jackal' as an alternative rendering for EV 'fox' (שׁוּעָל). See Fox and Cp HAZAR-SHUAL, SHAALBIM.

(3) Whether the word rendered 'doleful creatures' (אֹחִים, *'ōḥīm*) in Is. 13 21 always meant the jackal, we cannot tell. Houghton (*TSBA* 5 328) well compared Ass. *aḫu*; but whether this word really means the jackal (so Del.) is not quite certain. Jensen pronounces for the leopard; Houghton, improbably, thought of the hyæna. Cp Del. *Heb. Lang.* 34.

(4) Finally the *iyyīm*, אִיִּים, of Is. 13 22 34 14 Jer. 50 39, AV 'wild beasts of the island,' from a supposed connection with אִי, 'an island' (cp צִיִּים, and see ISLE), RV WOLVES, mg. HOWLING CREATURES, may be compared with the Ar. *banātu āwa*, 'jackals.' The equiv. Syr. *běnāth away* is used by Bar Hebr. in his commentary on Job 30 29. A. E. S.—S. A. C.

JACOB (יַעֲקֹב, but five times יַעֲקוֹב; ΙΑΚΩΒ). Son of Isaac and Rebekah, and father of the twelve reputed ancestors of the tribes of Israel; himself also called Israel.

1. Name. The name is explained in Gen. 25 26*a* (J) 'the supplanter,'—'after that, his brother came out, and his hand took bold of Esau's heel; so his name was called Jacob,' as if 'one who takes hold by the heel,' from עָקֵב, 'a heel.' In Gen. 27 36 (J), however, 'Jacob' receives a fresh explanation—viz., 'deceiver' (one who slinks after another); so too Hos. 12 3*a* [4*a*], where render 'he deceived his brother' (see Now.). These, however, are only popular etymologies. It is the prevalent critical opinion that Ya'ḳob (Jacob) is really a shortened form of Ya'ăḳob-el (Jacob-el), a name analogous to Israel, Ishmael, Jerahmeel, and admitting several explanations, such as 'God follows' or 'God rewards' (both from the Arabic; cp Lag. *Übers.* 127). This is thought to be confirmed by the place-name Y-'-ḳ-b-'ā-rą, found in the Palestinian name-list of Thotmes III., which probably corresponds to a Palestinian Ya'ăḳob-el; see JOSEPH i. and ii., and cp Gray, *HPN* 214 *f.* Pinches, too, has found on contract-tablets of the age of Ḫammurabi (*circa* 2285 B.C.; see BABYLONIA, § 54) the personal name Ya'kub-ilu, and Hommel (AHT, 61, 96, 112) says that Yakubu (cp Jacob) occurs also. This, if the tablets are genuine, appears to prove the antiquity of the name. It must not, however, prevent us from seeking an underlying earlier form.

Ya'ḳob is the name, not of an individual, but of the imaginary ancestor of a tribe; neither 'God follows' nor 'God rewards' is the sort of name that we expect as the condensed expression of the religious faith of the tribe. In the month of the people the original name would very likely soon be contracted or distorted. We may plausibly conjecture that Ya'ḳob is at once a contraction and a distortion of Abi-cabod (*i.e.*, 'the [divine] father is glory'), the name which was also distorted into ICHABOD and JOCHEBED. If the god of the tribes of Israel was Yahwè, whose 'glory' (originally in the storm) so

[1] Such an interpretation agrees with E's explanation of the divine name in Ex. 3 14 (see NAMES, § 111 *f.*).

[2] The suggestion of Bondi that *leshem* may be the Egypt. *reshem* is of course possible: it is adopted by Hommel (*AHT* 283); but it does not meet all the circumstances of the case.

[1] The plural (once תַּנִּין, Lam. 4 3 kt.) is to be distinguished from the sing. תַּנִּין (twice in MT תַּנִּים), of which the pl. is תַּנִּינִים, see DRAGON (beg.).

[2] [Aq. has σειρῆνας, Symm., Theod. ἀνεπίβατα in Mal.]

greatly impressed his worshippers, and who is called in an archaistic psalm 'the God of glory' (Ps. 29 3), we can well understand that the reputed ancestor of the tribes might have as his second name (hut cp § 6) Abicahod. It is quite true that Ya'ăkob looks very much like a shortened theophorous name. We are naturally inclined to regard it as analogous to Yiphtah (Jephthah) for Yiphtah-el (Jiphthah-el); but popular imagination was quite capable of reconstructing names on a new model, and we have perhaps other instances of this close at hand in ISAAC and JEKABZEEL, hoth of which, as they stand, are formed analogously to Ishmael, hut are more prohahly popular corruptions. It may be added that the occurrence of the names referred to above does not prove the disappearance of the form Ahi-cahod. This name (a name which may have had different independent personal and local references, and have been by no means confined to the reputed ancestor of the Israelites) may have been in use among the Israelites subsequently to the times of Ḥammurabi and Thotmes III., as indeed the occurrence of Ichabod in the story of Eli proves that it was.

2. Underlying traditions (*a*).

The story of Jacob is intertwined at the beginning with that of Isaac and of Esau, and at the close with that of Joseph. To the special articles ISAAC, ESAU, and JOSEPH we must, therefore. refer the reader to avoid repetition. The interesting reference of Hosea (if it be Hosea who writes) to the story of the infant Jacob's strife with his infant brother in the womb, which receives from him an unfavourable interpretation (Hos. 12 3 [4]), is referred to under JACOB, § 1. It is to this story and to the narrative of Jacob's deceit towards his father and his brother that the Second Isaiah is supposed to refer in Is. 43 27. The difficulties of the passage, however, are not slight, and no stress can safely be laid upon it.[1] The traditions are given with great vividness in Gen. 25 29-34 (J) and 27 (JE), and deserve an attentive study. Here, however, we need only consider the composite narrative in 27 42-28 9, which forms the introduction to the story of Jacob's journey in search of a wife. In 27 42-45 Rebekah is represented as urging Jacob to flee from his incensed brother for a few days to her brother Laban in Haran. This is, undoubtedly, the work of JE. In 27 46 28 1 *f.*, however, the visit to Laban is put forward as a command of Isaac, who, stirred up by his wife, desired to prevent Jacob from following the example of Esau in marrying a Canaanitish—or, more strictly, a Hittite—maiden. There can be no doubt that P (who is the writer of 27 46-28 9) gave quite a different representation of the early life of Jacob from that given by JE, and though it is usual to disparage P, yet here, as in other cases, he preserves valuable material. The danger of a 'Hittite' wife at Beersheba was, it is true, small enough ; but it has been maintained elsewhere that the names of the non-Israelitish tribes inhabiting Canaan have suffered much from the errors inseparable from transcription of texts, and that 'Hittite' (חתי) in this and other passages is an error for רחבתי 'Rehobothite.' It has been argued that 'Rehoboth' attached its name to a larger district than the Wādy Ruhaibeh, so that when Isaac, according to popular tradition, left Rehoboth for Beersheba, he may perhaps still have been in Rehobothite territory. It is more probable, however, that Beersheba was introduced out of regard for the increased veneration of Israelites for the sanctuary of Beersheba, and that the original tradition (preserved by P) represented Isaac as passing the close of his life either at Rehoboth or at any rate at a spot almost certainly within Rehobothite limits—viz. Khalaṣah (better known to us as ZIKLAG). This view is confirmed by the consideration that in 35 *27-29* Jacob is said to have 'come to his father to Mamre, to Kirjath-arba, that is, Hebron,' where his father Isaac died, and where Esau and Jacob buried him. It seems plausible to hold that 'Hebron' here is miswritten for REHOBOTH (*q.v.*).

3. Underlying traditions (*b*).

The view, which was most probably that of P (or at any rate of P's authority), that Isaac lived at or near Rehoboth, and that Jacob started on his quest of a wife from the district of Rehoboth, is not less probably the ancient one. We have now to see where Jacob went. J and E say that it was to Haran; P that it was to Paddan-aram (Gen. 28 2 5). So at least the present text represents ; but there is strong reason to distrust its readings, and to change 'Haran' into 'Ḥaurān,' and 'Paddan-aram' into 'the uplands of HaurHn' (שְׂדֵה חַוְרָן ; cp Hos. 12 12 [13], below). In Gen. 29 1. however. we learn from E that on leaving Bethel Jacob 'went to the land of the Bnē Ḳedem.' Probably E really wrote this, and interpreted Bnē Ḳedem to mean 'easterns' ; the phrase 'the land of the easterns' might no doubt be applied to the Ḥaurān, where, according to the earlier tradition, Laban dwelt. It is not very probable, however, that 'sons of the east' (=easterns) was really an ethnographical term ; where the phrase appears to be so used, it would seem that *Ḳedem* (east) has arisen by an easy corruption out of *Reḳem*, which in turn may be a very old popular corruption of *Jeraḥmeel* (see REKEM, 4). The most natural inference is that E (or rather perhaps E's authority) has preserved a phrase from a very early tradition, according to which Jacob (or Abi-cabod?), on leaving his temporary resting-place, directed his steps to the 'land of the Bnē Jerahmeel.' If *so*, it is. probable that his destination was not the HaurHn but Hebron.

Both Haran and Hebron are mentioned in 1 Ch. (2 42 46) as descendants of 'Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel.' Hebron is probably the name of which we are in search ; among the descendants of Hebron appear three names which may be different corruptions of the name Jerahmeel (see JERAHMEEL, § 4).

At Hebron (the well-known Hebron) Jacob was, according to the tradition, in the land of 'the Bnē Jerahmeel.' The name 'Jerahmeel' has, it is true, a fluctuating reference. All that concerns us here is the fact that Hebron could he regarded by the early narrator (whom we have no occasion to place before the time of David) as Jerahmeelite. On his way thither the traveller would naturally halt at the site now called eḍ-Ḍāharīyeh, but in ancient times probably known as KIRJATH-SEPHER (*q.v.*). This may very possibly have been mentioned as Jacob's resting-place in the earlier form of the story. A glance at the map will show that from Rehoboth to Hebron the journey is as straight as possible, and that Khalāṣa, Bīr-es-Seba' (Beersheba), and eḍ-Ḍāharīyeh are convenient resting-places on the road. The early narrative must have further stated that while at Hebron Jacob married wives called respectively Leah and Rachel. Rachel (not less than Mahalath,[1] Gen. 28 9) we must take to be a popular corruption of JERAḤMEEL (*q.v.*, § 4). Leah (as We. and Stade have seen) is the name whose ethnic is 'Levi' ; the manifold connections of the Levites with the far S. have been shown elsewhere (see LEVI). The meaning of this early story is that the tribe called Abi-cabod effected a union with the Jerahmeelite tribe of Levi. Probably Winckler is right in thinking that the priestly character of the tribe of Levi is earlier than its entrance into Canaan, and it is not out of place to remark anew (cp ESAU) that in Gen. 27 15 Jacob seems to be represented as in priestly attire.

4. Visit to Haran or Ḥaurān.

As the text stands, however, it is to Haran, or rather to Hauran, that Jacob's steps are bent, and on the way he naturally halts at the famous sanctuary of Bethel. The narrator indued represents him as having consecrated the well-known *maṣṣēbah* which stood there ; but if Winckler's explanation of Luz [*q.v.*] be correct ('sanctuary'), the narrator unintentionally refutes his own statement. The rocky boulders on the site of

1 'Thy first father' is usually explained of Jacob, but was not so understood by 𝔊, and is very peculiar The parallel phrase 'their interpreters,' if correct, does not favour this view. Probably, however, we should read,

אָבוּ רֹזְנֶיךָ לַחֲטֹא 'Thy magnates were inclined to sin,

וּמֹשְׁלֶיךָ פָּשְׁעוּ בִי And thy rulers rebelled against me.'

The next line (see *SBOT ad loc.*) probably contains a reference to 'thy princes' (שָׂרֶיךָ).

1 Thus both Jacob and Esau took Jerahmeelite wives.

Bethel must indeed inevitably have suggested the erection of a sacred pillar (see BETHEL, § 2), or indeed of stone circles, in primeval times. Both J and E express their own genuine piety in the description of Jacob's sacred experiences. Whether we should have been equally pleased with the original story may be doubted; the description of 28 11 suggests the idea that the stone which Jacob took for his 'pillow' was a sacred stone, so that מקום (as perhaps in Gen. 22 3) will have the sense of 'sanctuary.' If this view is correct, it is E who gives a harmless turn to the old story by converting the primeval sacred stone into a *maṣṣēbah* (cp IDOLATRY, § 4).

In Gen. 29 2-30 J and E describe Jacob's arrival at Haran (or rather Ḥaurān), his meeting with Rachel and then with Laban, and his service of fourteen years for his two wives. Whether there was any Laban in the earlier form of the story we cannot tell. The Laban to whom we are introduced by J and E is certainly a worthy kinsman of Jacob. The narrators' object, however, is not to show that trickiness was a family characteristic, but to throw into relief the divine protection which Jacob constantly enjoyed, so that the only result of Laban's craft was Jacob's ever-increasing prosperity; indeed, as Jacob states, the advantages granted by Yahwè to Jacob were shared by Laban, so that Laban had absolutely no excuse for his attempts to overreach his nephew. This is described in Gen. 30 25-43, 31 7-12. It will be observed that the account in ch. 31, which is E's, differs from the former, which is almost entirely that of J. See LABAN.

We have an external but not independent reference to the same tradition in Hos. 12 12 [13], where a later writer (see Nowack, Wellhausen) mentions a detail in the completed story of Jacob to show the trials which the ancestor of Israel had undergone of old, and the faithful guardianship of his God.

And Jacob fled to the uplands of Aram (שְׂדֵה אֲרָם; see § 3 on 'Paddan-Aram'), and Israel served for a woman, and kept sheep.' (MT gives 'and for a woman he kept,' which is unintelligible, and in conjunction with *v.* 13 [14] has suggested to Wellhausen the strange idea of a conflict between a good principle represented by a prophet and an evil principle represented by a woman. Read perhaps וּכְבָשִׂים שָׁמָר [or וּכְשָׂבִים]; cp 'כ, Gen. 30 32 *ff.*)

This is a specimen of the way in which Jewish piety nourished itself on the legends of the past. It has an interest as such; but it supplies no confirmation of the supposed facts of the story. It is with pure legend that we have to deal, and it is pure legend which asserts thgt Jacob had eleven sons (besides daughters) born to him in Haran (HaurHn), who became the ancestors of as many Israelitish tribes. All this part of the legend is late; it can have arisen only when the union of the tribes had, under David, become an accomplished fact, and when Aramæan influence upon Israel was so strong that the Israelites themselves were ambitious of being thought to be related to the Aramæan race (cp Dt. 26 5, 'a lost Aramæan was my father'). One of the most interesting points in the narrative is that four of the sons — Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher — are, said to have been the children of handmaids, the two former of Rachel's handmaid Bilhah, the two latter of Leah's handmaid Zilpah. The origin of the latter name at any rate is transparent; Zilpah = ZELOPHEHAD = Salhad. When the Israelites conquered Salhad, they must have become fused with the Aramæan population.

There are, indeed, several clear indications that even such early writers as J and E were not unconscious of Jacob's representative character. The clearest are in 31 22-54 (note especially 'brethren' = fellow-clansmen, 31 23 54). It is not unworthy of notice, however, that in E's account of Jacob's second name (32 28 [29]) it is said, 'for thou hast contended with a god and with men, and hast prevailed,' where it is impossible to put the struggle of wits in which Laban and Jacob were engaged on a par with the physical struggle related in 32 23 [24] *ff.* No complete justification of the phrase can be given but on the hypothesis that tradition knew of a struggle between the Laban-clan and the Jacob-clan in which the latter represented itself as having been successful.

Here we see the influence of later historical circumstances, and still more in the remarkable narrative, 31 18 [19]-32 2 [3] (JE, but chiefly E), to understand which aright keen textual criticism has to be resorted to. The results are given under GILEAD, nor have we space to repeat them here, except so far as to remind the reader that it is there maintained that a later editor, through unfamiliarity with the early importance of Salhad, has converted it into Sahadutha, Galeed, and Gilead, and has also seriously iuterfered with the geography of the next section (32 3-31 [4-32]). On the peculiar type of marriage (the so-called 'beena') represented in this part of the legend, we must also refer elsewhere (KINSHIP, § 8); on the wrestling with Elohim see JABBOK.

5. Danger from Esau.

Another clan — that of ESAU [*q.v.*] — now becomes dangerous to the Tacobeans. 'Behold, Esau came (from-Seir), and with him four hundred men' (Gen. 33 1; cp 32 6 [7]; 'I fear him, lest he come and smite me. the mother with the children' (32 11 [12]). It is at present superior in strength to the Jacob-clan, — 'thus shall ye speak to *my lord* Esau' (32 3 [4]). Whether this narrative fits in perfectly with the preceding one may be doubted, even if we assume that J made Jacob cross not the Jabbok but the Jordan (see GILEAD). If, however, we may assume that according to the earlier tradition Jacob's sojourn was not in Ḥaurān but at Hebron, we can understand the danger to which he was exposed from the Edomites.[1] It may be added that 'Succoth' is elsewhere (see SALECAH, SUCCOTH, PENUEL) identified with Salhad. Evidently there is some great confusion in this part of the record of tradition, and if the same confusion begins to be visible even earlier, we need not feel any surprise.

Here is another proof of the tribal reference of the name Jacob. Were he an individual, he would naturally return at once to his father, at Beersheba or Rehoboth (contrast 28 21). Instead of this he goes to Shechem and purchases a piece of land from the clan called bnē Ḥamōr (33 18 [19], E; on 48 22 see SHECHEM). It is worth noticing that the words 'Shechem's father, for a hundred *ḳěšīṭahs*' are corrupt (see KESITAH). Still more clearly marked is the tribal character of Jacob in the strange narrative of Shechem's endeavour to obtain Dinah (Jacobs daughter) as his wife,[2] of the amalgamation of the Shechemite and the Jacobean communities proposed by Ḥamor, and of the vengeance taken by Simeon and Levi on the whole city for an act of shameless impropriety (נבלה; see FOOL) committed by Shechem. Why does Jacob acquire rights of property in Shechem? and why are the bnē Yaăkōb so strict in their requirement of purity of blood in the civic community? Because Shechem became the centre of the confederation of the northern Israelitish tribes.

6. Shechem and Bethel.

It is remarkable, however, that the clan does not yet receive the name bnē Israel. According to E (see Dillmann) Jacob's name was changed to Israel[3] when he crossed the Jabbok (32 27 [28] *f.*). It is probable that J, as well as P, represented the change as taking place at Bethel, whither Jacob repaired after leaving

1 It is very difficult to suppose with Winckler (*Gesch.* 255, n. 1) that E represented Esau as coming upon Jacob from a place in the N., somewhere near Dan, where Abraham and saac dwelt, and whence Jacob fled to Laban in Haran.

2 It is strange that Dinah should be of marriageable age; but, of course, the story once circulated as an independent tradition.

3 The assignment to E is not undisputed.

Shechem, because from this point in his narrative he, like R, uses the name Israel instead of Jacob (see 35 21 *f.* 37 3 13 43 6 8 11, etc.). How J explained the name 'Israel' we are not told. There is nothing to prevent us from supposing that he adopted some different explanation which did not please the redactor as well as E's. It is possible that, like the marriage of Abraham and SARAH [*q.v.*], the supposed change of Jacob's name really symbolises a fusion of two tribes, the tribes in this case being an Israel tribe from the N. **and** a Jacob (Abicabod) tribe from the S.

The origin of the ethnic name 'Israel' has been much discussed. ישראל occurs several times on the Moabite Stone, and the ethnic *sir-'la-ai* on the monolith of Shalmaneser II. (KB 1 172). Sayce (*PSBA* 2123 [1900]) cites the name Isarlim (=Israel) as king of Khana (E. frontier of Babylonia) in the time of Ḥammurabi. At least as old as Jerome is the interpretation ***rectus domini*** **(as** if from יָשָׁר, cp JASHER, $ 4; JESHURUN); Jerome also gives ***vir*** *videns deum* (as if from אִישׁ רָאָה אֵל; cp Gen. **33** 10). More attractive philologically, and yet not plausible on other grounds, is a connection with Ass. *ašru*, 'place,' as if='place of El.' The favourite modern explanation is 'El rules' (from שׂרה; **cp** מִשְׂרָה, Is. 9 5 *f.*); **but** to convey this idea we should rather have expected 'Malchiel;' nor is the root שׂרה as well established **as** one could wish. Gen. 32 28 (cp Hos. 12 5 [4]) suggests 'El strives,' or, **as** Driver (in Hastings' *DB* 2 530*a*), on grounds of Arabic usage, prefers 'El persists or perseveres (in contending).' This view must be admitted to be ancient; but the sense is hardly satisfactory. Let **us** make **a** fresh start. **It** is perhaps unsafe to start from the traditional form ישראל, there being no early personal or local names in the genealogies or elsewhere which confirm it, with the single exception of שׂרה, which has presumably the same origin (cp SARAH), and must therefore be provisionally set on one side. There are, however, names somewhat resembling 'Isra'el' which may help us viz. (1) יזרעאל, Jizre'el (JEZKEEL), whicd is both a personal ahd a local name, and is found both in the centre and in the S. of Palestine; (2) אֲשַׂרְאֵל, ASAR'EL, the name of **a** son of Jehallelel probably= Jerahmeel; (3) זֶרַח, ZERAH, which is given as a Judahite, a Simeonite, and an Edomite name. Of these names (3) is the most helpful. Jizraḥ-el ('God shines forth') is **a** highly probable clan-name, and might at an early date be corrupted popularly both into יזרעאל, Jizre'ēl, and into ישראל, Jiśrā'ēl. Turning now to the story of the change of Jacob's name to Israel (which has probably been altered), we notice the statement (Gen. **32** 32 [31]), which in such a context cannot be merely picturesque, that 'as he (Jacob) passed by Penuel, the sun shone forth upon him' (ויזרח לו השמש). **A** reference to our explanation of the story of the dovenant between Jacob and Laban (GALEED, 1) will show that the place from which Jacob came **was** called, not Galeed (Gilead), but Salhad or SALECAH (*q.v.*). The prominence of this strong fortress in Israelitish legend and history has been too long overlooked. To the other illustrations of this fact we may now add that Ṣalḥad (Ṣalḥar) not improbably derived its name from the clan, or confederation of clans, which, after leaving the Ḥaurān, found its way to the 'land of the bnê Jerahme'el' (Gen. **29** 1, a case of the confusion of legends, see above, **§** 3) in the far S. of Palestine. If the transformations of names that have elsewhere been assumed be held to be probable it will not he thought improbable that צלחד (Ṣaleḥad) or סלכה (Salecah) has arisen, partly by transposition, and partly by corruption of letters, from [י]זרח[א]ל, Jizrah-el. Cp the parallel corruption ישראלי for יזרעלי, 2 S. 17 25 (see ITHRA). It need hardly be said that there were in early times both northern (north-eastern) and southern Israelites. The southern Israelites appear to have joined the Jerahmeelites at Hehron (or rather Rehoboth). The above view is no more than a hypothesis; hut it seems to be more in accordance with analogies than the rival theories, and what appears to be an *obvious* explanation of a primitive tribal name noun is very likely *to* be wrong.

Several details in chap. **35** deserve attention. Thus in *vv.* 2-4 Jacob's household give up all their heathenish objects (cp **31** 18 [19] 52 [53] Josh. 24 2 14). In ***v.*** 8 Rachel's nurse Deborah receives the highest funeral honours; in reality, however, it is 'Dinah, Jacob's eldest daughter,' who dies; the text needs criticism (see above, col. 1102, n. 1). This means perhaps that the Dinah-tribe had perished; hence the mourning of the parent-stem. In *vv.* 16-19 Rachel dies on the way to Ephrath (but see below). Her child has two names—BENONI and BENJAMIN.

The extracts from J and E give **us** no very clear idea where Jacob or Israel settled after the death of Rachel; J tells us indeed (**35** 21) that Jacob encamped beyond Migdal Eder: but where was Migdal Eder? Probably it was not far from Beeroth, which name should probably be substituted for Ephrath in ***vv.*** 16 19 and for 'Hebron' in **37** 14 (see EPHRATH). P, however, states (*v.* 27) that Jacob came to his father Isaac **at** Kirjath-arba (see REHOBOTH, SODOM).

The remainder of Jacob's life is inseparable from the story of Joseph; its events need not be recapitulated here. (See JOSEPH; ABEL-MIZRAIM; MACHPELAH.) It is natural for modern readers, approaching the narrative from the point of view of psychological development, to find traces of a mellowing in Jacob's character. **If** there be anything in this supposition it must be due to the fact that the narrators have put more of themselves into the latter part of Jacob's life, where its threads intertwined with those of Joseph's, than they could venture to do in the former. It is, however, to the popular traditions that we must turn for the truest symbols of Israelitish character as it was in the days of the two great narrators J and E. The elaborate Blessing ascribed to Jacob cannot be treated as a part of the biography; it is, apart from later elements, a splendid monument of early Hebrew literature (see POETICAL LITERATURE), and historically too is of the utmost importance. Even though the text has suffered much corruption, in the special articles on the tribes frequent occasion has been found to utilize its details. See also ISRAEL.

7. Close of life, etc.

Winckler's mythological explanation ***of*** Jacob as (originally) the moon in its relation to the year, corresponding to Abraham the moon in its relation to the month, is ingeniously and plausibly worked out (***Gesch.*** 2 57 *ff.*). That there are somewhat pale mythological elements in some of the biblical narratives may be admitted; but to many minds Winckler's proof of his hypothesis will seem almost too laboured to be convincing. Cp also Winckler, ***ib.*** 82; and cp Stucken, *Astralmythen* ('Jakob'), whose treatment of parallel mythic details is extraordinarily clever.

8. Mythology.

See further Staerk, *Studien zur Religions- und Sprachgeschichte* **des** ***A T*** 1 77-83 2 1-13. T. K. C.

JACOB'S WELL. See SYCHAR.

JACUBUS (ΙΑΚΟΥΒΟΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 8 7, AKKUB (*q.v.*, 3).

JADA (יָדָע; ΙΑΔΑΕ [BA]), a name in the Jerahmeelite genealogy; his mother was Atarah and one of his sons was Jether; 1 Ch. 2 28 32 (*v.* 32, ΙΔΟΥΔΑ [B], ΙΕΔΔΑΕ [A]. *v.* 28 om., ***v.*** 32 ΙΑΔΑ [L]).

JADAU (יַדָּו, Kr. יַדַּי), Ezra 10 43, RV 'Iddo,' RV^mg. **Jaddai.** See IDDO, ii. 2.

JADDUA (יַדּוּעַ, **§ 56**; or according to Lag. *Uebers.* 113, יְדוּעַ).

1 Signatory **to** the covenant (see EZRA i. § 7); Neh. 10 21 [22] (ιεδδουα [ℵ^c.a L], ιεδδουκ [A], om. Bℵ*).

2. b. Jonathan, three generations below Eliashib, was the last of the high priests mentioned in the OT (Neh. 12 11 22; *ιαδου* ***[BRA]***, ιεδδου [L]; ***αδουα*** [ℵ* vid.] and ιδουα [ℵ?] in *v.* 22). According to Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 8 4 *f.*; ***ιαδδους***), who adds much that is doubtful, he was in office at the time of Alexander's invasion of Judæa [332 B.C.]. See NEHEMIAH, **§** 1.

3. See BARZILLAI, 3.

JADDUS, AV **Addus** (ΙΑΔΔΟΥΣ [B] etc.), 1 Esd. 5 38† = Ezra 2 61*a*, BARZILLAI, 3.

JADON (יָדוֹן, abbreviated form, cp NAMES, § 53; BKA om.; ΙΑΡΕΙ [L]), the Meronothite, in the list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii. §§ **16** [1], 15*d*), Neh. **37.**

JAEL (יָעֵל, **§ 68**; 'mountain-goat'; ΙΑΗΛ [BAL]; Jos. ΙΑΛΗ; *JAHEL*). A Bedouin woman, of whom Sisera, when flying defeated from the field of battle, asked water, and by whom, as he stood drinking the refreshing soured milk (Ar. ***leban***), he was beaten lifeless to the ground. Upon this deed a high encomium is prononnced by a contemporary Israelitish poet, Judg. **5** 24-27 (*ιηλ* [A]). And rightly, from his point of view,

if Jael was a Kenite (see below), for by this bold deed she recognised the sacred bond of friendship between the Israelites and the Kenites (cp Judg. 1 16 4 11). Sisera was out of the pale of charity for an Israelite; therefore also for a Kenite. 'The act by which Jael gained such renown was not the murder of a sleeping man, but the use of a daring stratagem which gave her a momentary chance to deliver a courageous blow' (WRS *OTJC*(2) 132). A later writer, however, whose version of the story of Sisera appears on the whole to be independent of that in Deborah's Song, employed all the arts of a graceful style to represent Jael as having killed Sisera in his sleep (Judg. 4 18-21). Jael invites the tired fugitive into her tent, covers him up with the tent-rug, and then, when he is sleeping soundly, takes one of the tent-pegs, and strikes it with a hammer into his forehead. She thus violates the double sanctity attaching to Sisera as a guest and (see DAVID, § 1, col. 1023, n. 1) as a sleeper, and seems deserving of a curse (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 156) rather than a blessing. The narrator, it is true, does not in express terms commend her; but a hardly repressed enthusiasm is visible in his description (*vv.* 21 *f.*).

Which tradition has the better claim to be regarded as historical? Obviously not the second. The refined treachery which this account assumes is inconceivable in a Bedawi, and the absurdity of transfixing a man's skull with a tent-peg is so great that one is compelled to conjecture that the passage of the song relative to Jael's deed (Judg. 5 26) lay before the narrator in a corrupt form. Moore and Budde have set forth the present position of textual criticism, and it is one of baffled perplexity. Yet the remedy is perhaps near at hand (see *Crit. Bib.*). The true text should most probably run thus:—

Her hand to the coffer she reaches,
Her right hand to a flint of the rock;
With the flint she strikes his head,
She smashes—she cleaves his temple.

The bowl in which Jael presented the soured milk was not 'a bowl of the mighty' (ספל אדירים) but 'a bowl of bronze,' Ass. *urudû*; cp COPPER, § 2. The 'nail,' or rather 'tent-peg' (יתד), should be the 'coffer' which, as Doughty says, every Bedawi housewife has, and which contained among other things flints for striking fire (יַלְקוּט or יַלְקוּת). The 'workmen's hammer' (הלמות עמלים)—an impossible rendering—should be a 'flint of the rock' (חַלְמִישׁ סֶלַע). It only remains to remark, 'after Moore, that the words 'in the days of Jael' (Judg. 5 6), and 'the wife of Heber the Kenite' (5 24) are glosses which overload the stichi in which they occur. See DEBORAH, 1; HEBER, 1; JUDGES, § 7; SISERA. T. K. C.

JAGUR (יָגוּר; ΑΣΩΡ [B], ΙΑΓΟΥΡ [AL]), a Judahite city on the border of Edom (Josh. 15 21†). Cp KABZEEL.

JAHATH (יַחַת, cp MAHATH, NAHATH, TAHATH; ΙΕΘ [BA], ΙΑΑΘ [L]), a well-known Levitical name which has associations with Judah (see 1, below) and Edom; see GENEALOGIES, § 7 [v.].

1. b. Reaiah b. Sbobal, a Judabite, 1 Ch. 4 2 (om. A*, ιαωθ [L]). A comparison with 1 Ch. 2 52 suggests a possible connection with Manahath (MT מְנֻחוֹת). In view of the vicissitudes of this name (see below) it is to be observed that Shobal is probably the parent of the forms Shebuel and SHUBAEL [*q.v.*], and that a variant may plausibly he found (see Jastrow, *JBL* 19 102 [1900]) in the familiar Shĕmû'ēl (Samuel).

2. A Levitical name, 1 Ch. 23 10 [5] (ιεεθ [B]), 43 [28] (ηχα [B], ιεεθ [A]), 23 10 (ιειηλ [L]), 24 22 (ιναθ [BA]), 2 Ch. 34 12 (ιε [B], ιαεθ [L]).† In tracing back the *Levite* Samuel to Korah (the Kehathite), the Chronicler introduces the analogous names Mahath, Nahath, and Tahath (1 Ch. 6 23 26 [cp *v.* 34], 35 37); cp with these, the Kehathite Jahath (b. Shelomoth b. יִצְהָר)[1] in 1 Ch. 24 22. But Shelomoth (h. Shimei) is Gershonite in 23 9 (as also is Shebuel [cp 1, above], *ib. v.* 16), and in agreement with this we find an important Gershonite division, Jahath b. Shimei,[2] in *v.* 10. Further, Jahath the father of Shimei, and Jahath b. Libni reappear in the genealogies of the Gershonites Ethan, Ethni, and Asaph (1 Ch. 6 43 [28]), and Jeatherai (=Ethni? *ib. v.* 20 [5]) respectively. Finally, not only Jahath (2 Ch. 34 12), but also Libni and Shimei (1 Ch. 6 29), are used as Merarite names, to which division even Ethan (see ETHAN, 2, 3) himself is finally ascribed. S. A. C.

[1] We may perhaps associate יצהר with the name צרעה (Zorah) which is brought into connection with Jahath, 1, in 1 Ch. 2 52 *f.* 4 2 (for another view see GENEALOGIES, § 7 [v.], col. 1666).

[2] Considering the way in which genealogical lists are built up, it is possible that יחת ב' שמעי is the same as מחת ב' עמשי (1 Ch. 6 35 [20] 2 Ch 29 12).

JAHAZ, JAHAZAH, JAHZAH (יַהַץ, Is. 15 4 Jer. 48 34 [Mesha's inscr. *ll.* 19 *f.*]; יַהְצָה or יָהְצָה, Nu. 21 23 Dt. 2 32 Josh. 13 18 21 36 Judg. 11 20 Jer. 48 21 1 Ch. 6 63 [78]).

𝔊 has ιασσα [BℵAFQL], but εισσα in Nu. [B*], βασαν in Josh. 13 [B], ιαζηρ [?] in Josh. 21 36 [BAL; cp *v.* 39], ιασα [L], ιηλ [A] in Judg. 11 20, ιασα [Q^mg.] in Is. 15 4, ρεφας [BA], ραφαθ [ℵ*], ρασας [ℵc.a] in Jer. 48 21; for *v.* 34 see Swete).

Jahaz was the scene of the decisive battle between the Israelites and Sihon, king of the Amorites (Nu. 21 23 Dt. 2 32 Judg. 11 20). It was assigned to Reuben (Josh. 13 18 P) and to the Levites (Josh. 21 36 P). Mesha, king of Moab, refers to it as taken by himself from the Israelites.

The site is uncertain. It was near Kedemoth (Josh. 13 18 21 36) and 'the wilderness of Kedemoth' (Dt. 2 26, cp Nu. 21 23), and it was N. of the Arnon. This points to the extreme SE. of Sihon's territory; Oliphant's suggested identification with Yājūz is therefore out of the question. Eusebius (*OS* 264 94) informs us that Jahaz (ιεσσα) still existed in his time, and that it was situated between Medeba and Dibon (δηβους). There seems to be some mistake here; the position thus assigned to Jahaz appears too central. Possibly Μηδαβα is corrupt. At any rate we may plausibly hold that the important ruins of Umm er-Reṣāṣ (cp 𝔊ℵc.a Jer. 48 21) are on the site either of Jahaz or of Kedemoth. This spot is two hours and a half NE. of Dibon, towards the desert (see KEDEMOTH). T. K. C.

JAHAZIAH, RV JAHZEIAH (יַחְזְיָה, § 32; 'Yahwè sees'), b. Tikvah, one of Ezra's opponents (Kosters, *Herstel*, 119 *f.*) in dealing with the mixed marriages, Ezra 10 15 (ΛΑΖΕΙΑ [Bℵ*], -Σ [ℵa], ΙΑΖΙ· [A] ΑΖ. [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 14, EZECHIAS (RV Ezekias, ΕΖΕΙΑΣ [B], ΕΖΕΚΙ· [A], ΙΑΖΙΑΣ [L]). See AHASAI.

JAHAZIEL (יַחֲזִיאֵל, § 32; 'God sees,' cp יַחְזְיָה and חֲזָיָה, ΙΕΖΙΗΛ [AL]; Pesh. nearly always ܢܚܙܝܐܝܠ).[1]

1. One of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 4, ιεζιηλ [Bℵ]).

2. A priest, temp. David (1 Ch. 16 6, om. ℵ*, οζ[ε]ιηλ [Bℵc.a mg.A].

3. b. Hebron, a Kehathite Levite, 1 Ch. 23 19 (οζιηλ [B], ιαζιηλ [AL]), 24 23 (ιαση [B], ιαζιηλ [AL]) for whose name we should possibly read UZZIEL (*q.v.* 1).

4. An Asaphite Levite, b. Zechariah, introduced in the story of the Ammonite invasion; son of Zechariah, who rose up temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 20 14 οζ[ε]ιηλ [BA]). Cp HAZIEL, a Gershonite name, and on the relation of Asaph to Gershon see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (*bc*).

5. The father of Shechaniah of the b'ne ZATTU (*q.v.*) (Ezra 8 5, om. B, αζιηλ [AL]), so also Pesh. and 1 Esd. 8 32 (JEZELUS; ιεθηλου [B], ιεζηλου [A], αζιηλ [L]), in place of MT's 'of the sons of Shechaniah, the son of Jahaziel . . .'

JAHDAI (יָהְדַי [Bä.] or יֶהְדַּי [Gi.], from √הדה 'to lead,' cp Sab. [ם]הדין? ΙΗΣΟΥ [B], ΙΑΔΑΙ [A], -ΕΙ [L]), the head of a family of six abruptly introduced into the genealogy of Caleb (1 Ch. 2 47). The context suggests that a 'concubine' of Caleb is intended. Perhaps we should read יְהֻדִיָּה, 'Jehudijah' (cp 1 Ch. 4 18), the six 'sons' mentioned would then be half-Judahite. T. K. C.

JAHDIEL (יַחְדִּיאֵל, 'El is glad' or 'gladdens,' § 35, cp JEHDEIAH; ΙΕΛΕΙΗΛ [B; A and Λ confused], ΙΕΔΙ· [AL]), one of the chiefs of Manasseh-beyond-Jordan (1 Ch. 5 24†).

JAHDO (יַחְדּוֹ; cp JAHDIEL; ΙΟΥΡΕΙ [B], ΙΕΔΔΑΙ [A], ΙΕΔΔΩ [L]), a Gadite (1 Ch. 5 14†).

JAHLEEL (יַחְלְאֵל, probably corrupt), a son, that is, family or clan, of Zebulun; Gen. 46 14, P (ΑΛΛΟΗΛ [A], ΕΗΛ [*D*], ΑΙΗΛ [L]); Nu. 26 26, P (ΑΛΛΗΛ [BAL]; ethnic **Jahleelites**, הַיַּחְלְאֵלִי, ΑΛΛΗΛ[Ε]Ι [BAF^vid.L]).

Perhaps, like JAHZEEL, a corruption of יַחְלְצְאֵל, 'God delivers.' T. K. C.

[1] In Syr. ܢ is the preformative of the impf. Another similar formation is seen in ܢܦܬܚ for יִפְתָּח, 'Jephthah.'

JAHMAI (יַחְמַי; ειικαν [B], ιεμου [A], ιαμιν [L], *IEMAI*),[1] an Issacharite clan-name (1 Ch. 7 2).

Analogy suggests that יחמי is an abbreviated theophorous name (cp WRS in *COT* 2301), perhaps for יחמיה[ו], cp Sab. יחמאל (אל and יחמי),[2] *i.e.*, God protects,' or (since the √חמה does not appear to be used in Heb.) for יחמליה[ו], which has actually been found upon a Heb. seal. S. A. C.

JAHZAH (יַהְצָה), Jer. 4821 RV. See JAHAZ.

JAHZEEL (יַחְצְאֵל, 'God halves'? § 38; ας[ε]ιηλ [ADFL]), a son of Naphtali, Gen. 4624 (ιασβηλ [L]); Nu. 2648 (σαηλ [B*], ασηλ [Ba.b]). 1 Ch. 7 13 has Jahziel [EV] or rather JAHAZIEL (יַחֲצִיאֵל; ιειστιηλ [B], ιασιηλ [A], ιασσιηλ [L]). Nu. 2648 has the patronymic Jahzeelites (הַיַּחְצְאֵלִי; σαηλει [B*], ασηλει [Ba.b], ασιηλι [AFL]). Rather a corruption of יַחְלְצְאֵל; cp JAHLEEL. T. K. C.

JAHZEIAH (יַחְזְיָה), Ezra 1015 RV, AV JAHAZIAH.

JAHZERAH (יַחְזֵרָה), 1 Ch. 912†. See AHASAI.

JAIR (יָאִיר, 'He [God] enlightens,' § 53; ιαειρ [BAFL]). **1.** After the main body of the Israelites had settled down W. of Jordan various Manassite clans migrated to the E., and, having dispossessed the Amorites, founded settlements in Bashan and N. Gilead. Among them was (the *clan* of) Jair: Nu. 3241 (ιαηρ [A], Dt. 314 1 K. 413 [om. BL] ιαρειρ [A]). In the above-mentioned passages Jair is called the son of Manasseh; but in 1 Ch. 221-23 (*v.* 22, αειρ [A]; *v.* 23, σαειρ [B*; σ a dittograph], ιαρειρ [A]) he is made to be of mixed descent, namely from Hezron, a Judahite, on his father's side, and from Machir on his mother's side.[3] In Judg. 103-5, mention is made of Jair, a Gileadite (αειρ [A in *v.* 5]), and it is very probable that Jair may have been placed by one tradition in the age of Moses and by another in the age of the Judges. He is said to have had thirty sons, who rode on thirty asses and had thirty cities called HAVVOTH-JAIR (*q.v.*). The notice of the thirty colts may be a gloss based on 1214 and facilitated by the similarity of the words for cities and colts (the paronomasia in עֲרִים [cities] and עַיָרִים [colts] is retained also in 𝔊 πόλεις . . . and πώλους). The expression in Judg. 105 'and Jair died, and was buried in CAMON' (*q.v.*) leads one to suppose that the seat of the clan was at that place. See JEPHTHAH, § 2 *f.*

2. The father of Mordecai, Esth. 25 (ὁ τοῦ ιαείρου [BℵL] . . . ιάτρου [AI]. In the Apocrypha (Esth. 112) his name appears as JAIRUS.

JAIR (יָעִיר, 'He (God) awakens,' so Kr. and Pesh.; Kt., however, יעור, Jer. 'filius *saltus*,'—*i.e.*, יער, with י *defect.*), the clan-name or the name of an ancestor of ELHANAN [*q.v.*], 1 Ch. 205 (ιαειρ [BL], αδειρ [A]). In the parallel passage (2 S. 2119) we find the form JAARE-(OREGIM). See ELHANAN, § 2.

JAIRITE (הַיָּאִרִי), 2 S. 2026. *See* IRA, 3.

JAIRUS (ιαειρος [Ti. WH]; probably *not*=the Jair of OT), a ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter Jesns restored to life just after her death (Mk. 522 *ff.* Lk. 841 *ff.*). The narrative is specially important, because the restoration to life to which it refers is the best attested of the three marvels of this class related in the Gospels, being given in Mt. (918 *ff.*), Mk., and Lk., not, however, without differences.

Of these differences, which are outweighed by the points of agreement, one is the non-mention of the name of the 'ruler' (not 'ruler of the synagogue') in Mt.'s account. Indeed, the Codex Bezæ (D) is without the name in Mk., and (originally) in Lk. also.

[1] Pesh. ܠܚܡܝ is hardly a safe support in favour of the reading לחמי, on which see ELHANAN, 2.

[2] Cited in Ges. *Lex.*(11).

[3] This post-exilic representation probably means that there was a clan made up partly of the tribe of Judah and partly of that of Manasseh, which occupied the region where the 'Havvoth-jair' were situated (cp Be. *Chron.*, *ad loc.*).

That the narrative in some form belongs to the earliest stratum of the Gospel tradition is further supported (1) by the profound saying 'The damsel is not dead, but sleepeth,' which occupies a central position and is quite in the manner of Jesus, and (2) by the interweaving of another narrative which expresses one of the popular superstitions so forcibly that it must be as old as any in the Gospels.

The earliest form of the story of the ruler is that given in Mt. 918 *f.* 23-26. As Weiss has pointed out, the earliest traditional narratives were not much concerned about details, but aimed at connecting the remembered sayings of Jesus with the facts which formed (or, it was thought, must have formed) their true setting. Whether Weiss is right in ascribing all the picturesque details in Mk. to a Petrine tradition, is at best doubtful; he is at any rate most probably quite wrong in adopting Mk.'s report of the ruler's appeal to Jesus—viz., 'My little daughter is at the point of death' (ἐσχάτως ἔχει). For this evangelist represents the feeling of a later time that it was too much to believe that the ruler could at once have risen to the height of faith implied in Mt. 918; he assumes that the ruler must at first have been afraid of such a bold request as that Jesus would raise the dead. Mt.'s account, however, rightly understood, makes this assumption unnecessary. The ruler's faith, though great, is not heroic. He has the superstitious idea that the soul is still hovering about its former receptacle, and craves of Jesus that by a magic touch of his hand the scarcely parted soul and body may be organically reunited. Another point in which Mk.'s account is certainly inferior to Mt.'s is the injunction to secrecy (Mk. 543). This is in place in the story of the blind men which follows in Mt. (927-32), but not in the story of the ruler, according to which 'much people' had heard the unhappy father's appeal to the Master. Whether even the words TALITHA CUMI [*q.v.*] may be accepted from Mk. is doubtful. Certainly the name Jairus is the spontaneous invention of a pious and poetic imagination. Tradition (except in Mk.) does not record the names of persons in the crowd who were cured by Jesus,' and the origin of the name is manifest, viz. not יָאִיר 'he enlightens,' but (Nestle, Chajes) יָעִיר 'he will awaken' (from the sleep of death).

Whether the raising of the dead maiden is historical is another question. That Yahwè was regarded even in the older period as the lord of life and death, and therefore as one who might on special occasions raise the dead, is undeniable. But how could any special occasion arise, now that the belief in the resurrection had become so general? For by this belief the conception of death was transformed; men could not 'sorrow as those who had no hope.' Nor did Jesus himself consider it to be within his ordinary province to raise the dead. It has indeed been said (*e.g.*, by Weiss) that Mt. 115 (Lk. 722) proves that more instances of the raising of the dead occurred than are reported in the Gospels. But this implies a misinterpretation of the message to John the Baptist, which is certainly allegorical; the words, 'the dead are raised up,' are explained by the next clause, 'and the poor have the glad tidings brought to them.'[2] That Lk. misunderstood the words (Lk. 721; cp NAIN) renders it not improbable that Mk. did so too, and that all three evangelists (whose idea of Jesus was marred by recollections of Elijah and Elisha)[3] misunderstood that deep saying of Jesus, 'She is not dead, but sleepeth.'

[1] Even Mk.'s Bartimæus is perhaps not really a personal name; Timæus may very possibly be a Greek substitute for the Aram. *samyā*, 'blind.' 'Son of the blind' would mean one of the company of the blind—a numerous company in Palestine. Cp BARTIMÆUS. Mary Magdalene is of course altogether exceptional.

[2] See the forcible argument in BARTIMÆUS, § 1 (small type paragraph).

[3] Just as the idea of St. Francis soon became blurred in the minds of his biographers.

They have at any rate preserved the saying for us, even if the setting which they have produced is not the right one.

See Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 2471-475; Weiss, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1552-565; Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth*, 268 *f.*; Plummer *St. Luke* (International Comm.), 233 *ff.* None of these writer: gives complete satisfaction; even Dr. Plummer thinks that 'we may he content, with Hase, to admit that certainty is unattainable as to whether the maiden was dead or in a trance.' On the originality of Mt.'s narrative, Badham, *St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew* ('97), 47-50, is excellent; but it is a mistake to admit that 'the name Jairus looks original.' See, further, GOSPELS. T. K. C.

JAKAN (יַעֲקָן, § 54; RV JAAKAN), a name in the Horite genealogy (1 Ch. 1 42†).

In the ∥ list in Gen. 3627 it appears as 'and AKAN' (ועקן for יַעֲקָן), of which 𝔊B's reading (*και ωναν*) in 1 Ch. is a corruption. 𝔊L combines the readings (Gen. *και ιουκαμ*, 1 Ch. *και ιαακαν*), the latter being perhaps the original form in both cases; see BEEROTH ii.). 𝔊A's text is conflate (Gen. *ιωυκαμ* [*D* has *ιεωυκαμ*] *και ουκαν* [AE]; 1 Ch. *ιωακαν και ουκαμ* [A]).

JAKEH (יָקֶה, some MSS יָקָא, according to Delitzsch 'scrupulously pious'—*i.e.*, *εὐλαβής*, cp Ar. *waḳā*, viii.) father of AGUR (*q.v.*); Prov. 30 1.

The Midrash (*ad loc.* and elsewhere) does not, as we might have supposed, identify Jakeh with David, but takes hen-Jakeh to he a description of the poet called Agur (*i.e.*, Solomon), as 'one who is free from all sin and iniquity.' T. K. C.

JAKIM (יָקִים, §§ 86, 53; 'he [El] raises'; cp ELIAKIM, ALCIMUS; ιακειμ [BAL]).

1. The name of one of the twenty-four post-exilic priestly courses: 1 Ch. 2412 (*ελιακειμ* [A]).

2. b. Shimei (*v.* 13, Shema) in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*); 1 Ch. 8 19. See *JQR* 11 103, § 1.

3. In AVmg. of Mt. 1 11 Jakim represents the *ιωακειμ* interpolated by some late Gk. and Syr. MSS (apparently also by Irenæus and Epiphanius; see WH) between the names of Josiah and Jechoniah in the genealogy of Jesus. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 2 and cp JEHOIACHIN.

JALAM (יַעְלָם), Gen. 36 5 RV; AV JAALAM.

JALON (יָלוֹן, αμων [B], ιαλων [AL]), b. Ezrah (cp EZER ii., 1), one of the b'ne HUR; 1 Ch. 47. 𝔊BAL suggests אַיָּלוֹן, AIJALON (*q.v.*, 1, and note readings there cited). This, however, seems too far N., and considering the positions of the other places mentioned, we should possibly read גִּלוֹן, Gilon = Giloh (on the form cp Driver, *TBS* 241).

JAMBRES (ιαμβρης [Ti. WH]), 2 Tim. 38. See JANNES.

JAMBRI (rather **JAMRI**), **THE CHILDREN OF.** An Arab clan or tribe, residing in MEDEBA (*q.v.*), which attacked John the brother of Jonathan (the Maccabee) as he was on his way to the NABATÆANS, and carried him off with all that he had (1 Macc. 9 35 *f.*: *οἱ υἱοὶ ιαμβρειν* [A], . . . *αμβρει* [*K*], *ιαμβρει* [V]; *v.* 37 *υἱοὶ ιαμβριν* [A], *ιαμβρι* [ℵ*V], *αμβρι* [ℵc.a c.b (vid.)]). From *vv.* 38 42 it appears that John was slain; what happened to the women and children of the Jews is not stated. To avenge his brother's death, Jonathan and his brother Simon crossed the Jordan, and surprised and discomfited the b'ne Jamri (Amri) as they were escorting a bride with a great train from NADABATH (*q.v.*), *ib. v.* 37. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 1 2 4) tells the same story; he calls the hostile tribe *οἱ 'Αμαραίου παῖδες*. *'Αμαραῖος*, like *'Αμαρῖνος*, in Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 5, seems to represent עָמְרִי, Omri (for the 𝔊 readings of which name see OMRI). Since, however, the name יעמר has been found in an Aramaic inscription at *Umm er-Reṣāṣ*, about 12 m. SSE. from Medeba (see *CIS* 2 no. 195 *l.* 3), it seems best to retain the form Jamri. T. K. C.

JAMES (ιακωβος, *Jacobus*), the name of three persons prominently mentioned in the NT—James the son of Zebedee, James the son of Alphæus, and James the brother of Jesus. The first two of these are included in the lists of the apostles given in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Mt. 10 2 *f.* Mk. 3 17 *f.* Lk. 6 14 *f.* Acts 1 13). The former of this pair was a brother of John; their father—a Galilean fisherman, probably a resident of Capernaum—is represented in the first two Gospels (Mt. 4 21 Mk. 1 20) as having been present when his two sons were called by Jesus to be his disciples, although in the legendary account of this event in the third gospel the presence of Zebedee is not implied, their call being made incidental to that of Peter, who is said to have been a partner of theirs. It is a usual inference from Mt. 27 56 and Mk. 15 40 that Salome was their mother, although this cannot be proved. The call of James to be a disciple was followed some months afterwards by his appointment as one of the twelve apostles. His prominence in this band is indicated by the fact that, in all the four lists referred to above, his name is mentioned among the first, along with Peter, Andrew, and John, who are distinguished, together with him, not only by the position which is accorded to them in the lists (cp APOSTLE, § 1, table), but also in the record of several important events (Mk. 537 133 Mt. 17 1 2637, and parallels).

1. Son of Zebedee.

Mk. [very enigmatically] relates that the brothers, James and John, were designated by Jesus, *Βοανηργες*, which is explained 'sons of thunder.'[1]

That this name was bestowed upon them by Jesus prior to a manifestation of certain qualities of character is as improbable as that it was given without a reason. Besides the part which tradition may have had in attributing to them h e name and to Jesus the bestowal of it is indeterminable. We may conjecture that they earned the name, either from Jesus or from some other source, on account of a certain impetuosity, manifested, perhaps, in the incident referred to as mentioned in Lk., and in their rash answer to Jesus' question: 'Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink or to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?' The request which called forth this solemn question may also be regarded as indicating qualities of character which might have given rise to the designation in question. [Further than this on the track marked out by the older criticism we cannot go. It is time, perhaps, to strike out a new path, calling in the aid of philological and textual criticism. Can *Βοανηργες* be right?]

The last appearance of James the son of Zebedee in the gospel-history is in Gethsemane at the agony of Jesus (Mt. 2637 Mk. 14 33). He is mentioned in Acts (1 13 *f.*) among the apostles who, after the resurrection, remained in Jerusalem continuing 'steadfastly in prayer.' The cup which he had so impetuously professed himself able to drink was early prepared for him. At the passover of the year 44 he was distinguished as the first martyr among the apostles by Herod Agrippa I. who, acting, perhaps, in the interest of Pharisaic zealots, undertook a persecution of the Christians. In the language of the writer of Acts (12 1 *f.*), 'Herod the king put forth his hands to afflict certain of the church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword.' The prominent position of James in the church is perhaps indicated by his selection for this baptism of blood.

The legend that be went as a missionary to Spain, where in 829 his wonder-working bones were found, and where his apparition in luminous armour struck with terror the infidel hosts in the war with the Saracens, was reconciled with the history in Acts by the supposition that, returning from Spain to Jerusalem, he was slain by Herod, and his body carried hack and buried by his Spanish travelling-companions.

2a. Son of Alphæus.

Of James the son of Alphæus, called in Mk. 15 40 James the less (*ὁ μικρός*, *minor*, younger) little is recorded in the NT. According to the same passage, his mother was a certain Mary who is there mentioned as a witness of the crucifixion. The translation of 'Judas of James' (*'Ιούδας 'Ιακώβου*; Lk. 616 Acts 1 13) as 'Judas the *brother* of James' is of doubtful propriety. The apostle Judas was probably the son of a James otherwise unknown (see JUDE, 7). The question whether James the son of Alphaeus was identical with James the

2b. Distinct from brother of Jesus.

[1] [The name is evidently a compound, and as it stands cannot be explained with certainty (see BOANERGES). For a conjecture see GIRSHITE.]

brother of Jesus must be discussed before proceeding to the consideration of the latter.

Doubtless in early times, and perhaps latterly, a prepossession in favour of the perpetual virginity of Mary the mother of Jesus has had an influence in determining some scholars to maintain the affirmative of this question.

It is argued that from Mt. 2756 Mk. 1540 and **Jn. 1925** the inference may he drawn that Mary the mother of Jesus had a sister Mary who was the wife of Clopas, and that she was the mother of two sons, James the little **(ὁ μικρός)** and Joses. Moreover, since James, Joses (or Joseph), Judas, and Simon are mentioned in Mt. **1355** and Mk. **63** as brothers of Jesus, and since in Lk. **616** and Acts **113** a James and a Jude are included among the anostles, it has been argued that these latter were identical with 'the James and Judas mentioned among the brothers of Jesus, yet that they were not his brothers, but his cousins. In support of this hypothesis it is maintained that the James called the brother of Jesus, mentioned explicitly by Paul in Gal. 119 **as** such, and frequently elsewhere as simply 'James,' and always indicated as holding a prominent place in the church at Jerusalem, was no other than James the son of Alphreus who is identified by the hypothesis with the Clopas of Jn. 1925. Thus he would be shown to have been a cousin of Jesus, being the son of a sister of Mary, Jesus's mother, and one of the original apostles.

This argumentation is, however, beset with insuperable difficulties. If the apostle Lebbæus (Mt. 103; but RV and WH Thaddzus) who is called Thaddzus in Mk. 318, and who by the hypothesis was identical with the 'Judas of James' of Lk. and Acts, was by the first evangelist known to have been a brother of James the son of Alphreus, it is improbable that this writer would not have' indicated this fact after the analogy of 'Simon and Andrew his brother' and 'James and John his brother.' It is no less improbable that, if Judas and Simon were sons of Alphæus and the Mary in question, they would not have been mentioned along with Joses in Mt. 2756 and Mk. 1540.

It is also evident from the attitude of Jesus's brothers toward him according to Mk. 321 31, that they could not have belonged to the friendly apostolic group. For they are here represented as 'standing without,' and were probably of the 'his friends **(οἱ rap' αὐτοῦ)** who 'went out to lay hold on him' because he was, they thought, beside himself. (Cp Jn. 75.) In this connection the fact is important that wherever they are mentioned in the N T they are distinguished from the apostles (Mt. **1246** Lk. 819 Jn. **73** Acts **114** 1 Cor. 95; 'the other apostles [besides Paul] and the brothers of the Lord'). Besides, there is nowhere an intimation that any one of the apostles was either a brother or a cousin of Jesus. The attempt to show from Jn. 1925 that Mary, the so-called 'wife' of Clopas (identified by the hypothesis with Alphreus), was the sister of the mother of Jesus and that hence James the son of Alphaeus was his cousin is hazardous. For it is doubtful whether Clopas and Alphaeus are the Aramaic and Greek forms of the same name, since the Syriac version uniformly transliterates them differently (Cleopha and Halpai), and whether 'Mary of Clopas' (Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ) is really in apposition with 'the sister of his mother' (ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ). The opinion that four women instead of three are mentioned here has the support of the Syriac version and of many of the highest authorities (see Meyer on the passage, and Wieseler in *St. Kr.* **'40, p. 650).** Besides, the position is quite tenable that according to the prevailing ***usus loquendi,*** 'Mary of Clopas' (Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ) means Mary the daughter of Clopas, in which case Clopas would be known only as the father of the Mary mentioned in Jn. 1925 (see CLOPAS). Thus in any case the improbable supposition that in the same family there were two sisters of the same name is obviated. Still, even if it could be shown that James the son of Alphæus was a cousin of Jesus it would not follow that another James was not his brother, since better reasons than those given by Lange and Meyrick are required to justify the abandonment of the natural meaning of **ἀδελφός**. Nor is it necessary to resort to the supposition of step-brothers; for, according to the obvious sense of first-born' **(πρωτότοκος; Lk.** 27 Mt. 125, Sin. Syr.), Mary was the mother of other sons than Jesus.

It is questioned whether in Gal. 119, 'other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother' (*ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου*), James is included among the apostles. The affirmation is thought to carry with it the identification of the apostle James the son of Alphreus with the brother of Jesus. The passage, however, may be correctly rendered, 'Another of the apostles [save Peter] I did not see, but only James the brother of the Lord.'

εἰ μή ('save') finding its exception in the negative *οὐκ εἶδον* ('saw not') and *ἕτερον τ. ἀ.* ('other of the apostles') referring to Peter (*v.* 18). For a similar construction see Rom. 1414 1 Cor. 84 Gal. 2**16** Mt. 124 2436 **Lk.** 4*26 f.* So interpret Fritzsche, Credner, Bleek, Winer, Holtzmann, and others.

It is not necessary to suppose with Meyer and Lipsius (who object to such an exception to Paul's use of *εἰ μή* elsewhere) that James is here included among the apostles 'in the wider sense.' The conclusion is legitimate that whenever Paul refers to James he has in mind the one mentioned in this passage, not the son of Alphzeus. **A** James who is not called the brother of Jesus, and is not specifically designated, is conspicuous in Acts; but his identification must be controlled by the prominence given by Paul to the 'brother of the Lord' (*ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου*; Gal. 119, cp *2912*). For want of space, discussion of the patristic and other early testimony on this point must be omitted. Suffice it to say that the view that there were three Jameses is supported by Hegesippus, the pseudo-Clementine literature (*Hom.* 1135, *Recogn.* **435**) and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (255 612 746 835), whilst Chrysostom, Jerome, and Theodoret are quoted for the opposite opinion.

3. The brother of Jesus.

James, surnamed the Just, although sharing with the brothers, of whom he was probably the oldest, in their opposition-to Jesus during his public ministry, appears to have been converted to his cause soon after the resurrection. According to 1 Cor. 157 he was a witness to one of the manifestations of the risen Christ. indeed, to two, if he may be included in the 'all the apostles' (*τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν*).

An Ebionite ideal picture of 'James the brother of the Lord' is given by Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* 223) who, after saying that he received the, government of the church with the apostles, continues thus: This apostle was consecrated from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor strong drink, and abstained from animal food. A razor never came upon his head, he never anointed with oil, and never used a bath. . . . He was in the habit of entering the temple alone, and was often found upon his hended knees, . . . so that his knees became as a camel's in consequence of his habitual supplication.' The position assigned to him in the church by Hegesippus accords with the statement in the pseudo-Clementine writings that he was the bishop of the holy church, the bishop of Jerusalem, *episcoporum* **princeps,** and *archiepiscopus.*

According to Gal. 118 29, Paul finds James (see CHRONOLOGY, § 73 *f.*) holding a prominent place in the Christian community in Jerusalem along with Peter and John, and with these three, 'reputed to be pillars,' he came to an arrangement respecting his mission to the Gentiles. So great was the influence or the authority of James that Peter was controlled by him at Antioch in the matter of eating with the Gentiles. For when 'certain from James came, he drew back and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision' (Gal. **212**). From this fact and from Paul's statement that, yielding to the emissaries from James, 'the rest of the Jews dissembled,' and 'even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation,' the inference is obvious that this brother of Jesus was the acknowledged head of the Jewish-Christian party in the church of Jerusalem and a zealot for the strict observance of the Jewish law. Paul's vehement argument with Peter at Antioch reveals no less clearly the attitude of James and his faction, than the position of Paul himself. The question was that of the validity of the Jewish law for Christiaris, and Paul exposes the kernel of the matter when he says: 'I do not make void the grace of God: for if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought' (Gal. 221). This is the historical account of the affair. The writer of Acts, however, whose aim it was to present the original apostles and James in a favourable light with reference to Paulinism, records events which would render the occurrences at Antioch improbable (11**1-12** 21**17-25**; see, however, ACTS, § **3).**

The testimony of antiquity leaves no doubt that James died a violent death at the hands of Jewish zealots about the year 63. For the dramatic account of his martyrdom given by Hegesippus see Eus. *HE* **223.** Josephus relates that, during the interregnum between Festus

and Albinus, Ananias the high priest (see ANNAS [end]) called the Sanhedrin together, and having summoned James, secured his condemnation to death by stoning—an act for which he suffered the censure of the influential Jews, and was deprived of his office by Albinus.

Important discussions of this subject may be found in Mayor, ***The Epistle of St. James;*** Alford, ***Greeh Testament***, 4; Davidson, *Zntr.*; Arnaud, ***Recherches***, etc., '51; Lightfoot, ***Essay on tke Brethren of the Lord;*** Lumby, art. 'James' in *EB*(9); Hilgenfeld, *Einl.*, '75; Meyer's ***Commentary***, 15; Holtzmann, *ZWT*, '80, and *BL* **3**; Wieseler, *St. Kr.*, '42, Keim in *BL* 1, art. 'Brüder Jesu,' '69; Lange in *PRE*(1), art. 'Jakobus,' '56; Immer in *NT Theol.* **282**; and Credner, *Einl.* 571 *f.* ('36). O. C.

JAMES (EPISTLE). The object of this writing, which is with doubtful propriety called an epistle (see, however, EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 9), is to emphasize the importance of practical Christianity and to encourage and strengthen its readers in their trials.

1. Contents.

The writer exhorts his readers to receive trials with joy, letting patience have its perfect work, and asking in faith for wisdom of God who giveth liberally (**1** 2-8). External conditions are without real significance. The man is blessed who endures temptation; hut temptations are from within, and God tempts no man (1 9-18). Every man should be swift to hear and slow to speak; but the doing of the word is of paramount importance (1 19-27). Distinctions between the rich and the poor shown in the churches to the disadvantage of the poor are censurable. Love of the neighbour as one's self according to 'the royal law' should be kept, and men should speak and act as they who are to 'be judged by a law of liberty' (**2** 1-13). Faith without works is 'dead' and can 'save' no one, and by the examples of Abraham and Rahah those are shown to be in error who argue to the contrary (2 14-26). Inquisitive conceit of wisdom, the unbridled tongue, jealousy, and faction, are severely rebuked, and 'the wisdom that is from above' is commended (**3**). The 'pleasures that war in the members' are condemned as the source of contention in the churches, together with adultery, worldliness, and envy (**4** 1-10). Calumny and censoriousness are rebuked, and the eager pursuit of gain is shown to be folly in view of the brevity and uncertainty of life, which should he lived in a constant sense of dependence upon God (**4** 11-17). The rich are threatened who have heaped up corrupted' riches, while the cry of the poor whom they have oppressed 'has entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth' (5 1-6). The brethren are exhorted to patience in view of the 'coming of the Lord' (**παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου**) which is 'at hand' (**5** 7-11). Swearing is forbidden, and prayer is recommended, which if offered 'in faith,' will save the sick (*5* 12-18). Finally, he is felicitated who 'converts a sinner from the error of his way' (**5** 19 *f.*).

The different parts of the writing are without logical connection, and it has been well characterised as 'for the most part a loose joining of sayings which are not thought in this connection, but brought into it ready made' (Weizsacker).

2. Address.

The address, 'to the twelve tribes who are of the disuersion' (cp 1 Pet. 1 1) may be at least regarded as in accord with the general Jewish-Christian character of the epistle, although its meaning and purpose are indeterminable. 'The twelve tribes' qualified by 'of the dispersion' (ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ) can literally mean only the Jews living outside Palestine; but that the writer had Christians, not Jews, in mind is evident (2 1 5 7). Some expositors have sought to resolve this incongruity between the address and the contents of the epistle by assnming that the persons addressed were Jewish Christians, since Jewish Christians are called Jews in Gal. 2 13 and Hebrews in the superscription of the Epistle to the Hebrews and in patristic literature, just as Paul (Rom. 11 13) designates the Gentile Christians as ἔθνη. Whilst, however, the Jewish-Christian tendency of the epistle is unmistakable, it is difficult to find in it decisive evidence that it was addressed especially to Jewish Christians.

There is no pro[illegible] that there were churches composed wholly of Jewish converts to Christianity in 'the dispersion,' and nothing in the epistle indicates that it was addressed to a faction of the believers in general. The citation of from the OT and the mention of Abraham as 'our father (2 21-25) proves nothing in view of Paul's usage (Rom. **4** 1 12 16 Gal. **3** **16** 29; see also Clem. Rom. **31** **4**). The use of **συναγωγή** for a Christian assembly (2 2) was not confined to the Jewish Christians, who, according to Epiphanius (*Haer.* **30** 18), employed it instead of ἐκκλησία. Here it may mean no more than ἐπισυναγωγή in Heh. 10 25 (see Harnack, *ZWT*, '76, p. 104 *f.*).

It is very improbable, moreover, that a writer addressing Jewish Christians should not only ignore the Mosaic Law and ritual, but also give prominence to 'the perfect law of liberty,' evidently contrasting it with the former, and to the 'implanted word' (1 21 25 **2** 12), without any attempt to show the relation of these new conceptions to the ancient economy (see von Soden. *HC* iii. 2 161),

Another incongruity between the address and the contents appears in the fact that whilst the former is general, there is in the latter constant reference to local and special conditions, as if the writer really had in mind a particular Christian 'assembly' (συναγωγή) with whose errors and needs he was personally acquainted.

The circumstances which he depicts in detail cannot be supposed to have existed throughout an extended territory, such as is indicated in the address. (1 2 *ff.* 13 *ff.* 2 1 *ff.* 3 1 *ff.* 13 *ff.* 4 1 *ff.* 13 *ff.* 5 1 *ff.* 14).

If, on account of these incongruities the address be not judged to be fictitious and without significance in relation to the contents, it must be regarded as including Christians in general as the 'true Israel,' as 'the new, greater people of God, who have taken the place of the old' (Gal. **6** 16; cp Barn. **46** 13 13 **2** Clem. 2 2). The words 'of the dispersion' may be, as Pfleiderer conjectures, an imitation of 1 Pet. 1 1 with the omission of the local limitation.

3. Relation to other writings.

The relation of the epistle to the other NT writings and to early patristic literature is instructive with reference to the question of its date and authorship.

a. The epistle contains many reminiscences of the sayings of Jesus, principally of those collected in the First Gospel, in the 'Sermon on the Mount.'

(1 17 Mt. 7 11; 1 20 Mt. 5 22; 1 22 *ff.* Mt. 7 21 *f.*; 2 8 Mk. 12 31; 2 13 Mt. 5 7; 4 12 Mt. 10 28; 5 12 Mt. 5 34).

The points of contact with the Synoptic Gosuels do not indicate a literary dependence upon them or an accurate knowledge of the words of Jesus.

If the author was acquainted with our written Gospels, he cannot he said to have quoted from them, and he never refers to them or to Jesus as the source of the moral apophthegms in which his writing abounds. It is certainly a very vague and limited knowledge of 'the evangelic tradition' that can be affirmed (with Holtzmann) on the ground of 1 6 compared with Mk. **11** 22-24, and **5** **14** compared with **Mk.** 6 13. The most that can be said in this relation is that the moral teachings contained in this tradition bad made an indistinct impression upon the mind of the writer.

b. That the writer of James was acquainted with Rorn., 1 Cor., and Gal., there is little reason to doubt, though he makes no mention of these writings, and does not directly quote from them.

Acquaintance with them is shown in faint reminiscences of their terminology and forms of expression and in declarations which are in apparently intentional opposition to teachings contained in them (1 2 *f.* Rom. 5 3 *f.*; **1** **13** 1 Cor. 10 **13**; 1 21 Rom. 13 12; **1** 22 Rom. 2 13; 2 10 Gal. **5** 3; 2 19 1 Cor. **8** 4; **2** 21 Gal. **36** Rom. **4** 3; 2 **24** Rom. 3 28 Gal. 2 16; 4 1 Rom. 6 13 7 23; **4** 4 Rom. **8** 7; **4** 5 Gal. 5 17; **4** 11 *f.* Rom. **2** 1 14). The writer shows no comprehension of the leading doctrines of Paul, and it is probable that the subtleties of the apostle were so foreign to his thought, that he could not understand them. Of the Pauline conception of the Messiahship of Jesus, his atoning sacrifice, and his resurrection (in which was the hope of the resurrection of believers at the Parousia), and of the profound Pauline mysticism, there is no trace of even a reminiscence in the epistle. There is only a reference to the Parousia which shows **a** merely external apprehension of it (*5* 7 *f.*).

c. Acquaintance with the Epistle to the Hebrews is not improbable.

This may he argued on the ground of **2** **17** **20** **26** compared with Heb. *6* 1 9 *14* (νεκρά 'dead' applied in the one case to faith and in the other to works), of **3** 18, compared with Heb. **12** 11 (καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης ἐν εἰρήνῃ 'the fruit of righteousness . . . in peace' and καρπὸς εἰρηνικὸς δικαιοσύνης 'the peaceable fruit . . . of righteousness'), and of 2 25, the example of Rahah, compared with Heb. 11 31. Other points of contact with Heb. are found in 1 17 (cp Heh. **12** 9), **3** 1 (cp Heh. 5 12), **4** *15* (cp Heb. 6 3), **5** 10 (cp Heb. **13** 7).

d. The relation of James to 1 Pet. necessitates the hypothesis of a literary dependence, and it is a disputed question to which the priority should be accorded.

Cp 1 1 with 1 Pet. 1 1, 1 2 *f.* with 1 Pet. 1 6 *f.*, 1 10 with 1 Pet. 1 24, 1 18 with 1 Pet. 1 23, 1 21 with 1 Pet. 2 1 *f.*, 2 7 with 1 Pet. 4 14-16, 4 6-10 with 1 Pet. 5 5-9 5 8 *f.* with 1 Pet. 4 7, 5 20 with 1 Pet. 4 8). Expositors have generally maintained the dependence of 1 Pet. upon James; but W. Brückner has shown with probability the priority of the former, by a careful study of the parallel passages (*ZWT*, '74, p. 533 *ff.*), and has been followed by Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, and von Soden. (See also Grimm, *St. Kr.*, '72, p. 692 *ff.*)

e. Dependence on the Apocalypse is at least probable.

Cp 2 5 with Rev. 2 9, 1 12 with Rev. 2 10, 5 9 with Rev. 3 20. Pfleiderer decides for the priority of the portion of the Apocalypse (dating from the time of Hadrian) which contains these passages and thinks that the writer of James in appealing to the divine promise (1 12) must have had Rev. 2 10 in mind (*Das Urchrist.* 857). Völter, however, reverses the relation (*Die Entsteh. d. Apok.* 183).

f. The contacts with 1 Clem. do not show 'incontestably' the use of James by the author of that epistle.

The two most important passages are found in 1 Pet. which may have been a common source for the writers of James and 1 Clem. (cp Clem. 30 2 with 1 Pet. 5 5 Jas. 4 6, Clem. 49 5 with 1 Pet. 4 8 Jas. 5 20); 1 Clem. 10 20 (cp Jas. 2 23) is explicable from Rom. 4 3; and 38 6 and 17 1 *f.* do not necessarily presuppose an acquaintance of the writer with Jas. 2 23 and 5 10. If, however, the use of James in this case be conceded, the indeterminable date of 1 Clem. (probably 93-125) excludes any conclusion for the early composition of the former.

g. The points of agreement between the Shepherd of Hermas and James necessitate the conclusion that one of them is dependent upon the other; but it is not clear to which the priority should be assigned.

Pfleiderer is perhaps too positive that it probably belongs to Herm. (cp 4 7 with Herm. *Mand.* 12 5; 4 12 with Herm. *Mand.* 12 6 *Sim.* 9 23).

h. The author of James was acquainted with the LXX, but not with the Heb. text of the OT. Theile has shown him to have been familiar with Ecclus. and Wisdom, and probable points of contact with Philo have been pointed out.

4. Doctrine of Justification.

The acquaintance of the author with some of the Pauline epistles, the particulars of which have already been given, must be regarded as incontestably established by the criticism of this writing, in regard to which so many disputed questions still remain unsettled. The most indisputable point of contact with Paulinism occurs in the short section in which the writer discusses the doctrine of justification (2 14-26). The twofold prepossession against admitting that the canon of the NT contains pseudonymous writings and contradictory teachings has led to the confusion of a problem which would otherwise have found an easy solution. For if the same critical method should be applied here that is employed in similar cases from the consideration of which such prepossessions are absent, there can be no doubt that a general agreement among scholars would result. The case in question is not a vague allusion to faith and works in general, which might be accounted for on the ground of Jewish ideas and terms known by the writer of the epistle without dependence upon Paul, but a pointed reference to a distinctly Pauline doctrine and the employment of the apostle's terminology and very words. Paul declares explicitly: 'We reckon therefore that a man is justified (δικαιοῦσθαι) by faith apart from the works of the law' (Rom. 3 28) and 'a man is not justified by the works of the law . . . even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law' (Gal. 2 16). He cites the case of Abraham, and affirms that this patriarch was justified not by works, but by faith (Rom. 4 1 Gal. 3 6). On the contrary, the writer of James declares that 'a man is justified (δικαιοῦται) by works, and not by faith only' (2 24), and as if to reply to the advocates of Paulinism by employing the very example adduced by their master he affirms that Abraham was justified by works (2 21-23). He also turns to his purpose the case of Rahab employed in an opposite sense by the Pauline writer of Heb. In the declaration that a man is not justified by faith only (μόνον) is implied the doctrine of the co-operation of faith and works in justification, which is expressed in the words regarding Abraham; 'Faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect' (2 22). This is essentially a justification ἐξ ἔργων in opposition to the Pauline χωρὶς ἔργων, according to the declaration concluding this section; 'For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, even so faith apart from works (χωρὶς ἔργων, the Pauline terminology) is dead.' To Paul, however, the Gospel was 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth,' *i.e.*, faith in itself or χωρὶς ἔργων had a saving efficacy (Rom. 1 16)—an affirmation which is pointedly denied in James (μὴ δύναται ἡ πίστις σῶσαι αὐτόν, 2 14). Paul could never, like our author, as Kern has pointed out, have made salvation depend upon faith *and* works, because faith in his sense included works—*i.e.*, a new life.

The difference of the two points of view has been well stated by Schwegler: 'With Paul faith because it justifies is the source of good works; with James faith because it is the source of good works and shows itself alive in them has a justifying efficacy. With Paul justification is conditional upon faith, or better, justification and faith are present at the same time within the man, and works proceed out of the justification in faith, with James justification proceeds from the works in which faith shows itself to be alive. With Paul justification comes between faith and works; with James works come between faith and justification' (*Nachap. Zeit.* 1 429).

Nothing could have been further from Paul's thought than to depreciate good works; but he did not think that the justifying judgment of God was determined by them, for as Luther, rightly apprehending the Pauline thought, says, 'faith lies at the bottom of the heart, and God looks to the bottom of the heart.' (Cp W. Grimm, *ZWT*, '70, p. 379.) However, the different views of faith and justification entertained by the two men are not of special importance for our purpose. (An admirable statement of them has been made by von Soden in *JPT*, '84.) Whether the author of James wrote for readers who, as he supposes, misunderstood Paul's teachings, or whether, as is more probable, he did not himself correctly apprehend them, the important fact is that he betrays unmistakably a dependence upon Rom. and Gal. Holtzmann is not too positive in saying that 'there is no more direct sort of polemics than the verbal citation of a formula (δικαιοῦσθαι ἐκ πίστεως μόνον, 2 24), supplied with a definite negation' (*Einl.*(2) 509). If the expedient of Weiss, adopted from Neander, be allowed, that the writer of James was in this section combating a Jewish-Christian prejudice rather than a Pauline doctrine (the epistle being assumed to have been written before the time of Paul), the conflict of teaching would still remain. There is, however, scarcely a probability in favour of this supposition in view of the employment in James of the unique Pauline terminology.

5. Date and authorship.

The composition of the epistle in the apostolic age, and, as is generally supposed by those who assign it to this period, by James, the brother of Jesus, is rendered very improbable by several internal features, which have been repeatedly pointed out. The legalistic point of view of James, one of the 'pillars' of the church in Jerusalem, is not indicated. The question of the relation of Jews and Gentiles, which agitated the early church, is not referred to. 'The Judaistic controversy seems accordingly to have died out and the νόμος τέλειος ὁ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ['perfect law of freedom'] (1 25) to have been actually identical with the new and transformed law of a Christianity already becoming Catholic.' The lamentable condition of the churches which is depicted—too much teaching, the unbridled tongue, worldliness, deference to the rich and scorn of the poor, an eagerness for trade and gain, 'jealousy and faction,' 'wars and fightings,' and the absence of the wisdom that is from above—is not by any means that of primitive Christianity.

An indication of a late date is found in 5 13-15, where supernatural healing of the sick is effected through 'the elders,' that is, the official body of presbyters (1 Tim. 4 14).

In the earlier church the power to effect 'healings' and 'the working of miracles' pertained to believers indiscriminately (1 Cor. 12 9 *f.*). The embodiment of the function in an official class indicates a considerable development of ecclesiastical organisation. Cp SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

The writer was not, moreover, familiar with primitive Christianity on its doctrinal side. He mentions, indeed, as before remarked, the Parousia, and calls Christ 'the Lord of Glory' (21). The Christological question, however, included much more than this in the early Church —the life, the atoning death, the resurrection of Jesus, and the testimony of the OT to his Messiahship. That the 'brother of Jesus,' living at the time when these doctrines were taking form, should not have referred to them even in a hortatory epistle is scarcely probable. Moreover, the good Greek style of the epistle, despite Schleiermacher's strictures upon it, is hardly such as could be expected of the son of Joseph and Mary.

Spitta has recently undertaken to show that the epistle is not a Christian, but a Jewish, work (*Der Brief des Jakobus*, '96). The 'only specifically Christian' passages, καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ('and of the Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 1) and ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ('our [Lord] Jesus Christ,' 2 1), are regarded as interpolations, and the interpretation of the entire book is conducted with reference to parallels drawn from the Jewish literature. The hypothesis of interpolations, however, is somewhat arbitrary, the section on faith and works (2 14-26) presupposes the Pauline doctrine and an acquaintance with Paul's writings, as has been shown in the course of this article; and the relation of the epistle to the NT literature is adverse to the early date assigned to it by Spitta. Moreover, the terminology in reference to eschatology is unmistakably Christian. See εως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ('until the coming of the Lord,' 57), and ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἤγγικεν ('the coming of the Lord is at hand,' *58).* The parallels referred to in Enoch do not contain this terminology. Spitta's hypothesis, though defended with great learning and acumen can hardly be regarded as established.

Von Soden (in *HC*, '98), rejecting Spitta's hypothesis, presents a new one of his own. The two sections, complete in themselves, 31-18 and 4 11-5 6, show no sort of accord with Christian writings or ideas. The former might he regarded as an essay of an Alexandrian scribe and the latter as a fragment from a Jewish apocalypse. Although they may have come from the same pen, they betray a different mind in tone, language, and manner of apprehending things. Other parts of the epistle give the impressiou that sayings elsewhere formulated are grouped on the ground of a general relationship of their contents or of their reference to that with which the author was occupied. Whilst Christian tones are wanting in the sections referred to, in the others notes of accord with Paul and 1 Pet. are frequent (cp 1 2-4 12 18 21 21 5 8 14-26 4 1-6 10). Of the forty words in James foreign to the NT there are outside 3 1-18 4 11-5 6 only six: ῥυπαρία and ἔμφυτος in 1 21; χρυσοδακτύλιος, προσωπολήμπτης ἀνέλεος, ἐφήμερος in chap. 2. It is probable, therefore, that in combating the improprieties in Christian circles known to him, the writer called to his aid reminiscences out of his Jewish period, while he contributed of his own only some thoughts chiefly found in chaps. 1 and 2, showing here, however, the influence of his Jewish materials in choice of words, tone, and style. Parallels to this procedure are found in the Didaché, the epistle of Barnahas, the reception of apocalyptic fragments in Rev., and the Pauline anthologies from the OT. From this point of view it is believed that justice will more easily he done to the epistle, the loose connection and the defective arrangement will be less censured, and the absence of specifically Christian expressions, as well as the retirement of the book as soon as Greek influence prevailed in Christendom, will be better understood.

The epistle is poor in doctrinal expressions. The author, indeed, does not conceal his repugnance to doctrinal disputations, and the judgment is well grounded which finds that the episode regarding faith and works was written not so much with a doctrinal purpose, as to enforce the fundamental practical object of the writing —to recommend the wisdom that is from above as more desirable than riches and earthly knowledge. If the Christianity which the author defends has, as Hilgenfeld maintains, an Essene colouring in such teachings as those regarding mercy (2 13), the oath (5 12), riches (1 10 *f.* 2 5), trade (4 13), and governing the tongue (1 19 3 3 *ff.*), an Ebionite tendency is more certainly shown in his predilection for the poor and his opposition to the rich, and in his disinclination to teaching, worldly wisdom, and theories of faith. (See the Ebionite points of agreement with the Clem. Hom. in Immer, *NT Theol.* 428). Whether his points of contact with the Shepherd of Hermas prove his use of that writing or not, the similarities of the two works, which Pfleiderer has pointed out, give great weight to this scholar's opinion that 'certain it is that both writings presuppose like historical circumstances, and, from a similar point of view, direct their admonitions to their contemporaries, among whom a lax worldly-mindedness and unfruitful theological wrangling threatened to destroy the religious life' (*Das Urchrist.* 868). Holtzmann characterises this as 'the right visual angle' for the judgment of the epistle (*ZWT*, '92, p. 66). The latter scholar concludes that in his formulation both of the conception of the law and of that of Christology the writer's thought reaches in its objective points into Catholic Christianity.

It may be regarded as far more probable that the epistle is a product of the second century, perhaps later than 1 Peter, than that it was written in the apostolic age by the brother of Jesus. Perhaps in his polemic against faith the writer had in mind an 'ultra-Pauline Gnosis' which he may or may not have discriminated from genuine Paulinism.

The place from which the epistle was written is indeterminable; but the opinion that it originated in Rome has great probability in its favour on account of the contacts with Heb., Clem.Rom., and Herm.

6. Canonicity. The epistle did not fare well as to recognition in the early Church. The Canon of Muratori omits it. The earliest trace of an acquaintance with it is found in Irenæus, who refers to Abraham as 'the friend of God' (Jas. 2 23); but he does not mention the epistle. From Tertullian's silence regarding the epistle it must be concluded that he either was unacquainted with it, or knowing it, regarded it as spurious. Eusebius, in writing of it as an historian, classifies it among the controverted books, and says that it is reckoned spurious, and that not many of the ancients have mentioned it. Yet in his commentary on the Psalms he quotes it as 'the holy apostle's.' Doubtful traces of its use by Clem.Alex. are found in his writings, although he is said by Eusebius to have written commentaries on all the Catholic epistles. Good reasons, however, for doubting his acquaintance with it are given by Salmon (*Introd. to NT* 449). Origen knew and quoted an epistle of which he spoke doubtfully as said to be James's (φερομένη ἡ Ἰακ. ἐπιστολή). Jerome, while acknowledging its genuineness, remarks that it was said to have been published by another in the name of James, though it gradually acquired authority. It is contained in the Pesh., and Ephrem accepted it as the work of James, the brother of Jesus.

7. Literature. The most important commentaries on the epistle are those of Schneckenburger ('32), Theile ('33), Kern ('38), Ewald ('70), (Erdmann ('81), v. Soden ('98), and Mayor ('92). Special investigations are contained in the *Einl.* of Credner, De Wette, Holtzmann, Hilgenfeld, Zahn, and in the *Introductions* of Salmon and Davidson. Noteworthy articles on the epistle are those of Kern (*Tüb. Z. f. Theol.*, '35, also printed separately), Grimm (*ZWT*, '70), Hilgenfeld (*ib.*, '73), W. Brückner (*ib.*, '74), Holtzmann (*ib.*, '82, '92), Klöpper (*ib.*, '85), von Soden (*JPT*, '84), Haupt (*St. Kr.*, '83), Usteri (*ib.*, '89), Schwartz (*ib.*, '91), and W. C. van Manen, *Th. T* 28 478-496 ('94), on the age of the epistle.

O. C.

JAMIN (יָמִין; on name cp BENJAMIN; only in P and post-exilic writings; ΙΑΜ[Ε]ΙΝ [BADFL]).

1. b. Ram, a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 27, ιαβειν [A]). See JERAHMEEL, § *2.*

2. h. SIMEON (Gen. 46 10 Ex. 6 15, ιαμειμ [L], Nu. 26 12 1 Ch. 4 24); **Jaminites,** Nu. 26 12, הַיָּמִינִי; ὁ ιαμ[ε]ιν[ε]ι [BAL]).

3. A Levite (?) present at the reading of the law under Ezra, Neh. 8 7 (om. BℵA) = 1 Esd. 9 48, ADINUS [*q.v.*] (ιαδ[ε]ινος [BA], ιαμην [L]).[1]

JAMLECH (יַמְלֵךְ, '[God] gives dominion,' § 53, but cp JERAHMEEL, § 4 *j*), a Simeonite chieftain, temp.

[1] 𝔊BAL finds a place-name 'Jamin' in Josh. 17 7 (ιαμ[με]ιν) where MT has (אל־)הַיָּמִין, and inserts it as a proper-name between Abner and Abiel in 1 S. 14 51 (υἱὸς [ε]ιαμειν, cp the question arising out of Saul's genealogy in 1 S. 9 1). Cp also 𝔊's reading for הַיֵּמִם in Gen. 36 24 (see ANAH, 3).

Hezekiah (1 Ch. 4 34: ιεμολοχ [B], αμαληκ [A], εβασιλευσεν [L]).

JAMNIA (ιαμν[ε]ια [AℵV]; 1 Macc. 4 15, ιαννειας [A], ιαμινειας [ℵ*]; 5 58 (αμνειαν [ℵ* ι precedes]; 10 69 15 40 2 Macc. 12 8 40; Judith 2 28, ιεμνaa [ℵ^{c.a}], -ν [B] [see JEMNAAN]; ιαμνεια, Jos.; cp **Jamnites,** ιαμνιται [AV], 2 Macc. 12 8 *f.*),[1] the Greek name of Jabneh, is derived from the form יְמְנִה, found in the Jerusalem Talm. (Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Sept.* 104, **108).** See JABNEEL, 1.

JANAI (יַעְנַי), 1 Ch. 5 12 **RV,** AV JAANAI.

JANIM (יָנִים), Josh. 15 53 RV; AV, following **Kt.,** JANUM.

JANNA, RV **JANNAI** (ιαννaι [Ti. WH]), **an** ancestor of Joseph, Mary's husband **(Lk. 3 24).** See GENEALOGIES ii. § 3.

JANNÆUS, ALEXANDER (ינאי; also מלך ינאי, and on bilingual coins יהונתן המלך, showing that ינאי 'Jannai' is a contraction of יונתן 'Jonathan').[2] The first Asmonæan king of Judæa recognised on the coins, third son of John Hyrcanus, and successor of Aristobulus **I.** (104-78 B.C.), Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 12-15, *BJ* 1 4. He has been supposed by some to be referred to in Pss. 2 and 110; but the general impression produced on the ancients by his character cannot surely have been very different from that which modern students receive from it. He was not a sovereign like Simon the Maccabee or John Hyrcanus, either of whom might conceivably have received a religious poet's encomium. He 'was during his reign of twenty-six or twenty-seven years almost constantly involved in foreign or in civil wars, which for the most part were provoked by his own wilfulness, and resulted by no means invariably in his favour.'[3] 'It could only be with deep-seated resentment that pious Jews could look on and see a wild warrior like Alexander Jannæus discharging the duties of high priest in the holy place, certainly not with the conscientious and painstaking observance of the ordinances regarded by the Pharisees as divine.'[4]

The bitter spirit of Is. 25 10 *f.* may seem to belong to an adherent of Alexander Jannæus; but here again Duhm's tendency to throw everything that he can into a very late period may lead him astray (cp Smend, *ZATW,* **'84,** pp. **209,** 212). Much more plausible is the view that there are veiled references to Jannaeus in parts of the book of Ecclesiastes (see ECCLESIASTES, § 11). The king spoken of was at any rate not unlike Jannaeus (who was called *Thracidas* 'for his extreme cruelty,' Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14 2), and the difficulty of placing Ecclesiastes in the Persian period is becoming more generally felt.

JANNES AND JAMBRES (ιαννης και ιαμβρης [Ti. WH; var. μαμβρης]) In 2 Tim. 3 8 two Egyptian magicians, who 'withstood Moses' (Ex. 7 8 *f.*) are named, though elsewhere the opponents of Moses are anonymous. The author of 2 Tim. may, as Theodoret held, have derived the names from oral tradition; but it is not improbable that there existed a small apocryphal narrative with a title corresponding to the 'Jannes et Mambres liber' mentioned by Origen (Mt. 27 9) and the 'Liber, qui appellatur Pœnitentia Jamnis et Mambre, apocryphus' cited in the Decree of Gelasius (cp Schürer, *GJV* 3^{(3)} 292 *f.*; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. VT* 1 813-825 2 105-111).

1. Origin of the names.

It will be noted that the names given in these Latin titles differ from the accepted reading in 2 Tim. The Codices, however, sometimes offer the reading Μαμβρῆς for the second name. Most modern authorities accept this reading and regard the name **as** equivalent to the Hebrew ממרא (see MAMRE); the β aids pronunciation as in the case of Αμβραμ (see AMRAM). So Buxtorff, *Lex. Chald. et Talm.* col. 945. Ἰαννῆς can be readily explained as Hebrew, for Ἰαννῆς or Ἰωάννης would correspond with Johanan (יוחנן).[1] In the Hebrew sources, however, the names are not always so spelt. In Bab. Talm. *Mĕnāchōth,* 85*a,* we find the forms יוחני וממרא; but in the Jer. Targ. the names are more similar to those in Timothy. There are several spellings even within the Targum itself. Ex. 1 15 ינים וימברס; Ex. 7 11, יניס וימבריס; **Nu.** 22 22, יניס וימריס. (These spellings are cited from the editio princeps Venice, 1595 and they are all confirmed **by** the valuable MS, 'Brit. Museum Add. 27031.) In other Jewish works the spelling of the names is even less uniform, so that we even find Joannes and Ambrosius (Shalsheleth Hakkabbala), and also three names instead of two, Jonos, Juchne, and Mamhre (see Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebr.* on 2 Tim. 3 8).

There is another tenable theory as to the origin of the names. Lauth *(Moses der Ebräer, 77)* held that they are Egyptian, Jannes meaning 'Scribe' and Mambres 'Gift of the Sun God (Heliodorus).' J. Freudenthal (*Alexander Polyhistor,* 173) also regards the names as Graecised-Egyptian. Freudenthal indeed traces the whole story to a Hellenistic Egyptian source, though one of the names occurs (perhaps) in Pliny (*HN* xxx. 1 11),[2] and in Apuleius (*Apol.* c. 90, ed. Hildebrand).[3] The fullest citation in a pagan source is from Numenius (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9 8). Freudenthal considers it probable that Numenius derived his statement from Artapanos, a Hellenist who wrote in Alexandria in the second century B.C. (Schürer, however, contests this, but on inconclusive grounds). Ewald (*GVI* 2^{(3)} 128, *ET* 2 89, n. 1) also treats the names as ancient, and well compares the Hebrew חרטמים (see MAGIC, § 2) with Numenius's ἱερογραμματεῖς. Ewald would thus agree with Lauth in holding that the names are the Egyptian equivalents for 'Scribes' in general.

2. Explanation.

The explanation of the names, apart from their etymology, has given rise to many conjectures, some of them quite worthless. Iselin, who agrees with Freudenthal as to the origination of the story with Artapanos, thinks that the names were due to a mistaken reading (ממרא ואמרי) in Gen. 14 13 (see MAMRE). He cites also 1 Macc. 9 36, οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰαμβρεὶν (Ιαμβρι [ℵ*], Ἀμβρι [ℵ^{c.a, c.b (vid.)}]), ἐκ Μηδαβά, Medeba being situate in the old land of the Amorites (*ZWT,* **'94,** p. 325). See JAMBRI. (Iselin gives a useful collection of the Syriac occurrences of the names.) Geiger (*Urschr.* 474), using the same passage in 1 Macc., regards the names as Maccabaean, 'Jambres' alluding to the 'sons of Jambri' (but the reading thus assumed is very doubtful), and Jannes the inhabitants of Jamnia. These national enemies gave the names to the opponents of Moses. Levy (*Chald. WB., s.v.* ינים) suggests that John the Baptist and Jesus were meant. Kohut (*Aruch Completum, s.* ~ינים and יוחנא) compares the Persian demons, Janaya and Vyambura. Jastrow suggests Januarius and Janus. Such suggestions are mere guesses. Levy's theory that Mamre was chosen because of its meaning 'Apostate,' has, however, found considerable acceptance. *So* too, it is easy to connect ינים with the Rabbinical יני, 'to vex or mislead.'

Of the Jewish statements about Jannes and Jambres, the only features that seem ancient are the bare names.

3. Jewish References.

In the Talmud (*Mĕnāch.* 85 *a*) Johanan and Mamre, thinking that Moses is a magician like themselves (so Koran 28), retort, 'Dost thou bring corn or straw to Afraim?'[4] (evidently a city where corn abounded; perhaps a town in Samaria; Neub. *Géogr.* 155). The Jer. Targ. makes Jannes and Jamhres sons of Balaam, who advised the prevention of the birth of Moses (Ex. 1 15), opposed

1 𝔊ℵ has ιαμνιαν for 'Persia' in Judith 1 7.

2 Cp *Bābā meṣī'ā,* 85 6; *Midr. r.* on Eccles. 9 10.

3 Schür. *Hist.* 1 295 *f.*

4 *Ibid.* 300.

1 On the other hand JANNÆUS (*q.v.*), ינאי, is a contraction of Jonathan.

2 [est et **alia** magices factio a Mose et Janne et Lotape ac Judæis pendens.]

3 [Carinondas vel Damigeron, vel is Moses, vel Jannes, vel Apollonius vel ipse Dardanus, vel quicumque alius . . . inter magos celebratus est.]

4 [For **a** similar proverb cp **FISH, §** 7.]

him in Egypt (7 11), and accompanied Balaam on his journey to Balak (Nu. 2222). These statements are not real traditions; they are built up from words in the text, after the manner of Midrash. According to some Midrashim, Jannes and Jambres perished in the Red Sea (Mid. *Vayyosha'*), according to others they joined the Israelites among the 'mixed multitude' (*Tanchūma* to Ex. 32 1), and died in the tumult after the incident of the golden calf (*Yalḳūṭ Rĕūbēni*). The Zohar (13th cent.) has several references to Jannes and Jambres, but they are of no antiquity. The fullest consecutive narrative is to be found in the Sēpher Hayyāshār (11th or 12th cent.).

See I. Abrahams, 'The Rod of Moses,' in 'Papers of Jews' College Lit. Soc.,' 1887. For further Christian references, which, like the Jewish, add nothing authentic to Timothy, cp Schiirer, *loc. cit.* I. A.

JANOAH (יָנוֹחַ, 'resting-place' ?—but see below). 1. AV Janohah. A point on the eastern border of Ephraim (Josh. 16 6 *f.*; *ιανωκα*, *μαχω* (?)—in Josh. 16 7 ינוחה—[B], tarw [A], -*χα* [L]). According to the *Onomasticon* (26759 133 20) it lay 12 R.m. E. of Neapolis, in AKRABATTINE; the definition is almost exact (E. should be SE.). It is mod. *Kh. Yānūn* (see Guérin, *Sum.* 26 *f.*; Rob. *BR* 4 297). On a rocky hill to the NE. is the praying-place of *Neby Nūn*. It was not uncommon to give the ancient names of ruined towns to supposed Moslem saints; in the present instance, however, *Yānūn* has become the prophet Nūn. Here, no doubt, was the chief high place of Janoah.

2. A town in N. Israel, depopulated by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 15 29, *ανιωχ* [B], *ιανωχ* [AL]). It is mentioned between Abel-beth-maacah and Kedesh, and has been identified by Guérin (*Gal.* 2371 *f.*) with Hunin (famous for its old fortress and for its view), and with more plausibility by Conder with *Yānūḥ*, a village 6 m. E. of Tyre (*PEFM* 1 51 96). Apparently Janoah was a frontier city towards the Tyrian territory. The present writer has conjectured (*Acad.*, July 6, '96) that it is the city of Yenu'amu̥, which is mentioned in the Israel-inscription of Merneptah and elsewhere in the Egyptian records, and appears in one of the Amarna letters as Yinuamma (Wi. 1428). In the letter referred to some one reports to the king of Egypt that this city 'has fallen away and barred the gate behind him.' Yenu-'amp must have been a rich town, for Thotmes III. endowed the temple of Amun at Thehes with an annual sum to be paid by this and two other cities (Brugsch, *GA* 329). There is an Egyptian picture given, by Rosellini and W. M. Muller which shows its position. It lay by a small lake, and was surrounded by forests in which the conquered enemies took refuge. It is difficult to think that such an important place-name as Yenu'amu̥ or Yinuamma has not (like other equally ancient names) survived.

According to the theory here adopted, Yenu'amu̥ is not a compound of נעם (אי נעם, Hommel; cp Yinnamma), hut is equivalent to ינוחעם. In Kings this name was shortened into ינוח (Janoah), just as יפתח (Jepthah) is shortened from יפתח אל. That ח before ע is not reproduced in the Egyptian form Yenu-'amu need not surely surprise us; it would have been very troublesome to an Egyptian to pronounce the name accurately. The alternative explanation ינוה עם (E. Meyer, *ZATW* 6 7) is philologically less probable.[1] Clermont-Ganneau's identification of Yenu'amu̥ with the southern town of Naamah of Josh. 15 41 (*Rev.* Arch. 29 127) is also linguistically improbable. Naville (*Rec.* de *travaux* 20 ['98]) seeks for the site near Gezer and would even identify it with Jahneel; but this, too, seem's unlikely. T. K. *C*.

JANUM, RV Janim (ינים Kt., יָנוּם Kr.; Josh. 15 53; ιεμαειν [B], ιανουμ [AL]), an unidentified locality in the hill-country of Judah, in the neighbourhood of BETH-TAPPUAH. Read perhaps ימין, 'Jamin.'

JAPHETH (יֶפֶת; ιαφεθ [BADEL]), son of Noah (Gen. 5 32, etc.; see HAM), and ancestor of the peoples N. and W. of Palestine (Gen. 10 2-5, P).

1. References. That he was generally regarded as Noah's youngest son is shown by the constant order of the three brothers, and is in harmony with 10 21, where 𝔊 is not to be followed (see *SBOT*, and cp Bu. *Urgesch.* 304 *ff.*). It is true that in 9 24 'his youngest son' means Ham, or rather Canaan (see HAM i.), and that the narrative 9 20-27 belongs no doubt to an earlier stratum of narrative than the other passages; but the narrow sense in which Shem. Japheth, and Ham are used here was' abandoned by later writers, who made Japheth the youngest son, and the ancestor of remote northern peoples. In the early narrative Japheth (if we suppose that he was really mentioned in it) may represent the Phcenicians (so Bu.), who are to be distinguished from the Canaanites, though they dwelt in the land of Canaan. Wellhausen (*CH* 15) less plausibly suggests the Philistines. It is very probable, however, that the mention of Japheth (*v.* 23) and the accompanying blessing (*v.* 27) are later insertions. The words 'he shall dwell in the tents of Shem' may conceivably allude to the conquests of the Greeks, 'Shem' being taken in the later enlarged sense (Duhm's suggestion, adopted by Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten*, 76 *f.*, 198). The narrative gains considerably by the omission of Japheth. The division of the world into three parts caused the troublesome insertion.

In explaining the name it is well to follow the analogy of Shem, which was doubtless a personal, not an ethnic,

2. Meaning of the name. name. Japheth (יֶפֶת, *yepheth*) is usually explained in accordance with Gen. 9 27, 'Let God enlarge (יַפְתְּ, *yapht*) Japheth.' It seems unlikely, however, that a stem so unusual in this sense as פתה (*pāthāh*) would have been chosen. Since the names Shem, Canaan, Japheth, are doubtless older than the poetic oracles, and there are other cases in which we may hold that old names have become mutilated (cp SHEM, HAM, NOAH), it is not too bold to suppose that יפת is a fragmentary form of יִפְתַּח אֵל (*yiphtaḥ 'ēl*), 'God opens' (cp the old name Japhti'-Addi in *Am. Tub.*). פתח (*pāthaḥ*) is a word well adapted for legendary heroes (see JEPHTHAH), and 'enlargement' is a blessing equally fit for the Phcenicians and for the father of so many races as Japheth, one of which was the conquering Javan. Fiirst's and Budde's explanation, 'beauty,' from יפה (*yāphāh*), accepted by D. S. Margoliouth (Hastings' *DB* 2 549*b*), is not in accordance with analogy, and is rightly rejected by Dillmann.

Of quite another order is the theory of E. Meyer, who connects Japheth with the name Kaft, in hieroglyphic texts = Cilicia. 'Ιάπετος is a Cilician deity; see PHŒNICIA, and cp CAPHTOR, §§ 3, 4.

Kaft and Asi—*i.e.* Cilicia and Cyprus—represented the western quarter of the world to the Egyptians. But the mutilation of Kaft into Yaft is improbable, and we expect a purely personal name. Sanskrit comparisons (Lenormant, *Origines*, ii. 1 191 *f.*) are nowadays discredited. T. K. *C*.

JAPHIA (יָפִיעַ), a border city of Zebulun, mentioned between Daberath (*Dabūrīyeh*) and Gath-hepher (*el-Meshhed*); Josh. 19 12.

𝔊's readings are *φαγγαι* [B], *ιαφαγαι* [A], *ιαφφιε* [L]; **Eus.** (*Onom.*) gives *ιαφεθ* with an appended *θ* as in *ελισαβεθ*; Jer. *Iafthie* (Vg. *Iaphie*).

The pretty village of *Yāfā*, 1½ m. SW. of Nazareth, is its representative; the phrase 'goeth up to Japhia' is sufficiently explained by the position of *Yāfā* on two connected ridges, to which a ravine leads up. The one historical association to which this city can lay claim is its siege and capture by the Romans. The name which Josephus gives it is Japha (*ιαφα*); he calls it 'a very great village, well secured with walls and full of people' (*Vit.* 45). He also says that he fortified it with a double wall, and for some time made it his headquarters.

That in one passage Josephus diminishes the distance between

[1] נוה, 'to dwell,' is doubtful. Hab. 2 5 and Ps. 68 13 [14] are corrupt.

Japha, (Japhia) and Jotapata[1] is as much or as little of an objection to Robinson's identification as his patent exaggeration of the number of the inhabitants of Japha (*BJ* iii. 7 31). Eusebius (*OS* 267 69; cp 13332) appears to hesitate between the claims of an 'ascent (still) called Joppa' and those of Sycaminon (ἡφα=*Ḥaifa*).[2] Perhaps the village of *Yāfā* had almost disappeared in his day. It was in Robinson's time but a small village of about thirty houses (*BR* 3 200). T. K. C.

JAPHIA (יָפִיעַ, § 64, 'tall of stature'?; ιαφιε [A]).

1. King of Lachish, defeated by Joshua; Josh. 10 3 (ιεφθα [B] ιαφαιε [L]). Cp the name of Japahi, prince of Gezer, *Am. Tab.* 204, 206; also that of Japhti'-Addi (see JAPHETH, § 2), also in *Am. Tab.*

2. A son of David: 2 S. 5 15 1 Ch. 3 7 14 6 (ιεφιες, ιανουε -ουου [BN], αφιε [A in 2 S.]; L, ιαναθ, ναφεθ (1 S.), αχικαμ (1 Ch. 3 7), ναφεκ, ιαβεγ (*ib.* 14 6). See DAVID, § 11 (*d*).

JAPHLET (יַפְלֵט, § 53; '[God] delivers'; cp Pelatiah; ιφαμηλ, αφαληχ, ιαφαληλ [B], ιαφαλητ [A], -φλετ [L]). A clan in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7 32 *f.*; cp JAPHLETI.

JAPHLETI, RV **The Japhletites** (הַיַּפְלֵטִי; απταλειμ [B], ιεφαλθι [A], ιεφλητι [L]), a clan whose district was on the S. border of Ephraim (Josh. 16 3). There is thus no geographical objection to connecting the name with that of PALTI b. Raphu, the Benjamite. The Asherite clan called Japhlet was, of course, distinct.

JAPHO (יָפוֹ), 2 Ch. 2 16 [15] EVmg., EV JOPPA.

JAR (נֶבֶל), Jer. 13 12 48 12, RVmg. See BOTTLE, § 2.

JARAH (יַעְרָה), 1 Ch. 9 42. See JEHOADAH.

JAREB (יָרֵב; ιαρειμ [BAQ*], -ρειβ [Qa]; *ULTOREM, -RI*), the name of an Assyrian (?) king mentioned twice in Hosea (5 13 10 6) as receiving tribute from Israel. Unfortunately there is no Assyrian king contemporary with Hosea whose name bears even a distant resemblance to Jareb. Hence most critics take Jareb to be a nickname = 'the contentious' (cp Aq. δικασόμενον, 5 13, Aq., Theod., δικάζοντι, Symm. ὑπερμαχοῦντι, 10 6). This would be plausible only if Jareb resembled some Assyrian name, so that its reference might at once be caught. Hence the present writer proposed[3] to change מלך ירב into מֶלֶךְ רָב, 'the Great King' (cp Ps. 48 2 [3]), or מֶלֶךְ רָם, 'the High King' (cp 𝔊BAQ*). But since it has been shown by Winckler that references to the N. Arabian land of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*) underlie the traditional text of many passages in OT, and that אשור has probably sometimes (by corruption) taken the place of מצור, we cannot rest satisfied with this theory. Probably we should read in Hos. 5 13 and 10 6 respectively—

When Ephraim saw his sickness | and Israel his wound,
Then went Ephraim to Muṣur | and [Israel] sent to the Arabian king.
That too shall men bring to Muṣur | as a present to the Arabian king.

The substitution of 'Israel' for 'Judah' need not he justified here (cp HOSEA, § 4). מלך ירב should probably be מֶלֶךְ עֲרָבִי; עֲרָב in Palestine, like mat *Aribu* in Assyria, was coming into use as a term for N. Arabia (cp Schr. *KAT*(2), 414 = *COT* 2 107). The treatment of 'Jareb' in *KAT*(2) 439 (= *COT* 2 136 *f.*) may also be consulted though it is necessarily incomplete. For quite recent views see note 3 below. T. K. C.

JARED, or, as AV 1 Ch., JERED (יֶרֶד), Gen. 5 15-20 1 Ch. 1 2 Lk. 3 37. See CAINITES, § 7; SETHITES.

On the meaning of the name, see Bu. *Urgesch.* 110. The readings are: ιαρεδ [BAD], -ετ [Gen. 5 15 *f.* E, 18 AE; Lk. 3 37 Ti. WH]; *Iared*, cod. Am. *-eth*.

[1] His words in *BJ* iii. 7 13 are ἐπί τινα τῶν τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀστυγειτόνων πόλιν, Ἰαφα καλεῖται. The order of the places in *Vit.* 37, *BJ* 20 6, is in closer accordance with geographical facts.

[2] So Reland, *Pal.* 826, followed by Ges. *Thes. s.v.*

[3] Che. *Expos.*, '97 6, p. 364, and, virtually, M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. and Mon.* 1 415 ('94). Independently W. M. Muller gives the same view; he prefers, however, מַלְכִּי רָב, the phrase being treated as a proper name (*ZATW* 334 *ff.* ['97]). Wi. (*Muṣri*, etc., 32 ['98]), with great ingenuity, proposes to read אל־מלך י[ת]רב, 'to the King of Jathrib'—*i.e.*, mod. Medina, which seems to have been on the southern border of Muṣri (cp Hommel, *AHT* 273). An alternative is to read נמרוד, 'Nimrod'; see *SBOT* 'Isa.' (Heb.) 195.

JARESIAH, RV **Jaareshiah** (יַעֲרֶשְׁיָה, § 39; meaning obscure; ιασαραια και σαραια [B], ιαρασια κ. σααρια [A], ιερσια [L]), b. Jeroham in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 27†.

JARHA (יַרְחָע, ιωχηλ [BA], ιερεε [L], ιεραα [Ald., and 8 MSS. in H-P], ירדחא [Pesh.], *IERAA* [Vg.]), the servant of SHESHAN [*q.v.*], a Jerahmeelite. who afterwards became his master's son-in-law and the head of a long genealogical line (1 Ch. 2 34 *f.*); see JERAHMEEL, § 3. He is generally regarded as an Egyptian (EV)[1]—the Rabbins, indeed, represent him as a proselyte. This view is of course legitimate, but considering the probable early sent of the clan Jerahmeel, it is perhaps more natural to treat מִצְרִי as meaning rather an inhabitant of the N. Arabian Muṣri or Muṣur (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).[2]

We cannot retain the present spelling of the name ירחע. It would he plausible to read יָרְחָא or יַרְחִי (the latter a Palmyrene name), or, better still, ירחאל (after 𝔊BA's יוחאל). A connection with moon-worship need not he insisted upon: perhaps the name was considered to be identical with Jerahmeel (as an abbreviated form). This would account for the presence of the ancestral list, 1 Ch. 2 34-41, in the genealogy of Jerahmeel, since it is probable that Sheshan himself was not originally Jerahmeelite. His inclusion in *v.* 31 (the details of which do not agree with *v.* 34a) may be later. The union of the Muṣrite Jarha (Jerahmeel?) and Sheshan (cp the Hebronite Sheshai ?) is suggestive. See HEBRON, § 1 *f.*; JERAHMEEL, § 2 *f.*; SHESHAN. S. A. C.

JARIB (יָרִיב, § 53; 'he [God] contends'; cp Jehoiarib, Joiarib; ιαρ[ε]ιβ [AL]).

1. A son of Simeon, elsewhere called JACHIN (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 4 24 (ιαρειν [B], ιαρειμ [L]).

2. Head of family temp Ezra (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1] *d*); Ezra 8 16 (αρεβ [B]) = 1 Esh. 8 44 JORIBUS (ιωριβον [BA om. L]). Perhaps = no. 3.

3. A priest in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end); Ezra 10 18 (ιαρειμ [B], ιωρειμ [א]) = 1 Esd. Qrg JORIBUS (ιωριβος [BA]).

4. (ιωαρ[ε]ιβ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 14 29, RV JOARIB. See JEHOIARIB.

JARIMOTH (ιαρ[ε]ιμωθ [BAL]), 1 Esd. 9 28 = Ezra 10 27, JEREMOTH, 11.

JARMUTH (יַרְמוּת; cp JEREMOTH, ιεριμουθ [AFL], ιερ[ει]μουθ [B]). 1. A Canaanite city, in the Shephēlah of Judah (Josh. 12 11 ιεριμου [A] 15 35; cp Neh. 11 29, where BNA om., ιριμουθ [אc.a mg.inf.]), whose king joined the coalition under ADONI-ZEDEK, and was defeated by Joshua (Josh. 10 3 5 23 12 11). It is represented by the modern *Khirbet el-Yarmūk*, which is 16 m. W. by S. of Jerusalem, and about 8 m. N. of Beit-Jibrīn. The distance from Eleutheropolis, which the *Onomasticon* (*OS*(2) 132 31 266 38) assigns to ιερμοχως or *Jermucha* (10 R.m. NE.), being so nearly that of Yarmūk from Beit-Jibrin, we are justified in identifying the places. It is remarkable that the closing letter of the modern name should agree with that of the name in the *Onomasticon*. Such a form, however, as Jarmuk cannot well be ancient; Micah already (it may be) attests the final -uth (see MAROTH). The same prophet, too, in Mi. 1 12, if we may read ירמות for מרות (see MAROTH), indicates that Jarmuth was in the neighbourhood of Mareshah, or, at any rate, the assumption that a city called Jarmuth stood there enables us to attain a better text for the passage than we can secure in any other way. We have certainly no reason to suppose that the Jarmuth of the OT narratives was the Yarimuta of the Amarna Tablets (55 16, and often), the position of which is disputed (see Niebuhr, *MVG* 4 32 *ff.* ['96]: Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, 169 *f.*). In Josh. 15 35 Jarmuth is mentioned with Adullam, and the other notices accord with this. There were possibly several Jarmuths. Can we thus account for the discrepant notice

[1] WMM (*OLZ*, Feb. 1900, col. 51 n. 4) takes the name to be correct Egyptian; יר = *wer*, 'great.'

[2] The same view has been proposed also by Wi. *MVG* 4 6 ['98].

of Ιαβεις (?) = Jarmuth in OS 266 1 132 16? Cp BITHIAH, MERED, PIRAM.
2. See RAMOTH iii.

JAROAH (יָרוֹחַ, § 53 = יָרוּחַ, 'He enlarges' (?); ιδδαι [B], αδ., [A], αρουε [L]), in a genealogy of GAD (Gilead) (1 Ch. 5 14).

JASAEL RV **Jasaelus** (ασαηλος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 30 = Ezra 10 29, SHEAL.

JASHEN (יָשֵׁן). In 2 S. 23 32, in the list of David's thirty heroes we read (RV), 'Eliahba the Shaalbonite, the sons of Jashen, Jonathan' (ασαν [BA], ιεσσαι ὁ γουνι [L], βασαι ὁ γωυνι [243, in Field]); in the parallel text (1 Ch. 11 33 *f.*), '... the sons of Hashem the Gizonite' (הַגִּזוֹנִי; 𝔊^A ασαμ ὁ γωυνι [cp 𝔊^L of 2 S.], 𝔊^L ειρασαι ὁ γουνι). בני (MT בְּנֵי, 'sons of') is obviously wrong. It is simply dittographed from the preceding word (so Driver and most), or should בני־ישן be viewed as a corruption of a proper name (so H. P. Smith)? In the former case we might read, '... Jashen (or Hashem) the GUNITE' (see GUNI); in the latter אֲבִישַׁי would be a plausible restoration. Jonathan is generally taken as a separate hero, and connected with Shammah (*v.* 33) by בן (inserted from Ch.); but, as H. P. Smith points out, יהונתן may be the corruption of a gentilic. Cp HASHEM. T. K. C.

JASHER RV **Jashar, Book of** (סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר, 'book of the upright'; cp EV^mg.), the title of an ancient song-book twice quoted in the OT (Josh. 10 13: 𝔊^BA om., βιβλιον του ευθους [L], *Liber Justorum* [Vg.]; ܣܦܪܐ ܕܡܬܟܫܦܢܐ [Pesh.]; *sifr el-mustaḳīm* [Ar.]; 2 S. 1 18: βιβλιον του ευθους [BA], ... ευθεως [L]; ܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܫܝܪ [Pesh., similarly Ar. *ašīr*], Vg. *id.*).

In the account of the battle of Gibeon and its sequel there occurs a memorable passage (Josh. 10 12-14) with a fragment of song quoted (most probably by E) from the Book of Jashar.[1]

1. Josh. 10.

The speaker is said to be Joshua, and by a late scribe's interpolation the song is invested with the character of a prayer. In reality, the address to the sun and moon (see below) is rather a command, or perhaps a spell, than a prayer. The writer of the song no doubt thought of the sun and moon as taking Joshua's side against his (and Yahwè's) foes.[2] But the interpolator had a good intention, and expressed the devout feeling of the later Jews.[3] The passage containing the song was evidently inserted by D, who at the same time introduced the explanatory words, 'In the day when ... in the sight of Israel' (*v.* 12), and the statement, 'So the sun rested ... for Yahwè fought for Israel' *vv.* 13 *f.*). In the circles to which D, belonged the primitive feeling for nature had died out.[4]

In its original form, therefore, the passage ran thus:—

'Then spoke Joshua,
O sun! rest over Gibeon;
O moon! stand still over Aijalon.
So the sun rested, and the moon stood still,
Until Yahwè had taken vengeance on his enemies.[1]
Behold it is written in the Book of Jashar.'

The third line, however, is probably the insertion of the early narrator, from whom the passage was taken by D_2, so that the fragment quoted from the old song in the Book of Jashar consisted of the first, second, and fourth of the above lines, and for 'had taken vengeance on,' we should substitute 'takes vengeance.'

The second quotation is the lamentation for Saul and Jonathan, ascribed to David (2 S. 1 17-27), and probably early, though, it is to be feared, not Davidic (see, however, DAVID, § 13).[2] According to a revised text,[3] the passage runs thus:—

2. 2 S. 1.

'Of David. For the sons of Jeduthun. For the Ezrahite.

* * * *

O Saul! by thy death have I been slain;
Alas that the heroes have fallen!

Report it not in Rehoboth!
Declare it not in Halûṣah!
Lest the daughters of the Zarephathites rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the Jerahmeelites triumph.

Be thou parched, O Jerahmeel! descend not
Dew or rain upon thee!
Become desolate, ye lofty mountains!
Let the bushes fade, deprived of fatness!

The shield of Saul has been defiled
With the blood of those slain by the sword:
Broken is the bow of bronze,
Shivered is the well-sharpened sword.

The beloved, the longed-for in life—
In death they were (still) unparted;
They (who) were swifter than eagles,
They (who) were stronger than lions.

Women of Israel, shed tears
For Saul ...
Who gave you linen garments
Who decked your raiment with gold.

Alas that the heroes have fallen,
And the strong of heart lie stiff!
Jonathan! by thy death have I been slain;
For thee, O my brother, I am smitten to death!

Thou wast very pleasant to me, my comrade!
More was thy love to me than women's love.
Alas that the heroes have fallen
And the strong of heart lie stiff!

The four-lined stanzas are well marked (as in the Book of Job).

A third quotation is to be found in a passage ascribed to Solomon, and at any rate pre-exilic. The poetical words assigned to Solomon (1 K. 8 12 *f.*) immediately before a speech in more prosaic style, are given in another place with some variations, and in fuller form by 𝔊^BAL (*v.* 53; G^A gives another version before *v.* 14), which expressly state that the words are written ἐν βιβλίῳ (βίβλῳ), or ἐπὶ βιβλίου τῆς ᾠδῆς—*i.e.*, בְּסֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר. If this title ('Book of Song,' or of 'Songs') were correct, it would suggest that the source of the quotation was a Psalter; but the words are almost certainly a slip for סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר (note that Pesh. makes a similar mistake in Josh. 10). For this fragment as emended, see CREATION, § 26.[4]

3. 1 K. 8 12 *f.*

The Book of Jashar was, so far as we know, a product of the post-Solomonic age (cp St. *GVI* 1 50). It was a national song-book—the 'book of the righteous (or, possibly, brave) one,'—*i.e.*, Israel[5] (as if = יָשָׁר אֵל, cp Nu. 23 10). Its contents were partly secular (in 2 S. 1 19 *ff.* there is a total

4. Origin.

1 See Ki. *Hist.* 1 302; We. *CH* 128; Sta. *Gesch.* 1 50; Bu. *ZATW* 7 146.

2 See Judg. 5 20; and cp Hom. *Il.* 2 413 *f.*, 18 239 *f.*; *Od.* 23 241 *ff.* With a touch of primitive feeling Syrian peasants still cry in song to the sun to hasten his going down that they may rest.

3 Cp this passage from *Last Journals of Bishop Hannington*, 184 *f.* ('88). 'As soon as the sun showed, a fresh and powerful hand of warriors came at once, and demanded hongo. ... How often I looked at the sun! It stood still in the heavens, nor would go down. I agonised in prayer, and each time trouble seemed to be averted.'

4 This is partly admitted by Kittel (*Hist.* 1 304), who nevertheless thinks that 'the fact of a striking continuance of daylight remains, though we may not know the natural law through which it was brought about,' and that 'the song itself ... proves Israel's belief that a miracle was wrought.' The former view may be defended by Hab. 3 11, Ecclus. 46 4, Jos. *Ant.* v. 1 17, but seems hardly critical; the latter assumes (with Kau., but not with Di.) that 'so the sun rested,' etc., forms part of the songfragment, which can scarcely be admitted.

1 In *l.* 2 read עָמֹד בְּ (as suggested by Bu. *ZATW* 7 146; cp the first correction of *l.* 1 in 𝔊^L, which also has the simple introduction, και εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς.

2 Here again the quotation is probably due to E (or R_{JE}), cp Cook, 'Notes on the Analysis of 2 Sam.,' *AJSL* 16 147 [1900].

3 For details of the restoration see SAUL, § 6; Che. *Crit. Bib.* Cp We., Dr., HPSm., Bu., and GASm. *HG* 404 *f.* The title is of course very late; but this does not involve the lateness of the poem.

4 For text cp Klo., *ad loc.*; WRS, *OTJC*(2) 434 *f.*; We. *CH*(3) 269; Ch. *OPs.* 193 212; Dr. *Intr.* 182.

5 יָשָׁר (?) a shorter form for ישראל; cp JESHURUN. Other theories, for instance, that סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר was a law-book (Targ., Kim., etc.) or that יָשָׁר was the name of the author, or the opening word (וַיָּשַׁר, 'and ... sang'), may be mentioned.

lack of religious feeling), partly religious (1 K. 8 12 *f.*); it refers, *e.g.*, to the battle at Gibeon and the prowess of Saul and Jonathan, but also to the temple. Indeed, we may presume that the third of the extant passages belonged to a hymn to Yahwè. Nor could we venture to say that the Rook of Jashar contained no pre-Davidic songs. Not impossibly it was similar in the width of its range to the Arabian collections of *El Isfahāny* or the *Ḥamāsa*. Probably the songs of which it was composed had short historical introductions, so that altogether it may have almost served as an Iliad of the Israelites. Can we form a reasonable conjecture as to its other contents? Surely such a collection must have contained David's (?) lament over Abner (2 S. 3 33 *f.*), and among earlier passages, the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5), the Song of the Well (Nu. 21 17 *ff.*, see BEER), and the Song of Triumph over Sihon (*ib. vv.* 27 *ff.*: but see WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF). One might even perhaps add the songs of the primitive history, such as we find in Gen. 4 23 *f.* 9 25 27 27-29 39 *f.* etc.). Franke (who ascribes the book to the time of Hezekiah [1]) includes also Ex. 15 1-18 and Hab. 3; but see EXODUS ii., § 6; MOSES, HABAKKUK, § 8 *f.*

In later Christian times 'the Book of Jashar' is the title of a ritualistic treatise by Jacob b. Meir (died 1171), and of one or two forgeries which are only remarkable for the undeserved success they obtained; for a more detailed account of them see Kitto, *Bib. Cycl.*, *s.v.* See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2; and POETICAL LITERATURE, § 2 (i.).

S.A.C., §§ 1, 3, 4; T. K. C., § 2.

JASHOBEAM (יָשָׁבְעָם). 1. The name, not indeed in itself impossible but certainly corrupt, borne by one of David's chief warriors in 1 Ch. 11 11 (where he is called 'ben Hachmoni'; see HACHMONITE) and 27 2 *f.* (where he is styled 'ben Zabdiel'). The former passage occurs again with variations in 2 S. 23 8, where the name of the warrior is represented in the Hebrew text by the letters ישבבש—*i.e.*, IŠBBŠ; the appended letters בת probably represent בֵּית, which should be connected with the following word תחכמני (corrupt; RV 'a Tahchemonite').

For the JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH of RV (=AV 'that sat in the seat'), derived from the pointed text, nothing can he said, except that it justifies the warning in RVmg. that 'the verse is probably corrupt.'

IŠBBŠ seems to be incompletely written for IŠBBŠT; originally there may have been a mark of abbreviation after the Š. This may be read either Jashibbosheth ('Bosheth brings back'), or, better, if the second B be regarded as an error, Ishbosheth ('man of Bosheth'), where Bosheth ('shame') is the well-known substitute for Baal. The final ם in ישבעם is either a corruption from ל (which is palæographically possible), or, as Marqnart (*Fund.* 15, n. 1) supposes, an intentional alteration due to religious scruple (he compares ירבעם, altered perhaps from ירבעל; see JEROBOAM). See ISHBAAL, 2, and cp Gray, *HPN* 46, note 1.

𝔊's readings are: in 2 S. 23 8 ιεβοσθε [B], -θαι [A], ιεσβααλ [L]; in 1 Ch. 11 11 ἰεσεβαδα [B], ἰεσσαι [א], ἰσβααμ [A], ἰεσσεβααλ [L]; in 1 Ch. 27 2 σοβαλ [B], ἰσβοαμ [A], ἰεσβ. [L].

2. Another of David's warriors, a Korhite (1 Ch. 12 6), see ISHBAAL, 3, and DAVID, § 11 *a* (iii.).

T. K. C.

JASHUB (יָשׁוּב, 'he returns,' § 54; cp SHEAR-JASHUB; ιασουβ [BAF[1]L]).

1. One of the sons of Issachar (Nu. 26 24 ρασουβ [F*]; but 1 Ch. 7 1 ישיב Kt., ιασσουρ [B]), called in Gen. 46 13 (by omission of a letter) JOB, RV IOB (יוֹב; ιασουφ [A], -ουβ [DL]); see NAMES, § 4. Gentilic Jashubites; Nu. 26 24 (יָשֻׁבִי; ιασουβ[ε]ι [BAFL]).

2. One of the b'ne Bani in the list of those with foreign wives (EZRA 1, § 5 end) Ezra 10 29 (ιασουδ [B], ασουα [א]) = 1 Esd. 9 30 (JASUBUS; ιασουβος [BA]).

JASHUBI-LEHEM (יָשֻׁבִי לָחֶם), a name of anomalous formation which appears in 1 Ch. 4 22 among the descendants of the Judahite SHELAH [*q.v.*].

[1] *Ueber Bedeutung, Inhalt, u. Alter des Sepher Hajjaschar*, Halle, '87.

Bertheau, Kautzsch (doubtfully); Kittel read וַיָּשֻׁבוּ בֵּית לחם, 'and they returned to Bethlehem'; but the whole passage is as obscure as the 'records' themselves are said to be 'ancient.' Provisionally we might read at the beginning of the verse ויקומו (for ויוקים) אנשי כזבא . . . אשר עָלוּ לְמוֹאָב. 𝔊 has καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτούς [BA], καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν ἑαυτοῖς λεεμ [L]; and Jerome translates 'et qui reversi sunt in Lahem [Bethlehem],' taking the words as applying to those named in the preceding clause.

S. A. C.

JASIEL (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל), 1 Ch. 11 47, RV JAASIEL.

JASON ([ε]ιασων [AKV], *JASON*, a name of Grecian origin in frequent use among the Jews, by whom it was regarded as equivalent to Joshua, Jeshua, Jesus; cp the parallel Alcimus from Eliakim, Menelaus from Menahem, Simon from Simeon, and see NAMES, § 86).

1. Of Cyrene, a Hellenistic Jew, author of a history of the times of the Maccabees down to the victory over Nicanor (175-161). Our so-called second book of Maccabees is an ἐπιτομή of this larger work, which is said to have consisted of five books (2 Macc. 2 23, cp 26). The writer probably lived in the second half of the second century B.C. See further MACCABEES, SECOND, §§ 2, 6; and cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 18.

2. Second son of Simon II., and brother of Onias III., the high priest, whose original name was, as Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 5 1) relates, Jesus. He represented the Hellenizing section, and was opposed to the policy of an alliance with Rome. By means of a bribe (helped also doubtless by the sons of Tobias) he managed in 175 B.C. to obtain the high-priesthood in place of his brother from Antiochus Epiphanes (see ANTIOCHUS, 2); [1] and proceeded to introduce various practices which were an 'abomination' to the Pharisaism of the time.[2] Another bribe procured him permission to set up a gymnasium and *ephebeum* below the Acropolis and hard by Mt. Zion, the consequence of which was the adoption of Greek games (see DISCUS), Greek caps (see CAP), etc. The priests themselves betook themselves eagerly to the *palæstra*, and being ashamed of their Jewish singularity did all they could to conceal it (1 Macc. 1 15, cp Schür. *GVI* 1 151, n. 24, and see CIRCUMCISION, § 8). At the same time, Jason obtained permission to register (ἀναγράψαι) the inhabitants of Jerusalem among the citizens of Antioch [3] (2 Macc. 4 9), and sent a contribution to Tyre on the occasion of the festival to HERCULES [*q.v.*]. This, however, was so repugnant to the bearers that they used the money for the equipment of the triremes (2 Macc. 4 18-20). An obscure account of a visit of Antiochus to Jerusalem (*ib.* 21 *f.*) is all that is told us for the next three years, at the expiration of which time Jason was suddenly supplanted in the priesthood by MENELAUS [*q.v.*] and forced to flee. Menelaus, however, failed to win popularity, and the appearance of certain dread portents [4] as well as a baseless rumour of the death of Antiochus encouraged Jason to emerge from his asylum in Ammanitis (cp 426). Helped by the populace, he captured the city (*ca.* 170 B.C.). Menelaus was compelled to take refuge in the citadel. But his success was of short duration; he missed his great object—the priesthood—and, having alienated his supporters by his vindictiveness, was forced to flee before Antiochus. From the Ammonites, he passed to Aretas, and then to Egypt; finally he crossed over to the Lacedæmonians, relying, we are told, on the kinship between them and the Jews (see SPARTA). An effective rhetorical period (5 9 *f.*) closes his story.

3. Son of Eleazar (cp '*Jesus*, son of Sirach *Eleazar*,' Ecclus. 50 27), sent by Judas to Rome (1 Macc. 8 17). He is probably

[1] According to Jos. (*Ant.* xii. 5 1) he was the natural successor, Onias having died, and left only an infant son.

[2] He is probably referred to in Dan. 9 26 11 22, where see Bevan *ad loc.* and cp We. *IJG*(3) 245, n. 1.

3 Cp the similar case of Ptolemais (Akko), and see Schür. *op. cit.* 281. Other explanations of this verse have been offered; see Bertholet, *Stellung d. Isr. u. Jud.* 208.

4 Warlike troops were seen in the sky (2 Macc. 5 2); cp 2 K. 6 17, Jos. *BJ* vi. 5 3 and Tac. *Hist.* 5 13.

the Jason who is mentioned as the father of ANTIPATER [*q.v.*] (1 Macc. 12 16 14 22).

4. Jason of Thessalonica, who, for his hospitality to Paul and Silas, was attacked by the Jewish mob, brought before the magistrates, and bound over to be loyal (Acts 17 1-9). For a less probable view of the object of the demand of the 'security' (τὸ ἱκανόν) see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Taveller*, 231. He may possibly be identified with the Jason of Rom. 16 21, one of Paul's 'kinsmen' (συγγενεῖς)—*i.e.*, a fellow-Jew ; cp ROMANS, §§ 4, 10. The tradition in pseudo-Dorotheus makes Jason bishop of Tarsus. S. A. C.

JASPER (ιαϲπιϲ, borrowed from Ass. *ašpû*, *yašpû* = יָשְׁפֵה or יָשְׁפֶה). In Rev. 21 11 (cp 18 *f.*) the New Jerusalem is said to be irradiated by a luminary 'like a stone most precious, as if a jasper-stone, clear as crystal' (λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι κρυσταλλίζοντι).

The description is suggested by 𝔊's rendering of Is. 54 12 (see below), 'I will make thy battlements jasper (ἴασπιν), and thy gates stones of crystal (λίθους κρυστάλλου), and thy rampart choice stones' (λίθ. ἐκλεκτούς), where the writer of Rev. seems to have supposed that both the phrases 'stones of crystal' and 'choice stones' were synonymous with and explanatory of 'jasper' (see, however, TOPAZ).

In Ex. 28 20 39 13, יָשְׁפֵה, *yāšphēh* (= ἴασπις) is *apparently* rendered in 𝔊 by ὀνύχιον (but see below); but the onyx, not being a clear stone, cannot be meant in Rev. 21 11. Nor can our jasper be intended, as it is not sparkling nor translucent, but 'an opaque, close-grained variety of quartz, variously tinted, but generally either red or brown.' It is probable, however, that the jasper of the ancients included the opal, which, by its brilliance and play of colour, has always been one of the most attractive of precious stones, and in its choicest variety (see Plin. *HN* 37 21 *f.*) deserves in the highest degree the description in Rev. 21 11.

This is the view of O. Fraas, who states that the modern conception of the jasper first became general in the seventeenth century, and that in the *Nibelungenlied* the jasper is represented as clear, and as greener than grass.

The choice opal is said to occur frequently in ancient Egyptian tombs ; in particular, a splendid statuette of Isis, made of opal, is referred to.[1] This view is also favoured by the description of the divine king on his throne in Rev. 4 3 as 'like a jasper stone and a sardius,' and by the combination of 'jasper' with 'pure gold' and 'clear glass' in Rev. 21 18. (With the reference to 'jasper' as garnishing the foundation in *v.* 19, cp Sargon's description [*Khors.* 159] of the foundation of his palace on gold, silver, and *ašpû* stones, etc.) See PRECIOUS STONES.

The Heb. יָשְׁפֵה (= ἴασπις) occurs in Ex. 28 20 39 13, Ezek. 28 13†. It is not impossible that the order of the precious stones in 𝔊's text was different, and that ὀνύχιον was intended as the equivalent of יהלם, *yahălōm*, and ἴασπις of ישפה. Thus 𝔊's rendering will become consistent. In Is. 54 12 𝔊's ἴασπις (Symm. καρχηδόνιον) seems to be a version of כַּדְכֹּד, *kadhkōdh*, (so Aq., Ezek. 27 16),[2] but it may be merely a guess; for elsewhere (Ezek. 27 16) 𝔊 does not recognise this word (see CHALCEDONY, 1, end). T. K. C.

JASUBUS (ιαϲογβοϲ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 30 = Ezra 10 29, JASHUB, 2.

JATAL (ατaρ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 AV = Ezra 2 42, ATER, 2.

JATHAN (ιαθαν [BA]) Tob. 5 13 RV. See JONATHAS.

JATHNIEL (יַתְנִיאֵל ; cp NATHANAEL ; ιενογηλ [BA], ναθαναηλ [L]), a Korahite doorkeeper (1 Ch. 26 2†).

JATTIR (יַתִּ[י]ר ; [ε]ιεθερ [BAL]), a town in the hill-country of Judah, assigned in P and Ch. to the Levites (Josh. 15 48 ιθερ [L], 21 14 αιλωμ [B], 1 Ch. 6 42 [57 in 𝔊 *v.* 58] ιεθθαρ [B], ιεθερ [A], om. L?), and historically connected in 1 S. 30 27 with the period of David's outlawry (γεθθορ[3] [B]) ; cp IRA, 3 ; ITHRITES, JABEZ.

[1] See Riehm, *HWB*(2) 3356; Calwer *Bib.-lex.* 158 *a*.
[2] But see Field, *ad loc.*
[3] The γεθ in 1 S. 30 29 [B] appears to be a duplicate of this corruption (cp HUMTAH, SIPHMOTH).

It is plain that Jattir must be the modern *'Attīr* (Rob. *BR* 2 194), which is situated on two knolls 'in an amphitheatre of brown rocky hills, studded with natural caves' (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 388), and is 13 m. S. by W. from Hebron. The change of י into y in the name is not incapable of explanation ; י may first have passed into א, and then א into y (Kampffmeyer, *ZDPV* 16 45). No doubt this is the place intended (OS 119 27 133 3 134 24 255 78 266 42 268 87) by the 'very large village Jethira, 20 R. m. SE. of Eleutheropolis, in the interior of the Daroma hard by Malatha' (see MOLADAH). In two passages (OS 119 27 255 78) it is assigned to Simeon, perhaps by a confusion with ETHER (*q.v.*).

JAVAN (יָוָן)—*i.e.*, the Ionians, or the Greeks.

(*a*) In the Table of Peoples Javan appears as one of the sons of Japheth, and father of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim or Rodanim, Gen. 10 2 = 1 Ch. 1 5 7 (ιωυαν [BADE], ιωυναν Gen., ιωαυαν Ch. [L]). This statement comes from P ; it is therefore not pre-exilic. There is in fact no pre-exilic reference to the Greeks, though see on the other side M'Curdy (*Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 416), who refers to Zech. 9 13, Joel 3 [4] 4-6, and even, for a 'not obscure allusion,' to Hos. 11 10. The text of Hos. *l.c.*, however, is not quite in order ; instead of the obscure מִיָּם, 'from the sea,' we should probably read מֵאֲרָם, 'from Aram' (cp *c*).

(*b*) In Joel 3 [4] 6 'the sons of the Javanites' (EV Grecians, τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων [BℵAQ]) are spoken of as purchasing Jewish captives from the Phœnicians and Philistines, but the Persian date of JOEL [*q.v.*] is not often disputed.

(*c*) In Zech. 9 13 Judah and Ephraim are represented as the instrument of Yahwè's vengeance against the 'sons of Javan' (τὰ τέκνα τῶν Ἑλλήνων [BℵAQΓ]), who are contrasted with 'thy sons, O Zion.'

It is hard, however, to believe that the author of the prophetic composition to which Zech. 9 13 belongs (which, apart from its references to Hadrach, Hamath, etc., would at once appear to be post-exilic) would have mentioned the Greeks ; this view seems hardly consistent with the archaising references. Clearly the writer wishes to produce the illusion of antiquity, and the name 'Javan' would at any rate not be conducive to this. The textual phenomena suggest that יון is either a corrupt or a mutilated name, or both ; the author can scarcely have written בניך ציון and then, just after, בניך יון. The scribe who wrote the latter group of letters must have made a slip of the pen, and the true reading probably is בְּנֵי אֲרָם, 'the sons of Aram' (cp *v.* 1, and see HADRACH).

(*d*) In Ezek. 27 13 (Ἑλλάς [BAQ]; Symm. Ἰωνία) Javan is described (as in Joel) as engaged in slave-traffic in the market of Tyre ; the name stands between Tarshish and Tubal, the latter in Gen. 10 2 Javan's next brother, the former in Gen. 10 4 his second son.

(*e*) In Is. 66 19 'Javan' (Ἑλλάς [BKAQ]) occurs in a gloss enumerating the 'far-off countries' which will hear of Yahwè's future glorious manifestation.

(*f*) In Dan. 8 21 10 20 11 2 we hear of the 'king,' the 'prince,' and the 'kingdom' of Javan (Ἕλληνες [Theod. 87]); the reference is to the Græco-Macedonian empire—an expansion of the original conception, which identified Javan with the important Ionian colonies in Asia Minor.

(*g*) The only remaining reference (not counting the imaginary one in Ps. 123 4) is in Ezek. 27 18 (καὶ οἶνον [BAQ ; Q also has ιαυηλ, whilst Aq. has ιευαν]), where Javan, with Dan [AV] or Vedan [RV], appears a second time among Tyre's traffickers. 'Dan' and 'Javan,' however, are both corrupt. For ודן ויון Cornill ingeniously reads וארנבן, and the passage becomes, 'wine of HELBON [*q.v.*], and Ṣimin, and Arnaban they furnished for thy traffic.' But more probably we should read, not 'and Simin and Arnaban,' but 'and wool of Hauran' (see WOOL).

The scantiness of the extant pre-exilic literature does not permit us to deny that the Israelites may have heard of the Ionians from the Phœnicians or the Syrians in pre-exilic times. We may even admit this

to be probable. The fact, however—if it is a fact—possesses very little significance, unless indeed M'Curdy's statement (*Hist. Proph. Mon.* **2418**) can be proved, that 'Grecian immigrants had settled in Philistia' in the time of Sargon,[1] and 'formed an influential class in Ashdod.' All, however, that can safely be said is, that the adventurer called Yamani or Yatni, who displaced the king of Ashdod appointed by Sargon, came from Cyprus (see ASHDOD). The real origin of the Assyrian name for Cyprus is obscure; it seems to have been popularly explained as 'the Ionian island.' Whether the upstart who provoked Sargon's wrath was an Ionian or a Phoenician by race, we cannot tell. Still less can we assert that immigrants of the same race as Yamani had settled in Philistia. An original and ingenious view of Flinders Petrie[2] also deserves mention. This explorer is of opinion that between 607 and 587 B.C. there was a constant intercourse between the men of Judah and the Greek frontier garrison at Tahpanhes (Daphnae). They would thus obtain a far more vivid conception of Ionians than had formerly been possible. The view is not unplausible, even if we cannot admit that it justifies an early date for Dan. 3.

The Ionians are only once expressly referred to in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions: Sargon calls them 'the Javanites who are in the middle of the sea' (cp אִיֵּי הַיָּם), and says that he 'drew them out like fishes (*COT* 163; *KB* 243; Del. *Par.* **248**). It is in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius that we find the next mention of Javan; Darius certainly means by this, not Greece proper, but the Ionian colonies of Asia Minor. The contact of Egypt with the Ionians (Yevan, Yevanu, etc.) began much earlier. The Ionians are referred to by name in the epic of Rameses II. among the allies of the Ḫĕtā.

See WMM *As. u. Eur.* 369 *ff.*, and, on the biblical passages, Stade, *Das Volk Javan* ('80), reprinted in *Akad Reden u. Abhandl.*, '99, pp. 123-142. T. K. C.

JAVELIN. 1. RV has improved several interesting passages by substituting 'javelin' for AV's 'spear' (*e.g.*, Josh. **8** 18 26 Job **41** 29 [21]. The כִּידוֹן, *kīdōn*, was shorter than the חֲנִית, *ḥănīth*. In Ecclus. **46** 2 RV keeps 'sword' (ῥομφαία); but a version based where possible on the Hebrew text would give 'javelin' (כידון). We now know that Ben Sira quoted accurately from Josh. 8 18. Inconsistently RV gives 'spear' in Jer. **50** 42; see Jer. **6** 23 (and cp DAGGER, 2). Most lexicographers would support RV's statement that Goliath had 'a javelin of brass between his shoulders' (1 S. **17** 6; AV 'shield'). This is really very doubtful (see 5). In Job **39** 23, however, 'javelin' rightly takes the place of 'shield' (it is coupled with 'spear').

2. AV also renders חֲנִית, *ḥănīth* (1 S. 18 10 *f.* 20 33), and רֹמַח, *rômaḥ* (Nu. 25 7), 'javelin'; but RV rightly prefers 'spear.' In Ezek. **39** 9 AV[mg.] 'javelins' for מַקֵּל, *makkēl*, 'staff,' or rather 'stick' (see STAFF).

3. In Job 41 21 [29] AV's 'darts' (תותח) is better than RV's 'clubs' (σφυρά). Read תַּרְתָּח (*tartāḥ*), 'javelin' = Ass. *tartāḫu*, 'leichter Wurfspeer' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 630*b*). תַּרְתָּחִים, *tartāḥīm*, should also be read in Ps. 55 22 [21] and Mic. 6 5 [6], for פְּתִחוֹת, פְּתָחֶיהָ, and תרתח for טחות, as the name of a star (Antares?) in Job 38 36.

4. In Ps. 35 3, וּסְגֹר (*ūsĕgōr*), 'and stop the way' (EV) should most probably be וְשֶׁכֶּד (*ūsĕkōd*), 'and javelin' (cp RV[mg.] 'battle-axe'). Before giving up a passage like this as hopeless, or venturing on a mere makeshift, it is a duty to refer to the Assyrian vocabulary. Here we find *šukudu*, a synonym of *tartāḫu* (Del. *op. cit.* 630 *b*, 656 *a*). For a less plausible view see Hal. *Rev. Sém.* 3 47.

5. In 1 S. 17 6 Klostermann deserves credit for showing that the brazen piece of armour (MT, כִּידוֹן, 𝔊 ἀσπίς[3]) between Goliath's shoulders, which AV renders 'target' and RV 'javelin,' must have been for *defence*, not for attack. Exegetical fairness requires us either to endeavour to emend כידן, or at least to recognise the corruption of the text by putting asterisks instead of a rendering. But כִּיּוֹר (Klo.) can hardly mean an oval, concave, metal plate. Possibly כִּידוֹן should be כִּידָן, and rendered 'protection' (Ass. *kidānu*, 'protection'; see Del. *Ass. HWB* 318 *a*; Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict.* 373 *a*).[1]

T. K. C.

JAWBONE, ASS'S. One of the exploits of Samson is connected in legend with an ass's jawbone, an extemporised weapon. Judg. 15 15 is rendered thus in RV:

> And he found a new jawbone of an ass, and put forth his hand, and took it, and smote a thousand men therewith.

An old jawbone would have been too light and brittle for the purpose. Of the punning poetical speech which is attached, the following is a plausible rendering:

> With the jawbone of the red one (*i.e.*, an ass) I have reddened them.
> With the jawbone of the red one I have smitten a thousand men.

Hence the legend explained the origin of the name Lehi. Criticism, however, has to go behind the legend and investigate its origin. Both LEHI (*q.v.*) and Onugnathus seem to presuppose a myth which was common to the Danites and the Phœnicians. This myth was probably derived from Babylonia. The mythic weapon of Marduk (a kind of spear or javelin—*i.e.*, lightning) is described in Creation Tablet, 4 30 (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 280 *f.*) as *kakku tā maḫra*, 'peerless weapon.' The myth containing this phrase was probably preserved at the sanctuary of Šamašan (Beth-shemesh); the popular speech would easily convert it into *lĕḥī ḥămōr*. Steinthal has already noted the stress laid on *throwing* the jawbone (cp Ps. 18 14 [15]) in Judg. 15 17.

In *v.* 16 read חֲמוֹר חֲמַרְתִּים (so Moore; cp 𝔊). Doorninck and Budde connect the verb חמר with Ar. *ḥamara*, in the sense of 'shave, flay.' But *ḥamara* also means 'to be red,' and this sense is supported by חמר II. (Job 16 16). So Zenner, *Zt. f. kath. Theol.*, '88, p. 257, comparing Arabic poetical passages in We. *Skizzen*, 1445 and 18813 ('84). MOORE, however, comparing חֹמֶר, 'heap,' renders 'I have piled them in heaps,' or (*SBOT*) 'I assailed my assailants.' T. K. C.

JAZER (יַעְזֵר, יַעְזֵיר [1 Ch.], ιαζηρ), or **Jaazer** (Nu. 21 32 32 35 AV; in 1 Macc. 5 8 ιαζην [A] **Jazar**), a place E. of the Jordan, occupied by the Gadites (Nu. 32 35 Josh. 13 25 1 Ch. 6 81 [66], γαζερ [B], γαζηρ [A], ιαζειρ [L]), but previously by the Amorites (Nu. **21** 32). It lay on the border towards the land of the Ammonites in a fertile region of pastures and vineyards called 'the land of Jazer,' and had dependent villages (Nu. 21 24[2] [𝔊] 32 32 1 Is. **16** 8 Jer. 48 32[3]), which, like itself, were taken by Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5 7 *f.*, cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 1). P idealistically reckons it among the Levitical cities (Josh. **21** 39 [37]), and the Chronicler tells of Levites at Jazer in the fortieth year of the reign of David (1 Ch. 26 31 ριαζηρ [B]; cp 2 S. 24 5 ελιεζερ [B], ελιαζηρ [A], ιεζερ [L]).

Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*[(2)]) describe it as 10 R. m. W. from Philadelphia, 15 from Heshbon, and as situated at the source of a large stream (μέγιστος ποταμός) which falls into the Jordan. Elsewhere (*OS*[(2)] **212** 27) Eusebius calls the city Azer, and makes it 8 R. m. W. from Philadelphia. A place with ruins bearing the name of Sār or Ṣār, which Seetzen discovered in 1808,[4] is now usually connected with Jazer (*so, e.g.*, Baed.[(3)] 173; Ges. *Lex.*[(13)], *s.v.* יעזר; Merrill, in Hastings' *DB* 2 553*b*; cp Porter, in Kitto's *Bib. Cycl.*). It is on the S. of the WBdy Sir, on the road leading westward

1 It is interesting in this connection to note that 𝔊 substitutes Ἕλληνας for 'Philistines' in Is. 9 12 [11].

2 *Nebesheh and Defenneh* (Eg. Expl. Fund), 49 *f.*

3 Aquila renders כידון *burls* in Job 41 29 [21] Jer. **6** 23; Symmachus in Josh. 8 18 Jer. 6 23.

1 On the subject of 3-5 see Che. *JQR* 10 580 *f.*; *Ex)*., Aug. '98, p. 83 *ff.*; *Exp.* 3'10 522 (Aug. '99).

2 Reading יעזר, 'Jazer,' for עז (which does not mean 'fortified'), with 𝔊.

3 ים, 'sea,' has intruded into MT before יעזר, 'Jazer,' from the preceding clause. Seetzen need not have looked about for a 'sea of Jazer.'

4 See references in Ritter, *Erdkunde*[(2)], **15** 1047.

from 'Ammān. In spite of Merrill's enthusiastic description, however, the identification is to be rejected, (1) because the sibilants of Ṣār and Jazer do not correspond, and above all, (2) because there is no large stream, such as the statement of Eusebius requires. Hence we are led to suppose that Eusebius has confounded the Jordan with the Jabbok. Oliphant (*Land of Gilead*, 235 *ff.*) points out the ruins of a populous Roman city (which no doubt succeeded earlier cities) in the WBdy Zorhi, which falls into the Wādy Zerḳā (Jabbok). The place would be 8-10 R. m. N. of Philadelphia. It is called Yājūz, and is a little to the W. of el-Jubeihāt, the ancient JOGBEHAH [*q.v.*]. That these two places were near together is evident from Nu. 32 35. In the centre of the WBdy Zorbi is a copious fountain (the 'Ain el-Ghazāl), soon after passing which the stream becomes large enough for irrigation, and so compares very favourably with the WBdy Sir. Indeed, between this point and the Zerḳā the country in spring is 'an expanse of waving crops,' and the wādy is well adapted for vine culture (Oliphant, 233 236). The rival combination (*E. Pal. Survey*, 1 19) with Beit Zera', not far to the NE. of Heshbon and a little beyond el-'Āl (ELEALEH), is opposed not only to the statement of Eusebius, but also to Nu. 32 35; nor is it really favoured by Is. 16 8, for עד יעזר, 'as far as Jazer,' implies that Heshbon and Jazer are rather far apart.[1] Against Oliphant's alternative theory—that Yājūz may be Jahaz—see JAHAZ. T. K. C.

JAZIZ (יָזִיז), a 'Hagrite,' David's chief flock-master (1 Ch. 27 31: ιαζειζ ὁ γαρειτης [B], ιωσζιζ ὁ αγαριτης [A], ιωαζ ὁ γαδαρι [L]). See HAGAR, § 2.

JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF. In cases of suspected guilt which were involved in uncertainty or were of extreme gravity, means were very generally taken in antiquity to obtain a direct decision of the deity. In Europe, down to beyond the limits of the Middle Ages the custom is found to have prevailed, and even at the present day the same thing is seen in the less civilized parts of the world. In the OT we have frequent references to one means which the Hebrews adopted for this purpose, viz., the sacred lot (see URIM AND THUMMIM); but we have only one clear record that they also adopted another widely-spread custom—the ordeal. The common element in all ordeals is one of risk—*e.g.*, of being burnt by walking over hot stones or ploughshares, or by thrusting the arms into molten lead or of receiving injury from noxious potions—and the common belief that underlies them is that the deity will preserve the innocent from the injurious effects which will befall the guilty.

1. Prevalence.

The one case in which extant Hebrew law provides for a resort to the ordeal is that of a woman suspected of unfaithfulness to her husband. This procedure is described in Nu. 5 11-31 [P]. In spite of the uniqueness of the law and of the fact that the Hebrew narratives record no instance of its adoption, there are indications that (at least) in earlier times, ordeals were more frequent among the Hebrews. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 181) accounts for the origin of the names 'Ēn-Mishpāṭ = 'well of judgment,' and Mē Mĕribah = 'waters of controversy,' by the supposition that the well at Kadesh was regularly used for purposes of the ordeal; Stade (*ZATW* 15 178 [95]) adduces reasons for concluding that the case of suspected marital infidelity was not the only one in which 'the memorial meal offering bringing guilt to remembrance' (Nu. 5 15) was offered. It has been supposed that Ps. 109 18*b* contains a reference to the water of ordeal; possibly also Prov. 6 27-29 refers to other forms of ordeal (note יִנָּקֶה in *v.* 29 and cp Nu. 5 19). Cp also Nu. 16 16 *ff.*

The points to be considered are (1) the conditions of the ordeal, (2) the accompanying offering, (3) the character of the ordeal itself.

[1] The distance between Yājūz and Elealeh is about 15 m. (Oliphant).

1. The ordeal is to be resorted to when a man is jealous of his wife, but is unable to produce either the witnesses required for an ordinary process at law (Dt. 19 15 Nu. 35 30) or other evidence of her guilt (cp Ex. 22 13 [12] Dt. 22 15)—*vv.* 12-14.

2. Accompanying offering.

2. When the man brings his wife to the priest (*v.* 15) or before Yahwè (*v.* 30)—*i.e.*, to the door of the tabernacle (in the case of Herod's temple, according to *Sōṭā* 1 5, to the Nikanor door)—he has to bring with him an offering which is described as 'her offering for her' (קרבנה עליה), *v.* 15. This has been understood to mean that the *woman* makes an offering (of the nature of a trespass-offering) of material provided by her husband. This, however, is unlikely, for the offering is made before the question of the woman's guilt or innocence is decided. More probably it is the *man* who offers (in accordance with the general law that no one must seek Yahwè's face 'empty'—*i.e.*, without an offering), and the above phrase means 'the offering which concerns her, is on her account.' To symbolise, however, the *connection* of the offering with the woman, it is placed in her hands—v. 18 (cp Lev. 8 27). The material of the offering is noticeable: it consists of one-tenth ephah of barley meal—the commoner and cheaper flour (2 K. 7 1 Rev. 6 6)—and is not to be mingled with either oil or frankincense (*v.* 15). The latter provision applies likewise to the poor man's sin-offering which also consists of the same small quantity (Lev. 5 11), but even in that case, as in the case of every other offering in P, barley meal is expressly excluded by the insistence on the more expensive 'fine meal.' Probably this is merely an isolated survival (which is capable of obvious explanation) in the late law-books of an earlier freedom (cp Judg. 6 19 1 S. 1 24) to use in all cases any kind of meal.

At any rate we must discard the explanation, practically endorsed by many moderns (*e.g.*, Bähr, Keil, Winer), attributed in the Mishna to R. Gamaliel—'as her acts had been bestial, so her offering consisted of the food of beasts' (*Sōṭā*, 2 1).

3. Other ceremonies.

One other element in the ritual has been taken, and with more reason, to symbolise the woman's shame—viz., the loosing of the hair (*v.* 18). We may then compare the case cited by Robertson Smith (*RS*(2) 181) from the *Kitāb al-'Aġānī*, i. 156 3 *ff.*, where a suspected wife is carried to Mecca, to take oaths of purgation, seated on a camel between two bags of dung. According to *Sōṭā* 1 5 the upper part of the woman's body was also stripped—a proceeding which could have had only one significance. On the other hand, the mere loosing of the hair (together with the wearing of black garments) was, at least somewhat later, customary on the part of persons accused before the Sanhedrin of any crime (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9 4; cp Zech. 3 3).

4. The ordeal itself.

3. The actual ordeal consisted of drinking a specially prepared potion (*vv.* 17 24); if the woman be innocent, the potion is harmless, and thus proves her innocence; if she be guilty, the potion causes injury to her thigh and belly—the members instrumental to her act of sin (27 *f.*). This potion consists of 'holy water'—*i.e.*, water hallowed from having been standing in the sacred laver (Mishna, Targ.), rather than 'running water' (𝔊) from the temple spring—with which is mingled dust from the floor of the tabernacle, and into which are washed the written words of the curse. For the risk of coming into contact with 'holy water' or receiving it into one's system, we have many parallels in the Semitic domain as well as elsewhere (WRS *loc. cit.*); for the use of the dust, fewer; but this also being taken from the sanctuary must be regarded as holy, and the fusion of it with the water as a means of increasing the holiness and, consequently, the efficacy of the potion. Reference is often made in this connection to Gen. 3 14 Is. 49 23 Mic. 7 17 Ps. 72 9; but the parallels are not obviously to the point. Probably the combined use of water and dust has arisen from

the fusion of two originally distinct rites; and possibly the use of the dust originated in necromantic customs. The explanation of the washing of the curse into the water must be sought in the belief in the efficacy of the oath and the independent existence of the words of it (cp OATH, and Goldziher, *Abh. zur Arab. Phil.* 26-41); the connection with oaths of purgation (Ex. 22 10 [9] *f.*) is also close. The potion has to he mixed in an *earthenware* vessel (*v.* 17), which probably had to be destroyed immediately after use (cp Lev. 6 28 [21] 11 33 15 12); cp CLEAN, § 2.

One point that is not clearly stated in the OT narrative is the time within which the potion takes effect; probably the effect was expected to be immediate—in any case, within a much shorter time than the two or even three years which the Mishna allows (*Sōṭā*, 3 4).

5. Text of Nu. 5 11-31. The text of the section (Nu. 5 11-31) presents difficulties, which Stade (*ZATW* 15 166-178 ['95]) has attributed to literary fusion of distinct rituals; but his analysis is unconvincing. The only question of serious importance here is the relation of *v.* 24 to *vv.* 26 *f.* 27. The only natural view of *v.* 24 *ff.* is that the woman drinks *before* the offering is made (*v.* 26); but 26 distinctly states that she drinks *afterwards*. Since the assumption that she drinks twice is unnatural, our only alternatives are to follow Stade or to regard *v.* 24 as textually intrusive.

In their note on Nu. 5 11-31 seen since the foregoing was written, Carpenter and Harford-Battersby (*Hex.* 2 191 *f.*) adopt Stade's analysis with some modifications. According to them the section, in which 'it will be seen by the frequency of the harmonist's phrases that the fusion has been fairly complete,' results from the fusion of (*a*) a condemnation (*vv.* 11 12 13*a* 13*c* 15 18 21 23 24 27*b* 25*b* 26 31) and (*b*) an ordeal (*vv.* 29 13*b* 30*a* 14*b* 30*b* 16 *f.* 19 *f.* 22 25 26*b* 27 28). In the case of the condemnation, the woman's 'guilt needs no demonstration, but only draws down on her the priestly doom.' But (1) according to the analysis *a* (see 12*b* 13*a c*) as well as *b* presupposes an offence unprovable by ordinary process of law, that is to say, presupposes circumstances such as those under which ordeals are generally resorted to; the crime is one which has been committed without the knowledge of the husband or any other witness. (2) The proceedings with the waters of bitterness correspond to proceedings in the case of ordeal, but have no analogy in the Hebrew law with regard to clearly proved cases of adultery, for which an entirely different punishment was provided (MARRIAGE, § 4). Into the linguistic distinctions, admirably presented by Carpenter and Harford-Battersby in their note, it is impossible to enter here; but literary analysis in the present instance, even if justifiable, appears too uncertain to be of material importance for the subject of this article.

Of the OT archæologies see especially Nowack, 2 249-253; of the Commentaries (on Nu. 5 11 *ff.*), Dillmann and *Internat. Crit. Com.* On the text, *etc.*, see Stade's article cited above. For ethnic parallels cp Tylor's article 'Ordeal' in *EB*(9); Burckh. *Bedouins and Wahábys*, 1 121 *f.* **G. B. G.**

JEARIM, MOUNT (הַר־יְעָרִים; Josh. 15 10: πολις ιαρειν [B], π. ιαρ[ε]ιμ [AL]), a ridge on the N. border of Judah, identified elsewhere (CHESALON). The name, however plausible, is scarcely correct.

Either Jearim has grown out of יָרִיב Jarib (see KIRJATH-JEARIM), or it is a corruption of עֶפְרוֹן, EPHRON [*q.v.*], 'Mount Ephron' being probably not a mere mountain, hut a long ridge. Cp PIRATHON.

JEATERAI, RV **Jeatherai** (יְאָתְרַי), 1 Ch. 6 21 [6] = 1 Ch. 6 41 [26], ETHNI.

JEBERECHIAH (יְבֶרֶכְיָהוּ, § 28), the father of ZECHARIAH [i., 27] (Is. 8 2, Βαραχιου [BNAQΓ]). The name is usually abbreviated to BERECHIAH [*q.v.*].

JEBUS (יְבוּס; ιεβους), Judg. 19 10 *f.*; **Jebusite** (הַיְבוּסִי; ιεβουσ, -σαι[ος], σει[ν]), Gen. 10 16, etc., but once **Jebusi**, Josh. 18 16 AV. See JERUSALEM, § 13.

JECAMIAH (יְקַמְיָה), 1 Ch. 3 18, RV JEKAMIAH.

JECHILIAH (יְכִילְיָה, § 35), 2 Ch. 26 3† Kt. RV, AV JECOLIAH.

JECHOLIAH (יְכָלְיָהוּ, § 35), 2 K. 15 2 AV, RV JECOLIAH.

JECHONIAH (ιεχονιας [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 11 *f.* RV, AV JECHONIAS. See JEHOIACHIN.

JECOLIAH (יְכָלְיָהוּ, § 35; pointing doubtful; ιεχελια [AL]), queen mother of Azariah, king of Judah (2 K. 15 2, AV JECHOLIAH; χαλεια [B], ιεχεμα [A], 2 Ch. 26 3; יְכָלְיָה [Kr.], יכיליה [Kt.], RV JECHILIAH, χααια [B, *i.q.* χαλαια = כליה]).

JECONIAH (יְכָנְיָה), 1 Ch. 3 16 *f.* See JEHOIACHIN.

JECONIAS (ιεχονιας [BA]), 1 Esd. 1 9 = 2 Ch. 35 9. CONANIAH, 2.

JEDAI (Kt. יְעָדַי, Kr. יעדו), 2 Ch. 9 29 RV^mg., EV IDDO (iii. 1).

JEDAIAH (יְדַעְיָה, Yĕda'yah, 'Yahwè knows,' § 32).
1. A priestly family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9). Mention is made of the 'B'ne Jedaiah of the house of JESHUA' [*q.v.*, ii., 6], Ezra 2 36 (ιεουδα [B], ιεδδουα [AL]) = Neh. 7 39 (ιωδαε [BNA], εδδουα [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 24, **Jeddu** (ιεδδου [B], εδδου [A"], ιεδδουκ [L]).

There would seem to have been two families of the name of Jedaiah, for two men bear this name, Neh. 12 6 (om. BN*A, ιδειας [N^c.a mg. sup. L]), ib. 7 (om. BN*A, ιδειας [N^c.a mg. sup.], ωδουιας [L]); and two 'father's houses' are referred to in Neh. 12 19 21 (om. BN*A, ιδια, *v.* 19; ιδειου, *v.* 21 [N^c.a mg. inf.]; ιεδεια, *v.* 19; ωδουια, *v.* 21 [L]).[1] In Neh. 11 10, Jedaiah, son of Joiarib' (δαδεια [B], δαλεια [N], ιαδια [A], -ς [L]), one should omit 'son of'; cp 1 Ch. 9 10 (ιωδαε [BA], ιωιαδε [L]). Jedaiah was the head of the second course, 1 Ch. 24 7 (αναιδεια [B], ιδεια [AL]).

2. One of the Babylonian Jewish delegates, temp. ZERUBBABEL, Zech. 6 10 14 (𝔊BNAΓQ do not recognise a proper name: οἱ ἐπεγνωκότες αὐτήν [αὐτῶν A in *v.* 10], Aq. ιδεα).

JEDAIAH (יְדָיָה), Yĕdāyah, § 32. 1. Ancestor of Ziza, a Simeonite, 1 Ch. 4 37 (ιδια [B], εδια [A], ιεδδαα [L]).

2. b. HARUMAPH (*q.v.*), Neh. 3 10 (ιεδαια [BA], ιεδδεια [NL]).

JEDEUS (ιεδαιος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 30 = Ezra 10 29, ADAIAH, 5.

JEDIAEL (יְדִיעֲאֵל, *i.e.*, 'known of God,' cp ELIADA and Palm. ידיעבל = ιεδειβηλος; ιαδιηλ [AL]).

1. A chief division of BENJAMIN according to the list in 1 Ch. 7 6 *ff.*, but not mentioned in the other lists (cp JEHIEL, יְעִיאֵל), the Gibeonite (1 Ch. 7 6, αδειηλ [B], *v.* 10 *f.*, αριηλ [B], αδιηλ, αδιηρ [A ρ sup. ras Ab]; ιεδιηλ [L *thrice*]). See JEIEL, 2.

2. b. Shimri, one of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 11 45 (ελθειηλ nisi ελεειηλ vid. Swete [BN] ιεδιηλ [AL]). See DAVID, § 11*a* [ii.].

3. A Manassite, one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 20 (ρωδιηλ [BN], ιεδιηλ [A]). See DAVID, § 11*a* [iii.].

4. A Korahite door-keeper, 1 Ch. 26 2 (ιδερηλ [B]).

JEDIDAH (יְדִידָה, 'beloved,' cp JEDIDIAH), queen-mother of Josiah, king of Israel (2 K. 22 1; ιεδεια [B], εδιδα [A], ιεδιδα [L]). See ADAIAH, 1.

JEDIDIAH (יְדִידְיָה, 'beloved of Yahwè,' §§ 19, 27, so *amabilis Domino* [Vg.], ἀγαπητὸν κυρίου [Sym.], cp IDDO; ιδεδει [B], ιεδδιδια [L], [ε]ιεδιδια [A Aq. Theod.]), as the text stands, is the name given by David to Solomon after a visit of the prophet Nathan (2 S. 12 25). It has been remarked elsewhere, however (see BATHSHEBA, col. 503, top; DAVID, col. 1032, foot), that the narrative in 2 S. 11 1-12 25 has passed through an amplifying process in the interests of edification; originally Solomon was not represented as the son of a penitent reconciled by Nathan's instrumentality to his offended God.

In the earlier form of the story 2 S. 12 15*b* must have followed 11 27 (so Schwally). The original form of *vv.* 24 *f.*, however, is still undetermined (see We., Dr., Klo., Ki., Bu. Lohr, H. P. Smith). Wellhausen (cp Löhr and Bu.) thinks it enough to read וישלחו[2] or וישלמו, 'and he entrusted him to the care of the prophet Nathan, and he (David) called him Jedidiah'; while Gratz and H. P. Smith prefer to connect the last two words of *v.* 24 with *v.* 25—'And Yahwè loved him, and sent by the hand of the prophet Nathan,' etc. These expedients,

1 Possibly, however, Adaiah (cp Neh. 11 12) should be read for one of these. See ADAIAH, 4.

2 So first Thenius; cp Vg., misitque *eum* in manu.

however, are but palliations of the evil, which needs a more radical cure. The truth seems to be that 11 27*a* was originally followed by the naming of the son horn to Bathsheba after Uriah's death. We may suppose with S. A. Cook, that 12 24*b* ('and he called [ויקרא Kt.; hut ותקרא Kr.] his name Solomon') once followed immediately upon 11 27*a*,[1] and that Jedidiah, the name given by Nathan (?) to the child Solomon, was the symbolical expression of the reconciliation between David and his God. It is equally possible, however, that the words relative to the naming of the child spoken of, which originally stood in 11 27, were, 'and he called his name Jedidiah.' The words ויהוה אֲהֵבוֹ, which have puzzled critics not a little, seem to be a first miswritten and then manipulated form of the words בעבור ידידיה (again miswritten at the end of *v.* 25, as בַּעֲבוּר יְהוָה). When the words, 'And he called his name Jedidiah,' were transposed to *v.* 25, they received the awkward but necessary prefix, 'And he sent by Nathan the prophet,'[2] the corrupt words at the end of *v.* 24 having already been converted into 'and Yahwb loved him.' The editor seems to suppose a second and more pleasing visit of Nathan.

If the last of the theories mentioned above be accepted, the narrative originally ran thus :—

'And when the mourning was past, David sent and fetched her to his house, and she became his wife, and bare him a son and he called bisname Jedidiah. But the thing that David had done displeased Yahwè, and Yahwè struck the child that Uriah's wife had borne to David, and it was very sick. . . . And David comforted his wife Bathsheba, . . . and she bore a son, and he called his name Shillumo[3] (שִׁלֻּמוֹ, *i.e.*, his compensation), because of Jedidiah.'

Now all becomes clear ; the corruptions of the text are healed and accounted for, and an intelligible narrative is produced. Solomon remains Bathsheba's second son. He lacks the religious interest attaching to the son of a penitent saint, but he gains the human interest attaching to the child of a deeply afflicted father. 'He called his name "his compensation," with reference to the lost Jedidiah.' See SOLOMON.

In 2 S. 12 25 𝔊L and Theod. read בִּדְבַר יהוה instead of בעבור יהוה which Klo., and HPSm., following Cappel (*Crit. Sac.* 265), adopt. The harder reading, however, should be the nearer to the original. T. K. C.

JEDO (יעדו Kr.), 2 Ch. 9 29 RVmg., EV IDDO (iii. 1).

JEDUTHUN (יְדוּתוּן, יְדֻתוּן, יְדִיתוּן [Kt., Ps. 39 1 (title) 77 1 (title), Neh. 11 17 1 Ch. 16 38], ιδ[ε]ιθουν, -θουμ [BℵART], 𝔊L generally ιδιθουμ ; 1 Ch. 9 16 ιωθων [B]. In 1 Esd. 1 15 (= 2 Ch. 35 15) RV EDDINUS, εδδ[ε]ινους [BA]).

The Vss. as a general rule support the form יְדִיתוּן. They offer as the vowel of the second syllable ει [B] or ι [AL], but cp ιδιθωμ (2 Ch. 35 15 𝔊B), ιδεθων (1 Ch. 16 38 𝔊ℵ). ου occurs only in ιδουθων [A], ιδουθουν [L] (1 Ch. 9 16). The renderings for the last syllable vary between -ων, -ουν, and -ουμ, rarely -ωμ. Possibly ידיתון should be restored for the surprising ידידת in the heading of Ps. 45. That the heading also refers the psalm to the Korahites is no objection (see PSALMS).

The father of Obed-edom (1 Ch. 16 38), and the founder of a company of door-keepers (1 Ch. 16 42 ; other-sons are mentioned in Neh. 11 17 om. BℵA = 1 Ch. 9 16), 2 Ch. 29 14 1 Ch. 25 3 ; and the phrase 'the sons of Jeduthun' should possibly take the place of the odd reference to the 'sons of Judah' in 2 S. 1 18 (see JASHER, BOOK OF, § 2). Jeduthun is no doubt the favourite form of MT, but the versions as a general rule favour 'Jedithun,' which may be correct (see below). It is the name of one of the great guilds of temple singers; its supposed founder is mentioned with ASAPH (3), and HEMAN in 1 Ch. 25 1 6 2 Ch. 5 12 35 15 (where Jeduthnn is called the 'king's seer'), and with the latter alone in 1 Ch. 16 41. It is remarkable that, so regarded, he takes the place of ETHAN (*q.v.*). Jeduthun (Jedithun) is mentioned

1. References.

about twice as often as Ethan, and it is noteworthy that although the Chronicler numbers him among the Levites (1 Ch. 9 16) he does not give his levitical descent.

2. Explanation of the name.

Jeduthun, or Jedithun (Ps. 39 1 [title] 77 1 Kt. [title]), occurs in the headings of Pss. 39 62 and 77. In 39 לִיד׳; in 62 and 77 עַל־יד׳ is the form of the musical direction. The preposition עַל led Ewald to suppose that a peculiar musical mode was designated by Jeduthun. Robertson Smith, too, regards the name as not in any sense personal but a musical term, which by a strange transformation became the name of a chief singer (*OTJC*(2), 143, where the odd names given in 1 Ch. 25 4 are adduced as parallels).

It is natural to suspect a connection with הוֹדוֹת (cp Neh. 12 8, and see CHOIR, § 2),[1] hut not easy to suggest a plausible etymological theory. Or one might take Jedithun to be an abbreviation of Jehudithun an artificial form suggesting the devotion of the guild of 'Jedithun' to a specially Jewish type of music (cp Grätz's theory of 'Gittith' and see JESHURUN).

Lagarde's view, however, is more plausible than any of these hypotheses ; according to this, the name is a corruption of Ethan, produced through the combination of ידי 'hands of' with the personal name Ethan (*Uebers.* 121).

If so, 'Jedithun' will be the correct form, and עַל not לְ the right preposition in the musical directions ; עַל־יְדִיתֻן will he a contracted form of עַל־יְדֵי אֵיתָן, 'to be performed (or, preserved) through (or by) the guild of Ethan.' That the editor of Chronicles, in the form in which we have it regarded Jeduthnn as a synonym of Ethan may be admitted ; in other words, he did not understand the name. T. K. C.—S. A. C.

JEELI (ιεηλι [A]), 1 Esd. 5 33 = Ezra 2 56 JAALAH, Neh. 7 58 JAALA.

JEELUS (ιεηλου [B]), 1 Esd. 8 92 = Ezra 10 2, JEHIEL (ii. 1).

JEEZER, JEEZERITE (אִיעֶזֶר, אִיעֶזְרִי), Nu. 26 30† AV. See ABIEZER.

JEGAR-SAHADUTHA (יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא), Gen. 31 47. See GALEED, 1 ; and cp ISHOD.

JEHALLELEL (יְהַלֶּלְאֵל, as if 'God praises,' or 'he praises God,' § 34; but יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'JERAHMEEL' [*q.v.*] is surely the right reading. See 1 Ch. 2 42, where Ziph is the son of Mesha, son of Caleb, brother of Jerahmeel., and *ib.* 6 44 [28] *ff.* 24 29, where Kish, or Kishi, the Merarite, is connected with MAHLI [*q.v.*] and (24 29) with Jerahmeel. For an analogous corruption see MAHALALEEL.

1. AV JEHALELEEL, in the genealogies of Judah, is father of Ziph, Ziphah, etc. (1 Ch. 4 16; καὶ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ γεσεηλ [B], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ιαλλεληλ [A], -ημ [A*vid.], καὶ υἱοὶ αλλεληλ [L]).

2. AV JEHALELEL, a Levite (2 Ch. 29 12 ; τοῦ ελλη [B], τοῦ ιαλληλ [A], τοῦ ιαλεηλ [L]). T. K. C.

JEHDEIAH (יֶחְדְּיָהוּ, 'Yahwè is glad' or 'gladdens'; cp JAHDIEL).

1. A Levite, 1 Ch. 24 20 (ιαδεια [B], ιαδαια [AL]).

2. A Meronothite, entrusted with King David's asses, 1 Ch. 27 30 (ιαδιας [BA], ιαδαιας [L], ܝܥܕܘ [Pesh.]).

JEHEZEKEL (יְחֶזְקֵאל, §§ 29, 53 ; εζεκηλ [BA], ιεζεκιηλ [L]; *JEZECEL* ; RV **Jehezkel**). The name in Hebrew is precisely the same as that known to us as EZEKIEL. In 1 Ch. 24 16 it is borne by one of the twenty-four courses into which the priests were divided in post-exilic times.[2]

JEHIAH (יְחִיָּה, 'Yahwè lives' ; cp JEHIEL), a door-keeper (with Obed-edom) for the ark, temp. David, 1 Ch. 15 24† (ιεια [Bℵ1], εια [ℵ*], ιεαια [A], ιειηλ [L]).

JEHIEL (יְחִיאֵל, § 35 ; 'God lives' ; cp Palm. יחיאל, and perhaps Sin. יחיו ; [ε]ιειηλ [BKAL.]).

1. A Levite musician, temp. David : 1 Ch. 15 18 (ιαιηλ [L]) ; 15 20 (ειθηλ [Bℵ], ιθιηλ [A]) ; 16 5 (AV JEIEL ; ιαθιηλ [A], ιαιηλ [L]).

2. Head of a family of Gershonite Levites, temp. David : 1 Ch. 23 8 (ιηλ [B]) ; 29 8 (βεσιηλ [B]). Cp JEHIELI and see LADAN, 2.

3. Son of Hachmoni, who was with David's sons : 1 Ch. 27 32 (ιεηλ [B], ιερειηλ [A], ιωηλ [L]). See HACHMONI.

[1] See *AJSL*, 1900, p. 156 *f.*

[2] Schwally (*op. cit.*) has already noticed that *v.* 25*a* is not by the writer of 12 1 *ff.* ('Nathan *the prophet*'). It is arbitrary to insert 'the prophet' in 12 1 (as Bu. does).

[3] A slight distortion of the name שְׁלֹמֹה (cp Shallum). The above theory arose independently of H. P. Smith's remark (p. 326 top) that the narrative suggests 'recompense' as the meaning of Solomon.

[1] See Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im Alten Test.* ('99), 66 155 *f.*

[2] In 𝔊B he appears as the nineteenth ; in 𝔊AL as the twentieth.

4. Son of king Jehoshaphat : 2 Ch. 21 2 (ιηλ [B]).
5. RV JEHUEL (Kt. יחואל), a Hemanite Levite, temp. Hezekiah : 2 Ch. 29 14 ; see JEHUEL.
6. A Levitical (or priestly) overseer of the temple, temp. Hezekiah : 2 Ch. 31 13 (ειηλ [B]).
7. 'Ruler of the house of God,' temp. Josiah : 2 Ch. 35 8. In 1 Esd. 1 8 ησυηλος [B*A], AV SYELUS, RV ESYELUS.
8. Father of Obadiah in a post-exilic list of fathers' houses : Ezra 8 9 (ιεμα [B], ιεειηλ [A]) = 1 Esd. 8 35 JEZELUS (ιεζηλου [BA]).
9. Father of Shecaniah : Ezra 10 2 (ιεηλ [BN], ιεειηλ [A]).
10. A priest, son of Harim : Ezra 10 21 (ιεηλ [BN]) = 1 Esd. 9 21 (ιερεηλ [BA], EV HIEREEL).
11. A layman, son of Elam : Ezra 10 26 (ιαηλ [B], ιαειηλ [N], αιειηλ [A]) = 1 Esd. 9 27, AV HIERIELUS, RV JEZRIELUS (ιεζριηλος [A], ιεζοριηλος [B]).

JEHIEL (יְעִיאֵל), better 'Jĕiēl,' as generally in RV.
1. One of the sons of Elam : Ezra 10 2 (ιεηλ [BN], ιεειηλ [A], ιειηλ [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 92 (ιεηλου [B], ιεηλ [A], ιειηλου [L], JEELUS).
2. 1 Ch. 9 35 AV, RV JEIEL, 2.
3. 1 Ch. 11 44 AV, RV JEIEL, 3.

JEHIELI (יְחִיאֵלִי, § 35 ; cp Jehiel). The b'ne Jehieli, a family of Gershonite Levites, were 'over the treasuries of the house of the Lord,' temp. David : 1 Ch. 26 21 *f.* (ιειηλ [BAL], *v.* 22 ιεηλ [A; om. L]). Cp JEHIEL (i. 2), and see LADAN, 2.

JEHIZKIAH (יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ, § 29 ; the pointing is strange, see HEZEKIAH ; εζεκιας [BAL]), b. Shallum, an Ephraimite leader (2 Ch. 28 12).

JEHOADAH (יְהוֹעַדָּה ; perhaps corrupted from Jehoiada [see 𝔊A Pesh.], cp § 35 ; Gray, *HPN* 283), RV, following MT, **Jehoaddah** in 1 Ch. 8 36, but in ‖ 9 42† יַעְרָה, EV JARAH, a corruption of יַעְדָּה (ιαδ και ιαδα, ιαδα [B] ; ιωιαδα [A ; so Pesh.], ιωδα [L]), a descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 36 = 9 42 (ιαδα [BA], ιωδα [L]).

JEROADDAN, RV **Jehoaddin** (יְהוֹעַדָּן, §§ 38 57 ; but יְהוֹעַדִּין, Kt. in Kings ; ιωαδειν [AL] ; 'Yahwè gives pleasure' ; Hommel, *AHT*, 321, '. . . is pleased' ; in 2 K. 14 2 𝔊 favours the alternative form יהועדין, with which cp עדין, ADIN ; 𝔊BAL in 2 Ch. 29 12, however, supports JEHOADDAN, ; see EDEN [i.] ; 'JOADANUS' in 1 Esd. 9 19 seems to be due to corruption), the queen-mother of Joash, king of Israel (2 K. 14 2 ; ιωαδειμ [BL], 2 Ch. 25 1 ιωναα [B], ιωαδεν [A]).

JEHOAHAZ (יְהוֹאָחָז, 'YahwB' holds fast,' §§ 29 50 ; cp Ahaz, Ahaziah ; ιωαχας [B], -ζ [AL] generally).

1. Father of Joah the recorder, 2 Ch. 34 8 (ιωαχ [B]).

2. Son of Jehu, succeeded his father on the throne of Israel in 814 B.C. and reigned seventeen years (814-797 B.C.), 2 K. 13 1-9 (ιωαχας [A, *v.* 7]) 25 (ιωαζαχ [A, *v.* 25*a*]), 14 1 ([υἱῷ] αχαζ [A]) = 2 Ch. 25 17 (om. B), *v.* 25 (*rwar* [B]). The Syrian oppression brought Israel's power very low in his time ; it was left for JEROBOAM II. to repair the mischief. We may assume, however, that the success of Rammān-nirari III. against Mari', king of Damascus, was not without some good result for Israel. Whitehouse (Schr. *COT* 2 324), M'Curdy (*Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 300), and Winckler even think that Rammān-nirari III. is the 'saviour' spoken of in 2 K. 13 5. See, however, JEROBOAM, 2.

3. JOACHAZ or JECHONIAS, 1 Esd. 1 34, ιεχονιας [B], ιωχαζ [A] ; ZARAKES, 1 Esd. 1 38 ζαριος [B], ζαρακης [AL]). Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, succeeded his father on the throne of Judah in 608 B.C. and reigned for three months, 2 K. 23 31-33 2 Ch. 36 1-3 (ιωαχας [A in 2 K. 23 34], -ζ [BAL in 2 Ch.]). In Jer. 22 11 he is called Shallum. This was probably his birth-name, which he exchanged for the name 'Jehoahaz' when he was anointed. It is much less natural to suppose that 'Shallum' is used ironically (like 'Zimri' in 2 K. 9 31), as if Jehoahaz were called 'the second Shallum,' one whose reign was almost as short as that of Shallum[1] (2 K. 15 13). This conclusion, however, will not justify us in following the MT of 1 Ch. 3 15, where four sons are given to Josiah, one of whom is an otherwise unknown Johanan, and another is Shallum. The Chronicler who calls Jehoahaz's successor Jehoiakim (not Eliakim) would certainly have called Jehoahaz by his crown-name, not by his (supposed) birth-name. Shallum, therefore, in

[1] So Graf.

1 Ch. 3 15 is derived from Jer. 22 11 ; the Chronicler failed to see that Shallum and Jehoahaz were the same person. Johanan in 1 Ch. *l.c.* is miswritten for 'Jehoahaz' (cp 𝔊L and see JOHANAN, 10) or else an editor has altered 'Joahaz' into 'Johanan' to cover over the Chronicler's mistake. At RIBLAH on the Orontes Jehoahaz was put in chains by Necho, and sent to Egypt. See Jer. 22 10-12 Ezek. 19 3 *f.*, and cp JEHOIAKIM.

4. King of Judah (2 Ch. 21 17, οχοζ(ε)ιας [BAL], 25 23 [BA om.], οχοζιου [L]). See AHAZIAH, 2. T. K. C.

JEHOASH (יְהוֹאָשׁ), 2 K. 11 21 [12 1], etc. See JOASH i., 1.

JEHOHANAN (יְהוֹחָנָן), 1 Ch. 26 3, etc. See JOHANAN, 5.

JEHOIACHIN (יְהוֹיָכִין, once יוֹיָכִין, Ezek. 1 2, 'Yahwè establishes,' § 31, cp ιαω ετοιμασμος *adnot* Qmg., Ezek. 1 2 ; ιωακειμ [BNAQ], -κειν [L in 2 K.], ιεχονιας [BAL in 2 Ch.], by contraction JECONIAH (יְכוֹנְיָה ; Jer. 27 20, יְכָנְיָה[וּ], Jer. 24 1 28 4 29 2 1 Ch. 3 16 *f.*, [ε]ιεχονιας [BNAQL]) and CONIAH (כָּנְיָהוּ, Jer. 22 24 28 37 1, ιεχονιας [BNAQ], ιωακειμ [A in 22 24], cp CHENANIAH, CONANIAH).

The nineteenth king of Judah. He succeeded his father Jehoiakim in 597 B.C. at the age of eighteen (2 K. 24 8 ‖ 1 Esd. 1 43 JOACIM, RV JOAKIM. ιωακειμ [BAL]),' and after a brief reign of three months ('and ten days,' 1 Esd. 1 43) surrendered to Nebuchadrezzar, by whom he was carried captive to Babylon, with his mother, his generals, and his troops, together with the artificers and other inhabitants of Jerusalem, to the number of 10,000. He remained in confinement there as long as Nebuchadrezzar lived ; but the next king, Evil-merodach, not only released him, but gave him an honourable seat at his own table, with precedence over all his royal companions in misfortune, and 'a continual provision' (2 K. 25 27-30 Jer. 52 31-34). The writer of the pathetic passage at the close of Kings evidently regards Jehoiachin as the legitimate king even in his exile ; so too does Ezekiel, who dates his great vision with reference to Jehoiachin's captivity (Ezek. 1 2), and writes in moving terms of this event (Ezek. 19 9). Cp Meyer, *Entst.* 78.

See also Esth. 2 6 (BNAL om.) ; also Mt. 1 11, where JECHONIAS (ιεχονιας [Ti. WH]) is called the 'son of Josias,' his grandfather.

JEHOIADA (יְהוֹיָדָע, 'YahwB knows' ; see JOIADA, and cp Jedaiah, Jediel, etc. ; ιωδαε [BNL], ιωαδ. [A]).

1. The chief priest[2] who (temp. Athaliah) by his promptness and energy rescued Judah from becoming a mere appendage of the northern Israelitish kingdom, directed by the dynasty of Omri, 2 K. 11 4 (ιωιαδαε [A]) and in 12 7 *ff.* 12 2 [3] *ff.* 2 Ch. 23 *f.* (in 24 2 *rwar* [Ba mg. b] by confusion with the preceding name in the same verse). Both our historical accounts (see JOASH i., 1) represent Jehoiada as the soul of the revolution, and we can well understand that he was virtually ruler during the minority of Joash. The king did not, however, remain the tool of his tutor : in the twenty-third year of the reign of Joash we find the king administering a rebuke to Jehoiada and the priests (2 K. 12 7 [8], cp 2 Ch. 24 6). According to the Chronicler, Jehoiada married two wives, one of whom was JEHOSHABEATH, daughter of king Jehoram, grandfather of Joash (2 Ch. 22 11 ιωιαδα [A], 24 3).

In a letter ascribed to a prophet named Shemaiah we find (Jer. 29 25) Zephaniah and the other priests at Jerusalem (temp. Zedekiah) represented as occupying the place of (Jehoiada the priest,' so far as related to the supervision of persons who claimed to be prophets. The phrase reminds us of Mt. 23 2 ('the scribes . . . sit in Moses' seat') ; 'Jehoiada' represents the principle of sacerdotal superiority to prophecy.

[1] On the singular statement of MT of 2 Ch. 36 9 cp 1 Esd. 1 41 *f.* ; but 𝔊AL has ὀκτὼ καὶ 6 i a (in Ch. ; but δέκα ὀκτώ [A], ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα [L] in 1 Esd.) see Barnes's note in Cambr. Bible.
[2] In 2 K. 12 10 [11] Jehoiada is called 'high priest,' but this is contrary to usage. The original document must have been altered (so also 2 K. 22 8). See Kittel and Benzinger.

2. Father of Benaiah (ιωαδ [L]), 2 S. 8 18, ιανακ [B], ιωδαε [A], 20 23, αχειλουθ [B, introduced from [*v.* 24], ιωδαε [A], ιωαδδαι [L]; ιωιαδαε [A in 2 S. 23 20 22 and 1 K. 1 *f.* except 1 26, ιωδαε [A], in 1 Ch. 11 22 24 18 17 27 j; 'on the error in 1 Ch. 27 34 see BENAIAH, 1). In 1 Ch. 12 27 he is called 'leader of AARON. [*q.v.*, n. 1]—*i.e.*, of the Aaronites (τωαδας [B], -δαε [א], ιωα. [A], ιωαδα [L]), cp DAVID, § 11 [iii.].

JEHOIAKIM[1] (יְהוֹיָקִים, 'Yahwè raiseth up,' § 31; cp JOIAKIM, JOKIM; ιωακ[ε]ιμ, [BאAQL]), also ιωκειμ [A in 2 K. 24 6], ιοακειν [L in 2 K. 24 19], ιεχονια [A in Jer. 22 24]), at first called ELIAKIM (*q.v.* 2), eighteenth king of Judah, son of Josiah and ZEBUDAH (2 K. 23 36 2 Ch. 36 4 *ff.*; JOACIM, RV JOAKIM, 1 Esd. 1 37 *ff.*; JOACHIM, RV JOAKIM, Bar. 1 3). He succeeded his deposed brother Jehoahaz as the nominee of Pharaoh-Necho, at the same time receiving the new name of Jehoiakim (probably suggested by the priests) from his suzerain (cp 2 K. 24 17). Jehoiakim showed his gratitude by pursuing an Egyptian policy as long as he could. His first object was to collect the tribute imposed by Necho (2 K. 23 35; cp 15 20). The royal treasure being probably much reduced, he had to 'exact the silver and gold of each one according to his taxation,'[2] which almost inevitably led to much oppression of the poor (cp HOSHEA, 1). It is surprising that Jehoiakim should, in such circumstances, have shown a passion for regal magnificence. By forced labour, as Jeremiah tells us (22 13 *f.*), he built a spacious house, ceiled with cedar and painted with vermilion, thus vying with Ahaz or with Ahab (see AHAB, § 8), according to two of the ancient readings of this difficult passage (*v.* 15). Of what use, cries the prophet, is this ill-gotten magnificence? Will vying with former kings be any security to him in the day of trouble? Or rather—for the text certainly needs emendation—'wilt thou continue to reign, because thou makest a nest in choice cedars?[3] And then, reverting at the close to this love of cedar-wood, he cries to the royal family in the palace (*v.* 23), 'Thou that dwellest in a Lebanon, that hast a nest on the cedars, how wilt thou groan when pangs come upon thee'—the pangs of those who are being led into the presence of a ruthless conqueror? We have no document equally trustworthy with this prophecy for the character of Jehoiakim. That the morality of the nobles was on a par with that of the king appears from other prophecies of Jeremiah, and when a prophet named URIAH ventured to rebuke Jehoiakim, the king slew the messenger of God and dishonoured his dead body (Jer. 26 20). Jeremiah and Baruch narrowly escaped the same fate (Jer. 36 26); with horror the biographer of the prophet relates that the king cut and burned with his own hands the sacred roll of prophecy (Jer. 36 23).[4]

The chronology of the close of Jehoiakim's reign is uncertain. According to 2 K. 24 1 he paid tribute to Nebuchadrezzar for three years, and then rebelled. Since a Babylonian army did not appear before Jerusalem till after Jehoiakim's death, it has been supposed that the three years referred to are the three last of Jehoiakim's life and reign—*i.e.*, 600-598.[5] But there are historical difficulties, which have been forcibly urged by Winckler (*AT Unters.* 81 *ff.*). Winckler himself makes the three years of Jehoiakim's fidelity to Babylon 605-603. The Chronicler says (2 Ch. 36 6 *f.*) that Nebuchadrezzar carried Jehoiakim to Babylon; but according to 2 K. 24 6 he died in peace at Jerusalem and in the LXX 2 Ch. 36 8 asserts that he was buried in the garden of UZZA [*q.v.*]; cp 2 K. 21 18 26. The latter statement is probable, just because it runs counter to the terms of denunciation in Jer. 22 18 *f.* 36 30. See ISRAEL, § 40 *f.* T. K. C.

1 In Jer. 27 1 Jehoiakim is an error for ZEDEKIAH [*q.v.*, 1]; cp RVmg.

2 RV makes the tribute-money exacted 'of (from) the people of the land.' But this gives the verb נָגַשׂ a third accusative. את־עם הארץ is a gloss on the expression הָאָרֶץ ('the land') in the same verse, and is therefore to be deleted. Cp Klo., Ki.

3 'Because thou viest with Ahaz' (𝔊BאQ), or 'with Ahab' (𝔊A; so Co.), is some improvement on MT's 'because thou strivest to excel in cedar' (?)(𝔊Q mg., cp Aq., Symm.). A better reading (see *Crit. Bib.*) is suggested by *v.* 7 and *v.* 23.

4 See Che., *Jer., Life and Times*, 139 *ff.*

5 See Tiele, *BAG* 424 *ff.*; Stade, *GVI* 1 678; Guthe, *GVI* 220.

JEHOIARIB (יְהוֹיָרִיב, 'Yahwè contends'; ιωαρ[ε]ιβ [AאVL]; 1 Ch. 9 10, -μ [B]; 1 Ch. 24 7, ιαρειμ [B], -ρειβ [A]), also JOIARIB (*q.v.*), or JOARIB (see below), the founder of an important priestly family which was represented in the time of Joiakim the high priest by Mattenai (see EZRA ii., §§ 6*b*, 11), Neh. 12 19 (ιωιαρ[ε]ιβ [אc.a mg. inf. L; B*אA om.]), and from which the Maccabees also were descended (JOARIB, 1 Macc. 2 1 ιωαρειμ [Aא] 14 29 [RV]). In 1 Ch. 9 10 24 7 Jehoiarib has a high place in the priesthood of David's time; according to Neh. 12 6 (ιωιαρ[ε]ιβ) Joiarib returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua from Babylon, and in Ezra 8 16 (αρειβ [B], ια. [L], ιωαρειμ [A]) he is one of Ezra's assistants and a 'teacher' (מְבִין). Cp JARIB, JOIARIB.

JEHONADAB (יְהוֹנָדָב), 2 K. 10 15. See JONADAB, 3.

JEHONATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן), 1 Ch. 27 25 AV, etc. See JONATHAN, 9, 11, 16.

JEHORAM (יְהוֹרָם—*i.e.*, 'Yahwè is high,' §§ 38 44; ιωραμ [BAL]). The fuller form of JORAM [*q.v.*].

1. b. Ahab, king of Israel after Ahaziah (852?-842). It was in his reign that, according to 2 K. 3 5 *f.*, the Moabites revolted from the house of Omri, and we may at any rate infer that the Moabites had during the short reign of Ahaziah taken such reprisals on the Israelites that Jehoram could not safely neglect to give Israel's former vassals a lesson. Everything seemed to favour such an enterprise. In particular, Israel's most dangerous foes, the Syrians of Damascus, were prevented by the constant danger of a fresh Assyrian attack from renewing their old hostilities against the kingdom of Samaria. We do indeed hear, in 2 K. 6 *f.*, of a siege of Samaria by the Syrians, which the editor evidently supposes to have taken place under Jehoram. This chronological assignment, however, improbable enough (for the reason mentioned just now) in itself, is probably shown to be a mistake by the mention of BENHADAD (*q.v.*, § 2) as the besieger of Samaria, and by the tradition that the host of Benhadad dispersed in a panic at the supposed approach of the kings of the Hittites and of Mizraim.

1. Moab.

2. Siege of Samaria.

The Hittites are of course those of Northern Syria, and more especially perhaps of Hamath. 'Mizraim' must either be corrupt, or must, although generally the Hebrew word for Egypt be the name of some people and country not far removed from the Hittites. Nor can we be long in doubt which alternative to adopt. For 'Mizraim' we should, both here and in 1 K. 10 28 *f.* 2 Ch. 1 16 *f.*, read *Miṣrim*,—*i.e.*, the *Miṣri*, who, in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I. and Tiglath-pileser I., are referred to as dwelling on the borders of Northern Syria and Cappadocia, and in Shalmaneser II.'s time were still able to send 1000 warriors to the assistance of Bir'idri (Benhadad) at Ḳarḳar (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *a*, and cp CILICIA, § 2, n. 2).

Now the only time when these two kingdoms (Hamath and Muṣri) would be dangerous or at least troublesome to the Syrians of Damascus would be that immediately preceding 854 B.C., while Shalmaneser was still occupied in Mesopotamia. The normal condition of these northern states was one of mutual jealousy; but for a moment the presence of a common danger united them; they combined, as we have seen, not without some beneficial results, at Karkar.[1]

The siege of Samaria referred to in 2 K. 6 *f.* was therefore not an event of the reign of Jehoram, nor (as Kue. *Einl.* § 25, n. 12, and Ki. *Hist.* 2 277, maintain) of that of Jehoahaz, but probably of that of Ahab.[2] The narrative itself leaves the name of the king undetermined, though the mention of Elisha as contemporary with the siege shows that the circle in which this narrative originated did not

1 See Hommel, *GBA* 610, n. 3; Winckler, *AT Unters.* 172; *GI* 1 151 *f.*; M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 409; and cp Schrader, *KGF* 254 *ff.* The view of Wellhausen (*CH* 287) that the Hittites and the Egyptians are mentioned by mistake for the Assyrians, must therefore he abandoned. (Since this article was written the above view of מצרים has been adopted also by Benz. and Ki.)

2 Thus we have a duplicate tradition of the siege (1 K. 20 1-22, and 2 K. 6 24-7).

suppose the king to have been Ahab.[1] Such a mistake would have been impossible in the royal annals, but was not so in a tradition told and retold often before it was committed to writing.

We now return to Jehoram's expedition against Moab. The narrative which describes it is not taken from the annals; like that of the siege of Samaria, it proceeds from popular tradition. It is possible enough that Elisha was consulted on the occasibn; but some of the details present a suspicious resemblance to those of the departure of Ahab for Ramoth-gilead (cp 2 K. 3 11 *f.* with 1 K. 22 7-9), though at the same time there is a difference, for Elisha receives from Jehoram much more respect than Micaiah receives from Ahab. There is also one clearly inaccurate historical statement. There can have been no king of Edom at this period to accompany Jehoram and Jehoshaphat (see 1 K. 22 [47] 48 *f.*, and cp 2 K. 8 20; see also EDOM, § 7). That the Israelites really adopted the means of getting water described in 2 K. 3 16 *f.* 20, it would be rash to deny; their leaders were doubtless as well acquainted with the ground as modern travellers (see *OTJC*(2) 147, and cp ELISHA, § 5).

3. Expedition against Moab.

The account of the havoc wrought by the invaders is trustworthy (see KIR-HARESETH). Nor is it clear why Winckler (*GI* 1 207) should doubt the historicity of Mesha's sacrifice of his firstborn (2 K. 3 27). The plague or some other physical calamity which befell Israel at the close of the expedition would perpetuate the memory of the awful sacrifice which preceded it. The original tradition appears to have stated that this calamity was caused by the wrath of the god of Moab at the invasion.[2] Israel's courage ebbed away, while Mesha's desperate act inspired the besieged with religious enthusiasm. They sallied from the fortress and drove the Israelites away. The honour of Moab and of Mesha was saved.

4. Mesha's sacrifice.

The cloud which hovered over Syria at this time was favourable to another warlike project of Jehoram — the recovery of the Gileadite cities for which Ahab had so bravely, but *so* vainly, fought. *So* the king of Israel summons his kinsman Ahaziah of Judah to attend him, as Jehoshaphat had attended him before, on the field of battle. Jehoram is wounded, and returns home to Jezreel, and Ahaziah goes to visit him. Thus Jehu ben Nimshi is left alone in command of the troops. How he is encouraged to seize the crown, is told elsewhere (JEHU, § 1). Pierced by Jehu's arrow Jehoram falls.

5. Gilead.

2. Son of Jehoshaphat by Athaliah, and king of Judah (851-843 B.C.), 2 K. 8 16-24. A fragment of the royal annals tells us that in his reign the Edomites revolted from Judah, and chose themselves a king. Jehorani, however, seems to have had even less success against Edom than his Israelitish namesake had against Moab. Until the close of the campaign the N. Israelites appear to have had the advantage over Mesha; but of the southern Jehoram we are told (*so* far as the text can be understood) that he had the greatest difficulty in cutting his way by night through the Edoniites who had surrounded him, and saving his life with a faithful few. The greater part of his army ('the people,' as 2 *S.* 18 1-8) had fled. Libnah, probably a Canaanitish city annexed to Judah, revolted at the same time.

Whether any grains of historical fact can be gleaned from the narrative of the Chronicler (2 Ch. 21) is more than doubtful. The temptation to enrich an empty reign with didactic details was especially strong in the present instance, Jehoram being the representative in Judah of the dangerous innovating religious policy of Ahab (2 K. 8 18). A writer who was capable of inventing (or even of accepting without criticism) a letter from Elijah to Jehorarn simply to enhance the king's guilt, cannot safely he followed even in such comparative trifles as the illness which, he says, preceded Jehoram's death. To accuse Jehoram of opening his reign with a massacre (cp ATHALIAH, 1), and to burden the history with something like a repetition of the supposed invasion af Zerah (so Smith, *DB*(2); Koh. *Bibl. Gesch.* 3 339-344; Klost. *GVI* 203) is therefore scarcely to he called critical. See Kue. *Einl.* § 31, n. 3, and cp Bennett, ***Chronicles***, 393-398.

3. A priest, temp. Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 17 8 (ιωραν [B]).

T. K. C.

JEHOSHABEATH (יְהוֹשַׁבְעַת), 2 Ch. 22 11. See JEHOSHEBA.

JEHOSHAPHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט, § 36, 'Yahwè judges,' cp שְׁפַטְיָהוּ, etc., and see JOSHAPHAT, also DAN i., § 1; ιωσαφαθ or ιωσαφατ [BAL; in 2 Ch. always -ατ]).

1. King of Judah (1 K. 15 24 22 2 *ff.* 2 K. 3 1 *ff.* 2 Ch. 17 1 *ff.*). Probably his accession is to be placed in the eleventh year of Omri, not in the sixth year of Ahab.[1] Of the latter king he was in all probability a vassal (see AHAB, § 7, n. 3). Repeatedly (1 K. 22 4 2 K. 3 7) he takes the field with the king of Israel; his visit to Ahab in Samaria (1 K. 22 2) is no doubt a compulsory one, connected with the campaign against the Aramæans in the N. of Gilead. The marriage of his heir Jehoram with Ahab's daughter ATHALIAH (*q.v.*), was also a political necessity; as a vassal, Jehoshaphat took this means of lightening his burden. Nor can he protest when Ahab puts him in a false position by disguising himself as a common soldier while Jehoshaphat retains his royal insignia (1 K. 22 30). The compiler of Kings gives him a good character for piety. His piety, however, whatever it was, did not blind him to the necessity for national progress in national things. His attempt to open direct communication with the gold-country OPHIR (*q.v.*) is thus described in 1 K. 22 47-49. (The passage is not so obscure as it has been thought, but needs emendation; it is an old coin needing to be purified from its rust.)

'And he had mariners in Nĕṣīb-ĕdōm, those that wield the oar [in] ships of Tarshish, [and they undertook] to go to Ophir for gold, hut they went not, for the ships were wrecked in Nĕṣīb-ĕdōm. Then Ahaziah b. Ahab said to Jehoshaphat, "Let my servants go to sea with thy servants." But Jehoshaphat consented not.'[2]

How the Chronicler represents these facts is told elsewhere (CHRONICLES, § 8 *a*). The same writer omits to mention the war against Moab in which Jehoshaphat did vassal's service to Jehoram (2 K. 3; see JEHORAM, 1), and substitutes the strange narrative

[1] There is apparently a confusion between Elijah and Elisha, as in 2 K. 8 1 3 9 1-10. See ELISHA, § 5.

[2] The text in its present form simply states that there was a great outbreak of divine wrath (קֶצֶף גָּדוֹל) against Israel. The sense of this is clear, for except in Eccles. 5 17 [16] (if the text he correct) and Esth. 1 18 קֶצֶף is always used of divine anger; but which god is referred to? We must clearly distinguish between the original tradition and the narrative in its present form. The contemporary Jews may possibly enough (cp 1 S. 26 19) have said that Chemosh, the god of Moab, had hitherto been wroth with his people (cp inscription of Mesha *l.* 5), but that now he turned his indignation against the invaders of his land. The author of the narrative in its present form, however, certainly thought that the God of Israel had the supreme power even in the land of Moab (see 2 K. 3 16-18). His natural impulse was to attribute to Yahwh the calamity which marred the success of the Israelites, and yet how could Yahwè have turned suddenly against Israel? He therefore says quite vaguely that divine wrath fell upon Israel, without mentioning the name of Yahwh. The original tradition may have said קֶצֶף מִלִּפְנֵי כְּמוֹשׁ, 'wrath from the presence of Chemosh.' That the wrath of Chemosh is meant is admitted by Bertheau, *Bib.-lex.* (Schenkel), 4 231 *f.*, Stade, *GVI* 1 430 536; H. Schultz, *AT Theol.*(4), 174; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 111. Wellhausen cautiously (*Prol.*(5) 23 *f.*) describes this view as 'possible,' which points in the direction of such a theory as is adopted here. The language of the text is vague; this vagueness has to be accounted for. Klostermann's view (*Sam. u. Kön.* 400 *f.*) is at once too complicated and too arbitrary to he discussed here. The best conservative treatment of the question is in Koh. *Bibl. Gesch.* 3 335, n. 5.

[1] The account in 1 K. 22 41-50 is given by 𝔊BL between 1 K. 16 28 and 29 with some omissions and with a different chronological statement (viz. that adopted above). 𝔊B (but not 𝔊L) also renders the full Hebrew text of 1 K. 22 41-46 (but not 47-50, which 𝔊A, however, gives).

[2] The received text is supposed to state that although it (Edom) had a king, yet he was merely a nominee of the king of Judah. This cannot be right. The text has, 'There was no king in Edom—a prefect king—Jehoshaphat,' Following hints of 𝔊 Stade and Ki. read thus, 'In Edom there was (then) no king,' [but] the prefect (or, officer) of king Jehoshaphat built,' etc. This is not at all natural. The key is furnished by Ezek. 27 29; נְצִיב אֱדוֹם, *Nĕṣīb-ĕdōm*, 'Column of (the god) Edom,' we must hold to he the true name of the miscalled Ezion-geber.

(2 Ch. 20; see CHRONICLES, § 8 *b*) of the pious king's deliverance from Moab, Edom, and Ammon, which is a romantic version (but with much geographical precision; see NEGEB) of the tradition recorded in 2 K. 3, and only valuable (1) from its geographical details, and (2) as an illustration of levitical religion in the third century B.C. On the reputed tribute of the Philistines and Arabians (2 Ch. 17 11) see ARABIA, § 3, PHILISTINES; see also below, JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF.

2. b. Ahilud or rather Ahimelech (see AHILUD), David's vizier (מַזְכִּיר); 2 S. 8 16 (*ιωσαφ* [A], 20 24, *σαφαν* [L], 1 K. 4 3 1 Ch. 18 15). See RECORDER.

3. b. Paruah, Solomon's prefect in ISSACHAR [§ 4] (1 K. 4 17 [BL om.; replaced after *v.* 19, where *ιωσαφατ* [L]).

4. b. Nimshi, father of JEHU, 1. (2 K. 9 2 14.) Cp ISSACHAR, § 4. T. K. C.

JEHOSHAPHAT, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק יְהוֹשָׁפָט), or rather **The Valley (called) 'Jehoshaphat,'** the name of the place of judgment for all nations (Joel 3 [4] 2 12†). If correctly read, it is the coinage of the prophetic writer himself; it means 'Yahwè judges,' 'for there will I sit to judge all the nations round about' (*v.* 12; similarly *v.* 2 in the Hebrew). Had the writer any definite geographical site in view? Some have thought of the valley of BERACHAH (עמק ברכה, 2 Ch. 20 26), where Jehoshaphat is said to have gained a victory; but surely Jerusalem, not Tekoa, is to witness the judgment. Others prefer the valley of KIDRON (*q.v.*, § 2), where there appears to have been a common graveyard in pre-exilic times (2 K. 23 6), and where both Jews and Moslems still bury their dead in anticipation of the judgment. The tradition, however, connecting this valley with Joel's prophecy can be traced no earlier than the fourth century A.D. (see Eus. and Jer. *OS* 273 89 113 13), and has no authority; besides, the Kidron valley is called נַחַל, *naḥal*, not עֵמֶק, *'ēmeḳ*. In *v.* 14 Joel gives another descriptive name—עמק החרוץ, EV 'valley of decision.' It might seem that he was thinking of Is. 28 21 *f.*, where destruction is threatened to 'the whole earth' (or, land) in terms reminding us of Joel's second phrase, and it is said that Yahwè will arise for judgment 'as on Mt. Perazim,' and 'as in the valley (בעמק) by Gibeon.' Isaiah obviously refers here to the valley (עֵמֶק) of REPHAIM (*q.v.*), SW. of Jerusalem, which was for him the typical valley of judgment. It is not impossible that Joel refers to the same site (but cp Zech. 14 4). Elsewhere, however (*Crit. Bib.*), it is argued that the same corruption has occurred in both passages, and that the obscure phrases 'valley of Jehoshaphat' and 'valley of decision (?)' (or, 'of threshing,' Geneva English Bible, AV^mg., Calv., Credner) should be read 'valley of judgment' (הַמִּשְׁפָּט) and 'valley of judicial righteousness.'

For 'valley of Jehoshaphat' 𝔊^BNAQ gives *τὴν κοιλάδα Ἰωσαφατ*, Theod. *τὴν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως*; Tg. מישר פלוג דינא. Thus Theod. and Tg. favour המשפט. For 'valley of decision (?)' 𝔊 has *τῇ κοιλάδι* [-λῃ א*] *τῆς δίκης*—*i.e.*, הצדקה, but Theod. repeats *τῆς κρίσεως*.

A learned (unpublished) Index of Passages bearing on the topography of Jerusalem by A. B. M'Grigor ('96) summarises the traditional statements on the valley of Jehoshaphat. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 A.D.) believed that this valley was 'to the left of those going from Jerusalem to the gate which is against the E., that they may ascend Mt. Olivet.' Antoninus Martyr uses the term 'valley of Gethsemane' as synonymous with 'valley of Jehoshaphat.' Willibald says that it was near Jerusalem on the eastern side. Adamnan also knows of a 'tower of Jehoshaphat' in the same valley, not far from the Church of St. Mary. Against all this, and much more of the same kind we may put the statement of Midrash Tillim, 'A valley called Jehoshaphat does not exist' (Neub. *Géogr.* 51). T. K. C.

JEHOSHEBA (יְהוֹשֶׁבַע, probably for יְהוֹשׁוּעַ, Jehoshua; cp ELISHEBA; but cp § 33; ιωcαβεε [B*AL], ιωcαβεθ [B^a.b (*θ* superscr.)]) or JEHOSHABEATH (יְהוֹשַׁבְעַת, ιωcαβεε [BL], ιωcαβεθ [A]), apparently an error produced by the following בת (so also Gray *HPN* 285; cp 𝔊 Ex. 6 23, where the same error appears, and ELISARETH), daughter of Joram, sister of Ahaziah, and wife of Jehoiada, who saved the life of her royal nephew Joash (2 K. 11 2 2 Ch. 22 11). See ATHALIAH, JOASH. T. K. C.

JEHOSHUA (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), Nu. 13 16, and **Jehoshuah,** 1 Ch. 7 27, RV JOSHUA [*q.v.*].

JEHOVAH (יְהֹוָה), Gen. 2 4, etc. See NAMES, § 109 *ff.*

JEHOVAH-JIREH (יהוה יִרְאֶה, κυριοc [ε]ιδεν [ADL]), or rather Yahwè-yir'è, the name given by Abraham to the place on which he had offered up a ram instead of his son (Gen. 22 14). In view of *v.* 8, it should mean 'Yahwè selects'; but the next words are, according to the traditional text, 'Hence it is even yet said, In the mountain where Yahwè appears,' as if this were a popular saying (cp 10 9). We are thus face to face with an inconsistency. Probably the editor of JE, who (see ISAAC, § 2) interfered with the original story of the Elohist, vocalised differently, so as to read Yahwè-yērā'è, 'Yahwè appears' (on this spot). His object is manifest from 2 Ch. 3 1, where the site of Solomon's temple is said to have been 'on Mt. Moriah (בְּהַר הַמּוֹרִיָּה), where [Yahwè] appeared (נִרְאָה) unto David his father.' The Elohist, however, must have written El-yir'è, and have explained the name as '(the place which) God selects,' or generally, 'God selects (place, victim, etc., as it pleases him).' Cp MORIAH.

What the Elohist has given us cannot, however, be the original story. Using the reinterpreted story of Beer-lahai-roi as a key (see ISAAC, § 2), we see that it is the same sacred spot, called properly Beer-Jerahmeel (or Jerahmeeli), which is here referred to. To suit the new Hebrew story of the divine prohibition of human sacrifice, the name Jerahmeel was altered into El-jireh ('God provides'). In *v.* 14 we should probably read, for בְּהַר, 'in the mountain,' בְּאֵר, 'well'—*i.e.*, 'according as it is still the custom to say Beer-jireh-el.' The latter name was an edifying alteration of Jerahmeel. [יהוה יראה, the first time *κύριος εἶδεν*, the second (*ἐν τῷ ὄρει*) *κύριος ὤφθη*. Pesh., Vet. Lat., and (after it) Vg., represent the Kal both times, and agree in presupposing בָּהָר.] T. K. C.

JEHOVAH-NISSI (יהוה־נִסִּי, κυριοc καταφυγη μου, *Dominus exaltatio mea*), the name given to the altar built after the defeat of Amalek at Rephidim, Ex. 17 15. EV renders 'the Lord (is) my banner,' which is in fact the usual explanation. Most compare Ps. 20 6 [5], and paraphrase, 'We fight in reliance on Yahwè.' The paraphrase, however, is not natural,' and Ps. 20 5 [6] is corrupt (see ENSIGNS, § 1 *b*, col. 1299).

Vg. imagines a derivation from נָשָׂא; 𝔊 apparently reads מְנוּסִי. Probably 𝔊 is right; the Paseḳ before נִסִּי may indicate that the text is doubtful. Verse 16 is equally uncertain (on EV see HAND, 6). An inspection of the Hebrew letters suggests that both עַל־כֵּם and מִלְחָמָה are probably miswritten for עֲמָלֵק. When the second עמלק had become corrupted into מלחמה, ליהוה בעמלק had to be inserted to make sense. מִדֹּר דֹּר (an unusual phrase) should probably be ברפידים, and כי יד should be כי הניד.

The whole passage should probably run thus:—'And Moses built an altar, and called the name of it 'Yahwè is my refuge'; he said, 'Yahwè has put Amalek to flight in Rephidim' (כי הניד את־עמלק ברפידים). On the name 'Amalek' see JERAHMEEL, § 4. T. K. C.

JEHOVAH-SHALOM (יהוה שָׁלוֹם, ειρηνη κυριου [BA], κυρ. ειρ. [L]; *Domini pax*), the name of Gideon's altar at Ophrah, Judg. 6 24 *f.* The name probably commemorated the traditional victory of Gideon, though the narrative as it stands seems to connect it with a phrase ascribed to Yahwè—'Peace to thee' (='It is well with thee'). Cp, however, Moore, *Judges*, 189. T. K. C.

JEHOZABAD (יְהוֹזָבָד, 'Yahwè gives,' § 27; ιωζαβαδ [BAL]). See JOZABAD.

1. b. Shomer, one of the murderers of Joash, 2 K. 12 21 [22] (*ιεζεβουθ* [BAL]); in 2 Ch. 24 26 *f.* (*ζωζαβεδ* [B], *ιωζαβεδ* [A], -*εθ* [L]), where the text is otherwise corrupt (cp especially P),

he is called b. Shimrith a Moabitess (MT, 𝔊L) or Moabite (𝔊BA).

2. A Benjamite chief under Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 17 18.

3. b. Obed-edom, 1 Ch. 26 4 (ιωζαβαθ [B]).

JEHOZADAK (יְהוֹצָדָק, §§ 36, 57 [but 'יוֹצ in Ezra-Neh.], 'God is righteous,' cp צדקיה; ΙΩϹΕΔΕΚ [BℵAQΓL]), EV JOZADAK in Ezra-Neh.; AV JOSEDECH in Hagg., Zech. The father of JESHUA [*q.v.*, ii., 5] the high priest (Hag. 1 1, etc., Zech. 6 11 Ezra 3 2 5 2 10 18 Neh. 12 26, cp 1 Esd. 5 48 56 6 2 9 19 and Ecclus. 49 12 [JOSEDEC, RV JOSEDEK]). In 1 Ch. 6 14 *f.* [5 40 *f.* ιωσαδακ, B] he is the son of Seraiah b. Azariah (see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [iv.]); cp 1 Esd. 5 5, and see SERAIAH, 7.

JEHU (יֵהוּא, § 38, perhaps for יְהוּהוּא, 'Yahwè is he,' unless we read [א]יוהו; cp יֵשׁוּעַ, יְהוֹשׁוּעַ [cp Kon. *Lehrg.* 2 *a* 489]; in Ass. *ia-u-a*, [Ε]ΙΟΥ [BL], [Ε]ΙΟΥ or [Ε]ΙΗΟΥ [A]).

1. ben Jehoshaphat ben Nimshi, a king of Israel, 2 K. 9 *f.* Hos. 1 4 ιουδα [BAQ], 2 Ch. 22 8 (841-815 B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, §§ 28 34 *f.*, and tab. v.).

1. Accession. Originally a member of Ahab's bodyguard,' he rose to the position of general under Jehoram, and was entrusted by him with the protection of the border city of RAMOTH-GILEAD (or rather, perhaps, Ramath-Salhad), menaced by the Aramæan army. Jehoram was at the time away in Jezreel, invalided, and Jehu seized the opportunity of placing himself on the throne.

How the conspiracy was described by the historian we cannot tell; the editor has substituted an account derived from a cycle of narratives shaped by disciples of Elisha. It is, of course, not improbable that ELISHA[2] [*q.v.*, § 5] favoured a change of dynasty; the editor may have justly preferred the dramatic scene in the Elisha narrative to the briefer account of the historian. The consequence of this editorial operation is that we do not know for whom Jehu's speech in 2 K. 9 15*b* is intended. Probably, however, he addresses his chief supporters in the army, whose existence is implied by the word וַיִּתְקַשֵּׁר, 'he bound himself (with others)' in *v.* 14*a*.[3]

The story of the slaughter of king Jehoram and his royal kinsman and vassal Ahaziah need not be related at length. Jehu poses as the champion of true Israelitish manners, and justifies his treatment of Jehoram as an act of vengeance for the judicial murder of Naboth, contemplated by the solemn declaration of Elijah. Ahaziah's race for life is referred to elsewhere (see BETH-HAGGAN; GUR). The murder of JEZEBEL [*q.v.*] was justified on similar grounds. That of the sons of Ahab, or rather (see 2 K. 10 2 *f.*) of Jehoram,[4] however, is simply the measure constantly taken by Oriental usurpers for their own security.

The opening words of 2 K. 10 1, and also 'seventy persons' in *v.* 6 are incorrect glosses; the number seventy in *v.* 7 is made up by including all the 'sons of the king'—*i.e.*, all the members of the royal family, as well as the young children of Joram. 'Seventy,' however, is not to be taken literally; a similar massacre of seventy relatives of the king is mentioned in a north Syrian inscription.[5]

2. Acts of cruelty. Two further acts of butchery are recorded. In the first, the victims are forty-two kinsmen of King Ahaziah who are on their way to visit the Israelite princes in Samaria (cp 10 12). The passage is, however, evidently in a wrong connection;[6] the contents belong to the revolution period which is just over. The princes must have encountered Jehu to the S. of Samaria, whereas Jehu, according to 10 12, should be on his way from Jezreel in the N. to Samaria. It is not impossible that the murder may have been committed within the border of Judah, and stand in connection with an attempt on the part of Jehu to incorporate Judah, which in Ahabs time had already been reduced to vassalage, in a great Israelitish kingdom, the centre of which would be in Samaria.[1] This idea is confirmed by the co-operation which Jehu appears to have received on religious grounds from JONADAB the Rechabite.; the seats of the Rechabites were surely not in the N. but in the S. of Judah.

It is not much help to say that 'the story of Jonadab is *in this connection* improbable' (Benz.). That the account of Jehu's meeting with Jonadab in 2 K. 10 15 *f.* is complete, no one would assert, and the implied view of the editor, that Jonadab rode with Jehu in his chariot into Samaria with the object of witnessing Jehu's destruction of the devotees of Baal is in the highest degree improbable. Such a course would have put all the adherents of Baal worship on their guard, and nullified Jehu's reputation for 'subtilty.'[2] But we cannot get rid of Rechabite co-operation altogether.

The second massacre is on a vaster scale; it is nothing less than the extermination of the prophets, priests, and devotees of Baal, and the 'subtilty' of Jehu consists in this—that he makes the priests and prophets the instruments of the ruin of their religion. The persons who 'sanctified a solemn assembly for Baal' (2 K. 10 20 RV), were not the courtiers of Jehu but Baal's prophets and priests (*v.* 19, where 'all his worshippers' is an interpolation).[3] So all the Baal worshippers in the land were collected in the courts, or perhaps in the *liškah* or hall[4] of the temple (presumably a large one) which Ahab had built in Samaria (1 K. 16 32). How the stern warriors of Jehu slew the robed devotees, hurled the sacred objects to the ground, pressed into the sanctuary itself, took thence the sacred pillar of Baal and broke it in pieces, pulled down the altar[5] (cp 1 K. 16 32 *f.*), and finally the temple itself, is graphically told in 2 K. 10 18-27. How far it is really historical we can hardly say. The fact at any rate is certain that in the narrator's time Ahabs temple lay in ruins, and that tradition connected this with the name of the cruel king Jehu. It also appears likely enough that Jehu was not originally known as a ***strict*** worshipper of Yahwè; the hypocritical words, 'Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much,' would have had no effect if Jehu had been a person like Jonadab the Rechabite. It is perfectly conceivable that a leading prophet like Elisha may have selected Jehu as the substitute for the religiously worthless Jehoram,[6] simply on the ground of his usefulness, not for any good moral qualities which he supposed Jehu to possess (cp 1 K. 19 17). Jehu, on his side, accepted the support of Elisha, and adopted the prophetic programme,

1 On the question of Jehu's origin, see ISSACHAR, § 4.

2 Another cycle of stories represented Elijah as the prophet who favoured Jehu's insurrection (1 K. 19 16, ηιου [A]).

3 This form occurs elsewhere only in 2 Ch. 24 25 *f.*, of the parties to a conspiracy.

4 See Sta. *ZATW*, '85, p. 275. The 'rulers of Jezreel' (*v.* 1) must also be wrong. 𝔊L and Vg. presuppose the reading אֶל־שָׂרֵי הָעִיר וְאֶל, 'to the officials of the city, and to' (Keil, Bahr, Klo., Benz., Ki.). Cp *v.* 5.

5 See the Zenjirli inscription of Panammu, 1. 3.

6 Sta. *ZATW*, '85, p. 276.

1 Wi. *Gesch.* 185; cp 165, 177.

2 The words 'and Jehonadab ben Rechab' in *v.* 23 are, of course, a late insertion.

3 So Klostermann, Benzinger, Kittel.

4 The correction of 'vestry' into 'hall' (see VESTRY) is a great gain to the sense.

5 The critical emendations of the text are nearly all due to Klostermann. Thus, for 'to the city of the House of Baal' we should read, 'even to the sanctuary' (עַד־דְּבִיר, 𝔊L ἕως τοῦ ναοῦ); for 'and the guard and the captains cast (them) out,' 'hurled to the ground the Asherim' (וַיַּשְׁלִכוּ אַרְצָה הָאֲשֵׁרִים); for 'pillars' (מצבות), 'pillar' (מַצֵּבָה; so 𝔊L; omit בֵּית); for 'pillar' (*v.* 27), 'altar' (מִזְבַּח, so Benz.). To these add וַיְשַׁבְּרוּהָ, 'and they broke it in pieces' (*v.* 26) for וַיִּשְׂרְפוּהָ, 'and they burned it' (Che.). Ewald (*GVI* 3 572, n. 2) seeks to defend עִיר בֵּית־הַבַּעַל, 'the city of the house of Baal,' but admits that the 'Holy of Holies' is what is meant. The 'Holy of Holies' should be דביר; ד fell out owing to the preceding ד. Benz. and Ki. also find דביר attractive but make no objection to מחראות (*v.* 27, EV 'a draught house)'). If, however, the emendations of similar readings elsewhere (cp DOVE'S DUNG) are in the highest degree probable, such conservatism is injudicious. The present writer has proposed מַחֲרָבוֹת (Ezek. 29 12). Perhaps the true reading was deliberately altered.

6 It is true that, according to 2 K. 3 2 (RD), Jehoram 'put away the pillar (𝔊BL, Klo. "pillars") of Baal that his father had made.' But in *v.* 13 Elisha expresses the utmost contempt for that king.

simply because it was convenient so to do. The great prophet Hosea saw through him, and implies that many of his contemporaries passed the same moral condemnation on 'the bloodshed of Jezreel' (Hos. 14). Unhappily 2 K. 10 30 (R_D) expresses a very different judgment.

The view adopted above, that Jehu's main political object was to subjugate Judah, is supported by a consideration of his relation to Syria (Damascus). He was fighting against the Aramæans when the chance was offered him of seizing the crown, and the history of the reign of Ahab warned him of his constant danger from Damascus. The one sure date in his reign is his payment of tribute to Shalmaneser II. in 842 B.C., which we may probably place immediately after the deeds related in 2 K. 9 *f.* In this year Shalmaneser once more attacked Syria, whose king, Hazael, he ultimately besieged in Damascus; Tyre and Sidon, and Yaua (Jehu) of Bit-Ḫumri purchased the favour of the monarch by rich gifts[1] (see Ball, *Light from the East*, 166 *f.*).

3. His policy.

The relief thus gained by Jehu was, however, only temporary. Damascus was not taken by the Assyrians, and after 839 B.C. Syria had a long period of rest. It immediately resumed the offensive against Israel. 'In those days,' says an extract from the annals, 'Yahwè began to loathe[2] Israel, and Hazael smote them in all Israel's borders, from Aroer which is by the valley of the Arnon to Gilead and Bashan' (2 K. 10 32).[3] It was, not improbably, at this troublous period that Jericho was fortified as a protection for the Jordan valley. Jehu, not an unknown HIEL, is probably the name of the builder of the fortifications, and, somewhat as Mesha, king of Moab, sacrificed his first-born son to Chemosh when in danger from the Israelites, he sacrificed (in a peculiar way) his eldest son when he laid the foundations, and his youngest when he set up the gates. This is no doubt only a conjecture, but no other adequate explanation of 1 K. 16 34 appears to have been offered. Jehu's religion is elsewhere represented by the historian as of a rather low type (2 K. 10 31*b*). See HIEL, where C. Niebuhr's suggestion is adopted—that 1 K. 16 34 originally stood after 2 K. 10 33.

2. b. Hanani, a prophet, temp. Baasha and Jehoshaphat, who, according to the Chronicler, wrote a history of his time (1 K. 16 1 7 12 2 Ch. 19 2 20 34, ιησου [B]).

3. b. Obed, a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 38, ιησουν, ιησους[4] [B]).

4. b. Joshibiah, a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 35 bis, ιωηλ [BAL], and καὶ οὗτος—*i.e.*, וְהוּא [B*]).

5. An Anathothite, one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 3, ιηουλ [BℵA], ιηουδ [L]). See DAVID, § 11 *a* (iii.). 𝔊's readings may point to an original יהואל, 'Yahis El,' cp (4) above; or to יהוהוד, cp אביהוד, and see ABIHUD. T. K. C.

JEHUBBAH (יְחֻבָּה Kt.—*i.e.*, Yahbah, § 53; 'he [God] hides,' cp ELIAHBA, HABAIAH; וְחֻבָּה Kr.—*i.e.*, 'and HUBBAH,' cp ABUBUS), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii., and note), 1 Ch. 7 34 (καὶ ωβαβ [B, *i.e.*, Hobab], καὶ οβα [AI, καὶ ιαβα [L]).

JEHUCAL (יְהוּכַל, § 35, 'Yahwè is mighty' (?); Gray, *HPN* 152, n. 1, regards יהוכל as a derivative from יכל, Güdemann, *Der Ahnen-cultus*, 185, n. 2, maintains the composition with יהוה; ιωαχαλ [BAQ] or, shortened, as in ch. 38, JUCAL (יוּכַל), one of Zedekiah's courtiers (Jer. 37 3: ιωαχαχ [ℵ*], -χας [ℵ^c.a AQ]; 38 1: ωαχαλ [B*], ιωαχας [ℵ]).

JEHUD (יְהֻד; ΑCωΡ [B?], ΙΟΥΘ [A], -ΥΔ [L]), a city of Dan mentioned before BENE BERAK (Josh. 19 45).

[1] In the legend on the Black Obelisk Jehu is called 'son of Humri' an inaccuracy which need not surprise us; cp, however, ISSACHAR, § 4.

[2] For לקצות, 𝔊 συγκόπτειν, EV 'to cut short', read probably לָקוּץ (Vg. *tædere*), with Klo., Gra. Tg., however, לְקַצּוֹץ (so Hitz., Then., Kau., Benz., Ki.).

[3] A later scribe has prefixed a second specification—'from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, the Reubenites, and the Manassites.' Gilead as a designation of the whole of the trans-Jordanic territory is late (Benz.).

[4] The readings ιησου[ν], -ους, are probably corruptions in the Greek for ιηου.

Doubtless the modern *Yahūdīyeh*, about three miles E. of Ibn Ibrāk, in the district of Lydda, about eight miles E. from Jaffa.

JEHUDI (יְהוּדִי, § 76; 'Jew'; ΙΟΥΔ[Ε]ΙΝ [BℵAQ], cp JUDITH).

An officer in close relation to the 'princes' who took Jeremiah's roll into consideration before it was read (by the same Jehudi) to Jehoiakim (Jer. 36 14: ιουδει [A], Bℵ om.; *v.* 23 ιωδειν [A]; Vg. *Iudi*). His great-grandfather was named CUSHI [*q.v.*]; perhaps Jehudi had lately been admitted as a naturalised 'Jew' on the principle of Dt. 23 8 *f.* (Hitzig).

JEHUDIJAH, or rather, as in RV, 'the Jewess' (הַיְהֻדִיָּה), apparently one of the wives of MERED [*q.v.*] (1 Ch. 4 18†; ΑΔΕΙΑ [B], ΙΔΙΑ [A], ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑ [L]). The passage relating to Mered and his wives (?) is disfigured by several corruptions. Possibly Ha-jehudijah (so RV^mg.) is a faulty reading for Hodiah (cp BITHIAH, JAHDAI). The children of 'the Jewess' are connected with the places Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah (see JERED, JEKUTHIEL, SOCOH).

JEHUEL (יחואל Kt., יְחִיאֵל Kr.; ΙΕΙΗΛ [BAL]; *JAHIEL*); so RV, but AV JEHIEL. A Levite of the guild of Heman (2 Ch. 29 14†). The name reminds us of מחויאל (see MEHUJAEL), but though we might read Jeḥaw-el—*i.e.*, 'God (El) giveth life,' the name is more probably a corruption of Jerahmeel (cp JEHALLELEL).

Apart from the indications of Jerahmeelite connections in these genealogies we might compare the Phœnician name Jehaw-melek, 'Melek giveth life' *CIS* 1 no. 1 5), and parallel Assyrian and Babylonian names, such as Ašur-uballiṭ ('Ašur giveth life'), Bil-uballiṭ, Šamaš-uballiṭ, Sin-muballiṭ (*RP*(2) 2 206, 4 112 *f.*; Winckler, *GBA* 59). T. K. C.

JEHUSH (יְעוּשׁ), 1 Ch. 8 39, RV JEUSH [*q.v.*, 3].

JEIEL (יְעִיאֵל; Kt. יעואל in Nos. 2, 3, 6, and 7; ΙΕΙΗΛ [BℵAL], cp JEUEL).

1. A Reubenite, 1 Ch. 5 7 (ιωηλ [BAL]). See REUBEN.

2. AV JEHIEL, father of Gibeon: 1 Ch. 9 35 (ιηλ [B*], ιεηλ [ℵ]). The name seems to be corrupt. It will not do to read אֲבִיאֵל, though Abiel in 1 S. 9 1 is the father of Kish (which might seem to suit *v.* 36), for 'Becher' would have a prior claim, and Gibeah (not Gibeon) was the home of the Bicrites (see GIBEAH, § 1). Read perhaps יְרִיעֵאל, Jeriael, and supply the same name in 1 Ch. 8 29 (RV Jeiel). JEDIAEL [*q.v.*] was the brother of Becher. See GIBEON, § 3. (Jeriael = Jerahmeel.)

3. AV JEHIEL, one of David's heroes: 1 Ch. 11 44 (ιεια [B], ιεα [ℵ], ιεϊηλ [L]).

4. A doorkeeper for the ark: 1 Ch. 15 18 (ιεειηλ [B]).

5. Ancestor of Jahaziel, an Asaphite Levite: 2 Ch. 20 14 (ελεαηλ [B], ελεηλ [A]).

6. One of Uzziah's scribes (הַסּוֹפֵר); 2 Ch. 26 11.

7. RV JEUEL, a Levite of the family of Elizaphan, temp. Hezekiah: 2 Ch. 29 13 (ειιηλ [B]).[1]

8. A chief of the Levites, temp. Uzziah: 2 Ch. 35 9 (ιωηλ [B], ιεηλ [L]). In 1 Esd. 1 9 οχιηλος [BA*?] οζιηλος [Aa? A*?], AV OCHIEL, RV OCHIELWS.

9. RV JEWEL, head of a father's house in a post-exilic list: Ezra 8 13 (ενεια [B], ειηλ [A^vid.]). In 1 Esd. 8 39 JEWEL AV and RV (γεουηλ [B], ιεουηλ [A]).

10. A layman who joined in the league against alien marriages: Ezra 10 43 (ιαηλ [B], ιεειηλ [A], ειηλ [L]).

T. K. C.

JEKABZEEL (יְקַבְצְאֵל), Neh. 11 25. See KABZEEL.

JEKAMEAM (יְקַמְעָם, 'the [divine] kinsman avenges'; see JOKMEAM, and § 31. The vowels are untrustworthy. In another form יה, *ink*, takes the place of עם, *'ām*; see 𝔊, and JEKAMIAH), a Levite 'son' of Hebron (1 Ch. 23 19: ικεμιας [BA]; 24 23, ιοκομ [R], ιεκεμια [A]; both places, ιακαμιας [L]). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v.].

JEKAMIAH (יְקַמְיָה), see JEKAMEAM).

1. b. Shallum, a descendant of JARHA [*q.v.*], 1 Ch. 2 41 (ιεχεμειας [B], ιεκομιας [A], ιακεμ. [L]).

2. AV JECAMIAH, one of the sons of king Jeconiah (1 Ch. 3 18, ιεκενια [BA^a], -μια [L], and see Be. *ad loc.*).

JEKUTHIEL (יְקוּתִיאֵל; ΧΕΤΙΗΛ [B], ΙΕΚΘΙΙΗΛ [A* see Sw.], ΙΕΦΘΙΗΛ [L]), the name given to the father,

[1] With regard to nos. 4, 5, 7 it may be observed that both Elizaphan and the doorkeepers were ascribed to Kehath, the latter through Korah; and that Asaph himself who appears as a Gershonite, seems to have been at one time; Korahite; see further GENEALOGIES i., § 7.

or founder, of the town of Zanoah in the genealogical lists of Judah (1 Ch. 418). Gesenius explains it 'piety towards God' (cp JAKEH); similarly the Targum on Chronicles ('trust in God'), regarding it as a title of Moses; but evidently it is closely related to JOKTHEEL (*q.v.*), which like Zanoah was the name of a Judahite town. Probably both Jekuthiel and Joktheel are miswritten for Eltekeh (אלתקה). T. K. C.

JEMIMA, RV Jemimah (יְמִימָה), the name of Job's eldest daughter (Job **42** 14†).

Learning has not succeeded in accounting for this name. 𝔊 (ἡμέρα) and Vg. *(dies)* suggest derivation from יום, 'day,' out of which the rendering *Diana* has even blossomed; moderns, but not Schultens, identify with **Ar.** *yamāmat* 'dove,' or (Del.) with *yumēmat*, diminutive of *yammat=yamāmat*. No theory is free from objection. When we remember however, the frequency of certain textual corruptions, and h e popularity of the Song of Songs, we cannot hesitate to read תְּמִימָה, 'the spotless' **(cp** תַּמָּתִי, Cant. *5 2* **Gg).** Observe that ת precedes.

T. K. C.

JEMNAAN (ιεμνααν [BA, perhaps accus.?], -ναα [א c.a], αμμα [א*]), a city on the coast of Palestine, between Ocina (Acco) and Azotus (Ashdod), which submitted to Holophernes (Judith 2 28). No doubt JABNEEL (1) is meant.

When the author of Judith wrote Jamnia was still altogether **a** heathen city (cp 3 68); this is a fact of importance with reference to the theory of Volkmar, who regarded the Book of Judith as a reflection of the campaign of Trajan, A.D. 118. The book must he older than Johanan ben Zakkai, who transferred the Sanhedrin to Jamnia ; older too than Philo, who would not have described Jamnia as **a** heathen city (see JABNEEL ; and cp JUDITH, BOOK OF).

JEMUEL (יְמוּאֵל), Gen. **46** 10, EV$^{mg.}$ NEMUEL (*q.v.*, 1).

JEPHTHAH (יִפְתָּח, '[God] opens [the womb],' §§ **54**, 61; cp JIPHTHAH, JIPHTHAH-EL, PETHAHIAH; ιεφθαε [BAL]).

1. Critical problems.

As the text stands, a deliverer of the Israelites of Gilead from the Ammonites, and their *šōphēṭ* (EV ('judge') or regent (Judg. 10 6-12 7; cp 1 S. **12** 11). The story is as deficient in unity as that of Gideon, and presents similar problems. Only through criticism can we arrive at a definite view of what was really told by the ancient Hebrews. The last narrator, as Kittel remarks *(Hist.* 2 89), 'has no certain knowledge of [Jephthah's] origin and his fortunes; he has worked up what he received, but does not understand it aright.'

The prevalent critical opinion is that the story comes from a single traditional narrative, but that a great interpolation has been made (11 12-28 [or 29]), compiled from JE's narrative in Nu. 20 *f.* According to Wellhausen (*CH* (2), 228 *f.*), this leaves nothing definite to be told of Jephthah except the anecdote of his sacrifice of his daughter; this critic also regards 12 1-6 as a late appendix, based on a part of the story of Gideon (8 1-3). Moore *(Judges,* 283), also a believer in one source (cp JUDGES, § 10), disputes the necessity of this unfavourable inference; he finds more substance in Jephthah than does the great German critic. Holzinger and Budde have struck out a new path for themselves, which still more decidedly than Moore's encourages the belief in a historical Jephthah. According to them, the existing Jephthah-story is derived from two independent sources (cp GIDEON). One of these (E) stated that the hero resided in Mizpah, made war on a foreign people which had done him some grievous injury, and gained the victory over them, but at the cost of his dearest possession—his own flesh and blood: the other (J), that, though a Gileadite, he had become a freebooter on a foreign soil, and was commissioned by the Gileadites to avenge *their* wrongs on their oppressors, which he accomplished, though denied the help of the tribes W. of the Jordan (cp 12 2 and 11 29). 12 1-6 also belongs to this source. In the strange mixture of references to Moab and Ammon in 11 12-28 these critics also find evidence that there were two traditions respecting the people against which Jephthah waged war, one naming the Moabites, the other the Ammonites, traditions which R_{JE} harmonised by the substitution of 'Ammon.'

2. New theory.

Our course, however, in dealing with the existing story of Jephthah, must be somewhat different. Budde, with whom we may couple Frankenberg (*Comp. d. dt. Richterb.* 37 ['95]), is no doubt right in recognising a discrepancy between the Jephthah of Judg. 11 1-11 and the Jephthah of the anecdote in 11 34-40. When, however, he attempts to trace out the two different narratives, he fails after advancing a few steps. Failure, indeed, as he himself sees, was inevitable. Literary criticism cannot solve the problems which meet us here. Even the steps forward which Budde hopes that he has taken are by no means secure. The method adopted here is that which is followed in the case of the kindred narratives of Gideon and of Laban and Jacob elsewhere (see GIDEON, GILEAD, § *4).* It endeavours to win back some parts of the two earlier stories which underlie the present narrative, not without some historical gain. The plausibility of the following restoration, the details of which have been so expressed as to minimise the need of a commentary, will, it is hoped, be manifest. Should any reader wish to substitute 'Jephthah' for 'Jair' in the first story, he is at liberty to do so. He will, however, lose what (if our readings are correct) appears to be the fullest traditional account of the origin of the HAVVOTH-JAIR [*q.v.*].

Not improbably, we suggest, it is to JAIR (*q.v.*), as not only victorious over his foes, but the conqueror of the Havvoth-jair, that the first story was originally devoted. In Judg. 10 3-5 the account of this *šōphēṭ* is tantalisingly brief; he is, what Wellhausen calls Jephthah, not a form but a shadow. The second story brings us face to face with the true Jephthah.

3. J: Real story of Jair.

I. *Story of Jair.*—It came to pass that the sons of Haurān made war against Gilead,[1] and though the clansmen in different parts of the land withstood their oppression, it availed them not. Now there was at that time, in the land of Tubiḥi (see TOB), a valiant man, a Gileadite, Jair by name.[2] For some forgotten cause he had been banished from his country, and had become renowned, like David afterwards, as the leader of a band of freebooters. So the elders of Ṣalḥad[3] (the border city of Gilead), in their despair, went to this outlaw at Tubiḥi, and besought him to lead them against the men of HaurHn, and, when he asked for his reward, a solemn promise was made to him before Yahwè at Mizpah (the sanctuary of Salhad, see MIZPAH) that if he came back victorious he should be the 'head' of all the inhabitants of Gilead. Then Jair sent messengers to the king of HaurHn, who said to him, Why hast thou come into the land of Israel? [Did not Laban, son of HaurHn, make a solemn covenant with Israel, son of Isaac, not to pass beyond the border cities Salhad and Mizpah?[4]] Let Yahwè judge this day[5] between the sons of Israel and the sons of Haurān (11 27*b*)! But the king of Haurān hearkened not unto the words of Jair. And Yahwè delivered the men of HaurHn into the hand of Jair, and he fell upon city after city, from Edrei as far as the approach to Salhad, and as far as the district of Maachah—twenty cities.[6] *So* the sons of Haurān became subject to the sons of [Gilead].[7] But the men of Ephraim were angry because

[1] For עמון (early error) read חורן, and for ישראל (editorial alteration) read גלעד.
[2] For יפתח (editorial alteration) read יאיר.
[3] For גלעד (early error) read צלחד (see GILEAD).
[4] See Gen. **31** 44-54, and cp GILEAD, § 4; LABAN.
[5] Read שָׁפוֹט יִשְׁפֹּט יהוה הַיּוֹם with Bu.
[6] Read וַיַּכֵּם מֵאֶדְרֶעִי וְעַד־בּוֹאֲךָ צַלְחַד עֶשְׂרִים עִיר וְעַד חֶבֶל מַעֲכָה (11 33).
[7] Something like *v.* 33, but with גלעד for ישראל, must have

Gilead had set up an independent sovereignly. In defence of the old tribal constitution they came to Mizpah[1] (12 1) and fought with Jair. But the battle went against them; many of them fell, others fled to the fords of Jordan. But when the fugitives sought to pass over, their speech betrayed that they were of Ephraim, and their brethren the men of Gilead had no mercy on them. [And the cities which Jair took from the men of Hauriin were called Havvoth-jair.[2] Afterwards they came into the possession of Geshur and Aram.[3]] And Jair died and was buried in Mahanaim[4] (10 5).

II. *Story of Jephthah.*—Now the men of HaurHn greatly oppresssd the men of Gilead, [and when Jephthah, a valiant Gileadite of Mizpah, with his clan, resisted them, they slew Jephthahs own brethren and manyothers also]. In the bitterness of his heart, and with settled purpose, Jephthah went to the sanctuary. There he vowed to Yahwè that whoever came out of the door of his house to meet him, when he returned safely from the sons of HaurHn, should be YahwB's, and that he would offer him up as a burnt offering. And Yahwb gave Jephthah the victory, and he returned home. But behold, he saw coming out to meet him, at the head of her maidens, with music and dancing, his own, his only child. He rent his garments and spoke, and the maiden answered as became a maiden of Israel. To the father it was a stunning blow; but his daughter would not add to it by reproaches or complaints. For such a victory over the foes of her house she was content to yield up her life. But she asked and obtained a respite of two months that she might go upon the mountains[5] with her companions and bewail her maidenhood. After this Jephthah did to her what he had vowed to do; she died a virgin. And it became the custom in Israel for women to devote four days in the year to bewailing[6] Jephthah's daughter. And Jephthah died, and was buried in his city, Salhad (127).

4. E: Real story of Jephthah.

The first of these stories (J), like those of Gideon and Jerubbaal, has suffered much transformation, owing partly to corruption of the text, partly to the editor's want of comprehension of Hebrew antiquity. Whoever misread נלעד, 'Gilead,' for צלחד, 'Salhad,' must have been unaware of the great part played by this border city in early Israelitish history, or he would surely have felt that a Gilead-story with no reference to Salhad could hardly be right. The alteration of 'Jair into 'Jephthah' was deliberate; it is perhaps a sign of the editor's deep interest in the fascinating story of Jephthahs daughter. He wanted to tell more about Jephthah, and robbed Jair to fill out the meagre tradition of Jephthah. At the same time he filled up gaps in the partly illegible narrative which lay before him. Thus to account for Jephthahs (Jair's) outlawry he made him a bastard driven from his home by his brothers, and in lieu of the illegible account of Jephthah's (Jair's) message to the king of Ammon (for so he misreads חורן) he inserts a tedious historico-legal argument referring entirely to Moab, and therefore most inappropriate for a discussion witn the king of Ammon. He also interpolates the central part of the touching story of Jephthahs daughter, so that the transition from Jephthah's, or rather Jair's, conquest of the twenty cities and the Ephraimite invasion is obscured.[1] Cp JAIR.

5. Comments.

How much of the two stories is historical? The border warfare between the Hauranites and the Gileadites. The temporary subjection of cities in Haurān to the Gileadites. The importance of Salhad and the citadel and sanctuary of Mizpah or Penuel (? see MIZPAH). The invasion of Gilead by the Ephraimites, which was an assertion of the rights of the tribal federation (see Wi. *GI* 1 51, n. 1). The offering up of a maiden as a sacrifice for Yahwb under great stress—perhaps for the last time. On the Shibboleth incident no great stress can be laid. It is plausible in the extreme (see SHIBBOLETH); but a clever narrator might easily imagine it.

We must not, however, pass over the annual mourning of the Israelitish women referred to in 1140. There is no occasion to doubt that a great Gileadite once sacrificed his daughter to Yahwè.[2] There are good parallels for this, not only in OT passages (see SACRIFICE), but especially in an Arabian tradition mentioned by Lyall (*Anc. Arabian Poetry*, Introd., p. xxxviii). "Al-Mundhir had made a vow that on a certain day in each year he would sacrifice the first person he saw; 'Abid [a poet] came in sight on the unlucky day, and was accordingly killed, and the altar smeared with his blood.' The sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, however, seems to have been connected, at any rate, in later times, at Mizpah and probably elsewhere, with a ceremony which consisted originally in mourning for the death of a virgin goddess. Such a ceremony (which is analogous to the well-known mourning for TAMMUZ [*q.v.*]) is attested by Porphyry and Pausanias as still performed in their time at Laodicea on the Phcenician coast, and as connected with the sacrifice of a stag (cp ISAAC, § 4) which was a substitute for the more ancient sacrifice of a maiden.[3] The fact that the name of Jephthah's daughter was associated with such a celebration is of itself enough to refute the idea that she was not really sacrificed but only dedicated to perpetual virginity. This notion first appears, according to Moore, in the Kimchis (end of 12th cent. A.D.); the older Jewish and Christian interpreters all take the words of 1139*n* in their natural sense. It may be noticed that Jephthah's daughter is not referred to in the NT; Jephthah himself, however, is a hero of faith (Heb. 1132).

6. Jephthah's daughter.

See, besides We. *CH*, *l.c* and the commentaries of Moore and Budde,' Sta. *GVI* 1 68; Kittel, *Hist.* 289-91; Frankenberg, *Die Composition des* deuteron. *Richterbuches*, 35-38 ('95); C. Niebuhr, *Studien*, i. 222 *f.* (94) (this writer transfers the Shibboleth section to the story of Jerubhaal): Köhler, *Bibl. Gesch.* 2*a* 31, n. 1 (on the mythical theories of Goldziher and Grill).

T. K. C.

JEPHUNNEH, once AV **Jephunne** (יְפֻנֶּה, '[God] is brought back,' § 54; cp Palm. אתפני; ιεφοννη [BAFL]).

1. The father of CALEB (Nu. 136 [P] Dt. 1 36 [D_2] Josh. 146 [JE and D_2], 1 Ch. 4 15 146 Ecclus. 46 7, AV JEPHUNNE).
2. b. Jether or Ithran of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. 7 38; ιφινα [B], ιεφιηλ [A]).

JERAR (יֶרַח), a son of Joktan, mentioned after Hazarmaveth (Gen. 10 26; ιαραδ [A], -εδ [E], ιεραχ [L]; 1 Ch. 1 20 om. BA, ιαρε [L]). Possibly, like some other Arabian tribes, named after the 'moon' (ירח = moon in Heb., Ph., Eth.; Sab. ורח = month); cp the

stood in the original story, to express the full result of the great victory. ישראל of course stands in connection with the late and incorrect insertion in *v.* 29. Jephthah (rather, Jair) made no attempt to get a levy of Manassites or (12 2) of Ephraimites.

1 For צָפוֹנָה read הַמִּצְפָּה. Cp Mez, *Bibel des Jos.* 17.

2 Possibly the uncertainty whether the HAVVOTH-JAIR (*q.v.*) were in Gilead or in Bashan arose from the corruption of Salhad into Gilead. The cities referred to became by conquest cities of Ṣalḥad, and Ṣalhad was on the border of Bashan and Gilead. See next note.

3 See 1 Ch. 2 21-23, which originally stood with 7 14-19, where originally, it is probable, much was said of Ṣalḥad (ZELOPHEHAD).

4 In 10 5 read probably בְּמַחֲנַיִם for בְּקָמוֹן. A Mahanaim not far to the SW. of Ṣalḥad seems to be meant (cp Gen. 32 2). CAMON (*q.v.*) is unknown. Probably there was no such place.

5 Budde (after van Doorninck) conjectures that וירדתי is a misplaced gloss. Certainly EV's 'that I may depart and go down upon the mountains' is impossible. The remedy is not difficult, when we remember the practice of the scribes. וירדתי is a corruption of ורעיתי (end of verse), written too soon, and left uncorrected.

6 For לְתַנּוֹת (11 40) read probably לִבְכּוֹת (Grä.).

1 Moore's attempt (Judges, 306) to explain 12 1-6 in connection with the story of Jephthah's daughter had to he made that all possible devices might be tried, but is hardly successful.

2 Here we differ from Goldziher, *Hebrew Mythology*, 96 *f.*

3 See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 419 466.

Palmyrene name ירחי. Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 425) identifies with Mahra and S. 'Omān. For other suggested identifications, see Ball, Smith's *DB*(2), *s.v.*

JERAHMEEL[1] (יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'God pities' ['loves' or 'is friendly'; cp Ass. *rămu* and רחם in Nab. and Palm. inscr.], §§ 28, 53; cp perh. אסרחם, 'Assur pities' (?), *CIS* 2, no. 43 A; ι[ε]ραμαηλ [BAL], also -εηλ, -εμεηλ [BA], -εμι. [A], -εμα. [L]).[2]

1. History. i. The name of a clan, located in the Negeb of Judah, which had friendly relations with David during his residence at Ziklag (1 S. 27 10 30 29, **Jerahmeelite**, הַיְּרַחְמְאֵלִי, ιεσμεγα, ισραηλ [B], ισραμηλει, ιεραμηλει [A], αερμων, ισραηλ [L]). Jerahmeel and Caleb are genealogically spoken of as brothers (1 Ch. 2 9 42), a relation which probably began at an early date and continued until both were finally reckoned to Israel as part of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. 2).[3] We must not, however, infer from the wording of 1 S. 27 10-12 that already in David's time the clans formed part of Saul's kingdom.[4]

To supplement the scanty references to Jerahmeel in the MT (but see below, § 4) it would be reasonable to assume that the clan shared throughout the course of its existence the same fortunes as CALEB: viz., that in post-exilic times it was pushed to the N. of Judah by the advancing Edomites (cp CALEB, § 4), that previous to its occupation of the Negeb it had come from the distant S. of Palestine (*ib.* § 2), and that together with Caleb it had joined in the wanderings from Kadesh (in the N. Arabian Muṣri) to Hebron (see EXODUS i., § 4 *ff.*; HEBRON, § 1; KADESH i., § 3). A critical inspection of the Jerahmeelite genealogical lists may perhaps be found to lend interesting support to these assumptions (which also receive independent confirmation from the inquiries summed up in NEGEB, § 2).

2. Genealogies. Turning to the genealogies in 1 Ch. 2 we find that the names in general betray an affinity with South Palestine).

The older divisions of the tribe (*v.* 25) are Ram (of whose offshoots Jamin is elsewhere the name of a Simeonite clan whilst Eker reminds us of Ekron), Bunah (? 𝔊B βαναια, *see* Ki. *SBOT*),[5] Oren (cp Edomite ARAN), and OZEM (Davidic).[6] The mention of 'another wife' (*v.* 26) might suggest that the clan, like Caleb, moved to a new seat (see ATARAH), in which case Atarah's son Onam (*ib.*) might remind us of the Benjamite BEN-ONI [*q.v.*]. Onam, moreover, has Edomite associations, and, looking more closely at the names of the 'sons,' we observe; (*a*) Shammai (*v.* 28), also a Calebite division (*v.* 45); (*b*) Abishur and Abihail (*v.* 29), names with distinctly S. Arabian affinities; (*c*) Zaza (*v.* 33), perhaps the same as the Simeonite ZIZA; and finally (*d*) ISHI (*v.* 31), with Simeonite and Judaean affinities.

The genealogy includes Molid and Jether (*vv.* 29 32). One is tempted to connect these with the two place-names, MOLADAH and JATTIR, and to locate the Jerahmeelites in the district of *'Attīr* and *Tell el-Milḥ*, to the NW. and S. of Arad respectively. This seems to be supported by Shishak's list (EGYPT, § 63), where *yu-ra-ḥu-mā-*[*el?*] (no. 112) follows almost immediately upon *ḥa-ḳ-ru-ma 'a-ru-d-ă ru-bi-ṭ* (nos. 107-110)—'the districts (see FIELD) of Great Arad.'[1] (For other indications of the seats of this clan, see NEGEB, § 2.)

For the earlier history of Jerahmeel the unique genealogy of JARHA [*q.v.*] in 1 Ch. 2 is highly suggestive.[2]

3. Musrite Origin? The fragment (*vv.* 34-41) gives the descendants of Yarha 'the Muṣrite servant' (עֶבֶד מִצְרִי) and the daughter of Sheshan to the thirteenth generation. Jarḥa (as also the lad in 1 S. 30 13) was most probably a native of the near-lying country of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*), and the obscure name Sheshan reminds us both of the Hebronite Sheshai and of the Egyptian designation *šasu* (strictly שׁסו) 'bedouin,' with which SHESHAI [*q.v.*], has been connected.[3]

It is worth noticing that *vv.* 34-41 are independent of the preceding verses, and that the introduction of Sheshan in *v.* 31*b* is probably secondary (contrast the details with *v.* 34*a*). It is not certain therefore that he was a Jerahmeelite. The name of the Muṣrite servant, on the other hand, seems to be an eponym of the clan Jerahmeel itself. Possibly the genealogy is to be interpreted to mean that Jerahmeel moved N. from Muṣri and settled in the vicinity of Hebron (compare Sheshan with Sheshai).

It has been suggested elsewhere that the oldest features of Korah's revolt (Nu. 16) belong to the tradition of a journey from the Muṣrite Kadesh to Judah (see EXODUS i., § 6).[4] Now Korah, even in the earlier strands of P, is not a Levite; it is possible that he was originally a Calebite (cp KORAH i. 2). It is tempting, therefore, to associate Peleth the father of On (or Onan [𝔊AF], cp Onam above) with the same name in the genealogy of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2 33),[5] and to regard the clan as participating in the revolt. (The significance of the clan-name Peleth and the traces of the northward migration or extension of the Jerahmeelites are considered elsewhere. See NEGEB, § 2.)

Among other features of interest in the genealogy of Jarḥa[6] are the two names Nathan and Zabad (*v.* 36) who, it has sometimes been suggested, are no other than the prophet and officer (see ZABUD, 1) of the days of David and Solomon. When we consider the influence of the far S. of Palestine upon the worship of Yahwè this view cannot be pronounced altogether arbitrary. If, as has been indicated elsewhere (see GENEALOGIES, § 7 [v.]), there is evidence to show that the names of Yahwè's Levites are largely derived from the far S., surely Nathan (although not a Levite) may well have been of Jerahmeelite or even Musrite origin.[7]

Another well-known figure may perhaps have had a similar origin. Marquart (*Fund.* 12) has already observed that Samuel's genealogy in 1 S. 1 1 is two-fold, and that he is traced back to Jerahmeel (see JEROHAM, 1) and Tahath (Tohu, etc.) respectively. We might conjecture, therefore, that Samuel was a Jerahmeelite, but at a later date was represented as an Ephraimite (see TAHATH). But as an alternative suggestion it is no less possible that the Jerahmeelite notices should belong (as a marginal note) to the name of Eli who is introduced suddenly without word or

1 For the late Jewish legends connected with this name *see* 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' (ed. Gaster, 1900).

2 In view of the analogy between Jerahmeel and the tribal names Ishmael, Israel, etc. (some of which may be geographical), it is unnecessary to treat Jerahmeel as a compound of ירח and אל with the addition of מ as in ABIMAEL, nor could we find support for this in the name JARHA (for which 𝔊 in 1 Ch. 2 34 suggests the form 'Jarḥel'), since, in common with JEROHAM, it is probably nothing more than a popular abbreviation. Sayce (who cites Jerahmeel as preserving a trace of 'mimmation') points out that Yarḥamu (Jeroham) has been found in contract-tablets dated in the reign of Šamšu-iluna, and supposes the name to be the origin of Ovid's Orchamus (*PSBA* 21 23 [1900]).

3 Cp Meyer, *Entst.* 116 *ff.*

4 Cp CALEB, § 2. Probably 1 S. 27 9 11 do not belong to the original narrative (the tenses are frequentative). The passage refers to *one* expedition (not to David's custom), and the sequel is related in 1 S. 30.

5 The name reminds us of BENAIAH (1) of KABZEEL (*qq.v.*), one of David's officers.

6 EV's Ahijah should be 'his brother(s)'; see AHIJAH, 6.

1 WMM *As. u. Eur.* 168. Is no. 111, *Ne-ba-ta*, the Jerahmeelite Nadab (1 Ch. 2 28)?

2 On the list cp Gray (*HPN* 234 *f.*): 'the character of the thirteen names presents nothing inconsistent with the genealogy being genuine.'

3 Cp the Hebronite and Geshurite TALMAI. May we further identify the Jerahmeelite name Aḥban (see AHBAN) with the Hebronite Aḥiman (אחמן, אחבן)?

4 The tradition is provisionally called 'Calebite'; the clan Caleb seems to have overshadowed all other petty S. Judæan populations (cp CALEB, § 3). A better designation would probably be 'Levitical'. cp the relation between the 'Levites' (see GENEALOGIES, § 7 [esp. v.]) and the S. of Judah. See also KADESH i., § 3.

5 See further *AJSL* 16 177 n.

6 See ELISHAMA, 3, 4, SHALLUM, 3, SISAMAI and note that Helez (*v.* 39) is elsewhere the name of a warrior from the South Judaean Beth-pelet (but see PALTITE).

7 Not the prophet only; perhaps also his king (but see JUDAH). One observes how persistently tradition sends David to the S. of Judah, to wander in the wilderness of Paran, 1 S. 25 1 (on the text see H. P. Smith), or to fight against the inhabitants of the land bordering on Mizraim (Muṣri), *ib.* 278; see the present writer's note in *AJSL*, *l.c.*

comment in *v.* 3. This view moreover, perhaps gains in probability when we notice (1) the un-Hebraic character of the names of **Eli's** descendants which find their analogy only in Egyptian (see PHINEHAS) or South Arabian (cp ELI, HOPHNI), and (2) the presence of a tradition (a late one it is true, see SAMUEL ii., § 4) which would seem to connect Eli's house with Moses[1] in Egypt, or perhaps, originally, in Muṣri (1 S. 2 27).[2]

If the suggestions made in this and certain other articles with regard to suspected corruptions of text in MT and in 𝔊 are accepted, the Jerahmeelites were a much more important tribe, or perhaps collection of tribes, than we have imagined. Under all sorts of disguises, it has been suspected, the name meets us again and again, both in narratives and in genealogies. Some of the clans or tribes of Jerahmeel evidently suffered the fate described in 1 S. 15, 1 Ch. 4 41 43; others were absorbed by Judah or even by more northern Israelite tribes. The following is a list, probably incomplete, of OT names which may have been corrupted from 'Jerahmeel.'

4. Additional References.

(a) Addar and Hakkarka, Josh. 15 3. Note that Hezron, Addar, and Hakkarka are mentioned together; Hakkarka is a dittographed 'Jerahmeel.' In Gen. 46 12 and parallels Hezron, son of Perez, is a brother of Hamul (cp *i*). This is geographically important. See HAZAR-ADDAR, KARKAA, NEGEB.

(*b*) Amalek. The name is unintelligible, the centre of the Amalekites must have been close to the Jerahmeelites. To admit the identity of Amalek and Jerahmeel is in accordance with many similar necessary identifications, and throws a bright light on many passages. Of course, it was only a section of the Amalekites that Saul overcame, and only with a section that David fought. See (*h*), and on 'mount of the Amalekites' (Judg. 12 15), see PIRATHON.

(*c*) Gen. 16 14 BEER-LAHAI-ROI (between Kadesh and Bered) should be 'Beer-jeraḥme'ēli'—*i.e.*, 'Well of the Jerahmeelites.' The name 'Jerahmeel' is derived from יְרַחֵם אֵל; 'she called the name of Yahwè El-rahamim; for she had said, Will God indeed have compassion?' (*v.* 13, הֲגַם אֱלֹהִים יְרַחֵם). Cp ISAAC.

(*d*) Job 32 2, ברכאל, like Ram (cp *s*), is a fragment of ירחמאל. See JOB, BOOK OF, § 9.

(*e*) Probably Joash (1 K. 22 26) as well as Jerahmeel (Jer. 36 26, see 3 below) was of Jerahmeelite extraction. 'Jerahmeel ben-hammelech' is surely absurd; 'ben-hammelech' itself comes from 'ben-jerahmeel.'

(*f*) The 'Carmel' of Josh. 15 55, also called hak-Karmel (1 S. 15 12, etc.), is no doubt from 'Jerahmeel.' Was the 'Carmel' of 1 S. 15 12 really the place now called *el-Kurmul?* This is not perhaps necessary (see SAUL, § 4 *ad init.* n.). In 1 S. 15 5 read 'cities (𝔊) of Jerahmeel'; and cp 30 29 (for text cp CARMEL, 2, col. 706, n. 2).

(*g*) 2 Ch. 26 7. See GUR-BAAL. (*h*) 1 Ch. 4 40, important geographically (see NEGEB) and historically. HAM (*q.v.* i., end) is quite impossible. (*i*) Hamul b. Judah (Gen. 46 12, etc.). Cp (*a*) and see HAMUL, MAHOL. (*j*) Jamlech, a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 34). (*k*) 1 Ch. 2 34 *f.* See JARHA, and cp above. (*l*) 1 Ch. 4 16 2 Ch. 29 12. Note that 'Jehaleleel'? was the 'father' of Ziph; he is co-ordinated with Caleb. (*m*) 1 S. 1 1. See JEROHAM, 1, and cp above, § 3. (*n*) Josh. 15 56, 1 Ch. 2 44, see JOKDEAM, JORKEAM. (*o*) 2 K. 14 7; see (*u*).

(*p*) Kemnel, Gen. 22 21. Read 'Uz his first-born, and Ahibuz, and Jerahmeel, and Abiram,' and note that Ahibuz (see AHI, 1) and Michael (1 Ch. 5 13 *f.*) are brought into connection respectively with Salecah (miswritten Milcah in Gen. 22 21), and with 'Gilead in Bashan' in 1 Ch. 5 11-16. See ZELOPHEHAD.

(*q*) 1 K. 4 31 [5 11]. See MAHOL. (*r*) Michael, 1 Ch. 5 13 *f.* See (*p*).

(*s*) Ram (see *d*) was brother of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2 9); on Job 32 2, see JOB, BOOK OF, § 9, and note that Buz and Aram (= Ram = Jerahmeel) are brothers (Gen. 22 21).

(*t*) Raham, 1 Ch. 2 44. Cp (*n*). (*u*) Rekem, 1 Ch. 2 43 *f.* In this connection note that the Targumic name for KADESH (רקם or רקם גיאה) must be a corruption of 'Jerahmeel,' and that בני קדם in Judg. 6 3 33 7 12 8 10 (?), also in 1 K. 15 10 and Job 1 3 should most probably be בני רקם, *i.e.*, בני ירחמאל, 'sons of Jerahmeel.'

(*w*) Salt, city and valley of (*'īr* and *gē hammélah*), Josh. 15 62; 2 K. 14 7. Kittel well points out the improbability that Joktheel in the ני המלח is Petra. It is 'Jerahmeel' in 'the valley of Jerahmeel.' See SALT, CITY OF.

(*x*) On the singular corruptions in the two similar passages, Nu. 21 1 Judg. 1 16 see NEGEB, § 2.

(*y*) Last of all we mention a hypothesis which in the light of (*c*) is so probable that it deserves more space than we can give to it. Ab-raham is not a dialectic form of Abram or ABIRAM [*q.v.*], nor yet = 'the beloved father' (Harkavy), but comes from אברחם 'the Father loves or has pity' (cp Ass; *rāmu*, 'to love'). Perhaps there was a second legend to account for the name of the Jerahmeelite Well (see *c*) by connecting it with the name Abraham.

See further KIRJATH-ARBA, MAMRE, MEPHIBOSHETH, PHINEHAS, PUTIEL, RACHEL, RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM, REKEM, SALT SEA, SAUL (§§ 1 6), SHALISHA [LAND OF], SHOBI, SODOM, TEKOA, and TERAH.

2. A Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 24 29, see 23 21); see 1 above, and cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v.].

3. b. Hammelech (RV 'the king's son'; see HAMMELECH, and cp above, § 4 *e*), who was ordered by Jehoiakim to imprison Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. 36 [𝔊 43] 26; ιερεμιαηλ [א]). See above, § 4 (*e*). S. A. C., §§ 1-3; T. K. C., § 4.

1 See also ICHABOD.

2 Yahwè's appearance to Moses, and the separation of the Levites here referred to, were probably located at Kadesh; cp KADESH i., § 3; LEVITES.

JERECHUS (ιερεχου [B*A]), 1 Esd. 5 22; RV JERECHU. See JERICHO.

JERED. 1. 1 Ch. 1 2 EV, etc.; see JARED. 2. (יֶרֶד; for etymology, cp Ar. *wirdᵘⁿ*, 'a troop of people, or cattle, coming to a watering-place'; ιαρεδ [BAL]), one of the sons of EZER (*q.v.*, ii. 1) by 'his wife the Jewess,' called 'the father of Gedor,' 1 Ch. 4 18 (in *v.* 4 Penuel bears the same title).

Many springs in Palestine now bear the name of *werdeh* (Conder, *PEFQ*, '78, p. 22), which is understood by the peasantry in the sense suggested above for this Jered. Cp Koran 19 89, 'We will drive the sinners to hell as herds going to water.' T. K. C.

JEREMAI (יְרֵמַי, § 52; abbrev. from JEREMIAH), of the bne Hashum, a layman in the list of those 'with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 33† (ιεραμει [א], -μ [B], ιερεμ[ε]ι [AL]). The name appears among the sons of Bani in 1 Esd. 9 34 (JEREMIAS, ιερεμιας [BAL]). 𝔊ᴸ, however, gives the name again in *v.* 33.

JEREMIAH (יִרְמְיָהוּ, and in nos. 4, 5, 6, and 8, ירמיה, on the meaning see below, § 1; NAMES, §§ 35, 41, 52, 84, and cp JEREMIEL; ιερεμ[ε]ια[ς][1] [BAL]).

1. The prophet called, in AV, also Jeremias (Ecclus. 49 6 Mt. 16 14) and Jeremy (Mt. 2 17 27 9). MT has יִרְמְיָהוּ, but in Jer. 27 1 28 5 *ff.* 29 1 in the title of the book, and in Dan. 9 2 Ezra 1 1 יִרְמְיָה. In Ecclus. 49 6 it is still written ירמיהו. As to its meaning, Wellhausen (*TBS*) connected it with √רמה, 'to found,' cp 'Jeruel'; so too Ball. More probably, however, we should explain it יִרְמֶה יָהוּ, 'Yahwè hurls' (so Seb. Schmidt); cp יִבְנְיָה, 1 Ch. 9 8, יִפְדְיָה, 1 Ch. 8 25. The understood object may be variously supplied.

1. Name and family.

According to 1 1 Jeremiah was the son of Hilkiah and belonged to a priestly family dwelling at Anathoth. Many since Clement of Alexandria and Jerome have maintained the identity of his father with the Hilkiah of 2 K. 22 *f.*, but on no sufficient grounds. Whether the editor thought of Jeremiah's father as the high priest, may be doubtful; probably he drew his statement from the biographical work (see next article, § 17). According to chap. 32 Jeremiah had an uncle named Shallum and a cousin named Hanamel; from 16 1 it is to be inferred that Jeremiah was never married.

2. Life.

The primary sources of information respecting the prophet are his own oracles. The biographical sketches in the book that bears his name come from a work written a long time after his death. There is no testimony outside of the book of Jeremiah that has any independent value. The earliest references to him (2 Ch. 35 25 36 20 *f.* Ecclus. 49 7) come from the second century B.C. Even after criticism has done its full work, however, it remains possible with some degree of certainty to trace the general course of his career.

Jeremiah was born, it would seem, at ANATHOTH [*q.v.*]; perhaps about 650, for we know that he first came forward in 625. At what time of life a man might enter the priesthood in the days before D and P, is not known. The event which gave him a prophetic impulse may have been a Scytho-Chaldean invasion of Syria in

1 The transliteration Ιηρεμίας [B* once, A often, ℵ^{c.a} thrice] should also be noted. The Latin versions give *Hieremias, Ieremias.*

the first year of Nabopolassar (4 3 *ff.*). Probably the impulse was accelerated by a vision, though the story in chap. 1 reflects not only his own later experiences, but also the estimate of his work in a subsequent age, based on oracles not proceeding from him. It is probable that the reform movement five years later enlisted his efforts (Duhm, Cheyne) and that he proclaimed the new law in Anathoth (11 1 *ff.*), though it is not likely that he knew how it originated or was equally interested in all its injunctions. Whether there was a local cult at Anathoth causing opposition on the part of his townsmen and such persecution as to call forth from him fierce imprecations (11 21-23) must be left in doubt. He probably took up his abode at Jerusalem after 620.

Before the end of Josiahs reign Jeremiah seems to have recognised the futility of a reform carried out by the strong arm of the state (23). Hence he watched the rising Chaldean power, not as Habakkuk in the hope of deliverance from Assyrian supremacy, but as an instrument in YahwB's hand to bring Judah to repentance or to ruin. The relative weakness of Egypt he perceived now as in the days of Zedekiah, just as Isaiah had seen that of Damascus as against Assyria. This explains the absence of any encouraging oracle before the battle of Megiddo and any lamentation after that event, a lack felt in later times and made good by ascribing to him an anonymous lament over Josiah (2 Ch. 35 *25*). The fall of Nineveh in 606 and Nebuchadrezzar's march npon Syria in 605 may have led Jeremiah to utter some such definite prophecy as is mentioned in 36 29, predicting the conquest of Judea by the king of Babylon. Concerning the story found in that chapter, cp the next article (§ 17). Possibly at a time when the defeat of Necho's arms had driven the people with renewed zeal to the Yahwè-cult in the temple, Jeremiah appeared with the oracle reported in 7 *ff.* and 26. It may have been in the years when Nebuchadrezzar was unable to follow up his victory and bring Judab to subjection that Jehoiakim was guilty of undertaking great building enterprises without paying the labourers engaged (22 13 *ff.*; on the text see JEHOIAKIM). Jeremiah probably concealed himself during this reign, and there seems to be no evidence that he suffered any persecution. Even though his predictions concerning Jehoiakim failed, and the king apparently died in peace and was 'joined to his fathers,' Jeremiah still looked for a Chaldean army and threatened Jehoiachin and his mother with exile (22 24-27 29 : 28 is a gloss). The idea that at this time Jeremiah undertook two journeys to the Euphrates (13 1 *ff.*) cannot be seriously entertained (see EUPHRATES ii.). The word indeed denotes the Euphrates (cp Gen. 2 14), not Ephratha, or Para; but the account is probably a dramatization of a mere simile, and not historical in any sense.

At some time in the reign of Zedekiah, when the condition of affairs before the deportation of 597, for which the exiled nobility had once been held responsible, had sufficiently receded from view to appear good in comparison with present conditions, Jeremiah seems to have had a vision of two baskets of figs in front of the temple, and explained that Zedekiah and his princes and subjects were like bad figs, while Jehoiachin and the exiles were like good figs (24). A later writer, who is even familiar with an Egyptian *gōlah* (CAPTIVITY) (*v.* 8), has apparently carried the comparison beyond the point intended. Chap. 28, which probably contains a historical nucleus, is more likely to show the real attitude of the prophet at this time. HANANIAH (*q.v.*) prophesies that Jehoiachin and the exiles shall return with the sacred vessels in two years. Jeremiah would be glad to have Jehoiachin back; but he does not believe in a return. It is not merely the short term set by Hananiah that he objects to. He recognises as a mark of the true prophets of the past that they only announced coming judgment, and he takes his place with them. Hence he makes absolutely no suggestion of a future return of exiles, but affirms uncompromisingly the inevitable subjection of all lands to Nebuchadrezzar. Whether he actually threatened Hananiah with death within a year, may perhaps be questioned. The doctrine of the infallibility of prophecy sufficiently explains the account of Hananiah's death. The alleged epistles of Jeremiah to Babylonian Jews (in chap. 29) cannot be used as historical material, nor the story of his sending bands and yokes to various nations in chap. *2i.* But 23 9 *ff.* shows that the conspiracy in which Zedekiah became involved led Jeremiah into sharp conflicts with prophets whose convictions were different from his own. In 587, when Nebuchadrezzar temporarily raised the siege of Jerusalem, Zedekiah sent a request to Jeremiah to consult Yahwè as to the prospect, and received pressing advice to surrender (21 1-10 37 3-10). At this time Jeremiah's indignation was aroused by the reduction to slavery of freedmen solemnly emancipated at the approach of Nebuchadrezzar (34). It mas only natural, after his advice just mentioned, that he should be arrested when he attempted to withdraw to Anathoth, probably with the intention of securing for himself a piece of property there (37 11-16). This land he may actually have had an opportunity of purchasing later (32). What became of the prophet when the city was taken is not known, since the special concern for his welfare on the part of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabuzaradan probably is as apocryphal as the general's pious address, 39 11 *ff.* 40 2-6. But a political prisoner is likely to have fared better than a rebel.

Concerning the end of the prophet's life there are many legends.

According to 2 Macc. 2 4 *ff.* Jeremiah carried away in safety the tabernacle, the ark and the altar of incense and concealed them in a hollow cave id the mountain where Moses died in Moab. It is possible that this legend found its supplement in a story of the prophet's translation in *so* appropriate a spot. This would account for his appearance in splendonr to Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 15 12 *ff.*), his living with translated heroes like Enoch and Elijah (Sixtus Sinensis as quoted by Neumann), his expected return as a precursor of the Messiah (Mt. 16 13 *f.* Jn. 1 21 7 40) or in the last time as one of the two witnesses of Rev. 11 3 (Victorinus *ad loc.*). Another legend, which still found a place in an appendix to the book of Jeremiah, brought him with 'the whole remnant of Judah' to Daphnæ, there to prophesy the utter destruction of the Egyptian *gōlah*, 42-44.[1] When this addition was made to the Book of Jeremiah, the story of his being stoned to death at Daphnæ (Jerome, Tert., Epiphanius) by his own people or by the Egyptians had apparently not developed. Of still later origin are other stories: Jeremiah's prediction of a saviour before whom the Egyptian idols would fall to the ground (leading to the worship of the virgin and the child: *Chron. pasch.* in Fabricius), the burial of the prophet ἐν τόπῳ τῆς οἰκήσεως Φαραω (which seems to denote a pyramid) because he saved the Egyptians from crocodiles and snakes (Epiphanins, *de vitis prophetarum*), the visit of Alexander to the tomb of the prophet who had predicted his victories over the nations and the removal of the ashes to Alexandria (*Chron. pasch.*), and the influence on Greek philosophers visiting Egypt of the esoteric wisdom he had taught there (Ambrosius, Augustine, Génébrard). According to a legend preserved in *Sēder 'ōlām rabbā*, 26 77, Jeremiah was carried to Bahylon with Baruch by Nebuchadrezzar after his conquest of Egypt, while Rashi seems to imply only that Jeremiah and Baruch returned to Palestine (*ad* Jer. 44 14). Whether in this mass of late legends there is anywhere *a* grain of historic fact, cannot readily be ascertained.

The prophetic utterances of Jeremiah derive their character from his conviction that he was inspired by Yahwh and from his conception of Yahwè's nature, purposes and demands.

3. Message.

Like Amos and Isaiah, he seems to have been impelled to prophesy by a series of visions. In a trance he hears YahwB's voice bidding him speak as a prophet, and feels Yahwè's hand touching his lips consecrating them to the proclamation of YahwB's oracles. On two subsequent occasions, when in the same condition, he saw a rod of an almond tree and a seething cauldron coming from the N. The former vision he interpretated as an assurance that Yahwè would 'watch over' (שקד; see ALMOND) his word, consequently as a pledge that the oracles would he fulfilled; the latter he understood as signifying

1 Many scholars consider this story as a work of Baruch and accord to it historical value. But see next article, §§ 6. 7, 8.

that nations from the N. would invade Palestine. These ecstatic experiences were doubtless preceded by eager observation of the signs of the times and stifled impulses to speak. Jeremiah had in waking hours seen the movements in history of that mysterious hand which in the vision brought the cauldron from the N. and dedicated him as a prophet. A similar experience may have come in Zedekiah's reign when, hearing the murmurs of the approaching storm, and reflecting upon the degeneracy of the present generation, he had his vision of the figs **(24).** That Yahwè had actually revealed himself to him, he never seems to have questioned ; nor that the word of judgment he announced was actually Yahwè's word. The events justified his faith. Whether the Scythian invasion passed so harmlessly by the territory over which Josiah reigned as is generally supposed, cannot, with our scanty information, be determined. There is no intimation of a disenchantment like that of Ezekiel in regard to Tyre. The capture of Jerusalem in 597 and the deportation of Jehoiachin must have been understood by Jeremiah as a vindication of Yahwè's word.

Another source of assurance was the character of the oracles he felt divinely impelled to utter. He was impressed by their similarity to the oracles of true prophets in the past. Like them he prophesied, not smooth things, but coming judgment. Like theirs, his oracles were immediate, spontaneous utterances. He contrasted them with the oracles also delivered in the name of Yahwè by the prophets opposed to him, and was struck by the difference in tone, the cheerful tenor, the failure to go to the root of the evil, the lack of originality (23 9 *ff.*). He noticed their use of popular phrases, and accused them of stealing oracles one from another (*v.* 30), while his own communion with Yahwè brought him ever fresh supplies of thought and speech, and prevented him from copying even the words of the earlier prophets that had come down to him. He watched their easy acceptance of the pleasures of life, while his own moral earnestness and sense of impending catastrophe enjoined upon him absolute celibacy and bade him keep aloof even from the ordinary expressions of sympathy; and he accused them of immoral conduct. His spiritual isolation in such an environment became to him an evidence of the genuineness of his experience. If he was right, his opponents were wrong; if he was inspired, they put forth false claims, proclaiming in the name of Yahwè oracles that they had themselves thought out. He even forbade the use of the word 'oracle,' משא (23 36 ; see PROPHECY). While all prophethood, even that of Jeremiah's less radical colleagues, must ultimately rest on a sense of personal communion with a divine being, this sense seems to have been specially keen in his case. The snatches of poetry, elegies, psalms, dialogues, frequently adduced to show that in this respect Jeremiah anticipated the type of piety that meets us in the Psalter, may indeed be later additions to the book; but the individualistic character of his religions life is abundantly evident.

This prophetic consciousness is influenced by, and in turn reacts upon, his conception of Yahwè. Yahwè is Israel's god. He is Israel's father to whom the nation owes its existence, and therefore its allegiance. Like Hosea, Jeremiah also conceives of Israel as Yahwè's wife. But while Yahwè has remained faithful, the nation has broken its marriage vows. By its adultery with strangers — i.e., its worship of the gods of other nations — it has forfeited its rights. Unlike **HOSEA,** Jeremiah deems it impossible that the adulterous wife should be taken back again (3 1 *ff.*). The noble vine has become a degenerate plant (2 21). This abandonment of Yahwè is all the more amazing, as other nations remain faithful to their gods (2 11: והמה לא אלהים [2 11*a*] has the appearance of a later gloss), though these are but broken cisterns as compared with a fountain of living

4. Conception of Yahwè.

waters (2 13). However numerous these gods may be, they can give no aid in times of trouble (2 28). They are as impotent as their sacred symbols, the *ăšēras* and the *maṣṣēbas*, to which the worshippers address such endearing terms as 'my father' and 'my begetter' (2 27). Whether Jeremiah actually identified the gods of the nations with stocks and stones, may be doubted. But it is possible that his words paved the way for the positive and distinct utterances of 2 Isaiah (cp IDOLATRY).

Yahwè determines what shall befall his people. He has absolute power over its destiny (18 6). He sends the northern hordes into Palestine; he subdues the nations to Nebuchadrezzar. Yahwè is not a 'numen' limited to the neighbourhood of his shrine, but a god who can betake himself to distant places, whether in heaven or on earth, so that no man can escape from him (23 23 *f.*). He is just in all his dealings with the nations, treating them according to their merits (18 7 *ff.*)

Yahwè's purposes are in harmony with his nature. He reveals them to his servants. 'What is Yahwè about to do?' is the question that bids the prophet's eyes pierce the darkness of the future, and makes him a soothsayer. Jeremiah's predictions were not based on shrewd political observations, but on his impressions, present with him, whether he was waking or sleeping, of what such a god as he conceived Yahwè to be would necessarily have in mind to do, when historical circumstances showed that he was ready to act. That it was Yahwè's purpose to put Judah, as well as the surrounding nations, into the hand of the growing Chaldean power, was the burden of Jeremiah's message during a period of almost forty years. But the ulterior divine motive was to him the moral reformation of the people.

Only through foreign oppression could that rebellious disposition (שרירות לב, 7 24) which showed itself in idolatry and unrighteousness be overcome. This oppression must last until the reformation has taken place. Hence Jeremiah indulges in no vain speculations as to the length of the Chaldean suzerainty; hence he is absolutely convinced of the impossibility of resistance and exhorts Zedekiah and his people to willing submission ; hence he lays down as a criterion of true prophethood the preaching of judgment to come with its tendency to lead men away from their evil doings (28 8 23 22). Beyond this he seems to have had no eschatology. If the nation should repent, Yahwè would also change his treatment of the people (18 7 *ff.*). But there being as yet no evidence of repentance, the Chaldean yoke must continue and should be quietly carried rather than aggravated by rebellion. Those who by the preaching of repentance worked for the reformation of character, proved themselves in the midst of their labours to belong to the true prophetic order (28 8). Like his predecessors, Jeremiah believed in the power of Yahwè's judgments to touch the springs of action and lead to a change of conduct. In this he differed widely from the great writer, who might be designated a Second Jeremiah (Jer. 30 *f.*), who believed that the grace of Yahwè, shown in the restoration of national independence and prosperity, could alone accomplish that thorough reformation which foreign oppression and prophetic preaching had failed to effect.

Yahwè's supreme demand is purity within, a circumcision of ear and heart, a removal of the carnal disposition preventing Yahwe's voice from being heard and his will from being understood and accepted (4 4 14 6 10). The outward forms of the cult have not been ordained by Yahwè. 'I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them when I brought them up from the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices' (7 22). This is the prophet's declaration of independence. The law promulgated in 620 commanded in Yahwè's name numerous burnt-offerings and sacrifices. However favourably Jeremiah may have beep impressed at the outset by the moral tone of the Deuteronomic law, its

denunciation of idolatry, and possibly also its tendency to render the sacrifices of animals a less prominent feature of life, he did not believe that Yahwè had ordered such offerings; and when he observed the 'carnal' confidence in the possession of this law, he had no hesitation in openly denouncing it as a fraud and a forgery[1] (88). Thus the emancipation of religion from the state and the cult, prepared by the earlier prophets, was most fully carried out by Jeremiah.

The estimate of Jeremiah's character must necessarily depend on the student's critical position. Renan's harsh judgment of him as a fanatic filled with hatred of the human race is based solely on the spurious oracles against the foreign nations. Jeremiah's real attitude was one of kindly concern for the welfare of these nations and desire for their moral reformation through the pressure of the Chaldean yoke. The charges made by some writers against the prophet of cowardice and untruthfulness, vanity and vindictiveness, are largely founded on the narratives of a story-book whose accuracy is too unquestioningly recognised. Our information is too scanty to allow us to assert that he cannot have hurled intemperate curses at his opponents, particularly such prophets as Hananiah; but neither can we confidently affirm that he did. As to the contention of Maurice Vernes that a prophet who gave to his people the counsel of surrender is a historically impossible character, it arises from his failure to recognise the highest type of patriotism, and to take due account of the religious genius who subordinates all considerations of state to the absolute demands of the divinity. On the other hand, the conception of Jeremiah as the prophet of the new covenant, the foreteller of the restoration of the monarchy and the return of the exiles after seventy years, is based on oracles wrongly and inconsistently ascribed to him. The representation of him as the 'weeping prophet' is derived from the late book of Lamentations and the similar elegies interspersed by editors among his oracles.

5. Jeremiah's character.

The salient features of Jeremiah's character are his sternness and his veracity, his loyalty and his courage, his sadness and his tenderness. A hush falls on the festive assembly, the crowded mart, the king's court when this solemn figure appears. Above 'the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride,' his strident notes of warning and denunciation rise and bring presentiments of coming ill. Never a word of hope; ever the stern rebuke and the call to repentance! But this sternness is born of earnest thought and of unflinching regard for truth. If his hand seeks to rend the veil of the future, it is not to satisfy vain curiosity, but to ascertain the truth that he may proclaim it, bitter though it be, for the ultimate good of the people. As the ambassador of Yahwè, he has no fear of earth's mighty ones, whether kings, or princes, or prophets, or priests. Nor is he concerned whether his preaching may 'weaken the hands of the men of war.' His physical courage may not always be equal to his spiritual intrepidity. His sensitive nature may shrink from actual suffering, and he may at times seek his safety in flight. But when the word of Yahwè comes, he consults not with flesh and blood, but proclaims his message regardless of consequences. With no family life as a haven of rest for his storm-tossed spirit, his lot is sad. Yet his very words of resignation betray tenderness of heart. Whatever its end may have been, his life was a long and noble martyrdom.

6. Literature.

See especially Dnhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten* ('75), Vernes, *Du Prétendu Polythéisme des Hébreux*, '91; Smend, *Lehrbuch d. Alttest. Rel.-gesch.* ('93; 2nd ed. '99): the Histories of Israel particularly by Stade, Renan, and Wellhausen, and the following monographs: Cheyne; *Jeremiah, His Life and Times* ('88); Marti, *Der Prophet Jeremia von Anatot* ('89); Lazarus, Der *Prophet Jeremias* ('94); Ricard, *Profeten Jeremias* ('96); v. Bulmerincq, *Das Zukunftsbild des Proph. Jeremia*, 1894; Vernes in *La Grande Cyclopédie*. Cp also JEREMIAH ii., and PROPHECY. N. S.

[1] Cp Wellh. *Prol.* 428, n. 1; Giesebrecht dissents.

2. Of Lihnah, father of Hamital (2 K. 23 31 ιερεμιου [BAL], 24 18 ιερεμιου [BL], ιηρεμιου [A], Jer. 52 1 ιερεμιου [BNAQ]).

3. Father of Jaazaniah the Rechabite (Jer. 35 [𝔊 42] 3, ιερεμιν [BNQ], ιερεμιου [A]).

4. A Manassite (1 Ch. 5 24; ιερμεια [B]).

5, 6, 7. Three of David's warriors, the last two being Gadites (1 Ch. 12 4, ιερμ[ε]ιας [B], ιερεμιηας [N*], v. 10, ιερμια [N], v. 13, ιερμια [N], ιεραμαου [L]). See DAVID, § 11 (a iii.).

8. A priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7; Neh. 10 2[3], ιερμια [BA], -ς [L]; 12 1, ιερμ[ε]ια [BNA], ιηρεμιας [L], 34, ιερμιας [L]); apparently he gave his name to a priestly class (cp Neh. 12 12, ιερμια [AL]).

JEREMIAH (BOOK)

In most MSS and printed editions of MT this book is called ירמיה.

1. Title.

At the time of the Chronicler (*c.* 200 B.C.) this form of the name seems to have been more common than the earlier ירמיהו (Neh. 10 3[2] 12 34 1 Ch. 5 24 12 4 10 ירמיה; only 1 Ch. 12 13 ירמיהו), although Ben-Sira still wrote ירמיהו, Ecclus. 49 6. Our oldest MSS of 𝔊 and the versions based on it give as the title a transliteration that may represent either form (ιερεμιας; so also Coptic). Melito (Eus. *HE* 4 26) and Origen refer to the book as Ἱερεμίας, ἐν τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ, *Ep. ad Afr.* 226). Jerome uses the same title (*Prol. gal in 2 Reg.*), and ירמיה is the designation in *Bābā bathrā* 146.

2. Position in Canon.

The book seems once to have occupied the first place among the *prophetæ posteriores*. A baraitha in *Bābā bathrā* (14*b* 15*a*) gives the following order of these prophets: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Minor Prophets; and the Talmudic tract explains that Isaiah was placed after Jeremiah and Ezekiel because 'Kings ends in desolation, Jeremiah is all desolation, Ezekiel begins with desolation and ends with consolation, and Isaiah is all consolation. This Talmudic arrangement was followed by many copyists (20 cited by Kenn., 8 by De Rossi, 6 by Ginsb.), and also by a MS of the Masorah in the Palatinate Library, cp Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, 286. The oldest testimony for the order, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Minor Prophets, is Jerome (*l.c.*). In 380 A.D., he still adhered to the arrangement found in his copy of the LXX—viz., Minor Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel (*Ep. ad Paulinam*). To this order Codex Alexandrinus, Cyril (*Cat.* 4 33) and Gregory Naz. (*Op.* 298) bear witness. That it was determined by chronological considerations is manifest, whilst the insertion of Daniel shows its independence of the Babylonian or Palestinian tradition preserved in the Talmud.

No conclusions can be drawn from the MSS as to the original order in LXX. Peshitta (Poc. Bodl. Lee)[1] presents the succession: Isaiah, Minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Ethiopic version has Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Minor Prophets. Origen's arrangement (Is., Jer., Dan., Ez.) places Daniel before Ezekiel, and Melito's (Is., Jer., Min. Pr., Dan., Ez.) indicates another position for Minor Prophets omitted by Origen.

There is evidence that the book at one time contained some elements now found elsewhere or lost.

3. Contents.

As Josephus does not mention separately Lamentations in c. Ap. 1 8, he probably knew it only as a part of Jeremiah. The same is presumably true of Melito. Origen distinctly states that he regarded Lamentations and the Epistle (Baruch 1-5 and 6?) as belonging to Jeremiah (*l.c.*). Later patristic writers, like Athanasius, Augustine, Chrysostom, Hilary, and Ambrose, regularly include Lamentations, Baruch and Epistle in Jeremiah (cp Hody,

[1] [There are of course exceptions in other MSS. The famous Cod. Ambrosianus, for example, gives this order: Isaiah, Jeremiah (with Lam., Ep. Jer., and Epp. of Baruch), Ezekiel, Minor Prophets, Daniel (with Bel and Dragon)].

De bibl., 646 *ff.*). In the Ethiopic Bible the book comprises also the Paralipomena Jeremiæ (Dillmann, *Chrest. Aeth.* 1-15; Ceriani, *Monumenta*, 1 9-18) and the fragment containing the passage quoted in Mt. 27 9. These works, having attached themselves to Jeremiah somewhat after the fashion of the additions to Daniel and Esther, were gradually provided with separate headings and severed from the volume.

The same is possibly the case in the seven following instances :—

(1) In 2 Ch. **35** *25* an elegy on the death of Josiah is ascribed to Jeremiah. It seems *to* have had a place at one 'time among the threnodies of Lamentations (על הקינות; read with 𝔊 קינה and with 𝔊L,[1] הנה כתובה). See LAMENTATIONS, and cp Schmidt, *Introd. to Jer.*

(2) In 2 Ch. 36 22 *ff.* and Ezra 1 1-3, Is. 44 28 is distinctly quoted as a word of Jeremiah. The most natural explanation is that Is. 40 *ff.*, being anonymous, and revealing **a** marked kinship to Jer. **30-33,** found **a** temporary home in our volume before it was finally attached to Isaiah, where it may have been already established by 180 B.C. (cp Ecclus. 48 24 *f.*).

(3) In 2 Macc. 2 1 *ff.*, certain statements are made on the authority of a work entitled 'Jeremiah, the Prophet.' Two views are possible. (*a*) *V.* 2 may be simply reminiscent of Jer. 10 9, and *vv.* 4 *ff.* may originally have been a haggadic annotation to Jer. **316,** intended to explain and to soften the effect of that passage, but afterwards removed from the text ; or (*b*) the author may have had before him the biographical work probably known by the same title. That he designates his source as 'scripture' (γραφή), would be natural on either hypothesis. It is less likely that the Paralipomena Jeremiæ, though essentially **of** Jewish origin, already existed when 2 Macc. was written.

(4) Mt. **27** 9 is quoted from 'Jeremiah the Prophet,' the term being the same as that used in Mt. **2** 17. This passage is not found in our present text. Did the author of Mt. read it in his copy of Jeremiah, or in an Apocryphon Jeremiæ? (Cp JUDAS ISCARIOT, § 8.)

(5) Justin, *Dial.* c. *Tryph.* *72,* charges the Jews with having erased from Jer. a passage probably of Christian origin.

(6) Whether Eph. **514** found its way into the apocryphon from the margin of Jeremiah, or belonged to the Apocalypse of Elijah, cannot yet be determined.

(7) Lactantius (48) found in his text the words 'beatus qui erat antequam nasceretur' in Jer. 15. How old this gloss was is unknown. In regard *to* Justin's accusation against the Jews that they had erased Jer. 11 19, it is altogether probable that there was a basis of fact for the statement. Certain MSS known to Justin lacked the passage. But this may have been due in part to its (possible)absence in a copy older than that used by 𝔊, and only in part to its clumsy yet uncomfortable apologetic use by Christians. Its occurrence in all extant MSS simply shows that it finally maintained itself.

On the other hand, MT contains many elements that have been added even after the book assumed substantially its present form (see below).

4. Division. It has been maintained that Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5 1, § 79) divided the book into two volumes, either Jeremiah and Lamentations (Venema, Meulenbelt) or Jer. **1-24** and **25-52** (Eichhorn, Bertholdt).

Ordinarily the words 'who was the first that wrote and left behind him in writing two books concerning these things' (ὃς πρῶτος περὶ τούτων δύο βίβλους γράψας κατέλιπεν) are understood as referring to Ezekiel. But Ez. 1-39 and **40-48** cannot be meant (Stephen Huet, Bertholet), as **40-48** contains no prophecy of the exile. Rather is it probable that those passages quoted from Ezekiel by Clement, Tertullian, and others (cp Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepig.* 1 117 *ff.*) had at the time of our glossator been severed from the canonical Ezekiel and constituted an independent volume. That the words quoted are **a** later gloss, seems probable; ὃς is lacking in many MSS, and Josephus himself could scarcely have considered Ezekiel as earlier than Jeremiah.

The following are the chief schemes that **have** been proposed for dividing the book :—

Œcolampadius : (1) 1-31, (2) 32-39, (3) 40-52.
Heidegger : (1) 1-36, (2) 37-44, (3) 45, (4) 46-51, *(5)* 52.
H. Alting, Hottinger, Venema, Rosenmüller, De Wcttc, Paync Smith, Strcane : (1) 1-39, (2) 40-45, (3) 46-51, (4) 52.
Alpinus : (1) 1-20, (1) 21-39, (3) 40-42.
J. Alting : (1) 1, (1) 2-51, (3) 52.
Richhorn: (1) 1-24, (2) 25-51. app. 52.
Bertholdt : (1) 1-24, (2) 46-5i, (3) 25-45 app. 52.
Stähelin, with (1) and (2) united, also Havernick, Keil . (1), 1-10, (2) 11-24, *(3)* 25-29, **(4)** 30-33, (5) 34-39, **(6)** 40-45, (7) 46-51, app. 52.
Movers: (1) 1-20 26 46-49, (1) 30 *f.* 33, *(3)* 50 *f.*, **(4)** 23 22 24, (5) 21 34 37 32 33-44, **(6)** 27-29.
, Schmieder : (1) 1-12, (2) 13-25, *(3)* 26-33, **(4)** 34-39, (5) 40-45, *(6)* 46-51, (7) 52.
Neumann : (1) 1, (1) 2-17, *(3)* 18 *f.*, **(4)** 20-45, (5) 46-51, *(6)* 52.
Ewald : (1) 1, (2) 2-24, (3) 46-49, 25, app. 26-29, **(4)** 30-33, app. 34 *f.*, *(5)* 36 45 app. 50 *f.* and 52.
Hitzig: (1) i-12 6, (2) 25, (3) 26, (4) 35, (5) 36, *(6)* 45, (7) 4G-49 and (8) 12 8-24, (9) 27-29, (10) 30-33, (11) 50f ., (12) 52.
Scholz: (1) 1-10, (1) 11-20, *(3)* 21-24, (4) 25 1-14, 46-51, (5) 25 15-33, (6) 34-44, app. 45 and 52.
Delitzsch : (1) 1-6, (2) 7-12 (3) 13-20, **(4)** 21-25, (5) 26-29, *(6)* 30-33, (7) 34-33, (8) 39-45, (9) 46-51, app. 52.

The marked differences between the various attempts clearly indicate the futility of proving a logical, any more than a chronological arrangement, either in MT or in 𝔊. Nevertheless, they have been of value in leading the way to a better understanding of the composition of the book.

It is evident that a chronological arrangement was once intended, as the order in 1-20, the headings and the general sequence of sections, especially in 𝔊, suggest. It is equally clear that, with no regard to the chronology, philippics against the reigning princes have been gathered in **21-24,** attacks upon rival prophets in **26-29,** promises of restoration in **30-33,** and prophecies concerning the other nations in **46-51.** Later accretions to collections previously arranged chronologically or according to the subject matter, as well as insertion or addition of later collections, have undoubtedly contributed to the present disorder. This is probably the element of truth in Grafs supplementary hypothesis according to which the book is 'not a collection, but rather a larger whole arising out of an originally complete work through addition and expansion.' But the fruitless endeavours to find **a** rational order have resulted in calling renewed attention *to* the headings with their time-indications, and to the groups of chapters that inevitably point to independent collections earlier than the book in its present form.

Of the superscriptions, which recur throughout the book, the most frequent is 'the word that came to

5. Value of the superscriptions. Jeremiah from Yahwè' (הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת יהוה) with or without an added 'saying' (7 1 11 1 18 1 21 1 30 1 32 1 34 1 8 35 1 40 1). In all these instances the title *may* have come from the same hand, although it is also possible that a heading used in an earlier book was imitated. That this was actually done at a late date, and with a small degree of intelligence, is shown by **401,** which very inappropriately heads a narrative, not a prophecy. Of the same general type are the headings 25 1 **261** 27 1. Yet they bear marks of a different and later origin, such as the use of *'al* (על) for *'ĕl* (אל) in 25 1, the absence of 'to Jeremiah' (אל ירמיהו) in 26 1 reminding us of 50 1 in its earliest form, and ירמיה for ירמיהו in 27 1. In 50 1 𝔊 read 'the word of Yahwe which he spoke concerning Babylon' (דבר יהוה אשר דבר על בבל), the prophecy evidently being anonymous **at** first. It subsequently assumed the form 'the word that Yahwè spake concerning Babylon, by Jeremiah' (הדבר אשר דבר יהוה אל

[1] [For the MSS which seem to present the Lucianic recension of Jeremiah, see below, § 21.]

(בבל ביד ירמיהו), to which 'concerning the land of the Chaldeans' was added as a gloss. In the somewhat abbreviated form 'which Yahwè spoke by Jeremiah' (אשר דבר יהוה ביד ירמיהו) this meets us again in **4613** (𝔊). **A** later editor, however, changed this into 'the word that Jeremiah the prophet spoke,' in harmony with the then prevailing view of Jeremiah as 'the prophet' *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. The same heading is found in **451,** both in MT and 𝔊. The name of the people referred to was deemed sufficient in the case of certain anonymous prophecies against foreign nations, or the term *maššā* (משא) was used as in the Book of Isaiah. When grouped together, the mention of Nebuchadrezzar in one of them would naturally suggest Jeremiah as the author of all; but a general superscription to this effect was thought enough and 'of Egypt' (למצרים) **462,** 'concerning the Philistines' (לפלשתים) 47 1 (𝔊), 'of the children of Ammon' (לבני עמון) 49 1, 'of Edom' (לאדום) **497,** 'of Damascus (לדמשק) 49 23, 'of Kedar' (לקדר) 49 28, 'concerning Elam' (לעילם) **4934** remained, the משא, if once there, disappearing in deference to the prophet's views on this subject, 23 33 *ff.*

The most remarkable title in the book is—אשר היה דבר־יהוה אל־ירמיהו. It occurs 14 1 461 47 1 49 34 and probably 1 2 as the original heading. In 14 1 בצרות (pronounce בַּצָּרוֹת [cp Pesh., Targ., Mich. *Suppl.* 209], *αβροχια, siccitas*), is an Aramaism, and the chapter is not an oracle; in 46 1 נביא has been added; in 47 1 אל פלשתים is unnatural following אל ירמיהו, **as** is also אל עילם in 49 34. Rut more suspicious still is the phrase itself. There is no parallel for it in Hebrew. Ezek. 1225 is corrupt (cp Cornill), and Am. 5 1, also quoted by Ewald, is quite regular. When the Greek version was made, 14 1 read ויהי דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו, 46 1 was still lacking, 471 read לפלשתים, 4934 read אשר נבא ירמיהו על הגוים, the last words of 25 13 having been cut **loose** from the *nomen regens* and made a title of this prophecy. This was subsequently altered into אשר היה דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו, given as a superscription to 46 1 and 47 1, and substituted for the phrase used in 14 1. It was also employed as **a** title by the collector of the first hook.

Chap. 1 2 probably read אשר היה דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו בימי יאשיהו בן אמון מלך יהודה בשלש עשרה שנה למלכו. The words אל ירמיהו may have been abbreviated אליי as well **as** simply אלי, and the former misread אליו. The reign was suggested by 3 6, the year was probably taken from the biographical work. A more elaborate heading would in course of time he demanded, giving information concerning the prophet. It read דבר יהוה אשר היה אל ירמיהו בן חלקיהו מן הכהנים אשר בענתות בארץ בנימין. Cp 𝔊. The omission of הין can scarcely with Giesebrecht he regarded as an infallible sign of pre-exilic authorship. It is evident that the hook while it had only this heading could not have contained any oracle considered by the editor to be later than the thirteenth year of Josiah. The addition of collections hearing later dates led to the penning of *v.* **3.** Even then there was nothing in the book that was regarded as later than the fall of Jerusalem.

The time indications are numerous, but are of uncertain value.

They are found in 1 2 (13th Jos.), 3 6 (Jos.), 14 1 (the drought), 21 1 (Zed.), 24 1 (after Jeconiah), 25 1 (4th Jeh.), 26 1 (beg. Jeh.), 27 1 (beg. Jeh.), 28 1 (4th Zed.), 29 1 (after Jec.), 32 1 (10th Zed.), 34 1 (Zed.), 34 8 (Zed.), 35 1 (Jeh.), 36 1 (Jeh.), 37 1 (Zed.), 37 11 (Zed.), 38 1 (Zed.), 39 1 *f.* (9th and 11th Zed.), 40 1 (after Jer.'s release by Nabuzaradan), 41 1 (7th month), 42 7 (after 10 days), 45 1 (4th Jeh.), 46 2 (4th Jeh.), 47 1 (defeat of Gaza by Pharaoh), 49 34 (beg. Zed.), 51 59 (4th Zed.).

The text is not always certain.

In **27 1** 𝔊 has no superscription. One editor, living later than 𝔊, assigned the prophecy to Jehoiakim's reign. So MT. He could not have done this if in the very first sentence he had read 'unto king Zedekiah' (אל מלך צדקיהו); **27 3** is therefore probably a later gloss. Another editor, noticing Zedekiah in *v.* 12, wrote his name in the heading. So Pesh., Ambrosianus, Ar., Oxon., Kenn. **224.**

Some statements are too vague to be of much value. We do not know the date of the particular drought mentioned in **14 1**, nor when Pharaoh smote Gaza **(47 1)**. Some are demonstrably wrong, ascribing to certain occasions in the life of Jeremiah oracles not proceeding from him. Thus **251 46 2 471 4934 5159** are manifestly nothing but conjectures of late editors. Others are drawn from popular story books, and cannot be accorded more probability than the stories themselves, as **401 441 45 1**, probably also **321** and 35 1.

The entire book 1-20 is evidently assigned by 1 1 *f.* to the reign of Josiah. This was clearly a mistake. The editor of **26** is probably right in assigning the speech of which 7 *ff.* gives a more extended report to the time of Jehoiakim. Editors who in some instances found niches in the life of Jeremiah for prophecies written centuries later than his time, as easily as the same service was performed by hymn collectors for David, may occasionally have displayed an admirable critical instinct; but their opinions can have no binding force.

Various introductory formulas are used which often mark off smaller independent oracles. Of these the most important are 'and the word of Yahwè came unto Jeremiah' (ויהי דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו), and 'and the word of Yahwb came unto me' (ויהי דבר יהוה אלי).

The former is peculiar to 25-44 (29 **30** 32 26 33 1 19 **23** 35 12 376). The latter is peculiar to 1-24 (1 4 11 **13** 2 1 1381411 **151** 16 1 **18** 5 24 4). Here again the text is frequently uncertain. In 1 4 𝔊BN read = אליו, and אל ירמיהו may have been the original, though abbreviated. In 2 1 𝔊 has only *και ειπεν*. In 16 1 𝔊 probably read ויאמר יהוה אלהי ישראל. In 24 4 Arm. read *προς Ιερεμιαν*. In 35 12 𝔊 read אלי, *προς με* (in 32 6 this was the reading in Qmg.), while MT has אל ירמיהו, and likewise 36 1. This proves beyond doubt that ירמיהו was often abbreviated 'י or simply י. This being the case, there is no unmistakable indication anywhere whether אלי or אל ירמיהו was originally written. However, phrases like כה אמר יהוה אלי, **13 1** 17 19, and הראני, **24 1**, show that the first person was sometimes used. From the use of the first person no conclusion can of course he drawn as to the Jeremianic origin of a given oracle. Any prophet might use the same formula.

6. Earlier collections.

Nevertheless if these superscriptions, as the work of editors living at different periods subsequent to the time of Jeremiah, based on conjecture or doubtful tradition, neither indicate unity of composition or redaction, nor possess any intrinsic authority, they have considerable value as aids in recovering earlier collections, and in exhibiting the successive stages of redaction.

Chap. **13** furnishes positive evidence that the book at one time contained no prophecy indicated as having been spoken by Jeremiah after the fifth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah. Consequently, **40-44 52** at any rate formed no part of the collection. There is ground for supposing that the three booklets, 25 **46-51, 27-29** and 30-33, had as yet no place in the centre of this volume. Chap. 1 2 supplies equally convincing proof that the book once contained no section indicated as being later than the thirteenth year of Josiah. This title excludes **21-24** and **26 34-39;** but it may have served as sufficient heading for **1-20** since no later king or date is mentioned in these chapters. No collector or copyist may have been familiar with the other version of 7 *ff.* in **26** and the date there given, or have noticed that 11 points to a time later than the discovery of the Law in the eighteenth year of Josiah, or observed that in 19 *f.* the relations between Jeremiah and the rulers are more strained than in 7 *ff.*

By the aid of the Superscriptions the following collections may be recovered. 1. 1-20; 2. **21-24; 3. 25 46-51; 4. 26-29; 5. 30-33**; *6.* **34-39; 7. 40-44.** Whilst 13 clearly shows that **40-44** once circulated separately, and the character of the narrative confirms this observation, the same cannot be affirmed concerning **34-39.** In the work whence these chapters were taken **34, 37-39** on the one hand, and **(26)** 35 *f.* **(45)** on the other, would seem to have belonged together (Cornill). Not only by sub-headings and solemn introductory formulas, but even more by the editorial custom of prefacing an oracle with appropriate words, or of adding at the end words mostly of a consolatory nature, it is to a certain extent possible to discover the smaller collections used in making these books.

1. Chaps. **1-20.** In Bk. 1 the two oracles, **14-10** 11-19 (*a*), evidently form an independent section; **2 1-3** 5 (6) is shown by the introduction and the heading

36 to be a separate discourse; the title, the non-Jeremianic preface, 36-42, and the new superscription 7 1 indicate that 36-6 30 (*c*) once formed a booklet; 7-10 *(d)* by its title and its long appendix, 9 22-10 25, is similarly marked off; 11 *f.* *(e)* is likewise distinguished by heading and appendix, 11 18-12 17; 13 (*f*) is clearly an independent fragment, 15-17 and 20-27 being probably later additions; 14-17 (*g*) is shown to be a collection by title, by prefaced non-Jeremianic passages, 14 2-6 7-9, and by numerous interpolations and the appendix, 17 19-27; 18-20 (h) is separated from what precedes by a special title, and from what follows by the appended curse in imitation of Job 3 2 *ff.* and the heading of 21.

Among these groups *c* and *d* make the strongest impression of being direct reports of oracles. A characteristic especially of g, but also of *a*, *e*, *f*, and *h*, is the use of the first person. Listening disciples may have written down from memory what the prophet related in this form. The ease, however, with which a figure of speech is transformed into a narrative of actual occurrence in 13, and the manifest later colouring in 1 10 and 18, warn against assuming greater accuracy in these sections on account of the form. The editor of Book 1 found these pericopes without any indication of date except in 36. It is difficult to suppose that the first book was compiled before the third century. The editor of *g* may indeed have been a contemporary of Nehemiah **(385-373** B.C.), and the prophet's biography used to some extent in *e*, *f*, *g*, and *h* may have been written in the Persian period; but the Book of Job almost certainly belongs to the time of Ptolemaic sovereignty over Palestine, and the language of the title, 1 2, points to a comparatively late date.

2. Chaps. 21-24. In Bk. 2 chaps. 22-23 8 (*a*) form a collection of oracles against the reigning princes, distinguished by introduction, contents, and consolatory non-Jeremianic additions, 23 1-4 5 *f.* 7 *f.*; 23 9-40 (6) is separated by its heading; 24 (*c*) is of a totally different character—reminding us of 1 and 13. Stade has shown convincingly (*ZATW* 12 277 *ff.*) that 21 1-10 is an excerpt from a passage in the biography from which another excerpt, necessary to supplement it, was made in 37 4-10, and also that 21 11-14 is editorial work. Phrases drawn from 488 suggest that 21 11-14 may have been written late in the second century. But there is nothing to prevent 21 1-10 from having been prefaced and the collection made already in the previous century.

3. Chaps. 25 46-51. That the prophecies against foreign nations in Bk. 3 once circulated as a separate collection is evident from the different places they occupy in MT and 𝔊. While in 𝔊 these oracles occupy a central position in the volume, like the similar prophecies in Isaiah and Ezekiel, they are in MT relegated to the end. Their place in 𝔊 more exactly is between 25 1-13 and 15-38 of the Hebrew text. The most natural way of accounting for this is by assuming that 25 1-13 once formed the introduction to a smaller collection of oracles against nations likely to be affected by the northern invasion, that the additional introduction, *vv.* 15-38, was demanded by the accession of oracles against other nations, that 𝔊's copy still lacked this expansion, and that it was subsequently done into Greek, and on' account of its length appended rather than inserted in the margin. This would explain how the corpus could be removed in MT and yet leave the entire chap. 25 behind in its old place, and also how 25 15-38, which nafurally should precede the corpus, is found after it in 𝔊. On this hypothesis the similarity between the order in MT and that of the list, 25 19-26, likewise finds its explanation. The additional names are probably later insertions, or possibly represent oracles removed to other collections, or lost. How extensive the first collection may have been is not easily determined. The prophecies against Elam and Babylon are certainly to be eliminated, and probably also those concerning Moab, Ammon, Damascus, and Kedar. It is possible, however, that in addition to Egypt, Philistia, and Edom, Tyre and Sidon had a place in that collection. If so, the first booklet may have been produced in the third century. But such late prophecies as those against Babylon and Moab cannot well have been written before the second half of the second century; and the apocalyptic language of the editor who wrote 25 15-38 points to the same epoch for the final redaction of Bk. **3.** See also below, § 11.

4. Chaps. 26-29. In Bk. **4** it is evident that 27-29 once circulated as a separate collection. This is shown by the abbreviated form of names like ירמיה, צדקיה, חנניה, יכוניה, the spelling נבוכדנאצר for נבוכדראצר, the addition of הנביא, and the many glosses later than 𝔊 made by the same editor. As a copyist of the entire volume would not be likely to select these chapters as a special field for exhibiting all his peculiarities, it is most natural to suppose that 𝔊 translated an earlier text of 27-29 than that incorporated in MT, that in 𝔊's text 27 1 was contiguous with the end of the prophecy against Elam, 4939 (Movers, Hitzig), and that 26 subsequently found its way into 𝔊 in the train of 25 15-38. The character of 27 accounts for its being joined to the prophecies against foreign nations in Bk. **3.** A later scribe probably copied from the biographical work chap. 26 as an introduction to show the wickedness of the pseudo-prophets and the divine protection enjoyed by Jeremiah, and justify his denunciation. It is reasonably certain that this book cannot have received its present form until the second half of the second century.

5. Chaps. 30-33. Bk. 5 consists of *(a)* 30 *f.*, (*b*) 32 1-15, (*c*) 32 16-44, (*d*) 33 1-13, (e) 33 14-26. Only *a* once circulated as a separate book; 6 may have been drawn from the biography; *c* is apparently an interpolation *in situ; d* was probably written by the editor of Bk. 5, who may have lived in the latter part of the second century; and *e* is an appendix later than 𝔊.

6. Chaps. 34-39. With the comforting outlook into the future presented by Bk. 5 the volume once closed. But the same increased interest in the prophet's life that caused the addition of chaps. 36-39 to the Book of Isaiah also led to the appending of biographical material to Jeremiah. Bk. 6 never had any separate existence. Its present disorder is best explained by the different stories having been drawn directly from the biography. It is probable that this story-book followed a certain chronological order. The seeming neglect of this in Chronicles and Daniel cannot be alleged against the supposition. The Chronicler knows well the order of Jewish kings, and that of the Persian monarchs was probably better known to him than has been supposed, while the composition of Daniel may explain the lack of chronological arrangement in that book (cp Barton, *JBL* 17 62). It is not unlikely that in the biography 26 35 36 and possibly 45 were followed by 34 21 *f.* 37 4-10 21 3-10 37 11-38 28 *a* 39 1-3 14-18, though some other sections must have intervened. From 39 2 the general editor of 1-39 obtained his last date, 1 3. The interpolation, 39 4-13, is later than 𝔊; but the incorporation of the chapters enumerated in the volume may have followed soon upon that of Bk. 5.

7. Chaps. 40-44. Bk. 7 was not known to the editor who wrote 1 3. This raises the serious question whether Bk. 7 or any section of it formed a part of the biographical work. After the awkward introduction, 40 1-6, an account follows, 40 7-41 18, which can scarcely have been drawn from that source.

Not only does Jeremiah play no *rôle* in the stirring events here narrated (it is Johanan who appears as Gedaliah's adviser), but neither he nor Baruch is mentioned among those who escaped the massacre. This strange silence concerning the prophet renders it probable that 40 7-41 18 is a Midrash to the book of Kings, brought over to prepare the way for 42 *ff.* One is tempted to suppose that this section has taken the place of an oracle to Nabuzaradan by Jeremiah. It is difficult to imagine that an editor should have deliberately introduced a narrative in which no oracle of Jeremiah occurs, and, in fact, the prophet

does not figure at all in 'the word which came to Jeremiah from Yahwè.'

In 42-44 the failure to carry the story down to the prophet's death is noticeable. It has been supposed that the veil was drawn over his tragic end by a desire not to publish the nation's shame. But there is no trace of such delicacy elsewhere in the volume. The murder of Uriah (26 23) and other prophets is freely recorded, and the tendency of this particular book to present the prophet as faithful even to the end and the people as apostates capable of any wickedness is very marked. Besides, it is far from certain that Jeremiah met with a violent death, or, if so, at the hands of his countrymen (see JEREMIAH, the Prophet, § 2). It is more likely that when this book was made it was not yet known what had become of the prophet. The biographical work naturally grew in the same way as our volume. When Bk. 6 was added to chaps. 1-33 this biography apparently lost sight of the prophet at the fall of Jerusalem. A much later hand probably led him with 'all the remnant of the people,' not without violence, into Egypt to prophesy against that kingdom and to predict the utter extinction of the Egyptian diaspora. From Nehemiah's memoirs we learn that in his time (385-373 B.C.) the Jews in Palestine were still regarded as people that had been left in the province when the exiles were carried away (cp EZRA-NEHEMIAH). The idea, diametrically opposed to this, that no Judæans were left behind in the land, does not appear until the Chronicler, who, however, knows nothing yet of a remnant escaping to Egypt (2 Ch. 36 20). The exuberant genealogical interest would naturally lead the Egyptian Jews to trace their pedigrees back to the exile, and the difficulty of accomplishing this feat may readily have suggested as an explanation a prophetic oracle sealing the doom of the entire remnant. In course of time the prophet would inevitably receive the martyr's crown. But whether an account of this yet found a place in the biography is doubtful. The counter-currents of interest connecting him with the Babylonian diaspora, where he would have ended his life in peace, or with Judæa, may have prevented tradition from becoming fixed on this point. Nabuzaradan's speech reminds one of utterances of pagan rulers in Daniel. The historic substitute may have been introduced at the end of the second century by the editor who appended 52.

As chap. 45 presents Baruch in a different rôle from that imputed to him in 43 3, it is possible that this paragraph was taken from an earlier section of the biography and put at the end of the volume to show Jeremiah's prophetic insight and generosity, even as 39 15-18 was appended to Bk. 6.

In regard to the biography itself, it is not improbable that it bore the title 'Jeremiah the Prophet' and that it long had a separate existence. If it was actually used by the authors of 2 Macc. and Mt., it may even have heen translated into Greek. The disappearance of such a work involves no difficulty. Nor is it impossible that the original was still in existence in the days of Jerome. Until the Hebrew hook shown to him shall have heen found, there will be nothing to force the conclusion that it was a recent forgery or to prevent the assumption that it was the old biography from which so many abstracts had heen made, though naturally not untouched by many hands that would have dealt more scrupulously with a canonical book.

Ch. 52 seems to have been drawn from 2 K. 25—a very late appendix to K. Verses 28-30, not found in K., were added later than 𝔊, but probably from a good old source, as they contradict the conception current at the time of the translation. When that time was cannot be accurately determined. The preface to Ecclus. only shows that in 132 B.C. prophetic writings had heen translated, but does not indicate the extent and character of these writings. The year 114 in the epilogue to the Greek Esther is so far from fixing the lower limit of 𝔊 that it cannot even be relied upon for determining the date of the translation of that particular book (cp Jacob, *ZATW*, 1890, p. 274 *ff.*). Nor is it likely that all parts were translated at the same time.

There appears to be nothing, however, to prevent the view that the volume had substantially assumed its present form in the reign of Alexander Jannæus (102-76 B.C.).

According to the baraitha preserved in *Bābā bathrā* 14b, Jeremiah was the author of the book. The superscriptions in all parts of the volume (except 52) would naturally lead to this conclusion. This was no doubt the generally accepted view in the time of the Tannāim (Mishnic doctors).

7. Superscriptions.

Whilst there is only one direct quotation in NT bearing on this point—viz. Mt. 2 18 (the other, 27 9, being probably from the biography)—this shows that 30 *ff.* was regarded as a Jeremianic production, and other NT authors, notably those of Hebrews and Revelation, are likely to have regarded Jeremiah as the author on the strength of the headings. Strictly speaking, these titles, with a single exception, do not affirm that Jeremiah was the writer of the respective sections. They only state that these oracles came to Jeremiah, and it is implied that they were uttered by him, but not necessarily that he wrote them.

In 25 13 the editor's meaning is perhaps doubtful; in 29 1 the editor possibly meant to intimate that Jeremiah wrote the letter as well as sent it; in 30 2 the editor distinctly represents Yahwè as ordering the prophet to write, leaving the inference that he did so. It is significant that in all three cases the contents of the 'books' render it extremely difficult to believe that they have come, either directly or indirectly, from the hand of Jeremiah. As in 36 4 the divine command given to Jeremiah (36 2) to write in a hook is carried out by dictation to Baruch, the writer of 30 2 may have thought of the same method.

Only in 51 60 is it distinctly stated that Jeremiah wrote the words against Babylon; but 50 1-51 58 is clearly un-Jeremianic. Even through the mists of tradition the fact can be discerned that there never were any Jeremianic autographs. This prophet was not a holy penman, but a preacher of righteousness (cp ISAIAH i.).

But if Jeremiah was not himself a writer, he may be the real author of many an oracle preserved in this book. That would be eminently true, could it be proved that some of them were actually dictated by him.

8. Jeremianic oracles.

But even though a closer examination should render it probable that we possess only free reproductions of discourses that lived in the memory of disciples, that would still put within our reach sentiments, thoughts, and forms of expression of which he was the author. If these should be seen to reflect historic circumstances unknown in later times, religious ideas out of harmony with those prevailing after the exile, and a unique personality not to be explained as a fictitious character, that would tend to enhance their trustworthiness. It would not be strange, in view of methods in vogue elsewhere, if such genuine sayings should be found chiefly in Bks. 1 and 2, if Bks. 3 and 5 should prove to be altogether un-Jeremianic, and if the biographical sections, with all their long speeches, should furnish but scanty material.

Since Spinoza it has generally been assumed, on the basis of the narrative in 36, that the roll which Baruch wrote at the dictation of Jeremiah in the fifth year of Jehoiakim (603 B.C.) has been preserved in some parts of our present volume. Spinoza regarded the 'I' sections,—*i.e.*, chiefly 1-20—and the prophecies against foreign nations, 46-51, as giving the contents of the roll. This view has met with wide approval. Even Stade thinks it 'the first duty of criticism to restore from the book this original roll.' He, indeed, rejects 46-51 with its introduction 25, removes all genuine sayings that are later than 603, and eliminates the many un-Jeremianic interpolations. But the remainder represents to him the famous roll. We have no guarantee, however, that the remnant ever had a place on Baruch's scroll. In fact, there are considerations that militate

seriously against this supposition. The words directly quoted from the roll (36 29) are not to be found in these sections; there are no prophecies against foreign nations among them, as is demanded by *v.* 2; the prophecies selected do not make any such clear allusion to the Chaldæans as would scare the king or vex him, and they certainly do not make the impression of being either 'all the words that Yahwè had spoken to him' in twenty years or an intelligently arranged summary for a special purpose. The difficulty of the assumption has been felt by Gratz' **(1874)** and Cheyne (art. 'Jeremiah,' in *EB*(9), **'81;** *Comm.* **'85**), who have therefore thought of chap. 25 (of course when purified from the most obvious interpolations) as the roll. But since chap. 25 is the introduction to chaps. 46-51, and all these chapters are almost certainly not Jeremianic in any sense, the attempt to find Baruch's roll must be given up. As Dahler suggested, the 'book' had clearly a special purpose. Whether it was subsequently lost, or any part of it drifted into our volume, is not a matter of serious moment. Concerning no portion of our present work is it affirmed, or even intimated, that it was dictated to Baruch. The use of the first person, if original, may be a reminiscence of the actual language of the prophet. or a literary device.

It is safe to assume that among those who listened to the prophet there were no reporters taking down his words, pen in hand. Chap. 36 gives us valuable evidence of what was deemed sufficient accuracy in such matters. **All** the words spoken by Yahwe through his prophet in twenty years are put to writing under a sudden impulse, and this picture of past prophecy is a year later, under fresh provocation, retouched with 'many like words.' This is no doubt the story of much reporting. Freely from memory, speeches were written down that they might not be forgotten, still preserving, in Spite of many like words added, somewhat of the original flavour.

It is this breath of a mighty spirit, felt particularly in the earlier parts of the volume, that forbids the theory of Havet and Vernes according to which our book is wholly pseudepigraphical and Jeremiah a fictitious character.

9. Baruch's part.

It is natural to ascribe such knowledge as we possess of Jeremiah's words and life to the pen of Baruch. The book itself suggests his importance.

According to chap. **36** Baruch was the writer of the hook produced in 604; he was the prophet's representative reading this book; he was as much in danger as Jeremiah and had as powerful friends among the princes; according to **43** 3 he was accused by the Jews of unduly influencing the prophet; according to **45** 5 he was censured by Jeremiah himself for having cherished lofty plans contrary to the prophet's ideas. Such **a** man might write not only at the' dictation of the prophet, but also in his name: and furnish much information concerning his life, by virtue of intimate acquaintance. The idea of a close partnership involving independent work on Baruch's part is seen unmistakably in the addition of Bar. 1-5 to Jer. without a separate title and in the appending of the Epistle of Jeremy to Bar.; and in Baruch's biographical activity in Paralipomena Jer. To Theodoret Baruch seems to have been more than a mere amanuensis.

When, in modern times, differences of style began to be observed, the frequent changes from the first to the third person were ascribed to Baruch; his hand was discovered in the later oracles; the biographical sections were assigned to him as author. The theory of two recensions had a tendency to increase his labours as an editor; he was dharged with the care of the second improved edition as well as with the *editio princeps.*

1 ['It is an old and generally prevalent error that Jeremiah caused to be written down an entire collection of prophetic discourses, and that Jehoiakim destroyed this. . . It is to Le shown here that Jehoiakim only burned that roll in which was contained the prophecy of the calamity threatening Judah (and the neighbouring peoples) from the Babylonion invasion (see *36* 29). . . . Chaps. **36** and **25** belong together as much as chaps. **7** and 26.' Grätz, 'Das Datum der Schlacht bei Kharkemisch u. der Beginn der chald. Herrschaft üb. Juda,' *MGWJ* **23** 289 *ff.* The so-called 'error' **still** holds its ground in commentaries and introductions.]

Even after the abandonment of the two-recensions theory, the idea that large portions of our book have come from the pen of Baruch is still cherished by eminent scholars. But there is not the slightest evidence that any part of the volume was ever written by him. It does not contain a single line that even claims to have been penned by him; and the many works that purport to come from him are too palpably spurious to be used as touchstones. It remains a bare possibility that, at one time or another, Baruch wrote down abstracts of oracles delivered by Jeremiah. Among these there niay have been reports of utterances made before **604** B.C. as well as after that date. But it is not likely that such memoranda were used in preparing the 'book' read to Jehoiakim. The late origin of many sections claimed for Baruch, and the manifest lack of order among the genuine fragments of Jeremianic oracles, seem to preclude the siipposition that he was in any sense the editor of the book.'

Note on fer. 36 18.—The sense of קרא in this passage (read? proclaim?) is uncertain. In *v.* **14** קרא has clearly the sense of 'read,' as frequently elsewhere, cp Ex. **24** 7 Dt. **17** 19. The use of earlier collections is not in itself iniprobable, as Dahler has shown. But the natural impression of the text certainly is that the prophet reproduces from memory and dictates to his scribe all the words that Yahwè has spoken to him. We are not justified in minimising either the assumed extent of the *Megillah* or the miraculous power ascribed to the prophet. We may question the historic accuracy of the narrative.

10. Writers: collectors.

The book appears to be the product of writers unknown to us by name. They may be divided into the following classes:—*(a)* reporters and collectors of oracles, (6) prophets, (c) historians, *(d)* poets, *(e)* editors and annotators.

(a) When sayings of the prophet were first put into writing we do not know. Tradition found it unnecessary to ascend higher than the year **604** B.C.; **a** lapse of twenty-two years was not regarded as too long for correct reproduction. It is probable, however, that the discourses referring to the Chaldeo-Scythian invasion were drawn from reports made at an earlier date. To such reports may be assigned 4 3-10 **12-18** **28-31** **5 1-17** 19 **6 1-30** and possibly 11 2-6 9-12 (in 9 אלי probably abbreviation of אל ירמיהו, or late, *HP* *229)*. Similar memoranda in Jehoiakim's reign may have contained 22 13 20-37 3 1-5 and 7 3-31 8 1-9 **14-17** 9 1-21. In the little book, **14-17**, the genuine Jeremianic fragments **14** 10-16 15 1-4 16 2-13 may have been written from memory in the prophet's lifetime by some friendly listener who preserved Jeremiah's use of the first person. The essence of **1** may have come down in the same manner, while 13 is likely to be a late transformation of a parable into a narrative. 18 1-17 **19** 1 *f.* 10 *f.* may still be accounted for in this way, and possibly also the indictments of the kings, 22, and the prophets, 23 9 *ff.*, and the nucleus of 24.

Many words, no doubt, were gathered from the lips of the people, by makers of collections during the Chaldcan period. But as such sayings pass from man to man, they grow. In course of time the collectors would naturally find it difficult to determine whether an oracle was genuine or not. The 'color Jeremianus' produced by unconscious or conscious imitation would readily deceive even where a definite ascription did not silence every doubt. On the other hand, the collections would furnish material for the enrichment of the stories concerning the prophet's life.

11. Prophetic writers: chaps. 46-51.

(b) In addition to the writers who have given us more or less correct reports of the oracles of Jeremiah, the book introduces us to a number of original prophetic authors living in later times. Chief among these are the writers whose productions fill Bks. **3** and 5.

Eichhorn appears to have been the first to perceive clearly the un-Jeremianic character of 46-51.

Already in 1777 (*Repertorium*, 1 149) he declared that 'he

1 For a criticism of Giesebrecht's view on the book written by Baruch at Jeremiah's dictation, according to Jer. **36**, see *Introd. to the Book of Jeremiah*, by the present writer.

who finds in the prophecies against foreign nations the language of Jeremiah must either have no acquaintance with Jeremiah's style or no capacity for distinguishing different modes of expression.' His theory then was that the works of earlier prophets had been used by Jeremiah in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, a somewhat similar procedure to that often ascribed to Isaiah in the case of chap. 15 *f.* In his *Einleitung*(4) ('24) Eichhorn's assumed that the chapters were of later origin and not edited by Jeremiah. As regards 50 *f.*, of whose spurious character Eichhorn was most fuliy persuaded, practical unanimity has been reached.

The attempt of Movers, Hitzig, Schrader, Stähelin to find a Jeremianic nucleus enlarged in the exile was effectively disposed of by Rudde in his excellent monograph.

Graf and Orelli still defended the authenticity, largely on the ground of numerous Jeremianic expressions. To explain these it is not necessary to think, with Budde, of pseudonymity, which apparently is precluded by the fact that the prophecy was not originally assigned to Jeremiah (cp 𝔊); extensive use of writings ascribed to Jeremiah and a very small measure of originality suffice. Unmistakable dependence on Ezekiel Is. 13 40-55 34 *f.*, an attitude of satisfaction with Israel and of fierce hatred of Bahylon, and an utter lack of sympathy with Jeremiah's point of view and of intelligent appreciation of the very phrases borrowed from him, have convinced critics of widely different schools that these chapters are not the work of Jeremiah. Eichhoru's doubts concerning **46-49** led Blau (*ZDMG* 1865) to seek a later occasion in Israel's history for these chapters. **A** story in Mas'iidi of the Benu Hadir caused Eichhorn to assign the authorship to Berachia b. Zerubbabel. Many acute observations were made; hut the legend is too late to be used for historical purposes.

It is, however, the merit of Schwally to have been ths first to examine with critical thoroughness these prophecies (chaps. 46-51).

12. Schwally's criticism. Schwally pointedout thecloserelation of48 to Is. 15 *f.* and 24, and of 49 7 *ff.* to Obadiah, the dependence on parts of Jer. that are probably secondary, the absence of the call to repentance so characteristic of pre-exilic prophecy, and the character of Yahwè as a god of vengeance pouring his fury upon the heathen. He also directed attention to the probable identification of Elam with Persia, and he indicated the true character of **25** as an introduction to the hook of oracles. His apparent contention that a pre-exilic prophet must have preached repentance and cannot have conceived of Yahwè as a god taking vengeance on the heathen nations for their treatment **of** Israel is not quite convincing. Habakkuk[1] and Nahum show much of this vindictive spirit, and other prophets may have excelled them. Yet *so* far as Jeremiah is concerned the contrast is very marked, and the oracles certainly breathe a spirit most familiar to us from extant writings of post-exilic times.

Bleecker has undertaken to do for chaps. **46-51** what Movers and Hitzig did for 50 *f.*

He eliminates the most objectionable features, partly on the basis of 𝔊, partly by conjecture, attempts to show the necessity

13. Bleecker's. of assuming a Jeremianic authorship in order to justify the references to Jeremiah as a prophet called to denounce judgment on many nations, minimises the objections drawn by Schwally from the theology of the oracles, and seeks to picture a suitable his. torical background in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Even Bleecker, however, is forced to surrender the prophecy against Elam (49 34-39), is extremely doubtful about the oracle against Kedar (49 28 *ff.*), is obliged to cut *so* deeply into the prophecy against Moab (48) as to leave but **a** few verses, removes from the prophecy against Edom (49 7-22) the embarrassing verse **49 12** in which the destruction **of** Jerusalem is clearly mentioned and then bases an argument for Jeremianic authorship on thd absence of any reference to this event.

Yet even after the most radical excision these oracles remnin in irreconcilable conflict with the views and sentiments that the earlier sections of the book allow us to ascribe to Jeremiah.

In **2 10** *f.* Jeremiah looks beyond the boundaries of Judah, hut only to point out the loyalty of other nations to their gods, in contrast with the faithlessness of Yahwè's people. If in 18 7-10 he has in mind any other people and kingdom than Judah, he holds out repentance and restitution. That is the sentiment of the universally acknowledged later additions **46** 25 **48** 47 49 6 39 (wanting in 𝔊, except 49 39), not of the pro! phecies themselves. That chap. 1 has been retouched in view of the later contents of the volume, and that **27**, drawn from the biographical work, is unhistorical, seems extremely probable. Yet even 1 5 and 10 do not necessarily suggest any specific oracles against nations beyond the terrible announcement in 4 3 *ff.* of the subjugation of people after people by the Chaldean power; and even **27** is tinged with sympathy and concern for the nations lest they be led astray by their prophets from the path of safety. **All** references to Nebuchadrezzar and his time are editorial, since neither 46 26 (wanting in 𝔊) nor 49 30 is original and there is nothing in the text to sustain these editorial conjectures.

Whilst rightly insisting upon the necessity of examining each oracle by itself, though unnecessarily justifying this by a reference to 36 2, in which

14. Giesebrecht's. he has an excessive confidence, Giesebrecht appreciatesmorefully than Bleecker the force of Schwally's arguments.

Giesebrecht perceives the impossibility of ascribing the oracles against Egypt (46 3-12 and **13-26**) to Jeremiah, and correctly indicates the source of that perplexing confusion, which leaves it uncertain whether a past or a future defeat is depicted, in the dependence on literary models. If he still clings to a possihle, though indefinable, Jeremianic nucleus it is because of the knowledge on the part of the editor of a battlefield of Carchemish not known to Bērōssus. Rather should the lack of confirmation render this piece of editorial wisdom suspicious. Giesebrecht also recognises the dependence of 48 on Is. 15 *f.* and its post-exilic character, and the secondary character of all the prophecies in 49 except that against Edom. Here a failure to perceive that all parts of Obadiah are post-exilic leads him to assume *a* genuine nucleus.

The only oracle which Giesebrecht would decidedly claim for Jeremiah is that against the Philistines **(47).** With Hitzig, Kuenen, and others he sees the impossibility of saving the heading, but finds a good historical background for the oracle in the time of Jehoiakim. It is difficult, however, to conceive of Jeremiah selecting Philistia, either in 604, or in 625 (which might also be considered), as the object of Yahwè's fury, without indicating any sin committed, and with such terrible emphasis. Close examination only tends to confirm the view of Schwally, also maintained by Stade, Wellhausen, Smend, Duhm, and Budde. **As** for the two introductions, Cornill sees a weighty argument in favour of the authenticity of 25 15-29 in the fact that 'the cup of the fury of Yahwè' suddenly becomes a popular expression after Jeremiah's time, as in Ezek. 23 32 Lam. 4 21 Is. 51 17 Hnb. 2 16 Ps. 75 9 [8], and therefore must have been coined by Jeremiah. But these passages written in different periods do not prove a sudden popularity of the phrase, nor is it apparent why Jeremiah rather than Ezekiel should have given it this form. On the contrary, it is probable that the editor who wrote **2515** had before him 49 12, and the thought there suggested of Israel's drinking out of Yahwè's cup of anger, expressed in Ezek. **23 32**, is likely **to** be earlier, if it originated at **all** with **a** prophet.

In the book of consolation, chaps. 30 *f.*, Movers, De Wette, and Hitzig noticed the close affinity to Is.

15. Ch. 30 *f.* 32. 40 *ff.* R. Williams regarded these chaps. as a 'song of encouragenient by some Baruch or later Isaiah far on in the exile. Stade recognized the pseudonymity. It was Smend, however, who first clearly set forth the internal evidence against the Jeremianic authorship of both chaps. He recognised that the author lived after the exile and also after the disenchantment that had followed the rebuilding of the temple. As the author missed a prophecy of Judah's return, he assumed that there had already been a return of exiles. But the return under Cyrus **is** scarcely historical,

This would give added weight to Giesehrecht's objection that a promise to Israel alone would not be likely in a late writer, and a certain plausibility to his view that 31 2-6 15-20 formed a genuine nucleus afterwards enlarged by 30, were it not that the terms 'Jacob' and 'Israel' seem to have acquired a wider sense since 2 Isaiah, on whom the writer *so* clearly depends, and that the unity of the hook, rightly emphasised by Graf cannot well be questioned. The hope of political independence pervades the hook. This is also expressed in 31 22 (where 𝔊 gives the only satisfactory sense), which should probably he emended thus: בְּיֶשַׁע ,ברא יהוה חדשה בארץ נקנה יסבבו גברים (ἐν σωτηρίᾳ) being a later gloss (preserved in 𝔊) to בארץ נקנה[1]—the sign consists in this, that men shall walk about in a land freed from foreign rulers. This likewise removes every objection to 31 **35-40**; the enlargement of the capital and the extension of

[1] On the historical situation in Habakkuk see **HABAKKUK**, and cp **N.** Schmidt, *New World*, '98, p. 585.

[1] For קנה in the sense of 'purchase the freedom of,' 'ransom,' 'deliver,' cp **Ex.** 15 16 Dt. 28 68 Is. 11 11 Ps. 74 2 Neh. *5 8*.

the kingdom by the return of exiles are the signs that Yahwè has forgiven his people, and the love thus shown will be more effective than the preaching of prophetic teachers in bringing about a willing obedience to the law. The author of the Songs of Zion, added in Palestine to 2 Isaiah, still has confidence in the missionary activity of the Yahwè-disciples ; this writer despairs of all human teaching and expects reform to come as a consequence of Yahwè's deed of deliverance.

In chap. 32, not only 17-23, but the whole section 76-44 is clearly a late production, the author occasionally falling out of his rôle, as in 37 42 ; 6-15 may have been taken from the biography. Chap. 33 14-26, not yet found by 𝔊, is quite generally rejected. But neither is 33 1-13 likely to be genuine. The dependence on 2 Is. in *v.* 2, the extraordinary exhortation in *v.* 3, the juxtaposition of the captivity of Judah and of Israel (*v.* 7), the feeling of the heathen concerning restored Jerusalem (*v.* 9), the actual desolation of the city (*v.* 10), the late psalm-fragment and the praise offering (*v.* 11), and the dependence on 17 26 and 31 24 in *vv.* 12 and 13, are sufficiently convincing.

The speeches in Bks. 4, 6, and 7 must be considered in connection with the biography (see § 17).

In Bks. 1 and 2 there are, in addition to poetical and liturgical compositions and brief annotations, a series of more important insertions of late origin. 2 14-19 breaks the natural connection. presupposes evil treatment of the Jews by the people of Thebes and Daphnæ, breathes the spirit of 2 Isaiah's concern about the servant of Yahwè, and rebukes immigration to Egypt and Syria. That 36-42 is out of place is generally seen. Stade doubts the genuineness of 3 17 *f.* Giesebrecht rejects 3 14-18 ; Cornill 3 17 *f.* 4 1 *f.* ; Kraetzschmar, 3 14-4 2. The whole section is doubtful. The looseness of construction may be explained by literary dependence on Ezek. 16, Jer. 31, and other passages. An invitation to Israel to return, even in the form of *vv.* 12 *f.*, either in 625 when the Scytho-Chaldean invasion was imminent, or after the futility of Josiah's reform had become apparent (cp *v.* 10) and the Chaldeans again threatened the land, is difficult to understand. It is not likely that two minds independently conceived the idea of Israel's justification through Judah's greater sinfulness. The author sees both Judah and Israel coming back together to Zion (*v.* 18), and uses the term 'house of Israel' in a manner to suggest the whole Yahwè-worshipping people (*vv.* 19 *f.*). 9 24 *f.*, though brief, is important as showing the sentiments of later scribes. It probably read originally 'Behold days come, when I will punish all who are circumcised in their foreskin (*i.e.*, have the sign in their body though they fail to unite with Israel as proselytes)—viz. Egyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites—and all the dwellers in the desert who poll their hair,' a kindred custom.

16. Insertions in 1-20 21-24.

10 1-16 is almost universally rejected. 𝔊 presents the pericope in an earlier form than MT. But even 𝔊 has the late Aramaic addition, *v.* 11 (itself the work of two hands), and other expansions. Language and thought preclude Jeremianic origin.. 12 14-17, like the elegy preceding it, is evidently un-Jeremianic. The neighbouring nations have settled in Israel's land ; they will be plucked up ; but they will be accepted as proselytes, if they learn to swear by Yahwè. The affinity with Is. 56 9-12 57 1-13 is marked. 16 14-18 is clearly a later prophecy presupposing the exile and promising a return, dependent in its phraseology somewhat on 2 Isaiah. For עונם ('their iniquity') read מעונם ('their dwelling') in *v.* 17, a copyist having misunderstood the tenor of the verse. 23 7 *f.* is later than 16 14 *f.* Stade and many others rightly regard 17 19-27 as a work of a later prophet. The concern here expressed for sabbath-keeping and sacrifices, making prosperity dependent upon such exercises, is contrary to Jeremiah's spirit (cp 7) and belongs to another age. Geiger (*Urschrift*, 83) in 1857 expressed his conviction that 23 5-8 was written in the Hasmonean period. Giesebrecht (*Beitr. z. Jesaiakritik*, 40), though maintaining the Jeremianic authorship, finely indicated that even *vv.* 1-3 presuppose the exile. The entire pericope, 23 1-8, is in all probability a product of a later age.

(*c*) Contemplation of a prophet's words naturally begets an interest in the historic occasions that gave rise to his utterances and the circumstances of his life. Stories concerning the remarkable epoch when Jeremiah lived and his own strange career no doubt passed from mouth to mouth for a long time before an attempt was made to fix them in writing. Adversity, repentance, reflection on Israel's sufferings such as the Servant-of-Yahwè songs reveal, would tend to bring out of obscurity and disgrace the figure of the prophet who foresaw the ruin of the state, but also to shape this figure according to the ideal. Words would suggest situations, situations words. Finally the demand for a connected biography would arise. This work would follow the prophet's career so far as the material at hand permitted. As the interest increased, the desire for more complete knowledge would grow and find its gratification. It is possible that the biography in its latest form contained some story of the prophet's death, though contradictory accounts, or other reasons, determined the final editors of the canonical book not to introduce it.

17. Historians.

There are in our present volume historical sections that cannot have come from the biography. Already Grotius recognised that 52 is an appendix drawn from 2 K. 25, with the exception of *vv.* 28-30. That is now universally conceded. It has not yet been observed, but appears equally certain, that 40 7-41 18 must have been taken from another source than the biography (cp § 6). The lifelikeness of this story is much praised, and it is generally used as an authentic account by modern historians. Literary critics are still apt to be deceived by vividness of description, local colour, names and dates, and charmed into forgetfulness of the most glaring inconsistencies and historical impossibilities. Such inconsistencies and impossibilities are not wanting in this story. A confused memory of the first Chaldean governor and of an abortive attempt by a side branch of the Davidic family to overthrow the new government, and local legends clustering about the cistern of Asa and the pool of Gibeon, may lie at its foundation; but in its present form it cannot well be earlier than the second century.

A. B. Davidson has recognised that the passage 42 7-22, 'on account of its rather debased style and its other peculiarities, is probably a free construction from the historian's hand.' But 43 1-7 presupposes this 'free construction' ; 42 1-6 is its necessary introduction ; the same 'depraved style' and other peculiarities of reproductive prophecy characterise 44, which further betrays its late origin by its assumption of a complete depopulation of Judæa and the existence of Jewish communities in all parts of Egypt. 43 8-13 seems to have come from the pen of a man who regarded Nebuchadrezzar as Yahwè's servant in punishing the Egyptians for their idolatry, and may have had some knowledge of his expedition against Egypt in 568. Rowland Williams, with keen insight, hinted at a later date for the 'moralising view of the conqueror as Yahwè's servant.' The address of Nabuzaradan, 40 2 *ff.*, in which he speaks as if he were a disciple of Jeremiah, is, of course, a late production. The Egyptian sojourn of Jeremiah is subject to grave doubts (cp JEREMIAH i., § 2). Whether Bk. 7 was in part drawn from late additions to the biography, or was altogether a free construction, the editor who wrote 1 3 knew nothing about Jeremiah's subsequent fate save that he survived the fall of the city.

The stories preserved in Bks. 1-6, and in all probability taken from the biography, reveal the workmanship of many writers, and vary greatly in the degree of credibility attaching to them. Bks. 3 and 5 have

each one such story. Ewald suggested and Giesebrecht has convincingly shown that 51 59-64 (cp SERAIAH) is a piece of haggadic fiction.

The historicity of 32 1-15 (cp HANAMEL) has been questioned by Pierson, who finds it improbable that a prisoner should he surrounded by people, have a secretary, and he able to make purchases. Stade, Cornill, and Giesebrecht rightly reject 1-5. In behalf of 6-15 Giesebrecht urges certain points which apparently preclude a later writer. He suggests that the story was told by Jeremiah after the fall of the city. There may be a nucleus of fact in the story. But if Jeremiah meant by this tale to keep his people quiet in the land under Chaldean sovereignty, rather than that they should emigrate, he would not have intimated (*vv.* 14 *f.*) that after a long time they would again have a chance of buying houses and fields. The miraculously bestowed fore-knowledge of Hanamel's coming, the outlook into a future beyond the long exile, the consequent purely symbolic character of the act, the amazement, common in apocalyptic literature, at the wonderful plan of future deliverance, and the vagueness of the narrative, only in part due to textual corruption, seem to indicate a later origin.

In Bk. 1, 13 1-14 may be an excerpt from the biography. The twofold journey to the Euphrates is clearly unhistorical. A saying like that of *vv.* 12-14 has been dramatised. The editor of the book may also have drawn from the same source the genuine parts of 18 and 19 and the possibly authentic story 20 1-6.

In Bk. 2, 21 1-10 is from the biography (cp above).

The introductory chapter, 26, to Bk. 4 contains a briefer report of the speech given, 7 *ff.*, and an apparently trustworthy account of the consequences. In the booklet 27-29, the story of the bands and yokes (27), and that of the correspondence with Babylonia (29), are scarcely historical; while the narrative of the encounter between Jeremiah and Hananiah sounds plausible, though it may have been retouched. That Hananiah was scared to death is less probable than that 28 17 was added to round off the story.

In Bk. 6 there is no valid reason to question the substantial accuracy of 34. Chap. 35, on the other hand, is subject to grave doubts. That Jeremiah should have praised for their loyalty the RECHABITES (*q.v.*) whose very presence in Jerusalem constituted the severest infringement of the commandment enjoined upon them by their ancestor, is quite incredible, apart from the questionable method used to test their fidelity to one of the ancestral injunctions, and the scene of this trial. A justification was probably found in this story for the elevation into some position in the lower clerus (עמד לפני) of those who had abandoned the nomadic life they were solemnly commanded to lead. Against the historical trustworthiness of chap. 36 Pierson adduced twenty-one arguments. Their summary rejection by Kuenen may have been influenced by a reluctance to surrender a narrative generally regarded as furnishing a trustworthy clue to the composition of the book. If this is seen to be illusive, it may more readily be admitted that, whilst some of these arguments are of little weight, taken as a whole they are not without a certain cumulative force. It is evidently the author's meaning that all the prophecies of Jeremiah, during a period of more than twenty years, were written by Baruch, the prophet dictating them from memory. He did not reflect on the curious effect of such a collection of miscellaneous addresses on different subjects and occasions, even if a reproduction of that kind were a possibility. That Jeremiah should send his servant with so important a mission instead of going himself is all the more strange as a long time elapses between the writing and the reading of the book. It does not seem possible to refer the explanation 'I am restrained' to political detention, since he is free to go and hide himself, nor to ceremonial uncleanness, since the command to Baruch precedes the public reading by months, nor to business, since the fast day would take precedence. But can the author really have represented his hero as held back by cowardly concern for his own safety? The collusion of the princes with Baruch and Jeremiah contrasts with their eagerness to bring the book to the king's knowledge, and this with their neglect to take with them the *corpus delicti*. In *v.* 29 is assumed a personal interview with Jehoiakim that harmonises neither with Jeremiah's detention on the fast day nor with his subsequent concealment. A possible kernel of fact is all that can be admitted. Jeremiah's feeling concerning the expected Egyptian relief corps, 37 1-10 (21 1-10), his intended departure from Jerusalem, and his imprisonment (37 11 *ff.*), may be historical. 38 is manifestly a late legend.

The king, like Daniel's Dariua, has no power to prevent the enraged nobles from slaying Jeremiah (*v.* 5), yet in *v.* 10 *ff.* he has absolute power to save the prophet. That Jeremiah agrees to tell a lie is clear, but why it should be told and how it could satisfy the princes, is not apparent. Not only 39 4-13, still wanting in 𝔊's copy, but also 1-3 14, and the oracle, 15-18, introduced as a supplement to the legend, 38 7-13, are manifestly unhistorical.

18. Poets. (*d*) In Bk. 1 copyists and editors have introduced a number of poetical passages, psalm-fragments and elegies, and gnomic poems. Some of them show striking affinities to Lamentations, also ascribed to Jeremiah. It is the merit of Stade to have recognised the secondary character of many such poetic interpolations. Had his reasons been given, the correctness of his judgment would no doubt have been more generally seen. Other passages of the same nature should probably be added.

4 19-21 breaks the textual connection, laments a destruction that has been experienced, expresses national grief (cp 'my tents,' 'my tent-covers') and shows a kinship to psalms in which the personified community speaks. 8 18-23 apparently presupposes not only the exile of the people, but also the successive disenchanted hopes for the restoration of the monarchy. Verse 18*b* is a quotation of Lam. 1 22; read, with Houbigant, 'my consolation is far from me' (מבליגיתי מעלי). The aphorism, 9 22 *f.*, was also found by 𝔊 in 1 S. 2 10 as a part of Hannah's song. It was evidently a homeless fragment brought first into the song and then into the prophecy. It is in the style of the later psalms. In 10 17-25, 19-21 and 23-25 are clearly the work of a poet who looks back upon the exile of the people, the cessation of the monarchy, and the partial occupation of the land by neighbouring nations as past facts, and desires the utter annihilation of the heathen, while pleading for gentler treatment for Judah. He speaks in the name of the community; cp 'my tabernacle,' 'my tent,' 'my chords,' 'my sons,' 'my destruction.' Verses 17 *f.* and 22 may be reminiscences from Jeremianic oracles introduced by an editor. In 11 15-17 we have a poem in six double lines in which Zion seems to be exhorted to remove by prayers and sacrifices the adversity that so long followed the destruction of the Judean kingdom. There is nothing in 12 1-6 that is suggestive of Jeremiah. The speaker is the nation disturbed by the continued disfavour of Yahwè as shown in the drought and the famine, and puzzled by the prosperity of false brethren (cp Neh. 5). If this is the condition of things in times of comparative ease, what would it be if war should arise? Such seems to be the sense of the proverb, *v.* 5. The elegy, 12 7-13, is clearly non-Jeremianic. Judah, the beloved, has been put into the hands of her enemies, birds of prey have come upon her, shepherds (foreign rulers) have destroyed the vineyard. 13 15-17 is a similar lamentation reminiscent in part of late psalms. The depraved style suggests to Scholz a late date for *vv.* 20-27. He is probably right. Verses 18 *f.*, also rejected by Scholz, may be genuine, though there is no necessity for thinking of a particular queen mentioned in Kings. There is nothing to remind us of Jeremiah's language, style, or thought in the exquisite elegiac strains of 14 2-6. The absence of any religious suggestion precludes a prophetic source. 14 7-9 is a psalm breathing the spirit of 2 Isaiah. The phrase 'because of thy name,' the title 'hope of Israel,' the rebuke to Yahwè for leaving a place where he is not a stranger but at home, and the appeal to him on the ground that his name has been

called upon the people, are not in harmony with Jeremiah's language and thought. The psalm 14 19-21 is the expression of a repentant people, recognising the sin of their fathers that brought them to ruin, looking apparently in vain for prosperity, yet justifying their hope by YahwB's regard for his own honour, his name, his pledge (ברית; see COVENANT), his holy city, the throne of his glory. It is clearly un-Jeremianic. A very late glossator added *v.* 22, introducing the theological question whether the gods of the heathen can make rain, or the heavens perchance produce it without the activity of any god. After the genuine fragment, 15 1-4*a*, continuing 14 10-16 that has the true 'color Jeremianus,' there follows a passage 155-9 in which is described the comfortless condition of Zion subsequent to the fall of the city and the scattering of the exiles. Two glosses, 10 and 11-14 (see below), are then succeeded by the poetic effusion, **15-18**, in which Zion laments her seemingly incurable wound, and prays for vengeance on the enemies that will give her the joy her piety deserves. (Read with 𝔊 'reproach from those who reject thy words,' חֶרְפָּה מִמְּנַאֲצֵי דְבָרֶיךָ in 15*b*, 16*a*, and 'consume them and thy word shall be,' אכלם והיה, 16*a*). 15 19-21 is not a song; but it is of the same character as the sections just considered in that apparently it is the nation that is addressed. If the people will return to Palestine, Yahwb will then take them back and allow them to be his worshippers and witnesses; foreign nations will come to Zion (as proselytes), but the Judæans shall no more go to them (into exile); strong enough to resist an attack from without, they shall be delivered from all foreign oppression. 16 19 *f.* is clearly a psalm-fragment expressing the hope of Zion that the nations will become converts to the monotheistic faith, and as proselytes make their pilgrimages to Jerusalem; *v.* 21 is a later gloss expressing Yahwb's determination first to punish the heathen. 17 1-4, still wanting in 𝔊, is a late paraphrase of 15 4. The four passages, 17 5-8 9-11 12 *f.* **14-18**, by their close affinity to the psalms and the proverbs, reveal their late origin. In the last of these, the nation is the speaker. The two poetic sections with which the first book closes, 20 7-13 and 14-18, are evidently from different hands. In the former, the liturgical formulas in *v.* 13, the quotation of Ps. 7 10 and late Jeremianic passages in *v.* 12, the appearance of YahwB as a warrior helping to defeat a numerous pursuing enemy in *vv.* 10 *f.* (read 'let all of us who are his allies give him up [נַגִּיר]'), the public praise (*v.* 9: read אֲזַכְּרֶנּוּ), the disillusioning experience of violent oppression, spoliation, and ridicule in place of the glowing hopes of prosperity aroused by the oracles (*vv.* 7-9), remind us of the Psalter and seem to point to the people as the speaker. It is doubted whether 20 14-18 is genuine, or whether the ‖ passage in Job 3 2 *ff.* is the original. The latter view is certainly more probable (cp JOB, BOOK OF, § 14, col. 2487 *f.*).

(e) Owners of MSS containing prophecies ascribed to Jeremiah, or copyists, would naturally arrange the different parts, provide them with suitable headings, and annotate them. Sometimes a suggestion in the text, or a sub-heading would furnish the material for the superscription; at other times information must have been drawn from sources unknown to us. Thus the general editor of **Rk. 3** did not derive his knowledge concerning the first year of Nebuchadrezzar from 46 2 but from a better source.

19. Editors.

While 46 2 puts Nebuchadrezzar's march against Syria in the fourth year of Jehoiakim—*i e.*, 604 B.C.—25 1 makes the fourth year of Jehoiakim = the first year of Nebuchadrezzar. But according to Bērōssus (Jos. *Ant.* x. 11 1; c. *Ap.* 1 19) the encounter with Necho took place in the reign of Nabopolassar, consequently not later than 605, which is the last year accorded to him by Ptolemy's canon.[1] If the editor of 46-51, who wrote 25 1-13, in this case was better informed than his predecessors, *it is* quite *likely* that **his** statement *concerning* the date of *the* beginning of Jeremiah's career, the thirteenth year of Josiah,—*i.e.*, the **first** of Nabopolassar, or 625,—was also drawn from a good source. Both notices may have been taken from the biography, or from the work whence 52 28-30 came.

The following annotations to Book 1 may be mentioned: 4 10 (Corn.) 11*a* (Ewald) 23-26 (Gieseb.) 27 5 10*b* 18 20-22 (Stade, Corn.) 23-25 26-29 8 10-12 (om. 𝔊) 11 7 *f.* (om. 𝔊) 13 *f.* 18-23 (rejected by Stade; 18 is a gloss to 9; 19 is reminiscent of Is. 53 and was still lacking in copies known to Justin ['the tree with its fruit' (*so* Kimchi, Scholz) is the holy nation]; 21-23 may have been taken from the biography (but possibly it is a free construction, easily accounted for if Anathoth happened to be one of the towns destroyed by the Chaldeans); 14 17 *f.* an editorial gloss ending in a quotation of a lament over the fallen city; 15 46 10 a complaint that Israel is horn to be an apple of discord between contending powers, though no unrighteous money transactions justify such a fate—explained in 11-14 by YahwB's inscrutable purpose;[1] 19 3-9 11*b*-13 (Gieseb.). There are many similar interpolations in the other books.

The time when the genuine Jeremianic oracles were first uttered can, in some instances, be determined with a considerable degree of probability; in other cases it is only possible to give an approximately correct date. As regards the later productions, their place in the volume, and in the earlier collections, furnishes a not unimportant means of fixing their date; yet it is chiefly their historical and literary character that must be the determining factor.

20. Dates.

i. *Reign of Josiah* (637-608).—Practically all interpreters are agreed that 4 3-6 (with the exceptions noted above) was spoken by Jeremiah in the thirteenth year of Josiah—probably 625 B.C. Whilst the older exegetes regarded the address as a prophecy of the Chaldean invasion, it has been customary in recent times to look upon the Scythian hordes as the enemy from the N. whose advance filled the prophet with evil forebodings. The features of the description that apparently suit the Chaldeans better are then explained as due to later retouching. It is possible, however, that the league between Nabopolassar and the king of the Umman-manda was formed already at the beginning of his reign, that a joint attack upon Syria was a part of the plan against the Assyrian empire, that Chaldean soldiers swelled the ranks of the 'ally' and 'helper,' and that the conquest of Babylon by Nabopolassar led Jeremiah to perceive the directing force behind these movements in the N. (cp SCYTHIANS). In the time of Sin-šar-iškun (*circa* 615), Habakkuk looked in the same direction, though in a different spirit, for a check to the reviving power of Assyria. 11 2-6 may be the substance of an address made in 620 when the Deuteronomic law was promulgated (Che.); and the return to ancient cults described in 9-12 may well have occurred in the reign of Josiah.

ii. *Reign of Jehoiakim* (607-597).—It is probable that 2 2-13 20-37 and 3 1-5 belong to the first years of the reign of Jehoiakim (Gieseb.). That 7 3-9 21 (with some exceptions) was spoken early in this reign is now generally assumed. The expectation of another impending northern invasion which has led some interpreters to think of the time of Josiah would be natural if Jeremiah had long watched those united efforts of Chaldeans and Umman-manda that led to the overthrow of Assyria in 606. 22 2-5 10-12 13-19 may belong to different parts of this reign, possibly also 18 1-17 19 1 *f.* 10 *f.* 20 1-6 (?). Of the oracle read by Baruch to his friends only 36296 is known to us.

iii. *The* **reign** *of Jehoiachin* (597).—22 24-27 may have been uttered in the reign of Jehoiachin. Some interpreters ascribe to this reign chap. 13, or at least 18 *f.* (Gieseb.); but this is doubtful.

iv. ***The reign*** *of Zedekiah* (596-586).—The substance

[1] On the contradiction of dates see Köhler, *Bibl. Gesch.* ii. 2468.

[1] Translate: 'Verily, I shall root thee out (שֵׁרַשְׁתִּיךָ); verily, I shall cause the enemy to fall upon thee (הפגעתי, cp Is. 536) in an evil time. The iron will be broken (יָרֵעַ), the brazen citadel (מִבְצַר נְחֹשֶׁת, 𝔊); thy wealth and treasures I will **give** for plunder . . . I will cause thee to serve' (𝔊, Pesh., and also 17 3 *f.*). לְטוֹב may be a gloss to הפגעתי misunderstood; ובעת צרה is another gloss.

of 24 belongs to the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah. 16 2-13 may have been spoken before the siege; 23 9 *ff.*, and possibly the substance of 28 as well as the original similes transformed in 13 1-11 12-14, may belong to the time of the revolt. Words of Jeremiah during the siege have probably been preserved in 21 1-10 (37 1-10), when the siege was raised; in 37 11 *ff.*, at the capture and imprisonment of Jeremiah; and in 34, on the occasion of the re-enslavement of solemnly emancipated bondmen; possibly also in 32 14 *f.* Chap. 1 in its original form may also have been spoken in this reign.

v. *Chaldean period* (586-539).—The earliest collections of Jeremianic prophecies were no doubt made in the Chaldean period; and many glosses may have been added. Some of the lamentations, like 4 19-21 10 19-21 23-25 15 5-9, may have originated in this period.

vi. ***Persian period*** (538-332).—Chaps. 30 *f.* were probably written on the eve of Xerxes' expedition against Greece. The gathering of tremendous armies from all lands for a decisive conibat may well have struck terror into the hearts of Judzeans.

The very magnitude of the preparations indicated the strength of the foe, and naturally aroused the hope that out of the turmoil there might come to Jacob independence and with it prosperity to woo the exiles back. Such prosperity, however, would not be permanent unless the restored nation ordered its conduct according to Yahwè's will. The prophetic preaching to which 2 Isaiah had given the impetus had signally failed to bring about a real reformation. That could be effected only by Yahwe's pardoning grace. Rut the evidences of forgiveness—viz., cessation of the Persian authority, restoration of the native monarchy, extension of the kingdom and growth of its capital—whilst leading men to a glad obedience to the law, would unquestionably imply a new arrangement of Yahwè with his people, based, as exilic historians had so strongly emphasised, not on Israel's faithfulness, hut on Yahwe's unmerited yet unchanging love (cp COVENANT, § 6, v.).

This work (chaps, 30 *f.*) falls between the prophecies collected in Is. 40-55 and those found in Is. 56-66. 33 1-13 may also belong to this period.

The oracle against Elam-Persia, 49 34-38, was probably written at the approach of Alexander. Only the oppressions of Ochus can account for the hatred it breathes. The prophecy against the Philistines, Tyre and Sidon, 47, probably was composed at the same time, though the editor may have thought of the conquest of Gaza (defended by Demetrins) by Ptolemy in 312. It is possible that the two oracles against Egypt originated in the same epoch. The designation of the Egyptians as 'the enemies of Yahwè' is not unnatural in an age when law and liturgy alike caused the minds of men to dwell upon the oppression in Egypt and the wonderful deliverance, before the gentle rule of the Ptolemies had somewhat mollified their feelings. The conqueror described in 46 18 may be Alexander; another reference may be found in 5016 (read חֶרֶב הַיְּוָנִי, 'the sword of the Greek'; 𝔊 μαχαίρας Ἑλληνικῆς); 'the people of the north' is a suitable expression, though borrowed. Both oracles look for an Egyptian army marching into Syria to oppose the enemy, as so often in the past.[1] Literary dependence and final ascription to Jeremiah may be responsible for the confusion of tenses. The oracle against Edom, 497-22, later than Malachi (*circa* 400) and Obadiah, which it quotes, may still have belonged to this time. Edom would be in the conqueror's way.

It is distinctly probable that the biographical work used in the historical sections was a product of the Persian period. Even 35, though scarcely historical, may have originated then, as the reorganisation of the clerus would raise many questions of eligibility. Whether 38 was already a part of the work is more doubtful.

To this period many interpolations may belong, such as 3 6-4 2 9 24-25*a* 16 14-18 17 19-27, and the poetical fragments, 8 18-23 11 15-17 12 1-6 7-13 14 1-6 7-9 19-21 20 7-13.

[1] The nickname given to the Egyptian king, possibly some kinglet of the Delta, may originally have been שָׁאוֹן וּשְׁבִי הַמּוֹעֵד, 'Warwhoop and Capture of the troop.' A suspicion of gematria is near at hand.

vii. ***Period of the Diadochi and the Lagidæ*** (332-98 B.C.).—The oracle against Ammon may have been occasioned by the advance of the Nabatæans, who in 312 were established in Idumzea and pushed their way into the trans-Jordan country. Although the prophecy against Kedar and the queen of Hazor (read in 4928, with Wi., 'queen,' מלכת; cp 𝔊 βασιλίσσῃ) apparently did not yet have a place in the corpus found by the editorial writer of 25 15 *ff.*, it may owe its origin to the same spread of Nabatæan power in northern Arabia. There is nothing to forbid the assumption that 20 14-18 was added at this time.

viii. ***Period of the Seleucidæ*** (198-143 B.C.).—The oracle against Haniath, Arpad, and Damascus, 49 23-27, is probably directed against Seleucia, the seat of the foreign oppressor of the time (cp Zech. 9 13 and We. *Kl. Proph.*(3) 190). It is likely to be later than the reign of Antiochus III. The prophecy against Babylon, 50-51 58, may have been written in the reign of Mithridates I., the sixth of the Arsacidze (170-136). Having taken possession of Media and Elymais, this king attacked and finally captured Babylon (after 162). This approach of an enemy from the N. against what was still, in spite of Seleucia, one of the great centres of the empire, may have led the author, who lacks all originality, to draw upon the prophetic word for gruesome pictures of the impending destruction of the hated city. It is possible that the stories concerning an original Egyptian *gōlah* (CAPTIVITY) in the time of Jeremiah and his oracles regarding its future belong to this period, since the Chronicler[1] as yet knows nothing about this emigration. A passage like 2 14-19 may have been written in the beginning of the period of the Seleucidæ.

ix. ***Period of the Hasmonæans*** (143-63 B.C.).—It is probable that the oracle against Moab, 48, was composed in the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104).

The author is clearly familiar with Is. 15 *f.*, though his attitude towards Moah is different from that of the original writer of the Isaiah passage approaching that of the editor, 16 13 *f.* This editor seems to have lived in the days of Alexander Jannæus (102-76); so Duhm, Marti. The enemy threatening Moah in Is. 15-16 12 is apparently the Nabatæans. Cheyne and Marti still think of the Persian period; but the kingdom seems to have been re-established in Judah, and it may therefore he best, with Duhm, to refer the poem to the Hasmonæan age.

In the time of John Hyrcanus territorial conquests smothered sympathy and revived ancient animosity. In this period the seven books received their final redaction, with many glosses and interpolations like 23 1-8, psalm-fragments in 17, the prayer 32 16 *ff.*, etc. In the reign of Alexander Jannæus the passages still wanting in 𝔊 may have been added to the volume, though some of them may have been written earlier.

21. Text. All known Hebrew MSS of Jeremiah exhibit substantially the same text. In its essential features this text may possibly be traced back to the end of the first century A.D. The differences between the Pesh. and MT may be explained partly by the peculiarities of the translator, partly by the unmistakable fact that his work was subsequently revised by one familiar with the Greek version then in use. Origen's ὁ Σύρος seems to have been none else than the Pesh. That the Pesh. knew the Targ. is not likely. Rather is the reverse probable. In its differences from the Heb., the Targ. sometimes goes with the Pesh., sometimes with 𝔊 where they differ. This may point to an acquaintance with either or with both. The slight differences between Jerome and the Heb. are accounted for by the influence of the Old Latin. Aquila adheres qnite closely to the Heb. There are some indications that Theodotion was familiar with a Greek version more extensive than the LXX. The deviations of Symmachus where he does not depend on

[1] If Nöldeke should be right in maintaining that Chronicles was not written before the middle of the second century (*ZATW*, 1900, p. 88 *ff.*), this appendix to Jeremiah is probably still more recent.

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the LXX may he due to his own idiosyncrasies. It is possible that there was, as early as in the reign of Domitian, another Greek version reflecting substantially the same Hebrew text. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

The author of Rev. 18 20 manifestly had in mind Jer. **51 48, a** passage not found in 𝔊, and imitated it. The phrase *βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων*, Rev. 15 4, is likewise an imitation of Jer. 10 7, not found in 𝔊, and the striking expression Θεὸς ζῶντων is found nowhere in OT except in that verse. The deviation from 𝔊 in other NT allusions to or quotations from Jeremiah points to the same conclusion. Justin, in the important passage 9 26, as well as in other places, agrees with MT against 𝔊 (ἐπὶ Ἰούδαν). His agreement with the MSS assigned to the Lucianic recension is significant. Two groups of Greek MSS, one composed chiefly of 22, 23, 36, 48, 51, 231, another of xii, 88 in Holmes-Parsons, apparently have preserved much of this translation. With the former group goes Theodoret, with the latter Paul of Tella's Syriac version. The asterisks in some of the Greek MSS and in the hexaplar Syriac only indicate Origen's judgment, correct in itself, as to thb limits of the earliest Greek version. 𝔊B and 𝔊ℵ, whichhavemuchincommon with xii and 88, may have been subjected to a more thorough critical process, cutting out the elements belonging to the later version. The existence of such a version already in the first century is only natural, since in Syria and Asia Minor the growing regard for the Hebrew text would inevitably lead to a translation of all it contained. But neither the Lucianic MSS, nor the Eusebian, nor yet the fragments of Theodotion, give us the exact form of the version used by the NT writers, Josephus, and Justin.

The relation of the Greek version to the Heb. has been the subject of much discussion. There are marked differences in arrangement and in contents. The hook against foreign nations is found between **25** 13 and 15; and the order is Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistia, Edom, Arnmon, Kedar, Damascus, Moab. It has been estimated that the version has about **2700** words less, consequently is ahout an eighth shorter, than the MT.

This minus in 𝔊 is made up in part of longer passages, such as 10 6-8 10 17 1-4 29 14 16-20 30 10 *f.* 33 14-26 39 4-13 48 45-47 51 45-48 52 28-30; in part *of* short expressions, such as נאם יהוה (lacking more than sixty times), יהוה אלהי ישראל or יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צבאות, the word הַנָּבִיא following the prophet's name and other titles and patronymics and pronouns. On the other hand, 𝔊 contains a smaller number of additions composed mainly of pronouns, and words like כֹּל, כה אמר יהוה, הנה. There are also important differences in the division of words and in the consonantal text.

The defence of MT at all hazards by earlier Protestant scholars was demanded hy dogmatic considerations. Their Roman Catholic opponents (Morin, Cappel), though superior as textual critics, were not altogether free from attaching a fictitious canonical authority to the LXX, and from charging the Hebrews with bad faith. A distinct advance in scientific method was made when the theory of two recensions appeared. It was first suggested by Michaelis and elaborated by many others from Eichhorn to Workman. It recognised that the differences are connected with the growth of the volume, and rightly perceived that the longer text represented later expansion. Its chief defect was that it assumed that the two texts were the results of deliberate planning, of critical editing and revision — that they were recensions. When Movers recognised the impossibility of ascribing the longer text to Jeremiah or Baruch, as his predecessors had done, and assigned it to the age of Nehemiah, he prepared the way for a more correct appreciation. Since the admission that MT to any extent represented an expanded text would naturally have the tendency to render plausible the assumption that there were many later interpolations in the hook, scholars like Spohn, Kueper, Havernick, Wichelhaus, Nagelsbach, Keil, Orelli, Schneedorfer, Trochon, Kaulen, with more or less erudition, attempted to show that 𝔊 was a truncated text, the translator having wilfully or carelessly cut out what seemed to him superfluous or unsuitable. The omitted passages seemed to them truly Jeremianic, as it was a peculiarity of Jeremiah to repeat himself and to quote older prophets such as Isaiah, whose book was wholly written by that prophet. The growing recognition of the late origin of the Isaianic passages quoted or alluded to would have prevented this view, so evidently horn of dogmatic prepossessions, from influencing scholarly opinion, had not Graf made a bitter attack upon 𝔊, whose work he declared to be not even worthy of being called a translation. Even Graf seems unconsciously to have assumed that 𝔊 must have had before him a text essentially identical with our MT. Measuring him with standards of accuracy that it would be hazardous to apply to a modern translator with the words properly divided and duly pointed, he found him guilty of ignorance, superficiality, and arbitrary dealing with the text. The reaction, led by Scholz, has tended to establish the good faith of the translator.

The translator's knowledge of Hebrew is not always adequate; his grouping of letters (written continuously) into words is sometimes incorrect, though not so often as has been supposed, the error being occasionally on the part of MT; he uses different words to render the same Hebrew term, which sometimes is a merit; he translates according to the sense where the exact meaning is known; he transliterates words known to him when they seem to him to be proper names; he follows the fashion of selecting a Greek word of a similar sound to the Hebrew; he sometimesoverleapsaphrasebyhomœoteleuton. But the fact that through long sections he translates word for word, sometimes even slavishly following the text where he cannot make out its sense, shows his faithfulness. That it was not his principle to leave passages that were repeated in the book untranslated when they occurred a second time is evident, since out of thirty such cases he repeated all but seven, which are clearly secondary. It follows still more manifestly from the fact that he translated passages occurring in the MT twice only in the second place.

The tendency of copyists, observable elsewhere, is naturally to round off a phrase, to add a title or patronymic, and to introduce glosses and appendices. There would he a strong presumption in **favour** of the view that 𝔊's original was less annotated than Heb., even if the character of the passages lacking in 𝔊 did not positively demand for them a later date. If the explanation given above (§ 6) of the growth of the volume is correct, the place of 46-51 in 𝔊 is likely to be more original, and the position of 25 15 *ff.* is accounted for, whilst the arrangement of the oracles, determined on different principles, may to some extent be more original in MT.[1]

22. Literature.

i. ***Commentaries (modern):*** W. Lowth, 1718; Venema, 1765; Dathe, 1779; Blayney, 1784; Dahler, 1825; Rosenmüller, '26; Maurer, '33; Ewald, '40 and '68, Hitzig, '41 and '66; Umbreit, '42; Henderson, '51; Neumann, '56-'58; Graf, '62; Keil,' '62; Nägelsbach, '63; R. Williams, '71; Payne Smith, '75; Le Hir, '77; Scbolz, '80; Schneedorfer, '81, Trochon, '83; Cheyne, '83-'85; Orelli, '87; Knabenbauer, '89; Ball, '90; Giesebrecht, '94; Bennett, '95; Streane, '95; Myrberg, '96.

ii. *Criticism*: 'Introductions,' etc. by Cappel, **1624**; Morin, 1633; Hottinger, **1649**; Spinoza, **1670**; Simon, **1678**; Carpzov, 1714-21; Eichhorn, 1780-83; Michaelis, **1787**, may he mentioned here. Articles, etc., on Jeremiah by Rödiger in *Ersch und Gruber's Enyclopädie;* Cheyne in *EB*(9); Nagelsbach in *PRE*(2); Fr. Buhl in *PRE*(3); Graf in Schenkel, *BL*,. Kleinert in Riehm's *HWB;* A. B. Davidson, in Hastings' *DB;* J. D. Michaelis, ***Anmerkungen zu s. Uebersetzung d. NT***, 1790; C. G. Hensler, *Bemerkungen*, '05; J. F. Gaab, ***Erklärung schwerer Stellen***, '24; C. W. E. Nagelsbach, ***Der Prophet Jeremias u. Babylon***, '50; A. Pierson, ***Israels Profeten***, '77; K. Budde, 'Uber Jer. 50-51,' *JDT*, '78; B. Stade, in ***ZATW***, '84, '85, '92, and in *GVI*, '89; F. Schwally, in *ZATW*, '88; Smend, in *A T Rel.-gesch.* 238 *ff.*; L. H. K. Bleecker, ***Jer. profetieen tegen de volkeren***, '94; A. v. Bulmerincq, ***Das Zukunftsbild d. Propheten Jer.***, '94.

iii. ***Especially on the text:*** C. B. Michaelis, ***Annotationes***, **1720**; J. D. Michaelis, ***Observationes***, 1743; J. G. Eichhorn, in ***Repertorium***, 1777; F. A. Stroth in ***Repertorium***, **1778**; C. F. Schnurrer, ***Observationes***, 1793-94; A. F. G. Leiste. *Observationes*, 1794; C. L. Spohn, ***Jeremias vates***, etc., I., 1795, II. (ed. F. A. G. Spohn), **1824**; T. Roorda, ***Comm. in aliquot Jer. loca***, '24; A. Kueper ***Jeremias librorum ss. interpres***, '31; A. Knobel, ***Jeremias) chaldaizans***, '31; J. C. Movers, ***De utriusque recensionis vaticiniorum Jer. indole et origin?***, '37; J. Wichelhaus, ***De Jer. versione Alexandrina***, '47; F. Bottcher, ***Aehrenlese***, '49, ***Neue Aehrenlese***, '64; C. Schulz, ***De Jer. textus heb. mas. et græci Alex. discrepantia***, '61; P. F. Frankl, ***Studien über die LXX u. Pescito zu Jer.***, '73; A. Scholz, ***Der Mas. Text und die LXX d. B. Jer.***, '75; C. Zimmer, ***Aramaismi Jeremiani***, '80; E. Kuehl, ***Das Verhältnis d. Mas.***

[1] For a fuller justification of the position taken in this article, the writer may be permitted to refer to his forthcoming ***Introduction to the Book of Jeremiah.***

zur LXX in Jer., '82; Gratz, *Emendationes*, '83; G. C. Workman, *The Text of Jer.*, '89; H. P. Smith, 'The, text of Jer.' in *Hebraica*, '87, 'Targum to Jer.,' *ibid.*, '88; cp also *JBL*, '90; E. Coste, *Die Weissagungen wider die fremden Völker*, '93; H. Cornill, in Haupt's *SBOT*, '95; A. W. Streane, *The Double Text of Jer.*, '96. N. S.

JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF. An apocryphal composition, professing to have been written by Jeremiah to warn the Jews who were to he led captives to Babylonia against falling into idolatry. For this purpose the vanity of the idols of wood, silver, and gold is elaborately shown.

There is no logical arrangement; but we meet with something like a refrain in *vv.* 16 [17] 23 [24], 29 [30], 65 [66] and 69 [70], which verses serve at any h e as breaks; it may de added that another formula recurs in slightly varied forms at *vv.* 30 [31], 40 [41], 44, 46, 51 [52], 56.

The ideas are the commonplaces of the opponents of idolatry in post-exilic times (cp Ps. 115 4-8; 135 15-18; Is. 44 9-19; Jer. 10 3-9; Wisd. 13 10-19, 15 13-17). It is admitted, except by some Roman Catholic commentators, that the epistle was written in Greek; the few Hebraisms (*e.g.* ἀφομοιωθέντες ἀφομοιωθῆτε [*v.* 4], and the use of the future for the present) are nothing uncommon in Hellenistic Greek. The imitation of Jeremiah is not very strenuous; the author has studied this book as most of the later writers have studied it, but in a very mechanical way. The statement in *v.* 2 [3] that the Babylonian exile is to last seven generations, altered in the Syriac into 'seventy years,' contradicts Jer. 29 10. It is hardly possible to fix the date exactly, and unsafe even to say that the epistle was written before 2 Maccabees, the supposed reference to it in 2 Macc. 3 1 *ff.* being disputed.

Ball (*Var. Apocr.* 200) suggests that seven generations (= 280) may seem to point Io the removal of the Jews from Jerusalem to Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter (588 − 280 = 308).

The composition is not a mere scholastic exercise. It is, as Gifford truly says, 'an earnest appeal to persons actually living in the midst of heathenism, and needing to be warned and encouraged against temptations to apostacy.' In this respect it is parallel to Is. 44 9-19 and the other didactic passages mentioned above. The author may, as Fritzsche supposes, have been a Jew of Alexandria (note the somewhat turgid style); it is no objection to this view that, like the author of Is. 44 9-19, he places his work under the ægis of a writer of earlier date and established reputation. In fact, in Jer. 29 we actually hear of a letter, traditionally asigned to Jeremiah, which is adressed to those whom king Nebuchadrezzar had carried captives from Jerusalem to Babylon.

This 'epistle' (on the use of the term see EPISTOLARY LITERATURE) is included in the Greek canon, and is found in all Greek MSS of the OT except 70, 96, 229 [cursives]. In the Old Latin, the Old Syriac, and some editions of 𝔊, it is given as Baruch 6; and this is followed in Luther's Bible and in EV; but there is no plausible justification (see BARUCH, BOOK OF). In the Syro.-Hex. the Epistle follows Lamentations.

Literature. E. H. Gifford in *Speaker's Apocrypha*, vol. ii.; Bissell in his *Apocrypha*; Fritzsche, *Handbook zu den Apokr.*, '51; Reusch, *Erklärung des B. Baruch*, '53; Herzfeld, *GVI*, 1 316 ('47); Nestle, *Marginalien*, 42 *f.*; Rothstein, in *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des A T*, edited by Kautzsch, 1 226-229.

JEREMIAH, LAMENTATIONS OF. See LAMENTATIONS.

JEREMIAS (1) (ιερεμιας [BAL]), 1 Esd. 934, see JEREMAI.
(2) Mt. 16 14 (Ἰερεμίαν [Ti.WH]), RV JEREMIAH [*q.v.*].

JEREMIEL (*HIEREMIHEL* [Lat.], also *remihel*, cp Bensly, *ad loc.*; *i.e.*, ירמאל, 'El hurls,' cp JEREMIAH), 'the archangel,' 4 Esd. 436 (AV^mg^.RV), and hence to he kept distinct from Uriel (AV; so *VRIEL*, Lat. *c.*; cp also Ar²), who is regularly called 'angel.' According to Enoch 9 the four great archangels are Michael, Uriel, Gabriel, and Suriel or Raphael. See ANGEL, § 4.

JEREMOTH. See JERIMOTH.

JEREMY (ιερεμιου [Ti.WH]), Mt. 2 17, etc., RV JEREMIAH [*q.v.*].

JERIAH (יְרִיָּהוּ), EV 1 Ch. 23 19 24 23. See JERIJAH.

JERIBAI (יְרִיבַי; cp JERUBBAAL, and יריבי, *CIS* 270, a bilingual, where the parallel Ass. has *iriba*), a name in David's army-list (1 Ch. 11 46†; ιαριβει [B], -βαι [A], αριβι [ℵ], ιαρειβ [L]). See RIBAI.

JERICHO (יְרֵחוֹ, uniformly in Pent., also in 2 K. 25 5 and [Gi.] 2 S. 10 5 Jer. 39 5 and [Gi., Bä.] Ezra, Neh., Ch.; יְרִיחוֹ in Josh. [uniformly, Gi.], also 2 K. 2 4 [*bis*] 5 15 18; יְרֵחוֹ Josh. 18 21 [Bä., not Gi.], 2 S. 10 5 [Bä.] Jer. 39 5 [Bä.] Jer. 52 8; יְרִיחֹה, 1 K. 16 34 [Gi., hut Ba. יְרֵחֹה]; [ε]ιερ[ε]ιχω, sometimes with fem. art., ιερειχων Josh. 21 36 [B], NT, ιερειχω and ιεριχω [in Lk. 19 11 τὴν Ἰερ.; Jbs. Ἱεριχοῦς [gen. -οῦντος] or Ἱεριχω [gen. -οῦς], whence Ἱεριχούντιοι; Strabo, Ἱερικοῦς).

A city, assigned to Benjamin (Josh. 18 12 21), remarkable alike from its history and its unique position. (*a*)

1. Meaning of Name. A plausible view explains the name as 'the fragrant' (√רוח); Ges. (*Thes.*), Wetzstein (in Del. *Jesaja*⁽³⁾, 703), etc., and many others have acquiesced in it. The allusion on this hypothesis will be to the fragrant balsams and rose trees of Jericho. It is evident, however, that 'the fragrant,' however suitable as a title, can hardly have been the primeval name of such an important place. (6) Following older commentators, Siegfr.-Stade (*Lex.*) and Sayce (*Early Hist.* 2jo) connect the name 'Jericho' with יָרֵחַ, 'the moon'; it will then be a testimony to the early prevalence of moon-worship, as BETH-SHEMESH [*q.v.*] testifies to that of sun-worship. (Cp Jer. OS 786, 'luna, sive odor ejus.') (c) There is reason, however, to suspect that the true meaning of Jericho is neither 'fragrant city' nor 'moon city.' We shall see presently that the original tradition which underlies Josh. 2 related to the conquest of a different city from that commonly called Jericho, one that bore the name of which Jericho is a corruption (presumably a *popular* corruption), and that the true name of both places lies concealed under the incorrectly transmitted title עיר התמרים (EV 'the city of palm trees'), and is עִיר יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'city of Jerahmeel.' If this be admitted as probable—it would fall into line with other mutilated forms of the name Jerahmeel suggested elsewhere (see JERAHMEEL, § 4)—we must suppose that in primitive times a colony of Jerahmeelites settled in the rich plain of Jericho, and that, as elsewhere, the primitive name, in a shortened form, clung to the spot, even after another race had taken possession of it.

The title עיר התמרים occurs in four passages, but the latest of these, 2 Ch. 28 15, may safely be neglected.

2. City of Palm Trees. In Dt. 34 3 (see JORDAN, § 1) it is appended to 'Jericho' in a definition of the extent of the geographical term 'the Circle (of Jordan).' Judg. 1 16 gives a statement (see HOBAB) to the effect that the Kenites joined the men of Judah in an invasion of a southern district of Palestine; their starting-point was עיר התמרים. Although a reference to the historical Jericho would accord with the present context of Judg. 1 16 *f.* (see Moore), yet a comparison of Nu. 21 1-3 makes it very doubtful whether the original tradition did not mean rather a place to the S. of Judah.¹ It is natural to think of the Tamar of 1 K. 9 18 (see TAMAR), and to suppose that the full name of this place was 'city of palm trees,' and that the title being so appropriate to Jericho (see § 7), was inserted in Dt. 34 3 after this place-name. But is it really credible that palm trees anciently grew to the S. of Judah? Surely not (see NEGEB). We must therefore seek for some name or title which may have been corrupted into עיר התמרים, and can be reasonably supposed to have been suitable both for 'Jericho and for the city to the S. of Judah, of which we are in quest. There is such a name or title—עִיר יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'city of Jerah-

¹ See Steuernagel on Dt. 34 3.

meel,' otherwise in all probability called קָדֵשׁ יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'Kadesh of Jerahmeel' (out of which קדשׁ־ברנע, EV 'Kadesh-Barnea,' probably sprang). This theory seems to throw light on the third passage in which עיר התמרים occurs, viz., Judg. 3 13, where we read that 'Eglon gathered to him the bnē Amalek (*i.e.*, the bnē Jerahmeel'), and went and smote Israel, and possessed himself of עיר התמרים (*i.e.*, Jericho, the city of Jerahmeel).' The 'Amalekites' (Jerahmeelites) naturally supported the Moabite king Eglon, because it roused their indignation to see an ancient settlement of their own occupied by the bnē Israel.

It is remarkable that no name resembling 'Jericho' should occur in the Amarna Tablets. In the Book of Joshua we find it mentioned as a city with a wall and a gate (2 15), rich[2] (6 24 7 21), and governed by its own king (2 3). It will be seen, however, that this tradition is of doubtful origin; we may perhaps receive further light from excavations.

3. Tangled Traditions in Josh. 2-6.

The story of the capture of Jericho by the Israelites is briefly this[3] (Josh. 2-6). While the Israelites were encamped at SHITTIM, on the other side of Jordan, Joshua sent two of his men to spy out the land and in the first instance Jericho. They found a lodging at Jericho in the house of one Rahab a harlot. The king, however, got news of their arrival, and sent word to Rahab to bring out her guests. But Rahab let the men down through the window, after they had guaranteed her life and that of her family, for she was aware that Jericho was doomed to fall. They fled into the mountains.[4] Pursuers sought for them for three days in the direction of the fords of the Jordan, and then gave up their search; the two spies returned to Joshua. Thereupon the Israelites broke up their camp and moved to the Jordan. It was a bold step; for it was the flood-time, when the Zōr or wider bed of the river (see JORDAN, § 4) becomes brimful, so that the water is on a level with the banks. But Joshua knew in whom he believed, and bade the Israelites pass over. In the van he placed twelve men, each carrying a stone, next came the ark, then the tribes of Israel. Yahwè performed a wonder for his people; no sooner did they prepare to cross, than the current of the river was stayed. The host of Israel went over, and the twelve stones were set up as an 'everlasting memorial' at Gilgal, at the eastern limit of Jericho (בִּקְצֵה מִזְרַח יְרִחוֹ, Josh. 4 19). The first obstacle of Joshua's further advance was the strong city of Jericho. The 'captain of the host of Yahwè' appeared to Joshua (probably at Gilgal,[5] cp Judg. 2 1), to make known his participation in the coming attack on Jericho, and (editorial manipulation has obscured this point) to give directions as to the course of action to be adopted.[6] What form the earlier tradition gave to these directions we cannot venture to say. A later writer represents the capture thus. Once a day for six days Israel went round the city in procession; the vanguard first; next the priests (carrying seven trumpets of rams' horns) with the ark; then the rear-guard (cp ARK, § 4). On the seventh day the procession made its round seven times, and at the seventh time the priests blew the trumpets and the people raised the battle-cry, whereupon the walls of Jericho fell down. Then the conquered city was made *ḥērem*—*i.e.*, all living things were killed and the spoil either burnt or dedicated to the service of Yahwè. A curse was pronounced on the man who should rebuild Jericho (see HIEL). 'But the harlot Rahab and her family—even all that belonged to her—Joshua saved alive, so that she dwells in the midst of Israel to this day' (Josh. 6 25).

In its present form the biblical narrative is composite. Successive writers have devoted themselves to the elaboration of the details. Analytic criticism has been applied to the narrative (see JOSHUA ii., § 7); but its results seem to require further revision in the light of a more searching criticism of MT. Steuernagel is right in assuming the relative originality of 𝔊; but we can no more follow 𝔊 implicitly as a canonical authority than MT. The text in all its forms must be subjected to a searching criticism. It will thus, for instance, become plain that Josh. 3 15-17, which the Oxford editors assign to P, is based on an earlier written source. We cannot, however, criticise the text of this most interesting and elaborate description of the stoppage of the waters of the Jordan without some guidance from outside.

4. Criticism of the text.

Such guidance we receive from four sources: (1) From the story of Jacob (Israel); (2) From the story of Jerubhaal; (3) From Dt. 11 29 *f.* 27 2; and (4) From the various evidences in early tradition that the tribe of Judah came up into its settlements through the Negeb, starting from Kadesh-Jerahmeel ('Barnea').

1. Any one who approaches the story of Jacob with afresh and open mind will be irresistibly led to suspect that the crossing of the Jordan by the Israelites under the Ephraimite Joshua was, in its original form, parallel to the migration of Jacob-Israel across the Jordan, which an early tradition placed at the point where it is met by the Jabbok.[1] 2. The twofold geographical relation of Gideon-Jerubbaal (see GIDEON) points in the same direction; it is not accidental that the name Zarethan occurs in Josh. 3 16 and a parallel form Zererah (both forms are corrupt) in Judg. 7 22. 3. It is appropriately remarked on Dt. 27 2 by the Oxford editors, 'The phraseology suggests that the stones were to be erected on the actual day of the passage of the Jordan. . . . Is the distance from the Jordan to Shechem forgotten; does the writer, "looking back to a distant past" (Driver), fail to take account of the time that must have elapsed between the crossing of the river and the arrival at Ebal; or is there a vague reminiscence in his mind of the later incident when twelve stones are taken up out of the Jordan and placed upright in the Gilgal?' Is it not rather a reminiscence, not of the 'later incident,' but of the *original tradition* of the crossing of the Jordan at a more northerly point than the fords of Jericho? On Dt. 11 29 *f.* see especially GERIZIM. 4. If Judah started from Kadesh-Jerahmeel we may analogously assume that the Joseph tribes entered W. Palestine at a point on the Jordan nearer to their ultimate possessions than Jericho.

The considerations just stated lead to the following emendation of the text of Josh. 3 16, '(it came to pass) that the water stood still; that which came down from above stood as a heap some distance (cp Gen. 21 16) from the ford of Adamah which is opposite Beth-zur'[2] (הַרְחֵק מִמַּעְבְּרַת אֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר נֶגֶד בֵּית־צוּר). The 'ford of Adamah' is to he identified with the ford of Dāmieh, which is at the confluence of the Jabbok and the Jordan, 16 m. in a direct line from the fords of Jericho. Beth-zur must be the name of the fortress which already stood on the summit of Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh, 2227 ft. above

1 See JERAHMEEL, § 4. 'Ammon' should perhaps be omitted as a corrupt dittogram of 'Amalek.'

2 On the 'wedge (?) of gold, appropriated by Achan, see GOLD.

3 Critical results are assumed.

4 Conder (PEFQ, April '74, p. 38) suggests that the caves and rocky precipices bf Jebel Ḳaranṭel (Quarantana) may be meant.

5 The text says בירחו, which probably means 'in the domain of Jericho'; cp Josh. 4 19.

6 On Josh. 5 13 *ff.*, see JOSHUA ii., 7, and cp *Oxf. Hex.* 2328, nnd Steuernagel *ad loc.*

1 This is the spot assigned to the crossing by Stade (*GVI*, 138), C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1 328), Steuernagel (*Deut.* 167). Against Stade, however, cp GASm. *HG* 659-662.

2 The מאדבאדמה of Kt. represents מעבר[ת] אדמה; עיר is a corruption of אשר; מצד (for נגד) arose from the proximity of צר. צרתן is certainly a corruption of בית־צור (see ZARETAN); 𝔊B (καριαθαρειν) indicates a reading קרתן, which, though defended by W. E. Stevenson, *PEFQ*, '96, p. 82, is certainly wrong. Cp Judg. 7 22 (emended; see ZARETAN). See also ADAM.

the Jordan Valley.' It is probable that at the end of *v.* 16 the original narrative had, instead of נגד ירחו 'opposite Jericho,' נֶגֶד בֵּית־צוּר 'opposite Beth-zur.' No one can reasonably doubt that this geographical definition, so inconsistent with the references to Jericho, comes from a relatively early source. In short, according to the earlier tradition, the crossing of the Jordan by the Ephraimite Joshua and his followers took place near the point where Jacob is also said to have crossed the Jordan—i.e., near the ford of Dāmieh. Nevertheless, the transference of the scene to Jericho is not purely arbitrary. There is evidence of a confusion of two traditions, one of which referred to the conquest by the Judahites of the city of Jerahmeel (probably Kadesh-Jerahmeel), and the other to the crossing of the Jordan near Dāmieh by the Ephraimites. The story of the spies[2] and of RAHAB [*q.v.*] belongs properly to the former tradition. 'Rahab' (רָחָב), or rather Rechab (רֵכָב), or—best of all—Heber (חֶבֶר), is certainly the representative of the Rechabites, or Heberites, a second name of the KENITES [*q.v.*], who, as we infer from Judg. 1 16, anciently dwelt in the 'city of Jerahmeel' (MT 'city of palm trees,' but see § 2), though not themselves Jerahmeelites (= Amalekites, cp 1 S. 15 16). These Rechabites[3] or Kenites held the position of a protected tribe, or, putting this into symbolic phraseology, Rahab-Rechab was a 'harlot.'[4] Now we can really profess to understand the statement in Josh. 2 1 that Joshua's two spies found lodging in the house of a harlot. The detail was not suggested by considerations of expediency,—'for strangers to turn into such a house would excite the least suspicion' (Steuernagel); it is an anticipation of the historical relation between Kain and Israel. As the narrator says, 'Rahab dwells in Israel unto this day' (Josh. 6 25), *i.e.*, the Kenites still dwelt among the Judahites as a protected tribe in the narrator's times.

5. The phenomenon in Josh. 6 20.

It is needless to ask what suggested the story of the falling down of the walls of Jericho. As Steuernagel truly says (151), the popular imagination clothed the conviction that all Israel's successes were due to Yahwè's help in the form of history. Among the instances of this he mentions the 'drying up of the Jordan' and the falling down of the walls of Jericho. For the first of these reputed wonders Steuernagel's explanation is hardly sufficient. The biblical writers show a certain economy in the distribution of wonders. It was necessary that the walls of Jericho should fall down. Only by supernatural means could the untrained host of Joshua capture a fortified city; G. A. Smith goes a little too far when he says (pp. 267 *f.*) that the statement in Josh. 6 20 is 'the soberest summary of all Jericho's history.' But it was not necessary that the current of the Jordan's waters should be stayed; a ford suited Jacob, and might as well have suited Joshua. There must have been some natural phenomenon—probably one which had occurred within the first narrator's knowledge—which suggested the story of the waters that stood up as a heap, and Clermont-Ganneau has brought from a Paris MS an Arabic historian's account of just such a historical phenomenon as we require for our purpose.

The statement of Nowairi (as reported by Lt.-Col. C. M. Watson in *PEFQ*, '95, pp. 253 *ff.*) is that in 664 A.H. (=1266 A.D.) Bihars I., then Sultan of Egypt, caused a bridge to be built across the Jordan for strategical purposes. 'The bridge is in the neighbourhood of Dāmieh, between it and Ḳarāwā,[5] and there happened in connection with it a wonderful thing, the like of which was never heard of.' When the bridge was completed, part of the piers gave way, and in the night preceding the 8th Dec. 1267 'the waters of the river ceased to flow.' The phenomenon was investigated and it appeared 'that a lofty mound which overlooked the river on the west had fallen into it and dammed it up. . . . The water was held up, and had spread itself over the valley above the dam.' It 'was arrested from midnight until the fourth hour of the day. Then the water prevailed over the dam and broke it up. For Nowairi the occurrence was extraordinary indeed, but quite a natural phenomenon. The situation described can be sufficiently made out. Dāmieh is well known, and on the west bank, just opposite Dāmieh, there is a district called Ḳarāwā. Formerly, however, this name was given to a town which was in the centre of a district where sugar-cane was cultivated. An examination of the ground confirms Clermont-Ganneau's view of the meaning, for a little above the ford, where the Wādy Zerḳā joins the Jordan, are the remains of an old bridge which is probably the very bridge erected in 1266 A.D. by command of Bihars I.

The physical character of this phenomenon forcibly recalls that described in Joshua. Nowairi states that it occurred at a time when the Jordan was in full flood; the Hebrew narrator makes a similar statement. Nowairi, it is true, dates the event the 8th December; the Hebrew narrator specifies the time of harvest (March?); but on the essential point, as already noticed, they agree. The point where the landslip described by Nowairi took place, is one where minor landslips still occur, and a large one, such as the Arabic and the Hebrew narrators describe, might again dam up the Jordan, and let it run off into the Dead Sea, leaving the bed temporarily dry.

We have thus gained something for the traditional history of Kadesh-Jerahmeel and for that of the ford of Adāmah; but we have lost our sole authority for the early history of the city known as Jericho. Hence the first trustworthy historical notice of Jericho is in 2 S. 10 5, where Jericho appears as a city of the realm of David.

6. Later biblical references.

We may assume, but we do not know, that it was fortified in his time. It was at any rate either fortified or refortified by HIEL (*q.v.*), if we should not rather ascribe the act to Jehu, and regard it as a precaution against Aramæan invasion (1 K. 16 34; see JEHU, § 3). Judæa, as Prof. G. A. Smith remarks, could never keep Jericho. As a Benjamite town it fell to Northern Israel, while Northern Israel lasted. In later times it fell to Bacchides and the Syrians; Bacchides fortified it against Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Macc. 9 50). The cause of this will be plain later. Here we have to add that a company of prophets made Jericho their home in the days of Elijah and Elisha (2 K. 2 4 *f.*), and that Elisha was said to have healed the water of the chief fountain of the city (*v.* 19 *f.*; cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 8 3). The fountain meant is no doubt the *'Ain es-Sulṭān*, sometimes called Elisha's Fountain. In the great post-exilic list (Ezra 2 34 Neh. 7 36) the men of Jericho are reckoned at 345; Jericho was also represented among Nehemiah's builders at Jerusalem (Neh. 3 2). At the fortress of Dok (*'Ain ed-Dūk*; see DOCUS), near Jericho, that noble Maccabee, Simon, was murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy (1 Macc. 16 15).

See further GASm. *HG* 267 *f.* Dean Stanley's expression, 'the key of Palestine,' applied to Jericho, is hardly accurate.

Christian tradition fixed the site of the temptation of Christ at the hill Quarantana (*Jebel Ḳaranṭel*) to the W. of the *'Ain es-Sulṭān*; the reputed scene of the baptism was also near Jericho (see JORDAN, § 2 [7]). The Gospels, however, have something much better to tell us. At the close of Christ's ministry, as he was leaving Jericho on his way to Jerusalem, he healed a blind man called BARTIMÆUS [*q.v.*]. It was necessary, as Farrar rightly says, to rest at Jericho before entering on the rough and rocky gorge which led up towards Jerusalem,

1 The Talmudic סרטבא and the biblical צרתן have the same origin—בית־צור. See ZARETHAN.

2 Cp the story of the spies in Nu. 13.

3 We postpone the question as to the right name of this tribe.

4 Ewald's suggestion (*GVJ* 2 348, n. 1) is most unjust to the people of Jericho, and finds no support in the narrative (see Josh. 3 9).

5 The diacritical points are wanting in the MS of Nowairi; Clermont-Ganneau reads the name Ḳarāwā. Ḳarāwā is almost certainly the Κορέαι of Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 4 5 2; *BJ* i. 6 5 iv. 8 1. See Gildemeister, *ZDPV* 4 245 *f.* ('81); Schür., Buhl, and Gratz (*MGWJ* 31 14 *ff.* ['82]) assent. G. A. Smith's reasons for doubting (*HG* 353, n. 5) seem insufficient. The present writer would further identify this fertile spot with the Abel-meholah of the OT.

but we cannot attach weight with him[1] to Macknight's suggestion that the discrepancy between Mt. and Mk. on the one hand and Lk. on the other may be met by the supposition that the scene of the occurrence lay between the two Jerichos—*i.e.*, that according to Lk. Jesus was approaching New Jericho, while according to Mt. and Mk. he was leaving Old Jericho. A reference to Old Jericho would have been unmeaning, for it was then uninhabited. nor could 'Jericho' at this time mean anything but the city which was given by Antony to Cleopatra and redeemed by Herod the Great. The narrative is of the highest interest. It may be taken by some to confirm the historicity of the Messianic entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem, for cures of bodily evils were doubtless considered to be characteristic acts of the Messiah, and the story of Bartimæus may suggest that the movement of which we have the climax in Mk. 11 1-10 gathered strength in Jericho. Keim (*Jesus von Naz.* 3 52 *f.*) has put the case for the historicity of the Bartimaeus narrative in a vary attractive way (cp BARTIMÆUS, § 1); on the other hand, there are difficulties in admitting the 'triumphal entry' as a part of the most primitive tradition (see HOSANNA) which cannot but affect the historicity of the story of Bartimæus. The narrative, however, must at any rate be very early—so full is it of nature and verisimilitude, and it is 'by far the best attested of all the stories of the healing of the blind in the Gospels.' The story of Zacchæus is not less natural. Not a few 'publicans' must have been needed to secure the revenues accruing from the traffic ih the famous balsam, and the murmuring of the multitude at the grace shown to a 'sinner' is easily intelligible. Still there are difficulties (see ZACCHÆUS) in the way of conceding more than an ideal truth to this delightful story, of which Lk. is the only narrator. Disciples full of the spirit of Jesus might surely be able to fill up the gaps in tradition by imagining such a scene as that of the 'conversion' of Zacchæus. Should we have lost anything if documentary evidence of this almost involuntary imaginative creation could be produced? Is the story (also only reported by Lk.) of the man who 'went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves' (Lk. 10 30 *ff.*) less effective or less prized because we know that it is only ideally true?

'No great man,' says Prof. G. A. Smith, 'was born in Jericho; no heroic deed was ever done in her.'[2] It is possible, ndeed, that the most detested man in the history of Christianity was born there; the name Judas Iscariotes should perhaps be Judas Ierichotes—*i.e.*, Judasof Jericho (unless indeed the title belongs primarily to his father; see JUDAS ISCARIOT).

7. Later History.

The chief historical name closely connected with Jericho is that of Herod, who beautified the city, and retired to it to die (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 65). The place is often mentioned in the later history. Both Pompey and Vespasian took the city and fortified it, rather perhaps as a source of supplies than as a base of operations.[3] Its natural wealth, chiefly owing to the precious balsam, made it a coveted possession. Herod's Roman allies sacked it (Jos. *BJ* i. 156), and Herod himself was glad to farm Jericho and its plain from Cleopatra, to whom Anthony had assigned them (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 42). Here as elsewhere he proved himself a great builder—palaces and public buildings sprang up as by magic (*Ant.* xvi. 5 2; *BJ* i. 21 4 9; cp HEROD). After his death Simon, a former slave of Herod, aspiring to be king, burned and plundered the palace (*Ant.* xvii. 10 6), which, however, was magnificently rebuilt by Archelaus. Most important of all, Archelaus diverted water from a village called Neara, to irrigate the plain, in which he had just planted palm trees (*Ant.* xvii. 13 1). In the time of Josephus Jericho was the sent of one of the eleven toparchies or administrative districts (*BJ* iii. 3 5). On the approach of Vespasian the inhabitants fled to the mountains; unopposed, he erected a citadel, and placed a garrison in it (*BJ* iv. 8 2 9 1). To a great extent, says Josephus, the city had been destroyed before the coming of the Romans (*BJ* iv. 8 2). But the damage must soon have been repaired. The notices of Pliny, subsequent to the Roman war, leave no doubt as to the prosperity of Jericho, caused by its fine plantations of palm trees and balsam trees. It is also mentioned by Ptolemy and by Galen in the second century A.D., and existed in the time of Caracalla, according to a statement of Origen preserved in Eusebius.[1] In the list of the principal cities of Judæa given by Ammianus Marcellinus (end of 4th cent.) it is conspicuous by its absence. We may presume that some calamity had happened to it, and Reinach[2] with much probability supposes that the famous passage of Solinus (ed. Mommsen, 35 6)—'Judææ caput fuit Hierosolyma, sed excisa est; successit Hierichus, et haec desivit, Artaxerxis hello subacta'—refers to a destruction of Jericho (probably by the Romans) in connection with the invasion of Syria by Ardashir the founder of the Persian dynasty of the Sassanidæ, who assumed the venerated name of Artaxerxes (cp ISAIAH ii. § 13, n. *a*). If so, the date of the event must be placed about 230 A.D. It is probably to this event that Jerome refers in his treatise on the Site and Names of Hebrew Places; the phraseology points very strongly to this view.[3]

8. Christian traditions.

Jericho began to be resorted to by pilgrims in the fourth century, and the sacred sites sprang into view. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) saw the sycomore tree of Zacchæus, and the house of Rahab immediatelv above Elisha's Fountain. In the time of Theodosius, however (530 A.D.), the site of the latter had been shifted. Bishop Arculf (towards 700 A.D.) found the whole site of the city covered with cornfields and vineyards, without any habitations, hut the walls of the 'house of Rahab' were still standing, though without a roof. Between the city and the Jordan were large groves of palm trees, interspersed with open spaces, in which were almost innumerable houses, inhabited by a diminutive sort of men of the race of Canaan. (There are still the marks of degradation in the Bedouins of Jericho.) Saewulf (1102 A.D.) speaks of Jericho as 'the garden of Abraham'; it is in a land covered with trees and producing all kinds of palms and other fruits. In the fourteenth century Sir John Maundeville speaks again of the Garden of Abraham, but places it at the foot of the Quarantana. 'Upon that hill Abraham dwelt a long while; therefore it is called Abraham's Garden.'

9. Modern identifications.

The Jericho of the Bordeaux Pilgrim was at the base of the mountains; he places the more ancient city at Elisha's Fountain. No doubt this view is correct. No other site would be at all probable. 'Three fine springs are found within but a small distance of one another, while the rest of the plain can show hut one, and that far less considerable' (Conder). The chief of these is the 'Ain es-Sulṭān—a beautiful fountain of sweet, palatable water which bursts forth at the E. foot of a long *tell* or mound, over 1200 ft. in length from N. to S., and about 50 ft. in height. Superimposed are four other mounds (one of them a ridge) at the edges, the NW. or highest being some go ft. above the fountain,

[1] *Life of Christ*, 519, n. 2; cp Plummer, *St. Lake*, 429 (against Macknight).

[2] GASm. *HG* 268.

[3] *Ibid.*

[1] Eus. *HE* 6 16; an ancient Greek version of the OT, the vi. or vii. in the Hexapla, is said to have been found in Jerusalem in a cask in the time of Antoninus son of Severus; cp Field, *Hex.* 1 45.

[2] 'La deuxième ruine de Jéricho,' *Kohut Memorial Volume* ('97), 457 *ff.*

[3] *OS* 132 1. Sed et haec eo tempore quo Ierusalem oppugnabatur a Romanis propter perfidiam civium capta atque destructa est. Pro qua tertia ædificata est civitas quæ usque hodie permanet, et ostenduntur utriusque urbis vestigia usque in praesentem diem.

but not more than 60 or 70 ft. above the ground at the W. Dr. Bliss' offers the opinion that the *tell* is a mass of *débris* caused by the ruin of several mud-brick towns over the first Jericho. For the remains of the second or Herodian city we must go to the S. bank of the Wady el-Kelt, nearly two miles W. of the modern village. Here there are abundant remains of an ancient city, and similar ruins N. of 'Ain es-Sulṭān suggest that the Herodian Jericho may have extended in this direction also, the interval between the sites being filled up with detached villas. According to Conder[2] the Byzantine Jericho 'is represented by the foundations and fragments of cornice and capital, over which the rider stumbles among the thorn-groves E. of the 'Ain es-Sultan.' The fourth Jericho—that of the Crusaders—was on the site of the present village. The square tower on the SE. of Eriha (so the village is called) is 'such a one as the Crusaders erected along their pilgrim roads,'[3] though since the fifteenth century it has been said to occupy the site of the House of Zacchæus.

The ancient road from Jerusalem to Jericho zigzags down the bare mountain side, close to the S. bank of the Wady el-Kelt. Few mountain gorges in Western lands can compare with it.

10. Situation of Jericho.

It is one of the most stupendous chasms in the 'ancient mountains,' so narrow that one can hardly measure twenty yards across at the bottom, so deep that one can only just see the slender torrent stream which winds along amidst canes and rank rushes to the Jordan. At last the prospect widens, and we get a complete view of the vast plain of Jericho. Half a mile from the foot of the pass we perceive an ancient reservoir, now dry, perhaps the remains of a pool constructed by Herod; for here no doubt is the site of the Herodian Jericho. Shortly afterwards we pass under a handsome aqueduct crossing the Kelt, and at this point we have our choice whether to seek out Elisha's Fountain or the squalid village of Erīḥa. The vegetation now becomes very luxuriant. Palm groves, balsam trees, and sugar-canes[4] have disappeared (see BALSAM, PALM TREE), though in 1874 a solitary palm tree still grew close to the tower of Eriha, and another clump in the valley N. of Kaṣr el-Ḥajla.[5] Yet the few fields of wheat and Indian corn, and the few orchards of figs and pomegranates, give some idea of what the soil would yield if properly irrigated and cultivated. Josephus's picture of Jericho (*BJ* iv. 8 3) well deserves reading. The site is on all accounts profoundly interesting, and Tell es-Sulṭān will no doubt one day be excavated. Meantime the Christian traveller will delight himself with the unaltered fountain of ancient Jericho[6] and will walk with interest on the S. bank of the Kelt where the feet of Jesus doubtless trod.[7] Nor will the tiring excursion to the hermit's caverns on the Mountain of the Temptation be altogether unrewarded.

On the plants and birds, and on the physical circumstances of Jericho, see JORDAN; and on the site of Gilgal, see GILGAL. Cp also JOHN THE BAPTIST. T. K. C.

JERIEL (יְרִיאֵל, 'El sees,' § 31), in a genealogy of ISSACHAR (§ 7): 1 Ch. 7 2 (ρειηλ [B], ιερεηλ [A], ιαρουηλ [L]). A corruption of 'Jerahmeel'; see REPHAIAH.

JERIJAH (יְרִיָּהוּ, יְרִיָּה, 'Yahwè sees,' § 31; *ιωριας* [AL]), first of the 'sons of 'Hebron': 1 Ch. 23 19 24 23 (EV JERIAH) 26 31 (*ιδουδ* [on the form, see Ki. *SBOT*], ιηδειμου, **τουδειας** [El, *ιερια*, *ιεδιου* [A], *ιεδδι* [*bis*] [L]): see HEBRON ii., 1.

JERIMOTH and JEREMOTH (יְרִימוֹת and יְרֵמוֹת; יְרֵמוֹת; see NAMES, § 75, and cp the place-name JARMUTH; αρειμωθ [B], ιερ[ε]ιμωθ [AL]).

1, 2, 3. Three Benjamites, 1 Ch. 7 7 (ירימות EV Jerimoth, *ιεριμουθ* [AI, *ιερεμ.* [LI, *v.* 8 [יְרֵמוֹת, AV Jerirnoth, RV Jeremoth, *αυρημωθ* [B], *ιερμ.* [L]), and 1 Ch. 8 14 (EV Jerernoth, יְרֵמוֹת, *ιαρειμωθ* [B], *-ιμουθ* [A]). For the last cp JEROHAM, 2.

4. One of David's heroes, also of Benjamin, 1 Ch. 12 5 (יְרִימוֹת, EV Jerimoth, *αρειμουθ* [B], *ιαριμ.* [A], *αριθμους* [א], *ιριμωθ* [L]).

5. b. Mushi, a Merarite Levite, 1 Ch. 23 23 (יְרֵמוֹת, EV Jeremoth, *ιαριμωθ* [A]); *ib.* 24 30 (יְרִימוֹת, EV Jerimoth). The name should perhaps be read יְרֹחָם (a mutilated form of Jerahmeel). Note the proximity of Mahli and Jerahmeel (Che.). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v.].

6. A son of Heman, 1 Ch. 25 4 (יְרִימוֹת, EV Jerimoth. *ιερεμωθ* [B], *ιεριμουθ* [A], *v.* 22 (יְרֵמוֹת, EV JEREMOTH, *ερειμωθ* [B], *ιεριμουθ* [L]). The name should perhaps be JEROHAM (יְרֹחָם, cp no. 3 above).

7. A levitical overseer, 2 Ch. 31 13 (יְרִימוֹת, EV Jerimoth, *ιερειμωθ* [B]).

8. b. Azriel, of Naphtali, 1 Ch. 27 19 (יְרִימוֹת, AV Jerimoth, RV Jeremoth, *ερειμωθ* [B], *ιεριμουθ* [AL]).

9. Father of Mahalath, Rehoboam's wife, and son of David, 2 Ch. 11 18 (יְרִימוֹת, EV Jerimoth, *ερμουθ* [A], *ιεριμ.* [BL]). Miswritten, according to Che., for ITHREAM (*q.v.*).

Among those in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end) are mentioned three of this name :—

10. One of the b'ne Elam, Ezra 10 26 (יְרֵמוֹת, EV Jeremoth, *ιαρειμωθ* [B], *ιαριμωθ* [א]), in 1 Esd. 9 27 HIEREMOTH (*ιερεμωθ* [BA]).

11. One of the b'ne Zattu, Ezra 10 27 (*ib.* *αμων* [B], *αρμ.* [א], *ιαρμωθ* [A], *ιερ.* [L]), in 1 Esd. 9 28 JARIMOTH (*ιαρ[ε]ιμωθ* [BAL]).

12. RV following Kt. in Ezra 10 29 reads JEREMOTH, one of the b'ne Bani; AV, however, has 'and Ramoth,' in accordance with the Kr. (וְרָמוֹת, *και μημωυ* [B] . . . *μηνων* [א], . . . *ρημωθ* [A], *ρημ.* [L]); in 1 Esd. 9 30 Hieremoth (*ιερεμωθ* [BA], *αριμ* [L]).

JERIOTH (יְרִיעוֹת, § 75; ιερ[ε]ιωθ [AL]), one of the wives of CALEB (*q.v.*); perhaps originally a place-name, 1 Ch. 2 18 (ελιωθ [B]). See AZUBAH.

JEROBOAM (יָרָבְעָם, 'Amm fights' [see AMMI, NAMES WITH, § 3]. More probably a modification of ירבעל, JERUBBAAL [like ישבעם, JASHOBEAM, from ישבעל = אִישׁ בַּעַל]; cp *ιεροβααλ*, Hos. 10 14 [AQ[a]], where 𝔊[BQ*] has *ιεροβοαμ*; so Klost. [*Gesch.* 189] and Marq. [*Fund.*, 15]; Gray, *HPN* 59 ('96) and Ki. [*Kön.* '99] adhere to the usual Heb. sense of עם, 'people'; Ki. 'the clan is numerous'; cp the doubt as to the meaning of Ḥammurabi (see HAM); a play on the name seems at any rate to be proved [see REHOBOAM]; *ιεροβοαμ* [BAL]).

1. Jeroboam I., the first king of N. Israel (*circ.* 930 B.C.). Dean Stanley's sketch of this king (Smith's *DB*, *s.v.*) was based on the separate account contained in 1 K. 12 25-39 (Lag.), or 11 43*b*-12 24*a-f* (Swete), which is Lucian's text of 𝔊 (cp TEXT AND VERSIONS, § 52*d*). Recently the same line has been taken by some good critics. It conduces greatly to a genuine comprehension of Jeroboam, especially if the underlying text he first of all carefully purified from its errors. We thus arrive at the following view of the rise of Jerohoam. He was an Ephraimite of the clan of Nabat or Nabath (*ναβατ*, *ναβαθ*; cp Naboth); but his mother came from the same N. Arabian land of Muṣri[2] to which the mother of Hadad III. of Edom belonged. This half-Arabian extraction is of importance not only with reference to his name [see above], but also as illustrating the second chapter of his history. It did not lessen his Israelitish sympathy; but it gave him a second home to flee to. His abilities soon marked him out as a leader of men; Solomon, we are told, made him superintendent (*ἄρχοντα*

1 *PEFQ*, '94, p. 176 *ff.*; cp 'Jericho,' in Hastings' *DB* 2 581*b*.
2 *Tentwork*, 27.
3 *Tentwork*, 27.
4 See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 396 *f.*
5 Conder, *PEFQ*, April '74, p. 39.
6 For a charming description see De Vogüé, *Syrie, Palestine. Athos* ('87), 156.
7 Cp Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 220.

1 So Neubauer, Sayce, Hommel (*ZDMG*, '95, p. 526), Che (*JQR* 11 559 ['99]).
2 See *JQR*, *l.c.* In 1 K. 11 26=12 28 L, אלמנה, צרועה, and זונה (BL *πόρνη*) are all, most probably, corruptions of מִצְרִיָּה. The true text is approached by 𝔊, ὁ Εφραθει ἐκ [τῆς] Σαρειρα υἱος γυναικὸς χήρας (1 K. 11 26 BL), *i.e.*, חָאֶפְרָתִי מִבֵּית צוּר בֶּן־אִשָּׁה מִצְרִיָּה. For a similar critical conjecture, see HADAD, 3, and cp MIZRAIM.

σκυτάλης = שַׂר פֶּלֶךְ, 1 K. 12 28 BL) of the corvée imposed on the Ephraimites (cp DISTRICT). Jeroboam, no doubt, felt patriotic or tribal indignation at Solomon's despotism, and also saw in the situation great possibilities for himself. He fortified his native city (not Zereda, but Tirzah, or rather Bethzur; see TIRZAH), nominally perhaps for Solomon (12 29 𝔊^BL), but really for himself, and, like the equally ambitious Absalom (if in 2 S. 15 1 we render 'chariots'; see 𝔊) procured chariots and horses, a sign of his pretensions to the throne, and of his readiness for warlike operations. (The Greek actually fixes the number of the chariots at 300.) Jeroboam had not sufficiently matured his plans, however, and he escaped the punishment which Solomon designed for him only by a hasty flight to the country of his mother. There he enjoyed the protection, not of course of Shishak,[1] but of Pir'u, king of Muṣri; the statement that he married an Egyptian princess implies a confusion of his story with that of Hadad (see HADAD, 3).

On the death of Solomon, Jeroboam returned to Tirzah[2] (Bethzur), strong in the consciousness of his unimpaired popularity. Though he doubtless knew the incapacity of the son of Solomon, he was too wise to commit any overt act of rebellion, and suffered Rehoboam to assume the crown. If Lucian's text can be trusted, it was during this period that his son Abijah fell sick and died; it is not very likely, however, that such was the meaning of the original tradition. Another statement of Lucian's text, which apparently relates to this period, is that he fortified—*i.e.*, still further fortified—his native city (12 39 L, 12 24 *f.* B). One can hardly believe even this. Rehoboam would surely not have ventured to Shechem without a bodyguard[3] if his father's old enemy had made himself so strong. At any rate, Jeroboam must have arranged the details of his plot when, as Lucian's text states, he 'went to Shecheni which is in Moiint Ephraim, and assembled there all the tribes of [northern?] Israel, and Rehoboam (a N. Israelite on his mother's side; see REHOBOAM), son of Solomon, went up thither' (𝔊^L, 1 K. 13 14, 𝔊^B 12 24 n.). The heads of the tribes laid their wishes before Rehoboam; they deprecated a continuance of the old despotic policy. Rehoboam acted as Jeroboam foresaw that he would. By his arrogant answer to the tribesmen he pronounced sentence on himself and his dynasty.

Of Jeroboam's subsequent history we have only fragmentary notices. Shishak's predatory invasion extended to N. Israel (see EGYPT, § 63, and SHISHAK); did the bold usurper make no attempt to oppose it? Had the fortification of Penuel, a place on the E. of the Jordan, any connection with this raid?[4] That Shechem also was fortified, needs, of course, no explanation. There was the possible danger of an invasion from Judah. The narrative in 1 K. 12 21-24 may perhaps be believed when it states that the Judahites on one great occasion retreated, though in its present form it is unacceptable (see Ki.); but there is no detailed statement of successes of Jeroboam, and we know that the war was handed on by Rehoboam to his successors.[5] Jeroboam also directed his attention to religion. The redactor of Kings had before him a record of certain important changes effected by this king, who aimed, on political grounds, at severlng the religious intercourse between Israel and Judah. A great yearly festival was appointed on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, 'like the festival in Judah,' and two golden or gilded images in the form of bulls were placed in the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan (see CALF, GOLDEN; IDOLATRY, § 6). These images were in the eyes of the redactor

[1] שישק in 1 K. 11 40 is an interpolation, or rather perhaps *v.* 40 has taken the place of some fuller, as well as more accurate, statements.

[2] So L at 12 39 (Lag. = 12 24 *f.*, B in Sw.), and originally MT of 11 40 (cp 12 2 MT and 11 43 𝔊).

[3] 1 K. 12 18 clearly implies this.

[4] So Stade.

[5] So Kittel.

'the sin of Jeroboam, which he made Israel to sin,'[1] and which ultimately ruined, not only the house of Jeroboam, but also the kingdom of Israel.

The three narratives in which prophets appear (1 K. 11 29-39 14 1-18 and 13 1-32) cannot be treated as historical. The last of the three expresses a purely mechanical conception of prophecy. The other two are the expressions of a faith that God directs human affairs which is religiously valuable; they are none the less idealising constructions of history. It is possible, however, that Jeroboam had friendly relations with a prophet residing at Shiloh named Ahijah (in 1 K. 11 29 for מירושלים read מִמִּצְרַיִם,[2] 'from Mizrim (Muṣri).' The northern prophets were of course on Jeroboam's side. Possibly too a son of Jeroboam, named Ahijah, may have fallen sick and died, though the circumstance that 𝔊^BL makes Abijah the son of Jeroboam's Egyptian wife, may suggest scepticism as to Abijah's existence. The death of Abijah would naturally be interpreted as a sign of the divine displeasure, at any rate by those unfriendly to Jeroboam. On the criticism of the Jeroboam-narratives *see* Klostermann (especially on the text), Winckler (*AT Untersuch.* 1-15, *GI* 2 273), Benz. and Ki. (comm.), and Cheyne (*JQR* 11 556 *ff.* ['99]).

2. Jeroboam II. ben Joash, fourth king of the line of Jehu (782-743 B.C.). The fragmentary account in 2 K. 14 23-29 permits us to see that the compiler knew more about Jeroboam than he has cared to communicate. 'The rest of the matters of Jeroboam, and his martial prowess, and how he warred'—all this has no interest for the writer, who is absorbed in the thought of the approaching captivity of Israel, and regards Jeroboam's successes against foreign foes as only a breathing-time granted to Israel in mercy (2 K. 13 23). Even what he communicates has not come down to us in a perfectly intelligible form.[3] We can understand the statement in 2 K. 14 25 that Jeroboam 'recovered the territory of Israel from the approach to Hamath (the old Solomonic northern limit) as far as the sea of the Arabah' (*i.e.*, the Dead Sea), and we can realise that this must have involved victories over Aram. When we are told, however, that 'he recovered Damascus, and Hamath [which had belonged] to Judah, for Israel' (*v.* 28 RV), we are perplexed. The Assyrian king Rammān-nirāri (see ASSYRIA, § 32) would never have allowed Jeroboam to conquer Damascus,' and, as for Hamath, it never did belong to Judab—the supposed Assyriological evidence (see UZZIAH) having proved to be illusory. The original text must simply have said that N. Israelitish regions which had been conquered by Aram were recovered by Jeroboam, and we may perhaps discern underneath the present text the statement 'and how he recovered Manasseh and Ramoth-gilead from the hand of Benhadad son of Hazael.'[5] Jeroboam II. was in fact the 'helper' or 'saviour' anticipated by the prophet JONAH [*q.v.*]. Of his other warlike enterprises, no information has reached us. Probably he continued to exercise, or at least to claim, suzerainty over Judah; at any rate Azariah does not appear to have followed the bad example of Amaziah (2 K. 14 8-14). Many scholars (*e.g.*, Ewald) infer from 2 K. 14 25 that Jeroboam conquered the land of Moab. Certainly the description does not absolutely forbid this view, which is recommended to some by the light which it may seem to throw on the 'oracle of Moab' in Is. 15-16 12.[6]

[1] The phrase occurs constantly in Kings, but nowhere in Chronicles. Ben-Sira has it once (Ecclus. 47 23).

[2] Cp 𝔊^BL 1 K. 11 43 6. Klo. מִמִּצְרַיִם, 'from Egypt.'

[3] See Ewald, *Hist.* 4 124, n. 3; and especially Klo. and Benzinger, *ad loc.*

[4] GASm. is content with supposing that he 'occupied at least part of the territory of Damascus' (*Twelve Prophets*, 132).

[5] את־מנשה ואת־רָמֹת גלעד [מיד בן־]הדד בן־חזאל. Cp 2 K. 10 33; also 1 K. 22 3 2 K. 8 28. The latter part is from Klostermann. Winckler's suggestion (*Gesch.* 148) is too hazardous; Ew.'s (*GVI* 3 603) and Schr.'s (*COT* 1 208) are quite inadequate.

[6] In this case the announcement of the destruction of Moab in Am. 2 2 received a speedy fulfilment, and it is perhaps not an accident that the earliest OT mention of the important Moabite city Keriyyōth (see KERIOTH), occurs in this eighth century prophet (Am. 2 2). On the other hand, when some critics use Am. 6 14 ('from the approach to Hamath as far as the Wādy of the 'Arabah') to prove that Israel's territory extended over Moab, we must for various reasons decline to follow them. Cp Wellhausen, *ad loc.*—F. B.

On the other hand, it is very far from certain that Is. 15-16 12 is a pre-exilic work (see ISAIAH ii., § 9), and we may fairly suppose that if Jeroboam had really made such an important conquest, the redactor would have referred to it in distinct terms. Enough reason, however, remains for regarding Jeroboam II. as the most successful of the N. Israelitish kings, and we may be sure that in more ideal aspects' his long reign deserved to be remembered. It was probably in this period that the Elohist (E) wrote, and the prophetic ministry of Amos and Hosea certainly falls in Jeroboam's time. The records of these prophets supplement to some extent the scanty fragments of contemporary history. T. K. C.

JEROHAM (יְרֹחָם, 'pitied [by God],' § 53; ιεροαμ [AL]; but in 1., at all events, 𝔊 reads 'perhaps rightly' [so Dr.] JERAHMEEL [*q.v.*]; 1 S. 1 1 ιερεμεηλ [B], ιερεμιηλ [L], and 1 Ch. 6 27 [12] 34 [19], ιεραμαηλ [L]).

1. Samuel's grandfather (1 S. 1 1 1 Ch. 627 34 [12 19] ιδαερ, ηααλ [B], ιεροβοαμ ιερεαμ [A]). The name is more probably a gentilic and should be read Jerahmeel (cp above); it thus corresponds to the Ephraimite gentilic Tohu (= Tahan, or Tahath). The seer's ancestry appears then as a combination of two separate genealogies which trace his origin to the clans of Jerahmeel and Tahan respectively (so Marq. ***Fund.*** 12 *f.*, cp TAHATH, TOHU). For the suggestion that 'Jerahmeel' refers really to Eli's origin see JERAHMEEL, § 3. The names Tahan, Tahath, etc. remind one of the Judæan Jahath a descendant of Shobal (also Calebite), which is possibly the parent of the name ' Samuel,' see JAHATH.

2. b. Hushim in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. β); see *JQR* 11 103, § 1. 1 Ch. 8 27 (ιρααμ [B], ιερεαμ [L]). JEREMOTH in *v.* 14 is probably a corruption of the name.

3. A Benjamite, father of Ibneiah (1 Ch. 98, ιρααμ [B]).

4. Father of Adaiah, a priest of the b'ne Immer in a list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii., § 5[*b*], § 15 [1]*a*), 1 Ch. 9 12 (ιρααμ [B], *esp.* [A]) = Neh. 11 12 (om. B[ℵ*], ιροαμ [ℵ c.a mg. inf.]).

5. A Benjamite of Gedor, one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 7, ρααμ [Bℵ]). See DAVID, § 11, c, col. 1031.

6. A Danite, father of Azareel (1 Ch. 27 22, ιωραμ [BA]).

7. Father of Azariah (2 Ch. 23 1, ιωραμ [BAL]).

JERUBBAAL (יְרֻבַּעַל, ιεροβααλ [BAL]; but in Judg. 632 αρβααλ [B], δικαστηριον του βααλ [A]; 7 1 ιαρβαλ [B]; ιροβααλ [A]; 8 29 ιεαρο. [B]; 1 S. 12 11 ιεροβοαμ [B]; 2 S. 11 21, JERUBBESHETH, ιεροβοαμ [BA], -αλ [L]; cp JEROBOAM), a second name of Gideon, or perhaps the name of a second hero whose career has been fused by the narrator with that of Gideon (Judg. 6 32 7 1 etc.).

Explained in Judg. 632 as if 'Let Baal contend,' though the narrative itself rather implies 'He who fights against Baal.' Wellhausen (*TBS*, 31) suggests Jerubbaal = Jeruel = Jirmejahu, —*i.e.*, 'he whom God has founded' (founds). But JERUEL [*q.v.*] is very doubtful, and Jerubbaal may be = Urubaal *i.e.*, 'city of Baal,' or may come from Jerahmeel. Areli, or rhber Uriel, was a Gadite; so perhaps was Jerubbaal. See ARELI, GIDEON, JERUBBESHETH. T. K. C.

JERUBBESHETH (יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת; for 𝔊 see JERUBBAAL), the form assumed by the name Jerubbaal in MT of 2 S. 11 21. *Besheth* is usually supposed to be = *bosheth*, 'shame'; Jerubbesheth, for Jerubbaal, would thus be ∥ to Ishbosheth for Ishbaal. For Jastrow's divergent view (Bešeth = Bašt, a Babylonian deity) see ISHBOSHETH.

JERUEL (יְרוּאֵל, ιεριηλ [BAL], *IERUEL* [Vg.], Pesh. reads differently). The wilderness of Jeruel was the place where Jehoshaphat was directed by JAHAZIEL to look for the invading army. The enemy had mounted the ascent of Hazziz (see ZIZ), and reached a *wādy* (נחל), the upper part of which was 'before'[1] this wilderness (2 Ch. 2016).

'Jeruel' may in all probability be emended to יזרעאל—*i.e.*, 'Jezreel' in Judah—the situation of which (near Cain, Carmel, and Maon) suits the description in 2 Ch. 20. No doubt the 'watch-tower in the wilderness' (*v.* 24) was a well-known landmark. See JEZREEL, 2. T. K. C.

JERUSALEM

CONTENTS

1. The name. The English spelling of the name 'Jerusalem'—which is common to many modern languages—was derived by the AV of 1611, through the Vulgate, from the 𝔊 ιερουσαλημ,[1] and approximates to what was probably the earlier pronunciation in Hebrew, Yĕrūshālēm. Yet notice, below, the persistence with which, through Assyrian, Syriac, and Arabic, the initial syllable is given as Ur-.

The pronunciation Yĕrūshāláim (יְרוּשָׁלַםִ, in pause יְרוּשָׁלָםִ) was adopted by the Massoretes in conformity with the fuller spelling Yĕrūshāláyim (ירושלים) which appears in five passages of the OT (or, according to Baer, in three, Jer. 26 18 Esth. 26 2 Ch. 32 9; in the other two, 1 Ch. 3 5 and 2 Ch. 25 1, Baer reads לַםִ) as well as upon some Jewish coins, which belong either to the reign of Simon the Maccabee, 142-135 B.C., or to the revolution against Rome, 66-70 A.D. (Eckhel, *Doctr. Nummorum*, 3 466 *ff.*, Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 66-71; cp Schür. *Hist.* 2 379 *ff.*). The termination ־ַיִם has been variously explained as a dual indicative of the double city,[2] or as a local termination (Barth, *NB* § 194 c. n. 1). This fuller spelling, however, occurs only in later passage: and inscriptions and is probably due to the same attempt as was made to convert other geographical terms into a Hebrew form (cp Del. ***Par.*** 182). The earlier spelling of the consonants, the Greek transliteration, Ιερουσαλημ, the Aramaic Yerushlem (יְרוּשְׁלֶם, Ezra 5 14 6 9; יְרוּשְׁלֵם, Ezra 4 20 24 5 1; cp 4 12 5 2 Dan. 5 2 *f.*) and the Hebrew contraction שָׁלֵם (Ps. 76 3 𝔊 ἐν εἰρήνῃ),[2] prove that the earlier Hebrew pronunciation was Yerushalem. Cp SALEM.

In the Tell el-Amarna letters, *circa* 1400 B.C., the name appears as U-ru (or Uru)-sa-lim (Berlin collection, Nos. 103, 106, 109; Winckler, *Thontafeln von Tell el-Am.*, 306, 312, 314; Sayce, *RP*(2), 5 60 *ff.* 72 *f.*). Compare the Syriac Urishlem, ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. On the Assyrian monuments the transliteration is Ur-sa-li-im-mu (Del. ***Pur.*** 288, Schr. *COT* 2 214). [See further Haupt, *Isaiah*, *SBOT* (Heb.), appendix to note on אריאל, Is. 29 1.]

Various etymologies have been suggested both for the Hebrew and for the cuneiform forms of the name; but the original meaning still remains uncertain.

On the supposition that the name was originally Hebrew, several derivations (besides the Rabbinic fancies, 'sight' or 'fear of peace') have been proposed: *e.g.*, יְרוּשׁ שָׁלֵם, 'possession of

[1] The 1611 version has Ierusalem in the OT and Apoc., but Hierusalem in the NT.
[2] See Ges. *Thes.*, *s.v.*

[1] Cp CHERITH, col. 740, n. 3.
[2] Whether the narrator of Gen. 14 18 means Jerusalem by Salem, the city of Melchizedek, is still disputed, and the decision of the question is embarrassed by the uncertainty attaching to the date of his narrative. If the chapter is early, Salem can hardly mean Jerusalem; but many critics now assign to it a very late date (WRS). [Cp MELCHIZEDEK.]

peace' (Rel. and others), and יְרוּ שָׁלֵם (from ירה) 'foundation of peace' or 'of Shalem' (Ges. *Thes. s.v.*; Buhl, *Lex.*(12), *s.v.* ירה; Grill, *ZATW*, 4134 *ff.* ['84]). Sayce interprets the cuneiform U-ru-sa-lim as 'city of (the god) Salim' (*RP*(2) 561, *Crit. Mon.* 176); but his reading of **a** line of the letter (Berlin Coll. 106) in which he says this 'fact is plainly stated' is not confirmed by other scholars, and Zimmern (*ZA*, **'91**, p. *263)* opposes his interpretation.

Later forms of the name are due to the fashion which prevailed in the Greek period for Hellenising Hebrew proper names.

This is responsible for the initial aspirate in the 𝔊 Ἱερουσαλημ, and for such forms as Ἱεροσολυμα 'the sacred Solyma,' Σολυμα (probably from Shalem) having been, according to Josephus (*BJ* vi. 10 1), the original name of the city.[1] Philo calls it Ἱερόπολις. The NT has both Ἱερουσαλημ and τα Ἱεροσολυμα, the Vg. in different codd. *Hierusalem* and ***Hierosolyma***, and *Ierusalem* and *Ierosolyma*. The Greek and the Latin classical writers use Ἱεροσολυμα (*e.g.* Polyb. 16 3*a*), ***Hierosolyma*** (*e.g.*, Pliny, *NH* 5 *14)*.

When Hadrian rebuilt the city after destroying it in 135-136 **A.D.,** he named **it** Ælia Capitolina (see ISRAEL, § 115).

2. Name of Hadrian's city.

Hence Ptolemy's Καπιτολιας. Ælia was for long the official name (*so* also with Euseb. Αιλια, and Jer. *Ælia* in the **US**) and even passed over into Arabic as *Iliya* (Yāḳūt 4592). One of the Arabic forms of the Hebrew name preserves the first vowel of the cuneiform transliteration, Aurishalamu (Yāḳūt *386): other* forms are Shalamu, Shallamu (Le Strange, ***Pal. under Moslems***, 83). The Arabs, however, commonly designate Jerusalem by epithets expressive of its sanctity, Beit el-Makdis, el-Mukaddas, el-Muḳaddis (Yāḳūt 4590; *Tāj el-'Arūs* 4214), or in the modern vernacular, el-Ḳuds esh-Sherif, or more briefly el-Kuds, 'the sanctuary.' Compare the full designation on the Jewish coins cited above, ירשלם קרשה or ירשלים הקדשה, and the NT designation ἡ ἁγία πόλις, Mt. **45** 27 53. Modern Jews, Levantines, and native Christians use the Arabic form Yerusalim.[2] ***G.* A. S.**

I. SITE AND EXCAVATIONS

3. Excavations.

The history **of** Jerusalem exploration dates from the year 1833, when Bonomi, Catherwood, and Arundale succeeded in obtaining admission into the Haram enclosure and made the first survey of its buildings. In 1838 and 1852 the city was visited by the famous American traveller Robinson, and his bold impeachment of the traditional topography, whilst raising a storm of controversy, laid the foundation of a truer understanding of the antiquities of Jerusalem.

In *1849* Jerusalem **was** surveyed **by** Lieutenants Aldrich and Symonds of the Royal Engineers, and maps by Vandevelde, Thrupp, Barclay, and others were subsequently published. In 1860-63 De Vogüé explored the site of the temple.

All these earlier attempts were, however, superseded in 1866 by the ordnance survey executed by Captain (now Lieut.-General Sir Charles) Wilson, R.E., whose plans of the city and its environs, and of the Haram enclosure and other public buildings are the standard authorities on which all subsequent work has been based. During the years 1867-70 excavations of **a** most adventurous description were carried on by Captain (now Lieut.-General Sir Charles) Warren, R.E. The results, especially in the vicinity of the Haram, were of primary importance, and many stoutly contested theories have now succumbed to the testimony of the spade.

During 1872-75 some further explorations were carried on by Lieutenant (now Lieut.-Colonel) Conder, R.E. [In 1874 Mr. Henry Maudslay examined the rock cuttings and scarps W. of the Cœnaculum above W. er-Rabābi. Later Herr Guthe made some excavations, discovering the continuation of the wall partly laid **bare** by Warren to the S. of the temple Area;][3] while for many years **a** most valuable series of observations of the levels of the rock beneath the rubbish on which the modern city stands was carried out by Herr C. Schick, architect.[4] [In *1881* the 'Siloam inscription' was accidentally discovered near the month of the tunnel leading from the 'Virgin's Spring' (see CONDUITS, § 4*f.*). The erection of many modern buildings has led to the discovery from year to year both of original levels and of ancient structures reared upon them. Finally, from *1894* to 1897 the Palestine Exploration Fund conducted a series of underground explorations to the S. of the present city. Starting from the end of Maudslay's excavations at the Protestant Cemetery to the S. of the Cœnaculum, Mr. F. J. Bliss, assisted by Mr. A. C. Dickie, laid bare a line of walls (of various dates) round the S. end of the **W.** hill across the mouth of the Tyropœon and thence N. along Ophel hove the Kidron valley. Their work included also excavations and the discovery of levels within this area: the recovery of **a** fifth-century chapel at Siloam, of the wall of Eudocia (about *450* A.D.) enclosing the Siloam pool; and of the Crusader's wall on the SW. hill, dating 1243 A.D., which enclosed the Church of the Apostles. Stairs also were found leading up the Tyropmon valley from Siloam (see Neh. 3 15); but the recovery of any very ancient walls is doubtful.][1]

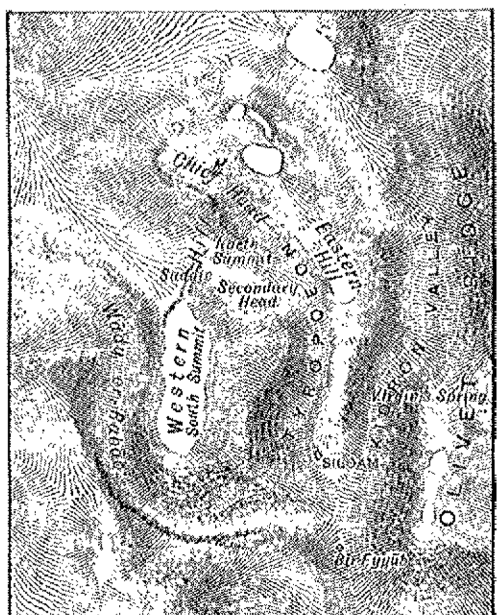
[1] The reading Ἱεροσαλημην C. *Ap.* 1 22 **is** suspected: *ibid.* τὰ Σολυμα ὄρη. Josephus gives **a** fanciful derivation in C. *Ap.* i. *34.*

[2] *ZDPV*, 17 257.

[3] *ZDPV* 1882.

[4] See the results in the ***Memoirs of** the **Survey of Western Palestine***, Jerusalem Volume *1883*, and for further contributions by Herr Baurath Sdhick to the exploration of Jerusalem see ***PEFQ*** for subsequent years to the present date; as well as various volumes of the ***ZDPV.***

The present account of the city is based on the results which have thus been obtained by actual exploration; but, although so much has been done during the last thirty years to clear up disputed questions, much still remains to be accomplished.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

4. Site.

The geographical situation of Jerusalem (the dome of the Holy Sepulchre church) has now been determined by trigonometry to be 31° 46' **45"** N. lat. and 35° 13' **25"** long. **E.** of Greenwich.

i. *Situation.*—The city stands at the southern extremity of a plateau which shelves down SE. from the watershed ridge of Judæa (here somewhat contorted), between the ridge and the chain of Olivet.

About a mile N. of the town the ridge coming from the N. *is* deflected towards the W. at an elevation averaging 2600 feet above the Mediterranean, and thus passes clear of the city on its W. side. From this ridge at the point of deflexion an important spur with steep and rugged eastern slopes runs out SE. for a mile and **a** half, and thence southwards for **a** mile and a quarter more. The spur culminates in **two** principal summits, the most northerly 2725 feet above the sea, the second (now crowned with **a** village and **a** minaret) *2650* feet above the same level (there is **a** third summit or knoll on the S. terminating the spur and rising to an elevation of *2410* feet). To this chain (more especially to the central summit with the minaret on it, now called *Jebel eṭ-Ṭōr*) applies the name Olivet.

The plateau N. of Jerusalem between the Olivet chain and the main watershed ridge is drained by two

[1] Yet see Bliss and Dickie, ***Excavations at Jerusalem,*** 1894-97 *PEF*, Lond., *1898.*

Aat open valley heads which form a junction about half a mile N. of the NE. angle of the modern city.

ii. *Boundaries of Site.* — *(a)* The valley thus formed becomes a deep ravine, with sides steep and in places precipitous, running immediately beneath and W. of Olivet for a distance of a mile and a half from the junction mentioned above (i.) to a well called *Bīr Eyyūb*, where the bed is 1979 feet above the Mediterranean and **430** feet below the termination of the Olivet chain. It is this valley, the 'brook' (*nāḥal*; see BROOK) Kidron, that bounds the site of Jerusalem on the E. (*b*) The western boundary is a second waterless valley (W. er-Rabābi) which has its head in a shallow depression NW. of the city close to the watershed. Running first S. for about half a mile, and then—rapidly deepening and flanked by low precipices—trending E. for another half mile, it joins the Kidron in an open plot close to the Bir Eyyiib mentioned above (*a*). The second valley thus flanking Jerusalem on the W. and S. encloses an area half a mile wide and rudely quadrangular,—the seat of the city itself whether ancient or modern. The Bir Eyyūb is probably ancient. It was rediscovered and opened by the Franks in 1**184** A.D.

The site thus generally described, standing on spurs of hill surrounded on three sides by valleys **300** to 400 feet deep, is a natural fortress. Its weakness is its imperfect supply of water.

5. Geology.

There is only one spring anywhere near the city. namely that in the Kidron valley, about seven hundred yards above the junction with the western ravine, now called the 'spring with steps' (*'Ain Umm ed-Derej*), or the 'Virgin's spring' (cp § 12, end). The scarcity of springs (see below, § 11) is explained by the geological conformation.

The vicinity of Jerusalem consists of strata of the Eocene and Chalk formations, having a general dip down from the watershed of about 10° ESE.

The action of denudation has left patches of the various strata; but generally speaking the oldest are on the W. The upper part of the Olivet chain consists of a soft white limestone, known locally as *Kakūli*, with fossils and flint-bands belonging to the Upper Chalk; beneath this are—first, a hard silicious chalk, *Mezzeh*, with flint bands, secondly, a soft white limestone, *Meleki*, much used in the ancient buildings of the city; thirdly, **a** hard dolomitic limestone, often pink and white, and then known **as** Sta. Croce marble. [These beds account for the natural drainage of the city, the water sinking through the porous Meleki, and issuing in **a** spring only where thedolomitic limestone comes towards the surface in the Kidron valley.] The underlying beds, belonging to the period of the Greensand, are not visible, the lowest strata in the Kidron precipices belonging to the Lower Chalk epoch.

The actual position of the city at various times has differed but little in comparison with other capitals. The outline of the small spurs concerning which so many famous controversies have arisen is now much obscured by the accumulation of rubbish, which has been increasing ever since the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 44[10]). There is an average depth of from **30** to 40 feet of this debris throughout the town, and the foundations of the modern houses often stand upon it. In the valleys there is a depth of 70 feet, and E. of the temple in one place shafts were sunk 120 feet before the rock was reached. The natural features of the ground, although unaltered and traceable to a practised eye, are thus less sharply accentuated than in the ancient period of the city's history. **As,** however, we have now several hundred actual observations of the rock levels in an area of 210 acres, there is no difficulty in recovering the general features of the ancient natural site of the town.

6. Ancient levels.

The quadrangle included between the two outer valleys described above (§ **4** ii.) is split **up** by a valley, the Tyropaeon of Josephus, into two main spurs,—that on the E. being the temple hill, that on the W. (divided in its turn into two summits) the scat of the upper city.

7. Heights and valleys.

The Tyropeon is both shallower and broader than the boundary ravines noticed already (§ 4 ii.), its depth averaging **only** from 100 to 150 feet below the crests of the ridges. Its real head is immediately outside the present Damascus gate and the N. wall of the modern city, whence it runs with a curved course southwards to join the Kidron just above the junction with the western boundary valley (W. er-Rabābi), **a** distance of about 1600 yards. There is, however, a second affluent or head of the central Tyropmon valley on the **W.** side of its main course—a kind of dell or theatre-shaped depression extending westwards for more than **300** yards, and measuring not quite zoo yards N. and S.

Thus while the eastern Jerusalem ridge is unbroken, the western is divided into two summits, joined by a narrow saddle which separates the secondary head of the Tyropaeon valley just described from the upper part of the western boundary valley (the W. er-Rabābi; § **4** ii.).

Of the two western hill tops, that towards the S. is the larger and more lofty.

It has a trapezoid shape, and terminates on **all** sides in steep slopes, sometimes precipitous, and its only connection with the watershed is by the saddle mentioned above, which is scarcely ***50*** yards in width. This high southern hill measures 2000 feet N. and **S.** by about 1300 feet **E.** and W. The highest part is towards the **W.,** where the level of the flat broad summit is about 2520 feet above the Mediterranean. The smaller northern **knoll** or hill top, bounded on the **E.** by the great central (Tyropeon) valley of Jerusalem, on the S. by the theatre-shaped (branch) valley which separates it from the high southern hill, and on the W. by a small subsidiary depression running N. rises to a summit not more than 2490 feet in elevation, or **30** feet below the flat top of the larger southern hill.

The eastern ridge, on which the temple stood, has a height towards the N. of about 2500 feet: it then becomes narrower, and is artificially divided by a deep rock-cut trench running E. and W.

Its original form within the temple enclosure was that of a rounded top with a steep western slope and a more gentle gradient on the **E.,** the level of the ridge falling from 2460 to 2300 feet in a length of about 500 yards. The S. end of this ridge is formed by a tongue of ground between the Kidron and the shallow central (Tyropeon) valley, falling rapidly southwards in 400 yards to a level only 50 feet above the valley beds.

The identity of the present Haram (or sanctuary) with the ancient temple enclosure is undisputed, the only question which has arisen being whether the present boundary walls coincide with the outer ramparts of Herod's temple enclosure. The Haram is a quadrangle containing 35 acres, the interior surface roughly levelled, partly by filling up with earth the portions where the rock is lowest, partly by means of vaulted substructures of various ages.

8. The Ḥaram.

The most important results of Sir Charles, Warren's excavations were those connected with the exploration of the rampart walls, which measure **1601** ft. on the **W.,** 922 on the S., 1530 on the E., and 1042 ft. on the N., the SW. angle being 90° and the SE. 92° 30′. The height of the wall varies from **30** to 170 ft. On the W., on the S., and on the E. for probably 1090 ft. from the SE. corner, the masonry is all of one style, the stones being of great size with a marginal draft,—the imperfect finish of the faces in some of the lower courses apparently showing that the foundation-stones were never visible above the surface. The N. part of the **E.** wall consists, however, of masonry differing somewhat from the rest, the finish heing rougher and the stone of inferior quality. It was found that this wall is continued for some distance beyond the NE. corner of the present area. The present N. wall is of masonry of quite a different kind, and appears to he much more recent, the substructures immediately inside being only as old as the twelfth Christian century. The NW angle is formed by a projecting scarped block of rock measuring **350** ft. E. and W. and **50** ft. N. and S., the height above the interior court being about **30** ft. On this scarp stand the modern barracks, and **a** fosse 60 ft. deep and 165 ft. wide is still traceable outside the rock on the N. A valley bed 100 ft. below the level of the Haram court **ran** across the NE. portion of the area into the Kidron; and S. of this' the remains of a scarp running **E.** and W. have been discovered, but are not **as** yet completely explored. The prolongation of this scarp eastwards cuts the **E.** wall of the Haram at the point, 1090 ft. from the S. angle, at which the change in the character of the masonry described above probably occurs.

The evidence thus obtained seems to indicate that an area of about seven acres and a half has been added to the ancient enclosure on the NE. to give it the present quadrangular form, and the 'rougher masonry on the E. appears to have belonged to the city wall constructed by Agrippa, not to the older wall of Herod's temple.

At the SW. angle of the Haram enclosure are the remains of an ancient arch (Robinson's arch), 42 feet span, belonging to a bridge across the Tyropmon, the W. pier of which Sir Charles

Warren discovered, **as** well as the fallen voussoirs, lying on a pavement **40** ft. beneath the surface, whilst under the pavement 20 ft. lower was found the voussoir of a former bridge on the same site (cp Jos. *BJ* i. 7 2).

At the SE. angle of the enclosure Sir Charles Warren found beneath the surface remains of an ancient wall of finely drafted masonry abutting on the E. rampart of the Ḥaram, and here some unexplained marks in red paint and **a** few well-defined letters of **a** Semitic alphabet were discovered on the lower stones. The buried wall runs southward for 250 yards at **a** height of 70 ft., and is held to be part of the wall of Ophel (§ 3). The base of **a** great projecting tower also was laid bare, and identified by the discoverer with the tower of Neh. 3 25. Another noticeable discovery was the fact that **an** ancient aqueduct is intersected by the W. Haram wall, which must consequently be more recent than the rock tunnel thus destroyed.

The facts thus ascertained allow of the identification of the great walls still standing with those that supported the outer cloisters of the temple enclosure when the edifice was reconstructed by Herod, who doubled the area of the temple enclosure of Solomon (*BJ* i. **21** 1).

9. Temple area.

Herod took away the ancient foundations and made a quadrangle extending from the fortress **of** Antonia ($ *28)* to the royal cloister to which a great bridge led from the upper city (BJ vi. 6 2) 'whilst the eastern limit was formed by the Kidron ravine', the Ophel wall joining the plateau of the temple at the SE. angle (*Ant.* xv. 11 5 ; *BJ* v. 4 2).

The scarped rock at the NW. angle of the Haram, with its outer fosse dividing the temple hill from Bezetha (§ 30), answers exactly to Josephus's description of the tower of Antonia (*BJ* v. **58)** and thus serves to identify the NW. angle of the ancient enclosure with the corresponding angle of the modern Haram. The correspondence of the SW. angles **of** the two areas **is** established by the discovery **of** the great bridge (above, § 8), and that of the SE. angles of the same by the exploration of the Ophel wall. The northern boundary of Herod's temple probably coincided with the scarp already described (§ 8), 1090 ft. N. of the SE. angle.

The area of the temple enclosure was thus, roughly, a quadrangle of 1000 feet side, from which the citadel of Antonia, as described by Josephus, projected on the NW. (cp *BJ* vi. **5 4**).

Outside the temple area the lines, natural and artificial, of the various city walls can now be traced with some certainty.

10. City walls.

i. Upon the N. this task is rendered difficult, partly by the facts that the distinctive natural features are few, and that the ground is largely covered bv buildings.

(a) The first of the three walls described by Josephus **(see** below), followed in its northern portion **a** line W. from the Temple enclosure to the N. of the western hill now called Zion. Excavations for the foundations of honses have revealed here more cliffs and steep slopes. Its NW. angle was at the present citadel, where there is a large scarp; thence it ran S. along W. er-Rabābi.

(6) Of the second wall nothing has been discovered—nnless the masonry laid bare in 1883 on the rising ground to the W. of the Patriarch's Pool belonged to it [see, however, § 32].

(c) The line of the third wall coincided with certain scarps and rocks to the E. of the present Damascuct eate. Robinson observed remains of it which have disappeared.–

[ii. We turn now to the walls recently discovered on the **S.** of the city.

(a) From the fosse by the tower base found just outside the English cemetery above W. er-Rabābi, Bliss traced **a** line of wall SE. for 150 ft. to **a** corner tower and thence E. to the Jewish cemetery (see Plan). This line consists of **a** lower and an upper wall of two distinct periods (§§ 30, **33**). The lower wall was recovered emerging from the E. side of the Jewish cemetery, and followed to **a** ooint S. of the Pool of Siloam where it forms an angle with **a** tower. Near this angle are the remains of a gateway, displaying proofs of three periods, with a drain that was subsequently traced below a paved street N. up the Tyropceon Valley. From the towered angle the wall—displaying like the gateway signs of three periods—was followed N. across the mouth of the Tyropeon, enclosing both the Old Pool and the Pool of Siloam, and up the ascent of Ophel; whence it seems to have been carried by Guthe's scarp to the wall traced by Warren from the SE. corner of the Temple area.

(*b*) SW. of the Old Pool another line **of** wall was observed branching NW. to the *inside* of the Old Pool and the Pool of Siloam.

(c) A third line of wall making use probably of Maudslay's scarp and running thence NE. was found, enclosing the top of the western hill. For other discoveries made, see above, § 3.

Bliss dates from Solomon's time Maudslay's scarp, and the earliest wall on the line round the top of the western hill. The lower wall on the long outer line from Mandslay's scarp to the angle at Siloam and thence to the SW. angle of the temple area he assigns to the later Jewish kingdom. In Herodian times he thinks this wall curved inside the Old Pool and the Pool of Siloam. At all later periods the S. wall of the city followed the line from Maudslay's scarp along the western hill—except in the time of Eudocia, who, he thinks, built the more recent wall on the longer line round by Siloam and up Ophel to the SW. corner of the Temple area (Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-97*, Pal. Expl. Fund, London, 1898).][1]

11. Water-supply.

The natural water-supply of Jerusalem is from the Virgin's Spring mentioned above (§§ **3**, end ; 5), which comes out from beneath the Ophel ridge in a rocky cave (12 feet deep in the eastern face of the hill) reached by flights of twenty-eight steps. The water flows intermittently, rising from beneath the lowest steps, at intervals varying, according to the season and the rainfall, from a few hours to a day or even two days. This is due to a natural syphon which connects the spring with an underground basin.

From the Virgin's Spring an aqueduct[2] runs south in a rock-cut tunnel 1708 feet in length, through the Ophel ridge to the Pool of Siloam[3] (now *Birket Silwān*). The Pool of Siloam is a rock-cut reservoir with masonry retaining-walls measuring **52** feet by **18** feet (see below), having a rock-cut channel leading from it Southeastwards to a larger pool (the 'Old Pool') formed by damming up the flat valley-bed with a thick wall of masonry close to the junction of the Kidron and the Tyropeon. A rock-cut passage leads from the Virgin's Spring westwards to the foot of a shaft which reaches the surface of the ground 120 feet above and 180 feet west of the spring. The rock tunnel to Siloam mentioned before was known in the seventeenth century; but the shaft (which formed a secret entrance to the one spring of Jerusalem), was discovered by Sir Charles Warren (§ 19, last note). The water of Siloam was originally sweet; but it has been fouled and made bitter since the twelfth century. From the reservoir it runs southeastwards some 450 yards to the *Bîr Eyyūb*[4] referred to already (§ 4, ii.), a well 125 feet deep. The original Pool of Siloam is now known to have been 52 feet square, and a channel led from it some 150 yards td Roman baths on the S. W. of the temple hill is an underground cave-well now called Ḥammām esh-Shefā, under the west Haram wall.

The remaining reservoirs of Jerusalem are fed by aqueducts and by the rains.

West of the city, at the head of W. **er-Rābābi,** is the rock-cut Māmillā Pool. Lower down Hinnom, opposite the SW. corner of the present walls, is *Birket es-Sulṭān*, constructed in the twelfth century. Since the fourteenth century these two tanks have been erroneously named the Upper and Lower Pools of Gihon : with more probability some have identified the Māmillā with the Serpent Pool of Josephns (*BJ* v. 3 2)]. Inside the city, near the west, is the Patriarch's Pool (the ancient Amygdalon or 'Tower Pool,' *BJ* v. 11 4).[5] Immediately N. of the Haram are the Twin Pools made by roofing in part of the ancient fosse, and the *Birket 'Isrā'īn*, measuring 360 by 130 ft., and apparently constructed after the great destruction of 70 A.D.

The Twin Pools just mentioned were identified in the fourth century with Bethesda; but since the twelfth that name has been given to the *Birket 'Isrā'īn*. The site of Eethesda (sometimes even supposed to be Gihon) is still doubtful.

1 Conder is of opinion that the remains of a wall discovered by Guthe on this line on the E. of Ophel are from Byzantine and crusading periods.

2 In *PEFQ St.*, '86, p. 197 ; '89, pp. 35 *ff.* ; '90, p. **257**, a second aqueduct is described. It **is** above ground, **a** channel **cut** in the rock of Ophel outside the eastern line of the ancient walls. But there is still doubt as to whether it was connected with the Virgin's Spring. Conder regards it as modern.

3 For **a** translation of the inscription found here in June 1880, see CONDUITS, § 5.

4 'Job's' (but perhaps meant for Joab's) Well, or EN-ROGEL.

5 [ברכת מגדלין Hellenised by Josephus to Ἀμυγδαλον. The modern name is *Birket Ḥammâm el-Baṭrak;* a tradition without any grounds ascribes it to Hezekiah.]

[A little to the NE., outside the city wall is the *Birket Ḥammām Sitti Mariam*, probably of mediaeval construction.] Another fine reservoir has been found N. of *Birket 'Isrā'īn* and **W.** of the Church of St. Anne. It was known in the twelfth century, when it was called the 'Inner Pool.'

There were three aqueducts to supply the many reservoirs.

One, constructed by Pilate *(Ant.* xviii. 3 2), led from the so-called pools of Solomon, 7 m. distant, to the temple, and still conveys water when in repair; its course appears on the map. The second, from the same locality, probably fed the Birket Māmillā, but is now lost. The third from the N., collected surface drainage and led underground 'to the temple enclosure (a distance of 2000 feet). The great reservoirs in this enclosure, about thirty in number, were capable of holding a total supply of ten million gallons of water. *C. R. C.*

II. ANCIENT JERUSALEM

[The earliest historical notice of Jerusalem appears in the Amarna Letters, *circa* **1400 B.C.** (ISRAEL, § 6).

12. Earliest times. Seven of these (Berlin Coll. 102-106, 174, 199; Wi. *Thontafeln von Tell el-Am.* 179-185) are from a certain Abd-ḫiba (so Winckler; -ḫēba, Zimmern and W. Max Muller; ṭaba or ṭob, Sayce and others), the ruler of Jerusalem and vassal of the king of Egypt. The decipherments by various Assyriologists differ in details; but with Winckler we may take the following to be the substance of what the letters say regarding Jerusalem. Abd-ḫiba speaks *of* the 'land of Jerusalem,' which appears to have stretched S. and SW. through part of what was afterwards Judah.

Abd-ḫiba describes himself as owing his position 'to neither father nor mother'; and the phrase has been interpreted as analogous to 'Melchizedek, King of Salem,' in Gen. 14 18. But as Abd-ḫiba also calls the territory of Jerusalem his paternal territory (Berl. Coll. 102, *l.* 13, according to Winckler's translation), his reiterated claim that not father or mother, but the strong arm of the king of Egypt[1] gave it to him is merely the protestation of his subjection to the latter and abjuring of **all** thoughts of independence.

Like other Syrian vassals of Egypt Abd-ḫiba had been slandered as disloyal. He protests that all he had said was that the king's power was certain *to* be overthrown, unless the king sent help to his vassals. Abd-ḫiba himself has sent tribute and begs for troops to withstand the Ḫabiri. He was unable to assist the king's caravans that had been robbed in Ajalon and is innocent in the case of certain Kaši or negro-troops of the king who have suffered. All this proves that by **1400 B.C.** Jerusalem had already been for some time the fortified capital of a small territory under hereditary princes: it was possible by garrisoning it to hold that territory against invaders. It is to be noted that the garrison deemed necessary appears to be described as very small (Berl. Coll. **103,** *l.* **4**; cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* *276)*.

There are no grounds for supposing that at this time Jerusalem was famous for a shrine or oracle (see § 1; also below, footnote); it is not advantageously situated for trade, nor is the immediate neighbourhood at all fertile. In all these respects it must have been less important than its neighbours on either side,—Bethel and Bethlehem. Probably it was no more than a small mountain-fortress surrounded by a small village. These would naturally be on the E. hill, at the foot of which *(see* above, § 5) is found the only spring.

In the next **400** years, between Abd-ḫiba and the time of David, we have at the most one or two

13. Next 400 years. references to Jerusalem, and these are of doubtful historical value. The Yahwistic narrative, in Judg. 1 7, relates that after his defeat and wounding by Israel (on their invasion of Western Palestine), a chief Adoni-bezek or (Josh. 10 1 E) ADONI-ZEDEK (*q.v.*) was brought to Jerusalem—presumably by his own people, for *v.* 21 (from the same source) adds that Jerusalem was not taken by Israel.[1] One of the older sections of the Elohist narrative,[2] Judg. 19 10*b*, describes the city as at that time in the hands of the Jebusites and called JEBUS [*q.v.*].

The Yahwist (Josh. 15 63) describes the Judahites as unable to 'dispossess the Jebusites who inhabited Je[illegible]u[illegible]; the Jebusites live with the Judahites in Jerusalem to this day.' In drawing the boundary between Judah and Benjamin the priestly writers [illegible] either the W. or the E. hill (according as we ta[illegible] th[illegible] valley of H[illegible] [illegible] W. er-Rabābī or the Tyropœon (see below, § 24) [illegible] the shoulder' or [illegible] the Jebusite (Josh. 15 8 18 16), [illegible] assign Je[illegible] to [illegible] which an editor of Judg. [illegible] as [illegible] ted '[illegible]' 'Judahites' in the parallel Josh. 15 63 [illegible] see BENJAMIN, § 8*a*. The Jebusites are likewise represented in the story of David (2 S. 5 6, cp [illegible] 24 16 18: 'Araunah the Jebusite') as in possession of Jerusalem a[illegible] [illegible] the land' [illegible] David's capture of the [illegible] came into possession of Jerusalem we [illegible] knowing. In all probability th[illegible] were [illegible] of the Ca[illegible]anite and therefore Semitic tribe of [illegible]estine. [illegible] appear [illegible] line with the others in [illegible] li[illegible] of Can[illegible] tribes (see CANAAN, and Dr. on Dt. 7 1): JE Gen. [illegible] 16 15 20, Ex. 3 8 17 (perhaps Deuteronomist); 33 (? 34 [illegible], Nu. 13 29 (*v.* [illegible] they are [illegible] with Hittites [illegible] Amorites to 'the mountain,' the Canaanites dwelling by the sea and along Jordan); D[illegible] 13 5 23 23, Dt. 7 1 20 17, [illegible] 3 10 9 1 11 3 12 8 24 11*b*, Judg [illegible] K 9 20 (=2 Ch [illegible]); [illegible] in Ezra 9 [illegible] Neh 9 8, [illegible] This [illegible] with [illegible] Semitic [illegible] in JE, the writers of [illegible] lived when J[illegible] still fou[illegible] Jerusa[illegible], J[illegible] 63), and the geographical position of the [illegible] justify us in assuming its Semitic ch[illegible] The name A[illegible] S[illegible]; and so too [illegible] (see also ARAUNAH). [illegible] while the pre-Israelit[illegible] Jerusalem were [illegible] certain[illegible] called Jebusites, he[illegible]y that th[illegible] city itse[illegible] was called Jebus is doubtful. The name is found only in Judg. 19 10 *f.* and in 1 Ch 11 [illegible] passage [illegible] has evidently [illegible] W[illegible] we [illegible] Jerusalem at least from 1400 B.C. onwards (cp Josh. 15 63 = J[illegible] 17 21 and 2 S. 5 6); it may have had two names; [illegible] Jebus can hardly be reckoned a later insertion in Judg 19 10 *f.* Yet Jebus may [illegible] been a [illegible]graphical [illegible] *i.e.* f[illegible] the tribal territory [illegible] from wh[illegible] the write[illegible] [illegible]ngly [illegible] ferre[illegible] it to the cit[illegible] or possibly it was artificially formed from Jebusite at a time wh[illegible] name Jerusalem was forgotten [illegible]

Th[illegible] exact [illegible] of the Canaanite enclaves in [illegible] earliest [illegible] of Is[illegible] of the [illegible] is unk[illegible]; but probably the inhabitants lived in peaceful intercourse with [illegible] H[illegible] [illegible] the s[illegible] of [illegible] proves [illegible] J[illegible] remained [illegible] small [illegible]

Jerusalem lay on the highway which runs N. and S. lo[illegible] the b[illegible] of the central range b[illegible] at some

14. Strategic value. distance from any of the roads crossing the range, in a comparatively unfertile and badly-watered district, and without an important shrine. These reasons as we have seen (§ 12) account for its historical insignificance at a time when its neighbours Hebron, Bethlehem, Gibeah, Bethel, and Jericho, each of which possessed one or other of the advantages it lacked, already played considerable parts in the history of the land. Probably also its insignificance was the reason of the willingness of the Israelites to leave it alone.

The one feature of political importance possessed by Jerusalem—besides its military strength—was that it lay a neutral spot on the border of two Hebrew tribes, Judah and Benjamin, destined shortly to be rivals. The keen eye of David caught this feature, and to his choice of a position so indispensable to him in the political exigencies which ensued upon his call to the kingdom of all Israel (2 S. 5 3) (and not to those fictitious virtues of position with which some scholars have invested the site), Jerusalem owes that sovereign rôle which it has played in the history of Israel and Christendom.

David's previous capital Hebron lay too far south to he a centre for all Israel. The choice of one of the historical sites in Benjamin or among the northern tribes

[1] Berl. Coll. 102, *l.* 12 Sayce renders 'prophecy of the mighty king'—*i.e.*, the god Salim. He therefore takes Abd-ḫiba to have been a priest appointed by oracle. Both Zimmern and Winckler, however, read *arm*; it is at least more natural to take 'mighty king' as the king of Egypt.

[1] Verse 8 which contradicts *v.* 21 (cp Josh. 15 63 J) is a post-exilic addition to the narrative.

[2] So Moore, *SBOT* 'Judges,' but it may be J. See, however, BENJAMIN, § 5.

[3] [On the tribal character of the population of old Jerusalem cp note on text of 2 S. 5 6 8 in *Crit. Bib.*]

would have aroused the jealousy of Judah. Jerusalem was neutral and without traditions. It commanded the main line of communication between N. and S., was favourably situated for the immediate military requirements of Israel against Philistia, and offered a fortress of considerable strength (cp DAVID, § 10, ISRAEL, § 17 *ff.*).

As history proved, Jerusalem's aloofness and dry surroundings were of advantage to the capital of a country *so* much in the way of foreign invasions whether of arms or of culture. The whole Judaean plateau is isolated and Jerusalem commands it; army after army of the great empires crossed the plains below and left this mountain town alone; the narrowness of the passes leading to the plateau and the scarcity of water on it held hack some invaders' and probably repelled at least one other after he had reached the walls of Jerusalem.[2] 'It is very significant that neither of the two greatest invaders of Judæa, who feared a real defence of her central plateau, ventured upon this till he had mastered the rest of Palestine and occupied strongholds round the Judaean border.'[3] Nor was the neighhourhood of the desert, the borders of which are hardly an hour from its gates, a disadvantage; a hand could be kept on the nomad tribes, or in case of an irresistible siege the desert would he, as it often proved, a refuge to which the garrison might cut their way. The whole land of Israel is small: Jerusalem is distant from the sea only **33** miles, from Jordan about **18,** from Hebron **19,** and from Samaria **34** or **35.**

The Jebusite citadel was deemed impregnable, and the garrison at first laughed at their assailants (2 S. 5 6).

15. David. [Cp Wi. *GI* 2 197, and *Crit. Bib.*] Yet 'David took the stronghold' or 'hill-fort (מְצֻדָה) of Zion' and dwelt in the fort and called it 'the town' or 'burgh of David.' He carried the fortifications 'round about from the Millo inwards' (*Ib.* 9); the description is obscure, hut may refer to wider walls thrown round the town helow the fort.

Within these walls David built a house for himself with the aid of Tyrian craftsmen and materials, and brought up the ark **of** Yahwè to a tent. Before his death, in order to build an altar to Yahwè, he purchased (2 S. 24 8 *ff.*) from a Jebusite (see ARAUNAH)—a proof that Israelites and Jebusites continued to live peaceably together—a threshing floor, which became the site of the temple built by Solomon.

The site of the 'City of David' forms the fundamental question of the topography of Jerusalem.

16. 'City of David': Josephus's view. i. The view of Josephus (*BJ* v. **41**) which has been the current traditional view, and prevailed among Christians as early as the fourth century,[4] identifies Zion with the southern eminepce of the western hill (see above, § **7**) and places David's city there. This view, accepted by Reland and by Robinson (*BR* 1 388 *ff.*), was **up** to the time of the latter unassailed (*LBR*, 206).[5] Since the detailed English survey it has been defended chiefly by Colonel Conder (*Tent Work*, new. ed. 192; *PEF Mem.*, 'Jerusalem' **95**; Hastings' *BD* 2 591),[6] who places the fort which David took on the southern and higher end of the W. hill and even follows Josephus in identifying the Millo with the lower city on that hill to the N.

1 *e.g.*, Richard Lionheart.
2 Cestius Gallus in 66 A.D.
3 Vespasian and Saladin. See the present writer's *HG*, 298.
4 See Bordeaux *Pilgrim* of 333 A.D., and Eus. and Jer. OS.
5 It was also accepted by Ritter, Williams, De Vogüé and Stanley.
6 Sir Charles Warren also placed Zion on the western hill **but** at the N. end (*PEF Mem.* 'Jerus.' 93), yet he appears now to have abandoned this view, for he says that 'it appears that to accept the Ophel spur as the city of David or Zion, and the high pround east of the Holy Senulchre as the Millo or citadel of the ancient Jerusalem will satisfy the various data in the C T, the bool s of Maccabees and Josephus' (Hastings' *BD* 2 387); of recent g ographers Henderson (*Palestine*, 1884), Stewart (*La d of Israel*, 1899), and most maps place Zion on the **W.** hill.

17. Birch's view. In **1878** (*PEFQ*), however, Mr. W. F. Birch attacked the traditional view and reasoned for the location of David's town on the south end of the eastern hill. In **1881** Stade[1] presented this view, and in the same year Robertson Smith argued for it in detail and with great force. In **1883** Sayce supported Birch's opinion in two papers in the *PEFQ* and affirmed that 'no other is now possible.' Since then it has commanded the adherence of a majority of experts in the subject.

See Guthe, ***ZDPV*** 1883; Sir Charles Wilson (*City and Land*, '92, 19 *f.*); Smith's *BD*(2), art. 'Jerus. p. 1648); Socin and Benzinger in Baedeker's *Pal.*(3), 25; Benzinger, *HA*, 1894; **Buhl,** *Geogr.* ***des Alt.*** **Pal.** 132; Ryle on Neh. 3 15 (*Camb.* Bible *for Schools*); Driver (Hastings' *DB* 2 554); Warren (*ib.* 386 *f.*); Bliss *Excav. at Jerus. 1894-1897*, pp. 287 *ff.*; practically also Davidson, *The* Exile and Restoration (Bible Class Primers); cp V. Ryssel in ***ZDPV*** 23 96.

There can be little doubt that this view, which places the city of David on the southern part of the eastern (temple) hill, also called Ophel, is correct: for (*a*) it suits the natural conditions; (6) it does most justice to the language of the historical hooks of the OT, taken along with the archæological discoveries on Ophel; and (*c*) it is confirmed by the oldest post-biblical tradition.

18. Suits natural conditions. (*a*) The new view suits the natural conditions. We have already seen (§ 12, end) that the early Canaanite hill-fort cannot have been raised on the W. hill, for that is far away from the only known spring of the district, the present Virgin's Well (§ 5), anciently called Gihon. in the Kidron Valley. The fort probably rose somewhere above this spring on the E. hill The hill has been very much altered in shape; but there appears to have risen to the S. of what afterwards became the temple plateau, an independent summit, separated from the temple site by a natural hollow in the rock. The existence of the hollow is not certain; hut Guthe's excavations have rendered it probable.[2] The hollow seems to have run on to the Kidron Valley not far from the spring. In all probability the rock to the S. of the hollow was once higher than at present (see below, in § **27** iii., the probable occasion of its reduction); the hill sinks rapidly into the Tyropceon and almost precipitously into the Kidron valley; in front to the S. there is the long gradual slope to the Pool of Siloam.[3] This height is by no means an unlikely position for a fort: the summit of the W. hill (which overtops the present summit of Ophel) is nearly **600** yards away; but above all Ophel commands the spring. The long slope, covering some **15** or **16** acres, may easily have held a large village, which could he extended into the surrounding valleys, and np their opposite slopes.

19. Suits biblical and archæological evidence. (*b*) This view also does most justice to the language of the historical books of the OT, taken along with the archaeological discoveries on Ophel.] G. A. S.

It is necessary at the outset to clear away the popular idea that the capital of David was already a great town, occupying a site comparable in extent with that of the later city.

Certainly if all the Levites and sacred ministers mentioned in Chronicles were actually assembled at Zion in David's time, we might conclude that the town was already a capital on a grand scale. But the Chronicler constantly carries back later institutions into primitive times, and the early history, which alone can be viewed as a safe guide, gives quite another picture. Zion was merely one of the 'mountain fortresses' found all over Palestine as places of refuge in time of invasion, and was garrisoned by a handful of mercenaries (the *Gibbōrīm*). The whole levy of Israel in David's time was but 30,000 men (2 S. 6 1; cp the 40,000 of Judg. 5 8), and before the development of

1 *GVI* 1 267 *f.*
2 ***ZDPV,*** 1883, p. 271 *ff.* Conder denies that there is any evidence for the existence of the hollow.
3 'Gradually sloping down through a horizontal distance of moo ft. Its highest point near the Triple Gate is 300 ft. ahove its foot at the Siloam Pool. The descent into the valley of the Kidron is very steep (about 30°) and the natural surface of the rock is covered with *débris* from 10 to *50* ft. in height.' Warren *PEF Mem.* 'Jerus.' 368.

trade among the Hebrews Jerusalem had not the natural conditions for the growth of a great city. In the first instance the town doubtless consisted mainly of the court and its dependants, with the Jehusite population, who must have been predominantly agricultural and limited in number by the limitation of their territory.

Now it is quite incredible that the temple hill was ever excluded from Zion.

Throughout the OT Zion appears as the holy mountain, the seat of the sanctuary. It is true, at the same time, that Zion and the site of Jerusalem are interchangeable ideas in Hebrew literature; but this only proves that the mountain of the sanctuary was essentially the mountain on which the city stood.[1]

Further, it is clear, from *1* K. 8 *1 f.* *2* S. 24 *18*, that the temple stood above the city of David, as elsewhere in Hebrew holy places the sanctuary crowned the hill on whose slopes the town stood. Moreover, the graves of the kings, which were certainly in the city of David, encroached on the temple enclosure[2] (Ezek. 43 *7 f.*), which indeed at the time of the captivity was closely built up (*ibid.*), and stood in the middle of the city (Ezek. 11 23). Again, Mi. 4 8 identifies the ancient 'tower of the flock,' the original seat of the kingdom at Jerusalem, with 'Ophel of the daughter of Zion'; and Ophel is one of the few topographical names that can be traced down to the time of Josephus, whose description shows that it lay to the SE. of the temple.[3] Still more precise is the determination given by references to the one fountain of Jerusalem, which, as we have seen (§ 5), springs out under the temple hill on the E. According to Neh. *3* 15 12 37, the city of David was reached by a stair in the vicinity of the fountain gate and the pool of Shiloah.[4] This ascent led up above David's palace to the water gate (see § 24), where in Nehemiah's time there was an open space in front of the temple (cp Neh. 8 1 16 with Ezra 10 9). Thus we see that David's palace lay between the temple and the pool of Shiloah or King's pool (Neh. *2* 14). These notices are the more important because the water system connected with the Virgin's spring forms one of the few certain parts of Jerusalem's topography. The spring itself is Gihon, which from its name must have been a true spring, whilst 2 Ch. *33* 14 teaches us to look for it in the Kidron valley (נחל). The subterranean conduit in which the famous inscription was found had for its object to conduct the water inside the city, and appears to be that constructed by Hezekiah (2 K. 20 20).[5] In Is. 22 9 11 we read of a lower pool and an old pool (no doubt identical with the upper pool, Is. 7 3; *2* K. 18 17), whose waters were collected in the time of Hezekiah, under apprehension of siege, in a reservoir between the two walls. From this passage, compared with Neh. *3* 15, we gather that Hezekiah's pool was protected by an outer line of fortification, and here lay the gate of the two walls (2 K. 25 4),[6] with the royal gardens beside them.' The supplementary notices of the conduit and the outer wall, given in Chronicles, have not the weight of contemporary history; but they show the writer to have still possessed the same tradition as to the place of the city of David, for he describes its outer wall as running along the Kidron valley W. of Gihon (*i.e.*, so as to leave the fountain outside, 2 Ch. *33* 14; cp 32 3 *f.*), and tells us that Hezekiah's conduit brought the water of Gihon in a westerly direction to the city of David (chap. 32 30).[2]

20. And early post-biblical. (c) Birch's view is also confirmed by the oldest post-biblical tradition. According to the First Book of Maccabees, *circa* 100 B.C. (*e.g.*, 4 37 5 54 7 33), Zion was the temple hill. *So* also in 1 Esd. *8* 81 (probably, too, Judith 9 *13*) and Ecclus. 24 10. It is true that Josephus, as we have seen (§ 16), identifies Zion with the Upper City of his time on the SW. hill; but his statements as to the topography of the city of David and Solomon are of no independent value; he possessed no sources except the OT (§ 27 i.). [Nor did the early Christian tradition altogether follow Josephus. Origen (@ *Joan.* *4* 19 *f.*) makes Zion and the temple hill identical: and though Eusebius and Jerome in the OS place Zion on the W. hill, Jerome in his *Comm. in Jes. 22* 1 *f.*, seems to take the other view. The rise of the prevalent Christian tradition would appear to have been assisted by the building of Constantine's Church of the Resurrection and Basilica on the NW. hill; just as, no doubt, the anticipation of the prevailing view by Josephus was due to the rise of Herod's palace with the great towers on the same ridge (cp Sir C. Wilson, Smith's *DB*(2), art. 'Jerusalem' p. 1651).]

According to the OT, then, the city of David lay on the southern part of the hill which his son crowned with the temple.

21. Royal buildings. The chief feature in the fortifications was a tower named 'the Millo' [(הַמִּלּוֹא, probably meaning a solid, not a hollow, tower; cp *ZPDV* 1 226, but also MILLO); its site is quite uncertain: modern scholars are divided between the E. and the W. hill. We have no means of determining whether David's city included more than the E. hill. If it was confined to this then the wall ran up the W. edge of Ophel above the Tyropœon valley. It is significant, however, that after careful examination, Bliss found no remains of a city wall, and such scarps as he uncovered appear to have been made only for dwellings or cisterns.[3] The new wall assigned to David (*1* Sam. 5 9) may have been built round an increase of his city in the Tyropœon and on the lower slopes of the W. hill;[4] yet if the Tyropœon, as Robertson Smith argues (see § 24), was the *gai* of Hinnom in which the heathen sacrifices afterwards were offered and the Canaanite quarter lay, its inclusion in the city in David's time would not be possible.] The town had but little splendour. The king occupied a wooden palace, the work of foreign craftsmen; and the ark still dwelt in curtains. Under Solomon, who had the true Oriental passion for building and luxury, and squandered enormous sums on his court, great improvements were made, especially by the erection of the twin palaces 'the house of Yahwè and the house of the king,' constructed of stonework strengthened by string courses of wooden beams in the still familiar style of Arabian building. The palace, which took nearly twice as long to erect as the temple,

1 The explanatory note of an editor in 1 K. 8 1, 'the city of David, which is Zion,' cannot be strained to mean that the removal of the ark from the city of David to the temple was its removal from the mountain of Zion to another hill.

2 [This is not held by all who agree with Robertson Smith in placing the city of David on the eastern hill. Sayce supposes the tombs *to* have been hewn in the cliffs above the Pool of Siloam (*PEFQ*, '83, p. 219). Clermont Ganneau (*Rev. Critique*, '83, p. 329 *ff.*, *PEFQ*, '98, p. 164 *ff.*) thinks that the southern curve of the Siloam tunnel was due *to* the necessity of avoiding the royal vaults, which ought to be found on the N. of the curve. Jewish traditions certainly placed these tombs near to the Kidron and connected them with it by a tunnel, affirming that their position was known up to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. See *PEFQ '85*, p. 192 *f.* Nehemiah (*3* 15 16) mentions the tombs in close connection with Siloam and apparently to the E. of it. G. A. S.]

3 Whether the whole of the southerly slope of the eastern hill, or if not, what part of it, was called Ophel (='swelling') are questions we cannot answer.

4 The fountain gate is the gate beside Shiloah, which is itself called the fountain (πηγή) by Josephus (*BJ* v. 4 *1*).

5 [The Shiloah or conduit in existence in the reign of Ahaz (Is. 8 6), may have been the conduit above ground which leads from Gihon round the Ophel hill. See however above, § 11 n.]

6 [This is a much more probable explanation of 'the two walls' than Benzinger's (*HA* 50 *n.* 1), that the W. and E. hills had parallel lines of walls on either side of the Tyropeon. As we have seen, no trace of any such lines of wall has been seen by Bliss, who has, however made clear the existence of a wall outside the two pools of Shiloah and probable the existence of another running inside them in agreement with the above explanation of Robertson Smith.]

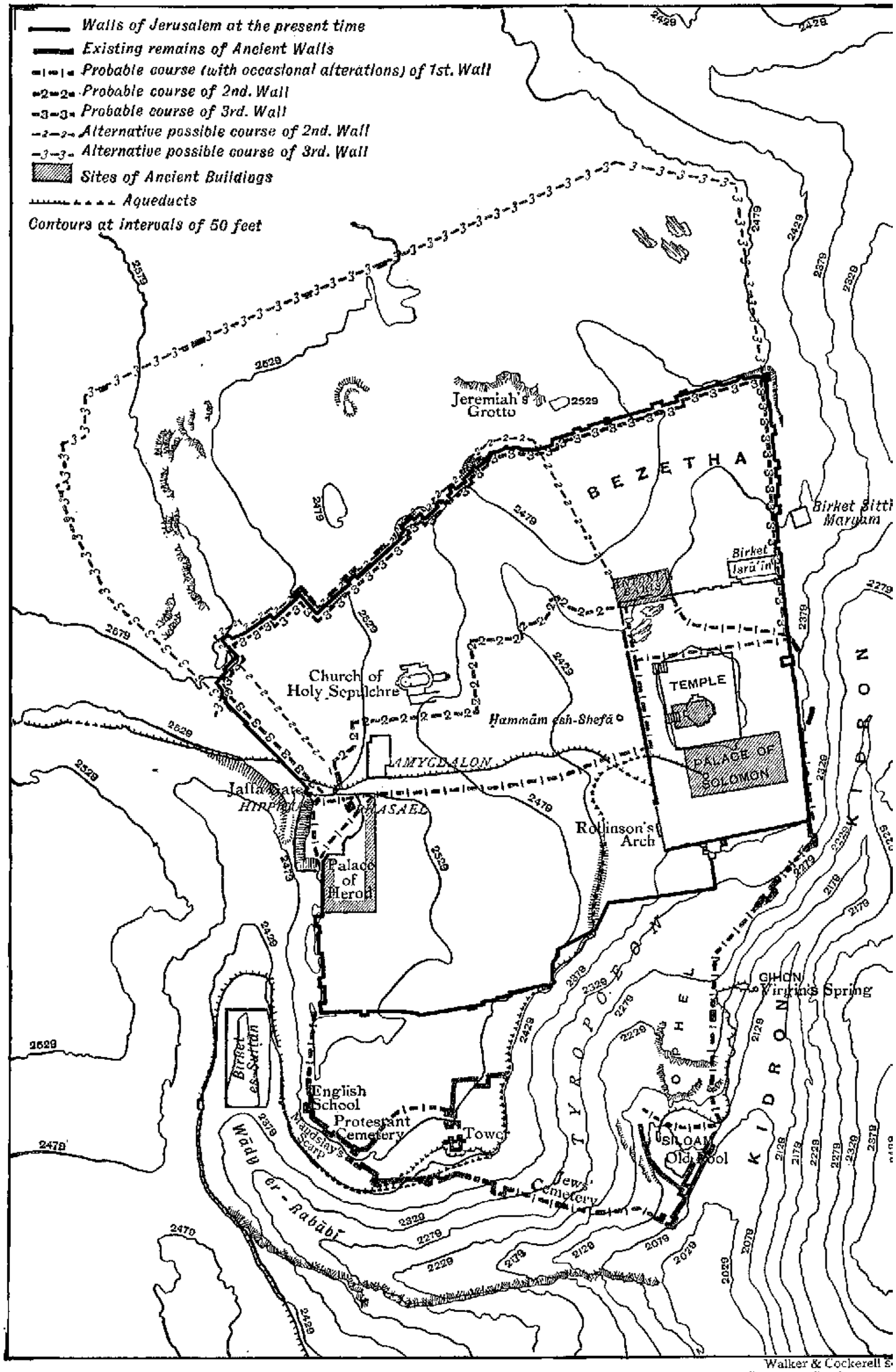
1 2 K. *25* 4 Jer. 39 4 Neh. *3* 15.

2 [Hezekiah's conduit is not the only rock-cut passage in Ophel in connection with the Virgin's Spring. Sir Charles Warren (see *PEF Mem.* 'Jerus.' 366 *ff.*) discovered at the end of the serpentine tunnel from which the conduit breaks off, a perpendicular shaft 44 ft. high, and above it a series of sloping passages issuing in a vault three-quarters of the way up the hill and due W. from the Virgin's Spring. See § 11.]

3 *Excav. at Jerus.* '94-'97, 173 *ff.* with plate.

4 So Benzinger, *HA* 45.

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ENCYCLOPAEDIA BIBLICA, 1901.

consisted of a great complex of buildings and porticos, including the porch of judgment, an armoury, and the palace of the queen.

The site of the palace has been variously assigned by topographers. It lay above the old residence of David[1] (1 K. 9 24), and all the indications given in the OT lead us to place it quite close to the temple, with which its porticos seem to have been connected (2 K. 16 18 23 11). Wellhausen indeed, from an examination of 1 K. 6 *f.*, has made it probable that the royal buildings lay within the outer court of the temple (Wellh. *CH*(3) 264). The clearest details are connected with a court of the palace called the prison court (Jer. 32 2), where there was a gate called the prison gate, and a great projecting tower (Neh. 3 25-27). This part of the building must have been close to the temple, for it was at the prison gate that the second choir in the procession of Neh. 12 halted and stood 'in the house of God,' meeting the other choir, which ascended from Shiloah by the stair above David's house and reached the temple at the water gate. It appears further from Neh. 3 27 that the fortifications of the prison were adjacent to Ophel, so that the palace seems to have stood about the SE. corner of the temple area.[2] [On the temple and the other buildings of Solomon see further Stade, *GVZ* 1 311 *ff.*, as well as Benzinger's *HA*, and Nowack's; and on the relevant text of Kings, Benzinger in the *KHC*, also Stade, *ZATW* 3 129-177 ('83).]

22. Solomon's Jerusalem.

[The extent of Solomon's Jerusalem is quite uncertain. The rise of a considerable foreign trade, the rapid increase of wealth, the splendour of the court, the multiplication of officials, and the incursion of many foreigners must have greatly enlarged the city; but whether the new population was settled in suburbs, or the walls of the city were extended to receive them, we cannot determine. Many of those who hold that David's city was confined to the E. hill believe that Solomon threw walls (1 K. 3 1 9 15) round the W. hill (Sir C. Wilson, Smith's *DB*(2), 'Jerus.,' 1648; Buhl, *Pal.* 135). On this hill two divergent lines of fortification have been laid bare by Bliss, following the excavations of Maudslay and others. From the so-called Maudslay's scarp (see plan), which Bliss takes to be the (probable) SW. angle of Solomon's city, a line of scarp runs NE. across the brow of the SW. hill towards a rectangular line of wall on the slope of the hill above the Tyropœon. From this Bliss infers a continuation to the present S. wall of the city at Burj el-Kebrit and so across the Tyropœon to the E. hill. If this was the) line of Solomon's wall, Bliss takes the lowest strata on the other line laid bare by him SE. from Maudslay's scarp to Siloam round the S. end of the W. hill to be a farther extension of the walls made by kings after Solomon. All this is still very uncertain; and it is possible that the W. hill was not inclosed within walls before the exile (see below, § 28). G. A. S.]

23. Pre-exilic.

After the division of the kingdoms Jerusalem was shorn of its political glory. The city itself was taken by Shishak in the reign of Rehoboam, and lost the riches accumulated by Solomon. The great houses of Omri and Jehu quite overshadowed the kingdom of Judah, which forgot its weakness in the reign of Amaziah only to receive signal chastisement from Jehoash, who took Jerusalem, and partly levelled the walls (2 K. 14 8 *ff.*). The decline and fall of Samaria raised the relative importance of the southern capital; the writings of the prophets show that wealth had accumulated and luxury increased, and so we find King Jotham adding an upper gate in the northern or higher court of the temple (2 K. 15 35 Jer. 36 10 Ezek. 9 2), whilst Hezekiah, as we have already seen (§ 19), laboured for the improvement of the water supply, and so rendered the city more capable to resist siege. [Whatever additions had been made by this time on the W. hill, it is clear from Hezekiah's conduit in Ophel that on the latter lay still the citadel and chief part of the city.[1]] The later history in Chronicles adds details of fortifications erected by Uzziah and Manasseh, which probably express the oral tradition current in the author's day. In the later days of the monarchy Jerusalem had so far increased that we read of a second town or quarter (2 K. 22 14 Zeph. 1 10 Heb.; cp Neh. 39); see, however, HULDAH, HASSENAAH, where the true title is represented to have been the 'old city.' There was also a trading quarter called the Maktēsh, inhabited by Canaanites or Tyrians (Zeph. 1 11), who still formed a large part of the mercantile population in post-exilic times (Neh. 13 16 Zech. 14 21). Maktēsh means *mortar,* whence we must suppose that the traders lived in a hollow valley, perhaps the upper part of the Tyropœon (but cp MAKTESH).[2] The main part of the town, however, was still grouped round the temple plateau, from which steep streets ran down the slope of the hill (Lam. 4 1), the houses rising tier above tier, so that the roof tops commanded a view of the environs (Is. 22 1). According to Eastern custom the handicrafts—*e.g.*, the bakers, Jer. 37 21—had their own streets or bazaars.

[Down to the reign of Hezekiah Jerusalem had been simply one of many sanctuaries of Yahwè; although in the eyes of the Judaean prophets (Am. 1 2 Is. 6) Yahwè's dwelling-place was there, Jerusalem was ignored by the great prophets of North Israel and does not seem to have been a place of popular pilgrimage (in the pages of Amos, Bethel, Gilgal, and Beersheba are described as such, while Jerusalem is not). What hope, therefore, was there that it would survive the fate which had overtaken Samaria and all the other Syrian shrines? (cp Mic. 3 12). The extraordinary faith of Isaiah in the inviolableness of Yahwè's 'hearth,' and its wonderful rescue from the Assyrians, at the time when the rest of Judah with the local sanctuaries was overrun by them, effected a vindication of the city, and assisted a change in her religions position which was slowly becoming inevitable in the interests of the sole deity of Yahwè and of the purity of his worship (cp DEUTERONOMY, § 13). The other shrines of Israel, however consecrated by the national history, had all associations with the unpurified popular religion; and just as Jerusalem's freedom from political entanglements in the time of David had, as we have seen (§ 14), secured the choice of it as a capital for all Israel, so now its freedom from religious associations of an impure kind (Zion had never, as we have seen, been the shrine of any god before it was the resting-place of Yahwè's ark) secured the choice of it as Israel's one sanctuary: the only place where sacrifice was permitted, the shrine where Yahwè set his name and to which all Israel were commanded to make pilgrimage three times a year. That this change—rendered inevitable both by the political events and by the religious interests of the eighth and seventh centuries—was codified as law (in the Book of Deuteronomy) and carried into effect by the nation *before* the exilic period, was what prevented the destruction of the city and temple by Nebuchadrezzar in 586 B.C. from being regarded as final, inspired Jeremiah's prophecies of a return, and the hopes and programmes of reconstruction by Ezekiel and other priestly writers (see especially Ps. 51 18). G. A. S.]

24. Nehemiah's walls and gates.

For the compass of the walls of Jerusalem at the time of its capture by Nebuchadrezzar the chief document is the account of the restoration of the fortifications by Nehemiah, who followed the old line, and speaks of the various gates and towers by their old names. His description presents many difficulties, the most intelligible part being that which deals with the eastern wall, from Shiloah and the

[1] So in Neh. 3 25 it is called the upper palace in distinction from the house of David, chap. 12 37.

[2] Another view is that Solomon's palace stood on the western hill, and was connected with the temple by a bridge. But 'the ascent' of the AV of 1 K. 10 5 is not in the original, and seems to rest on a false reading in Chronicles. In Ezek. 44 1-3 the sovereign enters the temple from the east.

[1] [But see below, footnote to § 24, on the difficulty of holding Siloam without fortifying the W. hill.]

[2] [It is doubtful which head of the Tyropœon should be preferred; whether the hollow between the NW. and SW. hills or the other head.]

fountain gate to the point where the temple and the palace joined one another. The western boundary of the city is particularly obscure, and its position must be determined mainly by reference to (1) the *'valley gate'* (Neh. 2 13 3 13). The valley (gai) is used as a proper name, and is no doubt identical with the valley (*gai*) of the son of HINNOM (*q.v.*, § 4), the Kidron valley being always called *nāḥal* (the Ital. *fiumara*). The common opinion makes this *gai* the valley to the W. of modern Jerusalem (Wādy er-Rabiibi), in which case the valley gate must necessarily have occupied much the same position as the modern Jaffa (*Yāfā*) gate, and the whole of the later upper city on the SW. hill must already have been included within the walls. This view, however, is far from being indisputable.[1]

A thousand cubits S. of the valley gate was (2) the *dung gate*,[2] the gate before which lay the rubbish heaps of the city [probably identical with the gate HARSITH].[3] This, on the common theory, must have been about the SW. corner of the hill, near the present Protestant school.[4] Between this point and (3) the ***fountain gate***[5] in the vicinity of the pool of Shiloah is nearly half-a-mile in **a** straight line, and the intervening wall must have been much longer if it followed the natural line of defence.[6] Yet Nehemiah gives no account of this section of the ramparts (Neh. 3 14 *f.*). His record seems to imply that the fountain gate was near the dung gate; and similarly in chap. **12** the procession which went southward to the dung gate is immediately afterwards found at the fountain gate. It is hardly possible that so important **a** part of the circuit should be twice omitted, and in fact the vast lacuna disappears at once if we suppose that the *gai* is the Tyropceon, and that the upper city of Josephus on the SW. hill was not enclosed in the circuit of Nehemiah's walls.

If the *gai* is the Tyropceon the valley gate lay on the Tyropceon, somewhere near the SW. angle of the Haram area, and the wall ran southward along the E. side of the valley,' till at the pool of Shiloah an outwork was thrown out to protect the water-supply.

1 [It is still adhered to by Benzinger, ***HA* 41, and** Buhl, ***Pal.* 94 132, as** if indisputable; for curiously neither of them even mentions the rival view advanced by Robertson Smith.]

2 [שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפֹּת, Neh. **2** 13 **3** 14 **12** 31; ש' הַשְּׁפֹת, **3 13,** from which some have thought the name Tyropœon = 'cheese-making' is derived; as if שְׁפוֹת = cheeses or curds had been substituted for אשפת. But see also WRS *Rel. Sem.*(1) **357** n., (2) **377** n.]

3 Jer. 19 2, according to which it lay on the valley of Hinnom. See HARSITH.

4 [Just S. of the Protestant school Bliss uncovered a gate; hut it is over **2500** feet from the Jaffa gate.]

5 [*The gate between the two* ***walls***, 2 **K. 25 4** Jer. **39 4 52** 7, is probably the same as the fountain gate: see above, § 19; cp *ZDPV* 5 357 8 280.]

6 [The line of wall uncovered here by Bliss measures only about 1950 ft. between the gate S. of the Protestant school and the gates at the SE. corner of the wall S. of Siloam.]

7 [The identification of the Tyropceon with the valley of Hinnoin is accepted by Prof. Sayce, **PEFQ, 1884,** p. **217,** also by Birch, **PEFQ,** 1882, p. 55 *ff.*, and Schwartz, *Das Heil.* ***Land*, 190.** Yet it is not altogether without objection or difficulty. In the first place, the border between Judah and BENJAMIN (§ 8) ran along Hinnom; yet the Tyropœon .. too insignificant a natural feature, in comparison with the valleys o[n] either side of it, to form so important a boundary; especially when in the time of the Priestly Writer, who draws the boundary (Josh. 15 8 18 16), Jerusalem had perhaps grown out across it to the W. hill. Again, as we have seen (§ 21), no line of wall has ever been uncovered on the W. side of the Tyropœon or along the W. slope of Ophel (yet cp the wall described in § 10 ii. *b*). Moreover, it is difficult to conceive that after the reservoirs at Siloam (of which we have evidence in the time of Ahaz) were finished, the W. hill could have remained unfortified. The possession of that by an enemy must have rendered the security of the reservoirs almost impossible. Besides, there is the difficulty of conceiving how the population, during the prosperous times of Solomon and Uzziah, can have been confined to the **E.** hill, unless, of course, we take for granted that there were large suburbs. Then there is the phrase the Second City (but cp above, § 23, first par.), which is suitable to a large extension on the **W.** hill (2 K. **22** 74 Zeph. **1** 10). All this makes it probable that in the time of the later kings the Tyropœon was inclosed in the city; but if that was the case, would the burning of children to Moloch (2 K. **23** 10 Jer. **2** 23 **19** 4 *ff.* **32** 35) have been there? Of course, this difficulty would not affect Robertson Smith's theory, which holds that there was no extension of the city to the W. hill till post-exilic times; but in any case the buryings may have been at the mouth of the valley below Shiloah (Jerome, *Comm. in Jer.* 7 31). For Sir Charles Warren's theory that Hinnom was neither the **W.** er-Rabābi nor the Tyropceon, but a name given to the whole Wādy en-Nār, thus including Kidron, see Hastings, ***BD*** 2 385-388.

G. A. S.]

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Besides simplifying the topographical difficulties of Neh. **3,** this view has several other advantages.[1]

On the received view the Tyropceon is nowhere mentioned in the ***OT,*** though it lay in the heart of the city. This difficulty is removed by the view suggested above, and the third valley (W. er-Rabābi) appears to be quite out of relation to the circuit of the biblical Jerusalem, so that one does not look for much mention of it. Again, we have seen that the Canaanite quarter of the city lay in a hollow—presumably in the Tyropceon—and it is very natural that the seat of Canaanite worship in the valley of Hinnom should be in the vicinity of this quarter. Once more, by placing the valley gate quite near the temple, we understand how it was in this neighbourhood that the sacred procession in Neh. **12** began its course. Even at a much later date the temple hill was the real stronghold of Jerusalem, which Judas and his successors were concerned to fortify with walls. It would have been folly in Nehemiah to enclose **a** much vaster and less defensible circuit when the inhabitants were so few that it was necessary to draft one-tenth of the whole people into the capital (Neh. **11** 1).

The course of the wall N. of the valley gate must still have skirted the base of the Temple hill E. of the Tyropceon. It is not improbable that the Maktēsh or Canaanite trading quarter lay outside the fortifications, a bazaar beyond the gate being common in Eastern towns.[2] From the tower of furnaces (see **FURNACE, § 2, OVEN)** the 'broad wall' ran to the point where in the Persian time the governor of the Syrian provinces had his throne.[3] The throne would stand in an open place by a gateway, and comparison of Neh. **3** 7 with **12** 39 shows that the gate must have been (4) that *of Ephraim*—*i.e.*, the gate of the main road leading to the N., which then as now must almost of necessity have followed the upper course of the Tyropceon, and so would skirt the walls for some distance before entering the city. In fact there were 400 cubits between the gate of Ephraim and (5) the *corner* gate (שַׁעַר הַפִּנָּה, *2* K. 14 13). The corner gate is named also the *first gate*[4] (ש' הָרִאשׁוֹן, Zech. 14 10), and so is probably identical with the *old* gate of Neh. **3** 6 **12** 39 (cp **HASSENAAH).** For obvious engineering reasons the eminence at the NW. of the Haram area must always have been a principal point in the fortifications, and here the old gate may very well be placed. It is indeed possible that this was the site of the ancient bastion of Millo. From the corner gate the N. line of the wall ran by (6) the *fish gate*[5] to the towers of HAMMEAH (*q.v.* on the reading) and **HANANEEL,** the latter of which appears in Zech. (*l.c.*) as the opposite extremity of the city from the royal wine **vats** in the gardens by Shiloah, whilst in Jer. **31** 38 the line between it and the corner gate is named as the natural direction of extension for the city. The tower, therefore, must have stood very near the NE. corner of the wall, but not so far E. as the angle of the Haram area, which is here built out, disguising the natural line of the hillside. From Zech. (*l.c.*) we see that (7) the Benjamin *gate* was at the E. end of the N. wall. There was a road into Benjamite territory over the Kidron (1 K. 2 37), and to this there was a natural descent by a small valley now nearly obliterated, having its head a little S. of the Birket Isrā'īn. Here too is the direct way to Anathoth, which was through the Benjamin gate (Jer. **37** 13). In Nehemiah's record (8) the *sheep gate* seems to have the same position.[6] From the angle near the tower of Hananeel and the Benjamin gate the line of the hill ran

1 [The distance from the **SW.** angle of the Haram area to the upper pool of Shiloah in a straight line, is about 1850 ft., which on WRS's theory that the valley gate **was** near the former and the dung gate near the latter, would give room for the 1000 cubits mentioned by Nehemiah as between these two gates.]

2 In fact at the siege of Titus the wool and clothes market and the hrassworkers' bazaar still lay in much the same **quarter,** in the new city, outside the old line of fortification, **though** within the second wall (*BJ* v. 8 1).

3 See below, § **32.**

4 [Or rather *former* ***gafe.*** Some would identify it with the gate of Ephraim.]

5 [ש' הַדָּגִים, Neh. **3** 3 **12** 39 Zeph. **1** 10 2 Ch. **33** 14; for the name cp Neh. **13** 16, 'the Tyrians brought fish, etc.' A point on the N. wall would be its natural position.]

6 [ש' הַצֹּאן, Neh. **3** 1 **32** **12** 39: **all** place it in the N.]

southwards, trending to the E. At the extreme E. point, beyond the present line of wall, and a little S. of the modern golden gate, must be placed **(9)** the ***horse gate*** (Jer. **31** 40).[1] South of this again came the fortifications of Ophel and the upper palace, and from this point the enceinte swept round to the pool of Shiloah. The lower wall of Manasseh in 2 Ch. 33 14 is described as an outwork in the Kidron valley extending all along the eastern side of the town and round the NE. corner.

[Other city gates mentioned are:—(10) ***the gate of the Miphkādh*** (שַׁעַר הַמִּפְקָד; *miphkādh* perhaps = 'muster'; but cp Ezek. **43** 21 [EV, appointed place], where it seems to be some locality just outside the temple, see HAMMIPHKAD), between the horse and sheep gates according to Neh. **3** 31; (11) ***the middle gate*** (שַׁעַר הַתָּוֶךְ), probably on the N. wall, Jer. **39** 3, by some identified with ***the gate of Ephraim*** (שַׁעַר אֶפְרַיִם); (12) ***the water-gate*** (שַׁעַר הַמַּיִם) is not mentioned by Nehemiah on his circuit of the walls, but appears from Neh. 12 37 (cp *3* 26 8 *1* 3 16) to have been an entrance to the temple courts. Still some take it to he a city gate opening above Gihon. The other 'gates' mentioned in Kings, Chronicles, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were temple doorways or approaches, including those of Jer. 17 19 and **20** 2; with the exception of the two in 2 K. **11** *6*, ***Gate of Sur*** (שַׁעַר סוּר; in 2 Ch. **23** *5*, הַיְסוֹד, 'the foundation') and the *gate of the couriers* (שַׁעַר הָרָצִים), both of which were connected with the palace.

Nehemiah reports the rebuilding of the whole city wall, as it had been before Nebuchadrezzar's destruction of it. The temple was rebuilt before his time (in 518-515). Nehemiah mentions for the first time the castle 'the Birah,'[2] for whose gates he brought timber with him (2 8); it lay on the N. of the temple (see below, § 28). He also mentions 'the king's house' *(3 25)—i.e.*, Solomon's palace—hut does not say what he did with it; we do not hear of it again. The house of the high priest appears to have **lain** to the SE. of the temple (20); those of the priests to the **E.** above the horse-gate (28); 'the Nethinim dwelt on Ophel' *(26)*. David's citadel is not mentioned (but see helow on the Akra, § **27** iii.). There was an upper tower lying out from the king's house' (25), and 'a great tower lying **out**' below the horse-gate **(27)**. G. A. S.]

The long blank in the history of the Jews which follows the time of Nehemiah makes it impossible to trace the progress of Jerusalem in any detail. Under the Persian empire the Jews enjoyed little prosperity.

25. Persian period.

[It is very probable that like their neighbours they suffered much violence; and upon certain ancient traditions of this the hypothesis has been raised that the temple itself was destroyed. Under Artarxerxes Ochus (about 350 B.C.) there was a widespread rebellion in Phœnicia and other western parts of the empire, which was put down with great severity. Syncellus[3] records a battle between Jews and Persians, which resulted in the capture of Jericho (?) and the exile of many Jews to Hyrcania and Babylonia, whilst Josephus *(Ant.* xi. **7** 1) says that Bagōses the general of 'another Artaxerxes,' on a murder being perpetrated by the high priest in the temple, made this the excuse for entering it, and thereby, in Jewish opinion, polluting its sanctuary. The revolt of the Jews, if it took place, was undoubtedly a religious revolt; and it is easy to believe that Ochus or his general Bagoas punished it, as they punished similar revolts in Egypt and Phœnicia, by the devastation of the temple. Robertson Smith suggested that the story of Josephus about the minor defilement of the temple by Bagōses is really a pragmatical invention designed partly to soften the catastrophe of the Jews, and partly to explain it by the sin of the high priest. This has been accepted by Cheyne, and both scholars have transferred to the campaign of Bagoas Pss. *44*, *74*, and *79*, which describe a destruction of the temple and were generally regarded as Maccabean.[4] The occurrence of such a catastrophe, however, is by no means certain, or accepted by all authorities.[1] It is possible that the psalms cited refer to the destruction of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Soter in 320 (see next §). (On the historical points involved, and on the reference of these Psalms and of Is. **64** 10 *f.*, cp ISAIAH ii. § **21**; PSALMS.) G. A. S.]

[The Greek period of the history of Jerusalem opens with Josephus's charming story *(Ant.* xi. 8 3 *ff.*) of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem after the capture of Gaza, and of the sacrifice he offered in the temple. There is nothing impossible either in the visit or (even) in the sacrifice;[2] still they are not mentioned by any ancient Greek author. Alexander is not likely to have turned back from Gaza on Jerusalem with Egypt still unsubdued; and, as Ewald remarks, the whole tone of Josephus's narrative is unhistorical (see ALEXANDER).

26. Greek period.

In 320, according to Appian *(Syr.* 50), Ptolemy Soter 'destroyed (καθῃρήκει)' Jerusalem. *So* tragic an event can scarcely have happened without some echo in Jewish literature, and it is possible that some of the Psalms usually referred to the time of Ochus or Antiochus Epiphanes date from this destruction by Ptolemy. Josephus *(Ant.* xii. **1**; c. *Ap.* i. 22) quotes a confirmation of the capture of the city from Agatharchides of Cnidus (middle of 2nd cent. B.C.), who represents it as due to the unwillingness of the Jews to fight on the Sabbath, and Josephus adds that Ptolemy led a great many Jews captive into Egypt (see PTOLEMY). The subsequent struggles between Ptolemy and Antiochus for the possession of Palestine appear to have been limited to the seaboard,[3] and, *for* Jerusalem, a long period of prosperity followed. Ecclus. **50** records a series of embellishments under Simon the Just, *circa* 300: the repair of the temple and the building of substructures and upper walls around it; an alteration on the brazen sea of the temple; and the strengthening of the city walls (after their destruction by Ptolemy). The city's prosperity, fostered by Ptolemy Philadelphus, culminated in the high-priesthood of Simon II. (219-199 B.C.). In 203 Palestine passed from the Ptolemies into the hands of the Seleucids; but in 199 Scopas retook Jerusalem and set an Egyptian garrison in the citadel. In **198** the Jews assisted Antiochus to expel the garrison, and by treaty with Egypt in the following year the Seleucids were confirmed in their possession. On the accession of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, vigorous measures were taken to Hellenize Judæa (ISRAEL, § 70), and after the struggles of Menelaus and Jason for the city Antiochus entered it (169 B.C.), plundered the temple, destroyed the walls, and placed a Syrian garrison in a new citadel, and an altar to Zeus on the altar of Yahwè (Dan. 11 31).]

When Judas Maccabæus reconstructed the temple (165) he also fortified the holy mountain of Zion (the temple hill) with wall and towers, 1 Macc. 4 60. Once more rased by the Greeks (6 62 9 54), the walls of the city were renewed with hewn stone by Jonathan (10 10 *ff.*).

It is plain from 1 Macc. 4 60 67 10 11 that up to this time the fortified city was still identical with the temple hill; but a new topographical problem is raised by what is related of the citadel (Akra) erected by Epiphanes to dominate the town.

27. The Akra.

i. *Robertson Smith's view of site: N. of temple.*—The Akra is identified by the author of 1 Macc. with the city of David. It continued to be held by the Greeks after the town was fortified by the Maccabees, and indeed was ultimately reduced by the erection of a special wall cutting off the Greek garrison from access to the city and market *(12 36)*. The natural inference from all this is that the Greek citadel lay on the temple hill, and

1 [ש׳ הַסּוּסִים]. According to Neh. 3 28 it lay on the SE. corner of the temple; it had been connected with the palace, 2 K. **11** 16 2 Ch. *23* 15.]

2 הַבִּירָה. The name is in Hebrew only post-exilic and is thought to be borrowed from Assyrian, in which *birtu* = 'castle.'

3 Ed. Dindorf, 1 486.

4 WRS, *OTJC*(2) 207 438 *ff.*; Che. *Introd. to Isa.* 358 *ff.*

1 Cp Davidson, *Crit. Rev.*, '93, p. 19; A. R. S. Kennedy, *Exp. T.*, '92, p. 247; Che. *ib.* 320.

2 Cp Schürer, *Hist.* **1** 187, *3* 301.

3 Diod. Sic. xix.; Pseud.-Hecat. in Joseph. c. *Ap.* 1 22.

presumably on the site of the later Antonia, N. of the temple.[1] The temple hill is certainly the Zion of 1 Macc.; and the city of David, with which the Akra is identified, had always meant the fortress of Zion. The same result seems to follow from the language of Josephus.

When Josephus lived, Jerusalem was almost a new town. Under the Maccabees, and again under Herod, the prosperity of the Jews was greater than at any previous time. The sanctuary was a centre of pilgrimage from the most distant lands, and the sovereigns of Jerusalem had an empire greater than any of the kings after Solomon. The growth of the city must have been enormous, and the great buildings of Herod and his successors had wholly changed its aspect, especially in the quarter of the temple and on the western hill where the royal palace stood. These changes were very apt to mislead an uncritical writer with regard to the ancient topography, and in fact Josephus falls into a radical blunder by assuming that the fortress of David belonged to the upper city, like the royal castle of his own day,[2] and that the western hill had always heen part of Jerusalem.

Of Jerusalem as he himself saw it Josephus gives a vivid description (*BJ* v. 4 1). The city stood on two hills divided by the Tyropœon valley, into which the houses descended tier beneath tier. The higher (western) hill was called the upper market, the lower (eastern) hill across the Tyropœon was the citadel hill, and was called indifferently the Akra or the Lower City. That this Akra included the ridge S. of the temple is clear from several marks: the hill was ἀμφίκυρτος, 'hog-backed'; it was cut off by ravines on the outer side, and had a continuous approach to the temple, which stood on the higher ground; finally, it extended to Shiloah at the mouth of the Tyropœon.[3] Thus we see that though Josephus himself has lost the true tradition as to the city of David, he furnishes additional proof that the citadel hill, still identified with it by the author of 1 Macc., was no other than the eastern hill.

ii. *Robinson's* ***view*** : *W. of* ***temple.***—A different view of the Akra was maintained by Robinson, and has been elaborated by Sir Charles Warren and Colonel Conder[4] in connection with better observations as to the two heads of the Tyropœon valley. It is maintained that the Akra was a knoll, W. of the temple hill and N. of the traditional Zion, between the two heads of the Tyropœon (§ 7). To gain any show of plausibility for this view, it is necessary to lay great weight on a statement of Josephus that the temple hill was once a third eminence lower than the Akra, and divided from it by a broad ravine, and that Simon after taking the Akra destroyed the citadel, and laboured for three years to reduce its site below the level of the temple plateau and fill up the intervening hollow (*BJ* v. 4; ***Ant.*** xiii. *66*). This story is probably exaggerated, for, according to the early and trustworthy evidence of 1 Macc. 13, the Akra was not destroyed, only purged, and strengthened by additional fortifications on the sacred mountain. In any case we know that the Akra was opposite the temple, and that in the time of Josephus there was no longer a ravine between, whereas the city opposite the temple to the W. was still cut off by the deep Tyropœon (***Ant.*** xv. 11*5*), except where a bridge led to the palace on the western hill. Nor is it possible that the western branch of the Tyropœon can he the deep ravine which, according to Josephus, separated the upper and the lower city, for that head is the theatre-shaped basin described in ***Ant.*** xv. 11*5* as facing the temple across the ravine.

iii. [***Third view*** : S. *of temple.*—Though the Akra proper must thus have lain on the E. hill it is by no means certain that the view expressed above by Robertson Smith, that it lay N. of the temple on the site of the later Antonia, is correct. It may have lain to the S. of the temple,' on the site which, as we have seen (§ 18), must have been occupied by the old Jebusite fortress, that is to say, on the higher ground opposite the temple plateau, beyond the deep hollow in the rock described in § **18**. If there be any truth in the account of Josephus, that Simon reduced the rock of the Akra to a level lower than the temple plateau, and filled up the intervening hollow, this would account for the disappearance of the conspicuous rock from this part of the hill as well as for the fact stated by Josephus, that the hollow was no more in his day (about this he cannot he in error). Further, under the Akra lay the gymnasium or 'place of exercise' which the high-priest Jason constructed (2 Macc. 4 12): for this a most likely spot would be either the Tyropœon or the Kidron Valley below the S. end of the temple plateau. It was probably on the same site that Herod built his Hippodrome, and this, according to Josephus (***Ant.*** xvii. 10 2; *BJ* ii. 3 1) lay to the S. Finally, notice the association of the Akra with Shiloah in *BJ* v. 6 1. G. A. S.]

Under the Hasmonean dynasty we meet with the first unambiguous evidence that the city had extended to the loftier western hill, where a new palace was erected overlooking the temple (*Ant.* xx. 8 11). This continued to he the royal quarter, and was raised to great splendour by Herod, who covered a vast extent of ground with his palace, its courts, and its pleasure grounds. The palace of Herod embraced two edifices transcending the temple in magnificence; and the three enormous adjoining towers, Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamme (***Ant.*** xvi. *52*; *BJ* v. 4 3), made the upper city the strongest part of Jerusalem. Here also in Herod's days stood the xystus or gymnasium, beneath the Hasmonean palace, where a bridge spanned the Tyropœon. The bridge was already there under the later Hasmoneans, when the new quarter had as yet minor importance, and the temple hill was still the only citadel. Here the warlike high priest Hyrcanus usually dwelt in the castle (βᾶρις, בירה[2]) which Herod afterwards converted into the fortress of Antonia (so called by him after Mark Antony) in the NW. corner of the enceinte of the temple (***Ant.*** xv. 114; *BJ* v. 58). Antonia had the form of a square keep, with loftier towers rising pinnacle-like at the corners. It commanded the temple and therefore the whole lower city, and by its two staircases the Roman soldiers descended into the porticoes of the temple to keep order among the worshippers (cp Acts 21 35). [The soldiers in Herod's palace and the towers would he only those which formed the guard of the Roman Procurator.[3] Another tower built by Herod was Psephinus, § **32** iii.]

28. Hasmoneans: western hill; Antonia.

When Pompey besieged the temple hill in 65 B.C. the bridge (§ 28) was broken down, and the Tyropœon afforded a complete defence on the W. Pompey's assault was made from the N., where there was a strong wall with towers and a deep fosse which was with difficulty filled up to permit the advance of Pompey's siege train.[4] This fosse must be identified with the rock-cut trench N. of the Haram area, and from Josephns's description seems to have been still the northern limit of the town. The walls destroyed by Pompey were restored by Antipater. [In 40 B.C. occurred the Parthian occupation of Jerusalem, resulting in the flight of Herod. Three] years later the city yielded, after an obstinate resistance, to Herod and the Romans (37 B.C.).[5] Like Pompey, Herod attacked from the N. The Baris, occupied by Antigonus, was not surrendered till the temple and the

29. Romans.

[1] [So also Sir Charles Wilson, Smith's *BD*(2), 'Jerus.' 1644. But see below, § 27 (iii.)]
[2] A perpetuation of this blunder gives the current name Tower of David to the Herodian tower, probably Phasael, which still stands by the Jaffa gate. On this tower compare a paper by Schick in *ZDPV* vol. i.
[3] *BJ* vi. 7 2; cp v. 4 1 and the association of Shiloah and the Akra in v. 6 1.
[4] See Warren, *The Temple or the Tomb*, London, 1880; and Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, London, 1878, vol. i.; Hastings' *BD* 2 594.

[1] Cp Benzinger, *HA* 142 *ff.*, and Buhl, *Pal.* 142.
[2] See § 24.
[3] Sir C. Wilson, Smith's *BD*(2), 'Jerusalem,' 1644.
[4] *Ant.* 14 4; 6/17.
[5] *Ant.* xvi. 16 *BJ* 1 18.

rest of the city had been carried by storm, and we now read of two walls which had to be reduced successively.

[The construction of the temple by Herod (18-16 B.C.)[1] is considered elsewhere (HEROD, § 4). He died in 4 B.C. of the usual chronology. Under Archelaus, and afterwards under the Roman procurators, nothing of structural or topographical interest happened at Jerusalem save the building by Pilate of an aqueduct from the Wādy 'Arrūb to 'Solomon's Pools,' and so to the city and the temple; and the growth of the northern suburb, Bezetha.

30. The NT. The appearance of Jerusalem in the Gospels and Acts repeats some of the general impressions of the city's situation which we have received from the OT, presents several new features of interest, and raises one or two topographical problems. The nearness of the city to the desert is emphasised (Mt. 35 45 Acts 21 38); the mountains are about it (Mt. 2416 etc.). As the chief actors in the story are now provincials, Jerusalem appears mainly as a place of pilgrimage (the accounts of the Passover in all the gospels; also Lk. 24 Jn. 51 723 1022); it is 'the holy city' (Mt. 45 2753). High over everything else bulks the temple, the wonder and admiration of all who visit the city (Mk. 11 1127 etc.); beside it neither Herod's buildings nor the walls are thought worthy of notice; 'David's tomb is mentioned once (Acts 229). The Roman occupation is in evidence; the city is the residence of the Procurator with his guard (Mk. 156 Jn. 1828), perhaps in the palace on the W. hill; but his judgment seat (Mt. 2719 etc.) and a strong garrison are in the Antonia (Acts 2134 2224, cp above, § 28) from which stairs descend into the outer court of the temple (Acts 2138 2230 2310). As the capital and centre of pilgrimage from all parts of the world, thronged by crowds of many nationalities (Lk. 2326 Jn. 1220 Acts 27-11) Jerusalem becomes the headquarters of the infant church (Acts 8 9 11 1313 151-4 2117); but its aloofness from the world and the decline of its religious supremacy are emphasised by the gradual drift of the story in the Book of Acts down the hills on which the city stood to the Maritime Plain (826 930 32 *ff.* 10 etc.). Even in the Gospels there is an interesting foreshadowing of this decentralisation. Often as Jesus and his disciples are described as resorting to the temple to teach the people (Lk. 2137 Jn. 514 73 etc.), this is the only part of the city mentioned in connection with them (except the Pools of Siloam, Jn. 97, and Bethesda, Jn. 52 *ff.*), and we find them far oftener outside the walls. In fact almost for the first time the curtain is lifted on the environs; and we see especially Olivet (Lk. 2137, 'at night he abode in the mount called of Olives'; 2210, 'he came out and went as was his wont to the Mt. of Olives'; 2239 Mt. 2630 Mk. 1426 Jn. 81 181, 'over the brook Kidron'), the garden there, Gethsemane; the villages Bethphage, Bethany, and Siloam (Lk. 134); the roads to Jericho (Lk. 1030) and Emmaus (Lk. 2413). The city herself is hostile to Jesus (Mt. 2337 Lk. 1934), and the shadow of her doom lies upon her (*ibid.*, etc.).

The main topographical problems are few. The site of BETHESDA (Jn. 52, near the sheep-gate; *see* above, § 24, col. 2424, end) is still doubtful (see above, § 11, col. 2414, end).[2] On Aceldama and Golgotha see the special articles; on Solomon's Porch (Jn. 1023 Acts 512) and the high priest's palace see TEMPLE; and on the site of GABBATHA see PRÆTORIUM.

31. Agrippa I. and II. Under Agrippa I., the third wall, to be described immediately, was built. Agrippa II. made in the Upper City an addition to the palace of the Hasmoneans which commanded a view into the interior of the temple courts (*Ant.* XX. 811), and the Jews replied by building higher the western wall of the inner temple court, which also intercepted. the view into the outer court of the Roman garrison and led to difficulties with Festus. Under Florus the Jews destroyed the cloisters leading from the fortress to the temple (*BJ* ii. 156); but they were rebuilt. The defeat of Cestius Gallus in 66 A.D. proved the strength of the city, and the inhospitableness of its surroundings to an invading army. G. A. S.]

The walls of the city as they stood at the time of the siege by Titus must now be described. They were three in number.

32. City walls in 70 A.D. i. The first wall consisted of a ramoart to the N. of Herod's palace, connecting Hippicus in the 'citadel of the upper city with the western porch of the temple,' and of another line skirting the face of the western hill from Hippicus southward, thence curving round beyond Shiloah, and joining the western wall of the temple enclosure at Ophel. Several traces of this wall survive. [Its course from Maudslay's scarp round the SW. hill and across the mouth of the Tyropceon was traced by Bliss in the excavations of 1894-97; and its remains, as he appears successfully to prove, are those immediately under the debris, which he assigns *to* the long interval between the destruction of the wall by Titus and the building of a new wall (the remains of which now lie above the said debris) on the same line by the Empress Eudocia in the fifth century.]

ii. The second wall, connecting a point in the northern line of the first wall with Antonia (§ 28), enclosed the new town or trading quarter. [By occasional excavations in recent years, recorded by Schick, the general course of this wall appears to be now beyond doubt. It must have started from Antonia, S. of the trench which separated the latter from Bezetha (*BJ* v. cp 6 § 2, 7 § 3 and 11 § 4), and have taken *at* first a westward direction; but it was for long uncertain whether this direction was sustained to the N. or deflected to the S. of the site of the sepulchre church. Schick's observations appear to have proved the latter. A little NE. of the site of the church the wall turned S. at a right angle, then about 150 yards farther on resumed at a right angle the W. direction *to the S. of the site of the Church*, turning once more S. on the E. of the Pool Amygdalon, and so joining the first wall at, or in the neighbourhood of, Hippicus.][2]

iii. Outside both these walls, on the hillside sloping southwards towards the temple, had grown up a suburb called Bezetha, which Agrippa I. in the time of Claudius Cæsar began *to* protect with a third wall conceived on a gigantic scale, but never altogether finished. The precise compass of this wall, which began at Hippicus (§ 28), and rejoined the first wall in the Kidron valley has been much disputed, the great tower of Psephinus, which' stood on very high ground, and formed its NW. angle, being supposed by some *to* have stood near the modern castle of Goliath (Ḳaṣr Jālūd), whilst others place it as far N. as the Russian cathedral.[3]

The measurements by which it has been proposed to decide the northern limits of Jerusalem are the distance of 3 stadia from the city to the tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene (commonly identified with the Tombs of the Kings, *Ḳubūr es-Salāṭīn*), and the circuit of 33 stadia assigned by Josephus to the whole city. These measurements would seem to imply that the ancient city stretched farther N. than the modern walls; but they can hardly claim to be taken as mathematically accurate; the estimates of the compass of the city vary, and Eusebius places it at 27 stadia. This again would imply a line closely coincident with the N wall of the modern town, agreeing with the remains of ancient scarping still visible, and with the express statement of Josephus that the line of the third wall passed through the royal caves—*i.e.*, the catacombs—or the 'Cotton grotto' and 'grotto of Jeremiah' (which are separated by a kind of fosse cut through the live rock, manifestly forming part of the old wall line).

33. Titus. In the siege under Titus the Romans successively carried the third and second walls.[4] They then occupied Antonia, which was levelled to facilitate the approach of the forces for the attack ,on the temple stronghold. The temple was opened by fire rather than force, and, the Jewish leaders having

1 The court and cloisters were not completed till 9 B.C.

2 We. identifies with Βεζεθα (Βεθεζα, etc.) of Jos. *BJ* ii. 194, etc., which is explained to mean καινοπόλις, 'new city' (*i.e.*, בית חדתא, cp also Offerhaus: בית חרתא *[sic]*, cited by G. Boettger, *Lex.*). On Bezetha see above, §§ 9, 29 (end).

1 [The northern line of this wall must have run along the N. edge of the SW. hill; *PEF Mem.* 'Jerusalem,' 285, *ZDPV* 8 279 *ff.*]

2 [Both E. and S. of the sepulchre church Schick has pointed out the old ditch of the wall with remains of the latter in it. E. of the church he has recognised traces of a large tower or castle which, he suggests, may be the site of the Persian governor's seat mentioned in Neh. 37 (*ZDPV* 8 259 *ff.* 11 46 *ff.*). Cp Wilson, Smith's *BD*(2), 'Jerus.' 1646.]

3 [*PEF Mem.* 'Jerus.' 126 *f.* 145 264 *ff.*; *PEFQ*, 1889, pp. 63 *ff.*; *ZDPV* 1 17 *ff.*]

4 'The Camp of the Assyrians,' the site of a camp of Titus, lay between these walls towards the W.

retired to the upper city, the lower town from the temple to Shiloah was burned by the Romans. The capture of the upper city was effected by a regular approach with mounds and battering-rams (September **70** A.D.), and even then the huge citadel of Herod could only have yielded to famine had it not been abandoned by the Jewish leaders in a vain attempt at escape (ISRAEL, § 106). Its three great towers, with a portion of the western wall, were left as a memorial, and of this group the so-called tower of David (Phasael) still stands.

The rebuilding of Jerusalem by Hadrian seems to have been conceived in a spirit friendly to the Jews, and there is even some evidence that the restoration of the temple was contemplated or commenced. After the great revolt (132-135 **A.D.**), however, Ælia Capitolina was transformed into *a* purely pagan town with seven quarters and many buildings of heathen fashion.[1] [It was not nearly so large as the Jerusalem of the Herods : the SW. hill lay outside the walls (Jer. *Mic.* 3 12). 'The S. walls appear to have run very nearly on the lines of the present city wall.'[2]]

34. Ælia Capitolina.

The spread of Christianity and the rise of the practice of pilgrimage gave **a** new importance to the city of the 'crucifixion and resurrection, and in the time of Constantine the 'discovery' of the Holy Sepulchre and the erection of the magnificent church of the Anastasis (dedicated **336 A.D.**), made Jerusalem again **a** great religious centre. In the pagan reaction under Julian an attempt was made to rebuild the temple ; but it was frustrated by an outburst of fire from the foundations **(362).** The unfortunate empress Eudocia spent her last years at Jerusalem (about 450-460), built the church of St. Stephen, founded monasteries and hospitals, enriched the churches [and above all rebuilt the walls of the city (Evagrius, *HE* 20-23) on the old and wider lines, especially on the S. Thus Siloam **was** again included, and is so described by Antoninus Martyr **(25)**, about 560.[3] It is in all probability the ruin of Eudocia's wall that Bliss found in his 'upper wall' from Maudslay's scarp *to* Siloam (see above, §§ 10 ii. *a*, 30)]. The next great builder **was** Justinian, part of whose splendid church of St. Mary perhaps still remains in, or to the E. of, the mosque **el-Aḳṣā.** In **614** Jerusalem was taken by Chosrōēs, and the churches and sepulchre were burned; but the vicar of the exiled patriarch Modestus began to restore them even before the Persians retired.

36. Christianity.

In 628 Heraclius retook the city; hut its Christian days were numbered. In **637** Jerusalem capitulated to the caliph 'Omar, who gave directions for the erection of **a** place of worship on the site of the 'remotest shrine'—*i.e.*, the temple, to which Mohammed, according to Kor. 17 1, was transported from Mecca in his famous night journey. From this verse the great sanctuary of Jerusalem received the name el-Aḳṣ., **now** generally confined to the building at the S. end of the Ḥaram. The original mosque as described by Arculphus (670) was **a** rude edifice of wood capable of containing 3000 worshippers ; hut, soon after, the sanctuary **was** reconstructed in **a** style of great magnificence by the caliph 'Abd el-Malik, whose date **(72** A.H. =691 A.D.) is still read in **a** Cufic inscription on the Dome of the Rock, though the name of the caliph seems to have been changed to that of el-Ma'mūn, who restored the buildings after **a** great earthquake, which, according to Mokaddasy, left nothing standing except the part around the *miḥrāb* or niche indicating the direction of Mecca. In their present condition the buildings of the sanctuary show features of very various styles, from the Byzantine downwards. The architectural problems which they suggest are closely connected with controversies as to the topography of the TEMPLE (*q.v.*) and the true site of the Holy Sepulchre (see **GOLGOTHA).** Apart from the question of the holy sites, the later topography of Jerusalem presents no feature that need detain us, and the subsequent fortunes of the city belong to the general history of Palestine and the crusades.

36. Islam.

Among the countless volumes on the subject the following may be named as still of use:—Robinson, *BR*, '38, and *LBR*, 52; Tobler, *Zwei Bücher* **der** *Topogr. Jerus.* etc., '53-'54; De Vogüé, *Les Églises de* **la** *Terre Sainte*, **1860,** *Le* Temple *de Jerus. suivie* **Bun** *essai sur la topographie* etc., 1864-5; Neubauer, *Géog. d. Talmud*, 68; Guérin, *Judée*, '68-'69; Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, **'76;** *PEFM*, vol. on Jerus., '84; this covers the work to **'83;** for subsequent work see the *PEFQ*, and the *ZDPV*, '84-1900; Besant and Palmer, *Hist. of Jerus.* '88 ; Benzinger, *HA* § 10, **'94;** Buhl, *Pal.* '96; Bliss and Dickie *Excav. at Jerus.* '94-'97, '98; and the articles of Sir Charles 'Wilson in Smith's *DB*(2), and of Col. Conder in Hastings' *DB*, '99. See also Baedeker's *Pal.*(3) by Socin and Benzinger, '90, and Murray's by Haskett Smith, **1892.** The sources for the Byzantine and Mediæval topography are found in the volumes of the 'Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society' ; the Arabic topography in Guy l'Estrange, *Pal. under* the *Moslems*, **1890** but its translations, often freely given, must he used with caution. On modern Jerusalem, besides notices in many of the above-cited works (especially the two guide-hooks), see *Jerus.* the *Holy*, by E. Sherman Wallace, U.S. Consul in the city.

37. Bibliography.

G. A. S.-W. R. S.,[1] §§ 1 *f.*, 12-36; *C.* R. *C.*, §§ 3-11.

[1] Details in *Chron. Pasch.* Ol. **2243.**

[2] Bliss, *Excav.* **306.**

[3] The mosaic plan of Jerusalem discovered at Medeba in 1897 omits the church of St. Stephen and represents the W. wall as turning NE. after including the church of Mt. Zion **on** the site of the present Cœnaculum. Its date must therefore be earlier than Eudocia. There are also traces upon it of Hadrian's wall excluding the church on Mt. Zion.

[1] The passages in square brackets are by G.A.Sm.; also the following sections : §§ 1 *f.*, 12-18, 20, 22, 25 *f.*, 27 iii., 30.

JERUSHA (יְרוּשָׁא, a compound of יְרוּ and שָׁא, the latter perhaps a divine name represented by **HE'** in בעשׁא [see BAASHA, n. 1] ; so **S.** A. Cook, *Exp. T* 10 5266 ('99), ιερουσα [AL], *ιερασῃ* [Jos. *Ant.* ix. 11 2]), bath Zadok, the queen-mother of Jotham, **2** K. 15 33 (ερουс [B], ιε. [A])=2 Ch. 27 1 (where יְרוּשָׁה, **Jerushah,** ιερουσσα [B] ; possibly as though= 'possessed '—*i. e.*, 'married ').

JESHAIAH, twice AV **Jesaiah** (יְשַׁעְיָה, יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, § 28, 'Yahwè saves,' the same name as that of the prophet ISAIAH (*q.v.*, i. § 1); ωcαιαc [BA], ιεcc[ε]ια [ℵL]).

1. AV JESAIAH and Pelatiah, sons of Hananiah b. Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 21 יְשַׁעְיָה, *ισαβα* [B], *ιεσεια* [A], -*σεε* [L]); according to 𝔊, Pesh., Vg., he was the *son* of Pelatiah.

2. A son of (the Merarite) Jeduthun (1 Ch. 25 3 15 יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, *σαια, ιωσεια* [B], *ιεεια, ισιας* [A], *ισαια* [L]) ; cp 3 and 5 below.

3. **A** descendant of Moses (1 Ch. **2625** יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, *ιωσηε* [L]) who in 1 Ch. **24 21** appears **as** ISSHIAH (*q.v.*); cp **23 15 17** ; **as** a Levite he is probably assigned to Merari; cp **24 21** with **23 17 21.** See **2** above and 5 below.

4. h. Athaliah, one of the clan called B'ne Elam in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., **§ 2;** ii., **§ 15** [1] *a*), Ezra 8 7 (יְשַׁעְיָה, *ιωσεια* [B], *ησαια* [A], *ιεσσιας* [L])=1 Esd. 8 33 JOSIAS, RV JESIAS *ιεσιας* [B], *ιεσσ.* **[AL]).**

5. **A** Merarite Levite in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA **i.**, **§ 2;** ii., **§ 15** [1] *d*), Ezra 8 19 (יְשַׁעְיָה, *ισαια* [A])=1 Esd. 8 48, OSAIAS (om. **B),** which is based on some such form as הוֹשַׁעְיָה (cp Neh. 12 32). See **2** above.

6. AV JESAIAH, **a** Benjamite (Neh. **11 7** יְשַׁעְיָה, *ιεσ* [B*vid], *ιεσια* [Bb], *ιεσσ[ε]ια* [A]).

JESHANAH (יְשָׁנָה; ΤΗΝ ΚΑΝΑ [B], ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑ [A], ιεcchna [L], *JESANA* [Vg.]), a city taken by Abijah from Jeroboam (2 Ch. 13 19), and doubtless also mentioned in 1 S. 7 12 (critically emended text ; see SHEN). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 11 3) calls it *ισανας* ; see also *Ant.* xiv. 15 12, *BJ* i. 17 5 (*κανα* ; v. *l. ισανα*). It is mod. *'Ain Sînia*, 3f m. N. of Bethel, an interesting ancient site (Clerm. Ganneau, *PEFQ*, '77, **p.** *206*, *PEFM* 2 291 302).

JESHARELAH (יְשַׂרְאֵלָה), 1 Ch. 25 14, see ASARELAH.

JESHEBEAB (יֶשֶׁבְאָב, 'he brings back a father'? as though יָשֵׁב אָב], § **62;** om. B, ιcβααλ [AL], *ISBAAB*—*L* [Vg.], cp Gray, *HPN* **24** [Syriac] [Pesh.]), the name of a priestly course (1 Ch. 24 13). The readings point to an original 'Ishbanl,' which has been adopted by Ki. *(SBOT)*; but it is hardly likely that the Chronicler would give a priest a name compounded with that of the detested Baal. On the other hand, the name may well have been traditional, and perhaps intentionilly disguised by the Chronicler (or rather by a later scribe), with the above rather weak result. Cp Oholiab for Oholibaal (see OHOLIBAH), and see ISHBAAL, JASHOBEAM, MEPHIBOSHETH. S. A. C.

JESHER (יֵשֶׁר [Gi.], יֶשֶׁר [Ra.], cp JESHURUN ; cαρ [L], ιωαc. **[BA]),** son of CALEB and AZUBAH [*qq.v.*], 1 Ch. 2 18†.

JESHIMON. In the six places where AV has Jeshimon as a place-name (Nu. 21 20 23 28 1 S. 23 19 24 26 1 3), RV invariably has 'the desert,' while RVmg.

retains 'Jeshimon' (הַיְשִׁימֹן, ἔρημος [BAFL] in Nu., τοῦ [ἐ]ἰεσσαιμου [BA], [τοῦ] ιεσσεμουν [L] in S).

The word *jĕšīmōn* occurs frequently elsewhere as a common noun (Dt. 32 10 Ps. 68 7 [8] 78 40 106 14 Is. 43 19 etc.) with allusion to the wilderness of Sinai.

The Jeshimon of Nu., which is immediately overlooked by Pisgah, is the long tract of barren land N. of the Dead Sea; that of Sam., 'before' which is the hill of Hachilah (see HACHILAH), is the eastern part of the hill-country of Judah. For a vivid sketch of the latter see GASm. *HG* 312 *f.*, and cp BETH-JESHIMOTH, DESERT, § 2 (2).

JESHISHAI (יְשִׁישַׁי, 'aged'? ι[εσ]σαι [BA], ιεσσει [L], *IESESI*, om. Pesh.), in a genealogy of GAD (§ 13) (1 Ch. 5 14†). 𝔊BA suggests יִשַׁי—*i.e.*, Jesse.

JESHOHAIAH (יְשׁוֹחָיָה, § 31; one might read JASHVAHIAH, 'Yahwè causes to grow,' but this is hardly worth while. The passage contains three kindred names, derived from עָשָׂה and אֵל or יָה. First comes ישוחה, a corruption of מַעֲשֵׂיָה, Maaseiah; then עֲשָׂיָה, Asaiah; and lastly ישימאל, a corruption of מַעֲשֵׂיאֵל, Maaseel), a Simeonite, temp. Hezekiah (1 Ch. 4 36, ιασουια [BA], ιεσ. [L]). T. K. C.

JESHUA (יֵשׁוּעַ, §§ 28, 84; ιησου [BℵA], ιησουα [L]), a place in the list of towns of Judah, Neh. 11 25-30 (see *v.* 26), and obviously in the extreme S. towards Edom. It is mentioned just before MOLADAH (*q.v.*), and is obviously only another form of the SHEMA [i.] of Josh. 15 26, and the SHEBA [i.] of Josh. 19 2.[1]

The most original form is doubtless Shema; *m* became *b*, and *b* became *w* (cp וואַ in Jerus. Talm. for אבא; Frankel, *Vorstudien*, 102), and finally י was prefixed by a copyist. The form Shū'a or Shew'a lies probably at the root of the Ar. *Sa'weh*, the name of a ruined place situated on a high hill a little more than half-way between Kh. 'Attir (Jattir) and Kh. el-Milḥ, and due W. of Tell 'Arād. So Knobel in 1861, followed by most commentators. Conder, however, limits the identification to Jeshua (*PEFM* 3 409). T. K. C.

JESHUA (יֵשׁוּעַ, a later form of JOSHUA [*q.v.*]; cp *WZKM* 4 332 *f.*; ιησους [BℵAQΓL]).

1. b. Nun; Neh. 8 17; see JOSHUA.

2. A family of the b'ne Pahath-Moab in the great post-exilic list [see EZRA ii., §§ 9, 8 *c*]; Ezra 2 6 (ιησουε [BA])=Neh. 7 11=1 Esd. 5 11, JESUS.

3. Father of Jozabad, a Levite, Ezra 8 33=1 Esd. 8 63; JESU RV JESUS (𝔊B reads Jesus Jozabad).

4. Father of EZER (ruler of Mizpah); Neh. 3 19.

5. Jeshua b. Jehozadak the high priest, who, together with Zerubbabel, is often mentioned in contemporary writings; see Hag., and Zech. 3-6, where, however, his name is uniformly written JOSHUA (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ). As in Ezra 3 2 *f.* 4 3, he is mentioned prominently in connection with the building of the temple; but to other questions Hag. and Zech. unfortunately give no answer. Was he one of the leaders in what is commonly called 'the Return'? (For a discussion of the large question here suggested, see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 7, and cp ZERUBBABEL.) The 'sons of Jeshua b. Jozadak' were among those who had taken foreign wives (Ezra 10 18). His descendants are traced down to Jaddua (351-331 B.C.) in Neh. 12 10 *f.* In the Apocryphal books of 1 Esd. and Ecclus. (*e.g.*, 49 12) the name appears regularly as JESUS.

6. 'The house of Jeshua' was a priestly family among whom were incorporated the b'ne Jedaiah (Ezra 2 36=Neh. 7 39=1 Esd. 5 24). To show their antiquity the Chronicler mentions a Jeshua among the representatives of the twenty-four courses instituted by David (1 Ch. 24 11; AV JESHUAH); cp also 2 Ch. 31 15, where Jeshua is a priest of the time of Hezekiah.

7. The b'ne Jeshua and Kadmiel are names of levitical families, Ezra 2 40 (ιησουε [B])=Neh. 7 43=1 Esd. 5 26, JESSUE, RV JESUS (ιησουε [A], -εις [B]); see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (i.), and cp HODAVIAH. They both occur together as individual names in Neh. 9 4 *f.* and 10 9 [10] (Jeshua b. Azaniah), and Jeshua alone in 8 7.[2]

JESHUAH (יֵשׁוּעַ), 1 Ch. 24 11 AV, RV JESHUA (*q.v.*, i. [6]).

JESHURUN, in Is. 44 2 AV JESURUN (יְשֻׁרוּן, ο ηγαπημενος [BAFL in Dt.], ο ηγαπ. ισραηλ [BℵAQ], or [HP 90 144] simply ισραηλ [in Is.]; the other Greek versions in Dt. ευθης [Symm., Theod.], in Is. ευθυτατος or ευθης [Aq., Symm., Theod.]; Pesh., Tg. 'Israel'; Vg., Dt. 32 *dilectus*, Dt. 33 and Is. *rectissimus*; Ar. Walt. *mauṣūn*, 'praised' [Dt. 32 335, but in 33 26 'Israel'; Gr. Ven. ισραελισκος = יִשְׂרְאֵלוֹן), a poetical name for the people of Israel (Dt. 32 15 33 5 26 Is. 44 2). From the lateness of the writings in which it occurs Jeshurun might be an artificial formation, designed to represent the ideal of Yahwè's people, viz., righteousness (from ישר, *yāšār*=upright). This view, however, is not favoured by the use of the term in the above four passages; Jeshurun (if the vowels are right) is nothing more than a synonym for Israel. Late writers had access to and sometimes utilised archæological facts. It is possible, therefore, that there was a shortened form of the ethnic name Israel, which was not unknown as יֵשֶׁר, *yēšer* (hence the name of a son of Caleb, 1 Ch. 2 18), but was still better known as יְשֻׁרוּן (vocalised on the analogy of Zebulun, Ṣiyyun [Zion]) or perhaps rather יִשְׁרוֹן, *Yišrôn*.

The termination is probably not a diminutive (Ges., with Gr. Ven. [above]), but indicates that the bearer of the name belongs to a certain category (Kon. *Lehrgeb.* 2 *a* 405); Yišrôn will mean one who belongs to or represents the ethnic category of *Yēšer*. Whether Yēšer originally conveyed the idea of righteousness or (cp אשר) prosperity, we cannot tell. In later times it may very well have done so; the name ישראל, when its real origin (see JACOB, § 6) had been forgotten, may have been explained by יָשַׁר אֵל, 'God's righteous one.' See JASHAR, BOOK OF, § 4, and cp Bacher, *ZATW* 5 161 *ff.* ('85); G. Hoffmann, *ib.* 16 218 ('96). T. K. C.

JESIAH (יִשִּׁיָּהוּ), 1 Ch. 12 6 AV; (יִשִּׁיָּה) 1 Ch. 23 20 AV; RV. ISSHIAH [*q.v.*, 2 4].

JESIAS (εσιας [B] etc.), 1 Esd. 8 33, RV=Ezra 8 7, JESHAIAH, 4.

JESIMIEL (יְשִׂימְאֵל [Ginsb.], or יְשִׁימִאֵל [Bä.]; the text seems wrong; but see NAMES, § 31, where ישימאל is favoured; cp υιου σαφαλ [B?], ισμαηλ [AL]; see JESHOHAIAH), a Simeonite, temp. Hezekiah (1 Ch. 4 36). T. K. C.

JESSE (יִשַׁי, § 52; contracted from ישמעאל? [see NAMES, § 52]; or from אבישי, ABISHAI? cp Icabod from Ahi-cabod [so Marquart, *Fundamente*, 24; see also *Exp. T* 10 526 *a* ('99)]; for another view see JEZEBEL; in many MSS of 1 Ch. 2 13 אִישַׁי; ιεσσαι [BAQL], ιεσσαι [ℵ]), son of Obed and father of David (see DAVID, § 1).

JESSUE (ιησουεις [B], ιησουε [A]), 1 Esd. 5 26=Ezra 2 40, JESHUA ii., 7.

JESU (ιησους [B], -ου [AL]), 1 Esd. 8 63=Ezra 8 33, JESHUA ii., 3.

JESUI (יִשְׁוִי), Nu. 26 44; **Jesuite** (הַיִּשְׁוִי), *ibid.* See ISHVI.

JESURUN (יְשֻׁרוּן), Is. 44 2, RV JESHURUN (*q.v.*).

JESUS (ιησους [BAL]), the Greek form of JOSHUA and JESHUA.

1. See JOSHUA [i.].
2. 1 Esd. 5 11=Ezra 2 6, JESHUA ii., 2.
3. 1 Esd. 8 63 RV=Ezra 8 33, JESHUA ii., 3.
4. Ecclus. 49 12 etc. See JESHUA ii., 5.

[1] RV here wrongly gives 'or Sheba.' as if Sheba were a mere variant of Beersheba.

[2] In the case of Jeshua, as with so many post-exilic names, there are numerous instances where identification is out of the question. Indeed, we may plausibly suppose that such a common and reputable name may have served to fill some of the gaps in name-lists which must often have troubled the Chronicler. The priestly ABISHUA (2) is perhaps related to Jeshua in the same way as Abiasaph to ASAPH (*q.v.*, 3); cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iii. c. n.).

5. 1 Esd. 5 24=Ezra 2 36, JESHUA ii., 6.
6. 1 Esd. 5 26 RV=Ezra 2 40, JESHUA ii., 7.
7. Father of Sirach. See ECCLESIASTICUS, § 2.
8. Son of Sirach. See ECCLESIASTICUS, § 2.
9. A name in the genealogy of Jesus, Lk. 3 29 (AV JOSE). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3f;
10. See JUSTUS.

JESUS

1. Summary. Jesus Christ. the author and object of the Christian faith, a Jew by race, was born in Palestine towards the end of the reign of Herod the Great (CHRONOLOGY, § 57 ff.). The home of his childhood was NAZARETH, a town in the lower division of the province of GALILEE (§ 5). The family to which he belonged was of humble estate. In early youth he worked at a handicraft (see JOSEPH [husband of Mary], § 9). On arriving at mature manhood he became a public teacher, rapidly gained fame, gathered about him disciples, offended the ruling classes by free criticism of the prevailing religion, and ended a brief but extraordinary career by suffering crucifixion.

2. Sources. This short summary of facts is taken from those books in the NT which bear the name of Gospels, and are our main source of information for the history of Jesus. These documents are of varying value from a historical point of view. Critical opinion is much divided as to the fourth, that which bears the name of John, the judgment of many critics being that it is the least trustworthy as a source whether for the words or for the acts of Jesus. By comparison, the first three, from their resemblances called synoptical, are regarded by many as possessing a considerable measure of historical worth. But even these, from a critical point of view, are not of equal value, nor do the contents of any one of them possess a uniform degree of historic probability. They present to the critic a curious, interesting, and perplexing problem still far from final solution. By their resemblances and differences, agreements and disagreements, they raise many questions as to origin, relative dates, and literary connections, which have called forth a multitude of conflicting hypotheses and a most extensive critical literature. In the present state of the inquiry a dogmatic tone is inadmissible. All that one may do with propriety is to indicate what he regards *as* the most plausible opinion. We are concerned with the question here only in as far as is necessary to explain and justify the method on which the public life of Jesus is dealt with in this article.

3. Mark (and Luke). We may regard *Mk.* as the oldest of the synoptical Gospels, and in its leading contents the nearest to the primitive tradition. In its present form, or in an earlier shape, it appears to have been the main source of the narrative parts of the other two Gospels. In many sections the style is suggestive of an eye-witness, so as to make the reader feel that he is in contact with the ultimate source of the evangelic tradition, the oral narratives of the companions of Jesus. As reported by Eusebius (*HE* 3 39), Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, writing about 125 A.D., described Mark as the ***interpreter*** (ἑρμηνευτής) of ***Peter,*** which probably means that he helped the apostle to put what he had to say into Greek or Latin.[1] Internal evidence supports the hypothesis of such a connection between much of the material in the second Gospel and one of the men who had been with Jesus, and with none of them more probably than with Peter as he is represented in the evangelic tradition. This Gospel is full of realisms. Its graphic style has often been remarked on. But it is not a question of merely pictorial narrative. The phenomena to be noted are descriptions to the life, vivid presentations of a striking personality, words and acts reported just as they must have been said and done, because they had impressed themselves indelibly on the ear and eye of the reporter. What specially makes for the hypothesis of an eye-witness, and generally for the primitive character of Mk.'s reports, is the disregard manifest in them of conventional considerations of the fitting and edifying. The influence of such considerations is traceable in the other two Synoptists, especially in *Lk.* In the third Gospel Jesus is the ***Lord*** (about a dozen times so named in narrative where Mt. and Mk. have ***Jesus),*** and it is never for a moment forgotten what religions decorum demands in recording the words and acts of so august a person age. For this Lk. may in part be personally responsible, but probably not altogether. The decorum of his narrative reflects the reverence of the early church for its risen and exalted Head, the writer's deference thereto showing itself in the omission of some things reported in the primitive tradition and in the putting of other things in a modified way. This reverence and its controlling influence would grow with time. The absence of that influence from Mk.'s narrative as evinced by the realism, of which examples will be given as we proceed, is an index at once of antiquity and of first-hand sources of information. Peter doubtless shared the reverence of the church for its Lord. But Peter had seen and heard, and the vivid sense of the unique reality overpowered all considerations of what was becoming, such as might naturally weigh with those who had not seen or heard but drew their information mainly from documents. And so we see in Mk., containing, according to Papias, the report of Peter's recollections, the real man Jesus, without the aureole of faith around his head, yet with a glory of truth, wisdom, and goodness the better seen on that very account.

4. Matthew (and Luke). The informant who tells of Mark's connection with Peter says, also. that Matthew wrote a book of Logia (τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, Eus. *HE* 3 39). Most modern critics treat this statement with respect : but few identify the *Logia* of Papias, written (as he states) in the Hebrew tongue, with our Canonical Mt., even to the extent of seeing in the latter a simple translation into Greek of the Hebrew original. The prevailing and intrinsically reasonable opinion is that the book of the publican apostle was the source whence the author of our Mt. drew the words or discourses of Jesus so amply reported in his Gospel. He, and also the author of Lk.; for in the didactic element there is much common to the first Gospel and the third, though the latter contains a considerable amount of peculiar material which may have been derived from a different source. The common matter is given in such varied forms and connections in the two Gospels as to suggest either various redactions of the source or very free use by one or both Evangelists. How variations might arise is easily conceivable. Collections of the words of Jesus were not made in a purely historical *or* antiquarian spirit. They met the demand of disciples for Christian instruction, for words of the Master by which they might guide their lives. The practical aim would influence the form and the collection of the Logia as used by preachers and catechists. The words of the Lord Jesus would almost involuntarily undergo modification to suit actual circumstances. This process has gone farthest in Lk. Besides the influence of ***decorum*** already touched upon, we note in Lk.'s report of the words of Jesus, as compared with Mt.'s, a certain indifference to the historical setting, to the actual circumstances under which and with reference to which Jesus spoke, a disregard of the religious antitheses of the time, and a translation of the sayings into terms, and an ideal transposition to a time, which fit them for the present use of the Church. The 'Sermon on the Mount' in Lk.'s report is virtually a discourse of the

[1] See Sanday, *Bampton* ***Lectures*** for 1893, p. 280.

exalted Lord to a Christian congregation, edited either by the Evangelist or by another in that view. Having regard to this broad contrast between the first Gospel and the third, we can have no difficulty in giving to the former the preference as to comparative originality. Neither may give the *ipsissima verba;* but on the whole Mt. comes nearer them than Lk.

From the foregoing statement it follows that the narratives common to Mt., Mk., and Lk., and the discourses common to Mt. and Lk., may with a considerable measure of confidence be regarded as a trustworthy tradition concerning the ministry of Jesus. They represent the oldest, comparatively primitive, tradition, and as such must form the basis of a statement concerning that ministry professing to be guided by a critical method. They relate exclusively to the public life, passing over in silence almost unbroken the childhood and early youth.

5. Primitive tradition.

According to this primitive tradition, the public career of Jesus began when another remarkable man was performing the part of a prophet in the wilderness of Judæa : a man of austere ascetic life, symbolising the severity of his attitude as a moral critic of his time ; preaching to all classes the necessity of repentance, and baptizing in the Jordan such as received his message as the voice of God—hence known as the 'Baptist' (see ISRAEL, § 92). Jesus came from Nazareth (Mk. 1 9) to see and hear John, and, like the others, received baptism at his hands (see JORDAN, § 2), a fact stated by Mk. without note or comment, by Mt. in a way implying that it needed explanation, by Lk. (in a participial clause) as a subordinate incident. Expositors and theologians have endeavoured to explain the significance of this event. It meant this at least : that Jesus felt a deep sympathetic interest in John's work. The visit *to* the Jordan helps us to look back into the silences of Nazareth ; it is a window into the mind of Jesus. John, we gather, was a great man for him. So he confessed at a subsequent time (Mt. 11 11), and what he said then shows what he had thought before he left the seclusion of Nazareth. To be baptized by such a man was a suitable start for his own ministry. It was a public intimation of moral solidarity. How far his tendencies, methods, and habits agreed with or differed from those of the prophet of the wilderness would appear in due course; it was well, to begin with, that fundamental sympathy should be at once made manifest.

6. John the Baptist.

How long Jesus remained in the region environing the lower part of the Jordan and the Dead Sea is uncertain. Mk. states that he returned to Galilee after John had been 'delivered up' (that is, thrown into prison by Herod, tetrarch of Galilee : see Mk. 6 14-29). All three Synoptists make mention of a retirement into the remoter inhospitable wilderness of Judæa, and of an experience of moral trial there, familiarly known as *the Temptation.* The bare fact (intrinsically credible) is stated by Mk., without the symbolic representation given in the parallel accounts; but the impulse to this withdrawal into solitude is very realistically described by him, as a being ***driven*** by the Spirit into the desert (1 12), which, as external force is not to be thought of, speaks of intense mental preoccupation.

7. The 'Temptation.'

At length Jesus, with clarified vision and confirmed will, returned to Galilee, the main theatre of his future work as we know it from the oldest tradition,[1] there to enter on activities which have won for him a unique place in the history of the world. It does, not clearly appear from Mk. whether he chose any particular spot as the centre from which his activity was to radiate. It is certain that Nazareth was no such centre. With the exception of an occasional visit, his native town (but see NAZARETH) was henceforth forsaken for other scenes more suitable or more sympathetic. Among these a prominent place belongs to Capernaum, a thriving populous town on the shore of the lake of Galilee.

8. Public career.

The public ministry of Jesus presents four broad aspects : (1) a preaching ministry among the people at large ; (2) a teaching ministry among disciples ; (3) a healing ministry; (4) a prophetic or critical ministry antagonistic to current conceptions and embodiments of righteousness.

1. The chief scene of the first form of ministry, the κήρυγμα, was the synagogue. On his way northwards from the Jordan Jesus at length arrived at Capernaum, and 'straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and taught'[1] (Mk. 1 21). Shortly thereafter he set out on a preaching tour through the towns of Galilee (1 39). Here one of Mk.'s realisms occurs. Jesus appears in his narrative making a flight from Capernaum in the grey dawn while all are asleep, possibly 'a flight from the unexpected reality into which his ideal conception of his calling had brought him' (Holtzmann, *Handcomm. zum NT*), certainly an escape from sudden entangling popularity *to* similar service elsewhere. 'For this end I left' (Capernaum), said Jesus simply, in self-defence, to disciples who bad pursued him (1 38). In Lk.'s version flight is eliminated, and a reference to his divine mission is substituted for an apology for flight (4 43).

9. Preaching.

Of this synagogue-ministry no detailed record has been preserved. Not a single specimen of the brief striking synagogue addresses of Jesus is to be found in the Gospels—at least there is none under that name : it is possible that some discourses—*e.g.*, the beautiful exhortation against earthly care (Mt. 6 25-34 Lk. 12 22-34)—assigned *to* other occasions—were really delivered in synagogues. Lk. has given us the text, and a general characterisation, of one synagogue address—that delivered in Nazareth (4 18-22). If, as without sufficient reason some suspect, his account be unhistorical, it is, to say the least, a felicitous invention. The text from the Book of Isaiah (61 1 *f.*) is thoroughly typical of the religious attitude and spirit of Jesus, and the expression 'words of grace' (λόγοις τῆς χάριτος) is doubtless most apt, whether we take it as applying to the manner or to the substance of the discourse. Lk.'s account of the appearance of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth is meant, and it is fit, to be a symbolic programme of his whole preaching ministry. Mk.'s contribution to the characterisation of the synagogue-*kerugma* is a report of the impression made by what was probably the first appearance of Jesus as a speaker in a synagogue, that in Capernaum. They exclaimed, he tells (1 27), What is this, a new doctrine (διδαχή)? and he explains that the novelty was that Jesus spake not as the scribes, who appealed to authorities, but as himself having authority : with the confidence of personal insight and with the authority of self-evidencing truth.

Mk. makes a general preliminary statement about the preaching ministry in Galilee which may be viewed as covering the synagogue preaching : 'Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand : repent ye, and believe in the Gospel' (1 14 *f.*). Hence it may

[1] We might say the exclusive theatre, were it not for a few incidents connected with the final journey to Jerusalem through Peræa (little children brought to Jesus, man seeking eternal life with relative conversation, two sons of Zebedee, blind man at Jericho). Mk. makes Jesus *teach* multitudes in Peræa (10 1); Mt. makes him *heal* (19 2). There are rudimentary indications of a Samaritan ministry in Lk. (in the long insertion 9 51-18 14). The fourth Gospel makes Jerusalem and Judæa the main scene of the activity of Jesus. The Synoptists know only of one visit to Jerusalem—that during which he was crucified. How long the ministry lasted we can only conjecture. There is no chronology in the evangelic tradition. (See further. CHRONOLOGY, § 44 *ff.*)

[1] ἐδίδασκεν. The use of this word shows that the evangelist did not distinguish between the two forms of ministry so sharply as has been done above. Mt. uses both words (διδάσκων καὶ κηρύσσων 4 23) to describe the synagogue ministry. So Mk. uses κηρύσσων in 1 39.

be inferred that the constant theme of the *kerugma* was the kingdom of God, that the kingdom was presented as a boon rather than as a demand; as good news (εὐαγγέλιον) not as awful news—the aspect under which it appeared in the preaching of John; and that the summons of the preacher was not merely to repentance, but above all to *faith—i.e.*, make the good news welcome. The statement is summary, and its language may be secondary, coloured somewhat by the dialect of a later time; but even in that case we are not left without a clue to the general tenor of Jesus' popular discourses. We might gather it from a saying whose authenticity is as certain as its import is significant: 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners' (Mk. 2 17 Mt. 9 13 Lk. 5 32). The value of this declaration lies in this, that, whilst spoken with reference to a particular occasion, it indicates a habitual attitude, a fixed policy. Jesus addressed himself by preference to those who could not be regarded as in the conventional sense exemplary. The chosen audience reflects light on the nature of the message. It was good tidings even to the ignorant, the erring, the fallen, the outcast, hinting that the past might be forgiven and forgotten, and that the future offered great possibilities. What hope-inspiring ideas of God and man and their relations underlay such teaching![1] The occasion on which the saying was uttered also throws a contributory light on the nature of the Galilean Gospel. Jesus had been eating with 'publicans and sinners,' and was on his defence for that act. In this connection the term 'call' must bear the special sense of an invitation to an entertainment. Lk.'s gloss 'to repentance' restricts and even obscures the meaning. The kingdom, as Jesus preached it, was a feast, and his call was a generous invitation to come and enjoy its good things.

10. Parables. In his popular addresses Jesus would make free use of parables. He spoke in parables to all classes, but especially to the people. 'Without parable he was not wont to speak to them' (Mk. 4 34). And of course the aim of the parabolic method of instruction, in as far as it had a conscious aim and was not the spontaneous outcome of natural genius, was to popularise the truths of religion: simplification with a view to enlightenment. In the conversation between Jesus and his disciples after the utterance of the parable of the sower, as reported by all the Synoptists, an opposite purpose, that of keeping the people in darkness, seems to be avowed by the preacher. It is not credible, however, that Jesus would either cherish or avow such an inhuman intention, though it is credible that in the bitterness of his disappointment at the meagre fruit of his popular ministry he might express himself in a way that might be misunderstood, on the principle of reading intention in the light of result.[2] None of the parables preserved in the Gospels is expressly connected with synagogue addresses, with the doubtful exception of *the mustard seed* and *the leaven* (Lk. 13 18-21, cp *v.* 10). *The treasure* and *the pearl* (Mt. 13 44-46) may be a pair of parabolic gems (setting forth the absolute worth of the kingdom of heaven) whose original setting was in such an address; and the exquisite parables concerning the pleasure of finding things lost (Mt. 18 12-14 Lk. 15) may have been first uttered on a similar occasion, unless we suppose that the original place of these parables was in an address to the publicans gathered together in the house of Matthew (Mk. 2 15-17, and parallels). The collection of parabolic utterances preserved in the Gospels is so large and varied that there is little room for complaint that it is not still larger; yet one cannot but reflect what a rich addition to the evangelic *memorabilia* a *verbatim* report of the parables spoken on the Galilean preaching tour would have been.

11. Teaching. 2. *The teaching* (διδαχή) *or instruction given tu disciples* (μαθηταί).—That Jesus aimed at gathering about him a circle of disciples who should be constantly, or at least much, in his company is one of the most certain data of the primitive tradition. He began the process of selection very early (Mk. 1 16-20 Mt. 4 18-22), having some disciples to accompany him on his first Galilean preaching tour. He meant to make the selected ones—or at least the inner circle of them—in his own happy, unforgetable phrase, 'fishers of men,' a playful allusion to the secular occupation of those first chosen. The aim involved, of course, special instruction, and that demanded leisure. The desire of Jesus to get leisure for uninterrupted intercourse with his disciples, and more particularly with the body of twelve which, according to the testimony of all the evangelists, he formed out of a larger company of followers, is specially apparent in Mk. Through his preaching and healing ministries, the fame of Jesus rapidly rose to such a pitch that wherever he went large masses of people gathered round him, masses too large for any synagogue to hold, so that perforce he had to become a street or field preacher. The work was not uncongenial; but, in the tropical climate of the lake shore, it was fatiguing, and withal it was unsatisfactory. Much sowing, little fruit: such was the feeling of the preacher, as expressed in the parable of *the Sower,* which is a critical review of the early Galilean ministry. Unwearied in well-doing, Jesus yet began to feel with increasing depth of conviction that, if anything was to come of his labours, he must find time and opportunity for careful initiation of the few more intelligent and susceptible hearers, that continuing in his word they might become disciples indeed, and by insight into truth become enlightened, free, and apt to tench others. Mk. more than any other evangelist shows Jesus making repeated earnest efforts in this direction, fleeing from the crowd, as it were, in quest of rest and leisure for the higher work. The ascent to the hill-top (3 13) was such a flight. The voyage towards the eastern shore on the day of the parabolic discourse from a boat was another. The undisguised manner in which Mk. allows this to appear in his narrative is a good instance of his realism: 'They [the disciples] take him with them, as he was in the ship' (4 36), *sine apparatu* (Bengel) and *sine mora.* Here was flight along the only line of retreat, the shore being besieged by the vast crowd, and not easy even along that line, some of the people having got into boats to be nearer the speaker (4 36). The voyage towards Bethsaida at the north-western corner of the lake, after the return of the twelve from their apprentice mission (6 32), was a third (unsuccessful) attempt at escape. The long excursions to the north, into the regions of Tyre and Sidon and Cæsarea Philippi (7 24-37), were likewise flights, endeavours to escape both from friends and from foes; more successful because taking the fugitives outside the boundaries of Israel, or into a borderland where Jesus and his work were comparatively unknown.

In connection with the first and the last of these retirements some of the most important parts of the *didaché* of Jesus were communicated to his disciples.

12. The 'Teaching on the Hill.' With the ascent to the hill is connected the great 'Sermon on the Mount,' unreported by Mk., preserved by Mt. and Lk. in very diverse forms, yet withal so like as to leave no reason for doubt as to their identity. Which of the two reports comes nearest to the original, and whether both do not diverge therefrom widely in different directions, are questions which cannot be discussed here (see GOSPELS). The two points which we are concerned to emphasise are: (1) that the discourse was *didaché,* disciple-instruction, possibly with none

[1] That *faith* occupied a prominent place in the religious idea of Jesus appears from the incidents of the centurion (Mt. 8 5-13), the woman with an issue (Mk. 5 25-34 and parallels), and the Syro-Phoenician woman (Mk. 7 24-30 Mt. 15 21-28). See FAITH.

[2] On this, see Jülicher, *Die Gleichnissreden Jesu,* 131-149; also *Einl. i. d. NT,* 228.

present but disciples, though that is not made clear in either narrative, and therefore might more appropriately be called *The Teaching on the Hill* than *The Sermon on the Mount;* and (2) that this teaching was given during a season of leisure, *probably lasting for days.* The latter point has a most important bearing on the question of the unity of the discourse as given in Mt. If we assume that it was delivered all in one gush, and on a single theme—say the antithesis between Pharisaic righteousness and the righteousness of the kingdom as conceived by Jesus—then certain portions must be eliminated as irrelevant : *e.g.*, The Lord's Prayer (6 9-15) and the counsel against care (6 25-34).[1] But if the teaching on the hill continued for days, with different themes for each day, then the unity must be understood in a wide sense, and Mt.'s version of the 'sermon' may be a substantially correct summary of what Jesus said on various topics not closely connected with one another.[2]

The teaching on the hill as reported in Mt. affords large insight into the thoughts of Jesus on the essentials of religion: God, man, the kingdom of God, the righteousness of God.

13. Idea of God.

Jesus taught no abstract doctrine concerning *God*, or indeed on any subject. He did not say, God must be thought of as *Father*, and then proceed to explain what the title meant. He simply used the new name and defined as he went along by discriminating use. The title 'Father' is applied to God no less than fifteen times in the sermon, most suggestively, so as to ascribe to him by implication a universal and a special providence (5 45 6 32), benignant and magnanimous in its action, doing good even to the unthankful and the evil (5 45), a perfect ethical nature whose perfection consists in gracious unmerited love (5 46-48), a spirit delighting in mercy and ready to forgive, and desiring the same spirit to rule in the hearts of those who have the supreme honour to be called God's children (6 14 *f.*), an eye that carefully notes the most secret devout acts of the sincere and humble worshipper (6 1 4 18), an ear that hears their prayers, and a heart that is inclined to grant all the good desired or needed (7 11).

That Jesus did not employ this new name for God simply under the instinctive guidance of a happy religious genius, but with full consciousness and deliberate purpose, is intrinsically probable, and is attested by a remarkable word ascribed to him in the evangelic tradition, and preserved in substantially the same terms in the first and third Gospels : 'No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither knoweth any one the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son is pleased to reveal him' (Mt. 11 27 Lk. 10 22). In view of the statement in Lk.'s preface as to the method on which he compiled his Gospel, a sober criticism will not readily acquiesce in the theory that the passage in which this text is embedded is a free poetical composition by the evangelist in the spirit of Paulinism, and that it was borrowed from him by the author of the canonical Mt. writing at a later date.[3] It is much more probable that both evangelists found it in a common source containing a collection of the sayings of Jesus, either in the form which it assumes in extant MSS, or in that current among the gnostics : 'No one knew the Father save the Son, and the Son save the Father and he to whom the Son shall reveal.' Under either form the Logion implies a peculiar relation, if not to God, at least to the conception of God as Father, that of one who claimed to have given currency to the name.

[1] So Weiss in his *Matthäus-Evangelium*, and in his edition of Meyer's *Comm. on Matthew*.

[2] This view is taken by Lutteroth (*Essai d'Interprétation de quelques parties de l'Evangile selon saint Matthieu*). He takes καθίσαντος (5 1) in the sense of camping out (*camper*) pointing to Acts 18 11 and Lk. 24 49 as instances of the use of the word in a kindred sense.

[3] So Pfleiderer in *Urchristenthum*.

The whole section Mt. 11 25-30 was probably a unity of which Lk. (10 21 *f.*) for some reason gives only a fragment. In favour of this view is the resemblance it bears to the prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach (Ecclus. 51) which like it begins with a prayer and ends with an invitation), in the name of wisdom, to come and receive instruction. This resemblance has been used as an argument against the genuineness of the Logion 'come unto me' (Pfleiderer, *Urchrist.* 513). But it is perfectly conceivable that Jesus was acquainted with Sirach, and that his utterance was coloured by the language of its closing sentences. This view meets the objection taken to the Logion on the ground of the self-eulogy in some of its expressions (Martineau, *Seat of Authority in Religion*, 577-585). When he says, 'I am meek and lowly,' Jesus of Nazareth speaks in the name of wisdom (one of his self-designations according to Resch, *Agrapha*, 273 *f.*), as the earlier Jesus had spoken before him.

14. Idea of man.

Jesus taught his doctrine of *man* on the same method of incidental suggestion. He asserted the worth of man by comparisons sometimes pathetically and even humorously understating the truth, in one instance sublimely adequate. A man is better, greater, of more worth to God, and to himself, thinking rightly, than a bird (Mt. 6 26), a sheep (Mt. 12 12), yea, than the whole world (Mk. 8 36). The truth implied is that the things compared are really incommensurable. It is a Hebrew way of asserting the ideal, absolute worth of humanity, a method applied in the Epistle to the Hebrews to Christianity, which is declared to be better in various respects than the Levitical religion, when what is meant is that it is the absolute, perfect, therefore eternal, religion. Man's incomparable dignity in the teaching of Jesus rests on the fact that he is a son of God, not merely a creature, whether small as a bird or great as a world; a son indefeasibly, whether good or evil, just or unjust (Mt. 5 45). By this lofty conception of man's relation to God, rather than by expressed statement or laboured argument, Jesus brought immortality to light, 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living,' he said (Mt. 22 32). *A fortiori* he would have said: 'God is not the *Father* of the dead, but of the living.'

15. Woman.

Not to be overlooked even in a summary statement of Christ's teaching concerning man is his assertion of the rights of *woman*, in connection with married relations (Mt. 5 31 *f.*, cp 19 3-9 Mk. 10 2-12). The Jewish doctors of the time for the most part accepted the old Hebrew notion of a wife as property bought and sold, and to be put away at the pleasure of her husband. But they were zealous to have the bill of divorcement (Dt. 24 1) in due form, that the woman might be able to show that she was free to marry again, and doubtless they flattered themselves that they were thereby defending the rights of women. Jesus asserted a more radical right of woman—not to he put away, except when she put herself away by unfaithfulness. He thus raised anew the prophetic cry 'I hate putting away' (Mal. 2 16). It was an act of humanity of inestimable value to the highest interests of the race, as well as an act of heroic courage.

16. Outcasts.

By his friendly relations with the 'publicans and sinners' Jesus gave a practical and impressive expression of his doctrine of man. The great social gathering of the outcasts in Capernaum (Mk. 2 15-17 and parallels) brought together by Levi or Matthew, called doubtless for that immediate local service, as well as for the ulterior wider service of the apostleship, was a concrete assertion of the great truth that a man at the worst is still a man, and a son of God, and that all superficial cleavages of race, descent, colour, occupation, or even character, are of small account in comparison with that which is common to all humanity, the soul.

The so-called feast in Levi's house cannot have been merely a private entertainment given by the newly called disciple to as many of his old comrades as his dining chamber would accommodate. All the evangelists say that there were many present. Lk.'s expression is 'a great crowd' (ὄχλος πολύς). The meeting was probably in the court around which the buildings of an eastern house of any size are arranged, and of the dimensions of a congregation rather than of a dinner party. Jesus was the prime mover in the matter, and Levi merely

his agent. It was a deliberate attempt on Christ's part to get into personal contact with the social outcasts of Capernaum.

By these kindred ideas of God and man and their relations Jesus became inevitably the founder of a universal religion, however narrow the limits within which his own ministry was restricted. Those who, like Baur[1] and Weizsacker, have interpreted his teaching in a universal sense have most truly divined his inmost thoughts.

17. Kingdom of God.

In setting forth the *summum bonum* as the *kingdom of God* Jesus poured his new wine into a very old linguistic skin. But that the wine, the idea connected with the phrase, was new, the parables of the new wine and the new piece of cloth (Mk. 2 21 *f.* and parallels) suffice to prove. The kingdom he preached was ethical, spiritual, (and therefore) universal in character : not political, theocratic, national; at least national only to those cherishing current Jewish expectations. The Beatitudes, which form the sublime introduction to the Teaching on the Hill, in either version of them, amply bear out this assertion. Obviously so in Mt.'s version, really so also, though not so obviously, in Lk.'s. Jesus may have said : 'Blessed ye poor,' as Lk. reports, and the reporter may have understood the term 'poor' chiefly in a social sense ; but it does not follow that his understanding in this case, any more than in the case of the saying, 'I came not to call the righteous,' exhausted the Teacher's meaning. Jesus used words in a pregnant sense, and in his mind the natural and the spiritual lay close together : witness the saying : 'few things (dishes) are needful, or (rather) one' (thing)—*i.e.*, the food that endures for ever—Lk. 10 41 *f.* The high ideal of man links together in his thought the social and the spiritual. The poor man passes into the blessedness of the kingdom whenever he realises what man is or may be. Poor in purse or even in character, no man is beggared who has a vision of man's chief end and good. If this be idealism, then Jesus was an idealist. He was also a poet, and words were symbols for him of thoughts which no words could adequately express. To make him the herald of a theocratic particularistic kingdom of Israel is to bring him down from these lofty regions to the low level of dull prosaic commonplace.[2]

The kingdom of God, or of heaven, as it is usually designated in the first Gospel, while in its ultimate significance implying a high ideal of life, sonship realised in a heroic career rife with tribulation (Mt. 5 10-12), is in its initial aspect, as already indicated, a boon rather than a demand. Seek ye the kingdom (as the highest good), said the Master to his disciples (Mt. 6 33). It is to be sought as the *summum bonum,* in preference to the temporal good above which Pagan aspiration rarely rises (Mt. 6 32). It is the bread which perisheth not, the raiment which waxeth not old, the treasure which cannot be stolen (Lk. 12 33). The quest of this supreme good, in singleness of mind, is ever successful. 'Seek, and ye shall find' (Mt. 7 7). And the quest is the noblest of human endeavours. He who so seeks the highest good fulfils at the same time the highest duty of man. In this coincidence of the chief good with the chief end lies the unique distinction of the Christian religion as expounded by its Founder.

18. Ethical ideal.

Jesus carefully explained his conception of the *ethical ideal,* both by positive statements and by keen caustic criticism of the system of religion and morals prevalent among the Jews in his time. Among the statements a foremost place belongs to the golden rule ; 'what you wish men to do to you do ye to them' (Mt. 7 12), for which analogies can be found in other religions, but with this difference, that, whilst in the teaching of Jesus the rule assumes a positive form, in all other known instances it is given negatively. So in the saying of Confucius, 'do not to others what you would not wish done to yourself' (Legge, *Chinese Classics,* 1 191). The negative confines us to the region of justice; the positive takes us into the region of generosity; for we wish more than we can claim, or than the average man is willing to do to others. Jesus would have a disciple to be not merely δίκαιος but ἀγαθός, spontaneously doing to others all that a spirit of magnanimity prompts. The golden rule covers only the duties arising out of human relations. The summary of duty,—Love God with all your heart, and your neighbour as yourself—given in answer to a question at a later time (Mk. 12 28-31), covers the whole ground of obligation. Thus we have religion and morality blent in one ideal as of co-ordinate importance, a combination not lying to the hand in the OT—the two great commandments, though both in the law, are not given in one place (Dt. 6 4 *f.* Lev. 19 18)—and still less in accordance with the spirit of the time. In Rabbinism ritual was before morality, and the tendency was to sacrifice morality in the interest of religion. Jesus said : ethics before ritual—the essentials of true religion consist in morality—placability before sacrifice (Mt. 5 23), mercy before sacrifice (Mt. 9 13), filial affection before sacrifice (Mt. 15 4-6 Mk. 7 9-13).

Whilst putting morality on a level with, or even in some respects above, religion, Jesus was careful to subordinate individual interests to the universal claims of the kingdom of God : 'Seek ye his kingdom' said he to his disciples (Lk. 12 31), implying if he did not say 'first' (Mt. 6 33), food or raiment being relegated to the second place. The 'Lord's Prayer' is constructed on the same principle of subordination. First God's glory, kingdom, and will ; then, only in the second place, the temporal interest (daily bread), and even the spiritual interests (pardon and protection from temptation), of the worshipper. Jesus insisted that this subordination must be carried the length of willingness to part with life itself. First the things of God, then the things of men (Mk. 8 33). True to his great principle that religion and morality are one, however, Jesus gave his disciples to understand that the things of God are at the same time those of deepest concern to man. They are the true life of the spirit, for the sake of which one who understands the philosophy of life will gladly part when needful with the lower life of the body (Mk. 8 35).

The antithetic presentation of the moral ideal was given partly in didactic form, partly in the way of occasional polemics. For the didactic aspect, which concerns us here, we are indebted chiefly to Mt., in whose version of the Sermon on the Mount the contrast between Jesus's interpretation of the law and that current in the Rabbinical schools is worked out in a series of examples (Mt. 5 21-48). This section of the sermon is omitted almost entirely by Lk., whereby the small part he has retained loses much in point. The gist of the elaborate contrast is: The law as interpreted by the scribes, externalised and restricted in scope ; as interpreted by Jesus, inward and infinite. Thou shalt not *kill,* said the scribe ; thou shalt not *hate* or *despise,* said Jesus. Thou shalt love thy *neighbour,* and doing that thou doest enough, said (in effect) the scribe; thou shalt love *all,* making no distinction between fellow-countrymen or strangers, friend or foe, except as to the form love takes, said Jesus. The external is that which is seen; hence the tendency of an outward morality to become a morality of ostentation. Jesus used this morality, much in vogue in his time, to emphasise by contrast the reserved retiring character of true piety (Mt. 6 1-8 16-18). True goodness is in the

[1] Baur's view of the religion of Jesus as spiritual and universal is entirely independent of his theory as to the indebtedness of Jesus for these characteristics of his teaching to Greek philosophy and Roman world-wide empire. We may hold aloof from this theory, yet accept his view of the essential characteristics of the Christianity of Christ.

[2] This prosaic view pervades the treatment of Christ's teaching in all the works of Dr. Bernhard Weiss.

heart, and the good man is content that it should be there, visible only to the Father in heaven.

3. The later teaching of Jesus will be referred to in another connection. We pass, therefore, from the teaching to the healing ministry. In doing so we make a transition from a subject which is universally attractive to one which is distasteful to many because of its association with the idea of *miracle*. The distaste is felt not only by those who do not believe in the miraculous, but also by not a few who, whilst not adherents of the naturalistic school, have no sympathy with the apologetic value attached to 'miracles' as credentials of revelation. The following statement will not bring us into collision with this feeling. The *miraculousness* of the healing ministry is not the point in question: what we are concerned with is the question of fact. Now, as to this, the healing ministry, judged by critical tests, stands on as firm historical ground as the best accredited parts of the teaching.

19. Healing ministry: evidence.

The *triple tradition—i.e.*, the narrative common to all the three Gospels—contains no less than nine reports of healing acts, including the cases of the leper, the madman of Gergesa, and the dead daughter of Jairus. Then, in most of the reports the action of Jesus is so interwoven with unmistakably authentic words (*e.g.*, in the case of the palsied man) that the two elements cannot be separated: we must take the story as it stands or reject it entirely. That the healing ministry was not only a fact but a great outstanding fact, is attested by the popularity of Jesus, and by the various theories which were invented to account for the remarkable phenomena. Mk. gives a realistic, lifelike description of the connection between healing acts and the fame of Jesus. The cure of a demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum (Mk. 1 23) creates a sensation even greater than that produced by the discourse of the new preacher. They remark to one another not only on the new doctrine, but also on the authority which Jesus wields over unclean spirits (1 27). The result is that in the evening of the same Sabbath day, after sunset, the people of the town gather at the door of the house where Jesus resides, bringing their sick to be healed (1 32). So, again, on his return to Capernaum, after his preaching tour in Galilee, the report speedily spreading that he had come back, a crowd assembles so large and dense as to make access to him impossible except through the roof of the house (2 1-4). Fresh recollections of the synagogue-sermon, but still more of the Sabbath-evening cures, explain the popular enthusiasm. The theories were various and curious. The relations of Jesus had their theory, not so much indeed about the healing acts as about the healer. Mk. reports (it is one of his realisms) that they thought him out of his senses (3 21). Much benevolence had made him mad. The beneficent deeds must have been there, else the madness would not have been imputed. The Pharisees, *more suo*, put a less friendly construction on the puzzling phenomena, seeing in them not the acts of a man more endowed with love and with power over diseases (physical and mental) than was good for his own health of body and mind, but the acts of a man in league with the prince of darkness, an incarnation of Beelzebub (Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει, Mk. 3 22). [See BEELZEBUL.] This was a very unlikely theory, as Jesus pointed out; but the thing to be noted is the existence of the theory, showing, as it does, that there were facts imperiously demanding explanation of some sort. Yet another theory, too curious to be an invention of the evangelists who report it (Mk. 6 16 Mt. 14 2), originated in the palace of Herod the murderer of the Baptist, and in his own guilt-haunted mind. This Jesus of whose marvellous works I hear is John risen again, the mysterious powers of the other world manifesting themselves through the resurrected man. The theory is perhaps absurd, yet by its very absurdity it witnesses to extraordinary facts arresting general attention, and forcing their way, however unwelcome, into kings' houses.

The healing ministry of Jesus presents a problem at once for exegesis, for theology, and for science. The question for exegesis is, What do the reports necessarily imply? Was the leper cured, or only pronounced clean? Was the bread that fed the thousands miraculously produced, or drawn forth by the bearing of Jesus from the stores in possession of the crowd; or is the story merely a symbolic embodiment of the life-giving power of Jesus in the spiritual sphere? Was the daughter of Jairus really dead? For theology the question is, What bearing has the healing ministry on the personality of Jesus? Here is certainly something to wonder at, to start the inquiry: What manner of man is this? Is it only a question as to the manner of the *man*, of a man fully endowed with powers not unexampled elsewhere, at least in kind, though lying dormant in ordinary men? Or do the phenomena take us outside the human into the region of the strictly divine? For science the question is, Can the acts ascribed to Jesus be accounted for by any known laws of nature—*e.g.*, by 'moral therapeutics,' or the emotional treatment of disease? Care must be taken in attempting to answer this question not to understate the facts. In the case of demoniacal possession, for example, it is making the problem too easy to say that that was a merely imaginary disease. The diseases to which the name is applied in the Gospels were in some cases serious enough. The 'demoniac' of Gergesa was a raving madman; the boy at the foot of the hill of Transfiguration was the victim of aggravated epilepsy. The only door of escape open for scientific scepticism in such cases is doubt as to the permanence of the alleged cure.

20. Interpretation.

There is one thing about which we may have comfortable certainty. Whether miraculous or not, whether the works of a mere man, or of one who is a man and more, these healing acts are a revelation of the love of Jesus, a manifestation of his 'enthusiasm of humanity,' to be placed beside the meeting with the publicans of Capernaum as an aid to the understanding of his spirit and aims. By that meeting he showed his interest in a despised class of men; by the healing ministry he showed his interest in a despised part of human nature, the body, and so evinced the healthy catholic nature of his conception of redemption. He was minded to do all the good in the world he could. He was able to heal men's bodies as well as their souls; and he did it, thereby protesting against that pagan notion of the body, as something essentially evil and worthless, which underlies all modes of asceticism, and against a false spiritualism which regards disease of the body as essential to the health of the soul. The healing ministry shows Jesus, not as a thaumaturge bent on creating astonishment, but as in a large, grand, human way the friend of men, bearing by sympathy their sicknesses as well as their sorrows and sins as a burden in his heart.[1]

21. An indication of character.

4. *The conflict* **with the** *religious leaders* **of** *Israel*, called in the Gospels 'scribes and Pharisees,' formed a very essential part of the public life of Jesus. It soon brought that life *to* a tragic end. The Gospel of Lk. by toning down that aspect, omitting much of Christ's polemic against Pharisaism, and mitigating the asperity

22. Pharisaic hostility.

[1] Such is the view of Christ's healing ministry presented in Mt.: witness the prophetic citation in 8 17. There is no desire in the first Gospel to magnify the miracle. Peter's mother-in-law simply suffers from a feverish attack. The sympathy of Jesus is the point of interest, which was the same whether the fever was severe or slight. In Lk. it is a *great* fever (4 38) and throughout this Gospel care is taken to magnify the power as well as the benevolence of Jesus. Mk., on the other hand, goes so far as to say that Jesus was not able to do any mighty works in Nazareth, because of the unbelief of the people (6 5*f*.).

of what is retained by representing it as uttered under the control of friendly social relations (three feasts in Pharisees' houses peculiar to this Gospel 7 36-50 11 37-44 14 1-24), makes it impossible to form a clear idea of the religious environment of Jesus, of the heroic warfare he had to wage, and of the forces that were at work, moving steadily on towards Calvary. For information on these points, we must turn to the pages of Mt. and Mk., especially of the latter, in which the course of the conflict is vividly depicted. A few anecdotes bring before us realistically Pharisaic hostility, in its rise and progress, and prepare us for the end (Mk. 2-36).

Collision was inevitable. Radical contrariety of view on the whole subject of conduct in religion and in morals was its deepest cause, and the popularity of Jesus as a preacher and a healer was a constant and increasing source of irritation.

The contrast (1 21 *f.*) between Jesus and the scribes, in their respective styles of preaching or teaching, remarked on by the second evangelist, was not unnoticed by the people. If they did not say, How unlike the scribes ! they at least showed the new teacher an amount of consideration not accorded to the scribes. Therefore, we are not surprised to learn that when Jesus returned from his preaching tour in Galilee to Capernaum the scribes were in a fault-finding mood *(26)*. They took care, however, to conceal the cause of their chagrin, selecting as the point of assault neither the preaching nor the healing, but the 'blasphemous' word of pardon : 'Son, thy sins be forgiven thee.' The Capernaum mission to the 'publicans and sinners' (2 15-17) supplied the next occasion for offence. These classes had begun to take an interest in Jesus. 'There were many (of them there), and they began to follow him' (2 15). They had doubtless heard the story of the palsied man, and how Jesus had been sympathetic towards the sinner, and had been regarded by the scribes as a blasphemer. They naturally desired to see and hear and know the interesting blasphemer. The offence in this instance lay in eating with such people—*i.e.*, in having comrade-like relations with them. It was a complicated many-sided offence : a slight on the national feeling of Jews, who resented whatever reminded them of their political humiliation; an indirect slight on the laws which the classes fraternised with habitually neglected ; it was also—though this might not be so clearly perceived—a slight on the prerogative of Israel as an elect people, an evil omen of an approaching revolution when the kingdom of God would be thrown open to all.

Next come Sabbatic controversies trivial in occasion, but cutting contemporary Jewish prejudice to the quick, and greatly intensifying the exasperation (2 23-28 3 1-6). These encounters revealed a radical contrarietv between Jesus and the scribes in their respective conceptions of the Sabbath. Jesus expressed the difference in a saying preserved only in Mk. (2 27) : 'The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.' The remark implied a manner of conceiving God, man, and religion, different from that in vogue, and it is not surprising that from that day forth dislike began to deepen into hatred, harbouring murderous intentions. The author of Mk. winds up his narrative of the healing of the withered hand with the significant statement : 'the Pharisees went forth and straightway, with the Herodians, took counsel against him, how they might destroy him' *(36)*. The reference to the HERODIANS (*q.v.*), little spoken of in the Gospels, signifies that the Pharisees now began seriously to aim at the life of Jesus, and naturally felt that the assistance of persons having influence at the court would be valuable.

23. Sabbath, etc.

Hereafter the foes of Jesus come before us attacking his healing ministry on a side at which it appeared to them vulnerable. The meeting with the outcasts of Capernaum had given a choice opportunity for a calumnious assault upon his moral character, of which they seem to have taken advantage to the full extent (Mt. 11 19). The cures of demoniacs formed the basis of the attempt to rob him of the fame fairly won by his wonderful works (Mk. 3 22). The cures themselves could not be denied, nor the power they evinced; but was the power necessarily from heaven, might it not be from an opposite quarter? The men who made the malign suggestion knew better ; but it was enough for them that the suggestion was plausible. Hence the solemn warning of Jesus against blasphemy—*i.e.*, speaking evil of that which is known to be good (Mk. 3 29).

The next encounter had reference to ritual ablutions (Mk. 71-23 Mt. 15 1-20).[1] This time, Jesus assumed the offensive, and exposed the vices inherent in the systems represented by the scribes; declaring in effect that the hedging of the Law by the multiplied rules of legal doctors had for its result the setting of the Law aside, and giving as an example the doctrine of Corban in its bearing on the fifth commandment. This was offence enough ; but Jesus added to it by an appeal to the multitude, to whom he addressed one of those great emancipating sayings which sweep away the cobwebs of artificial systems better than elaborate argument—that which defiles is not what goeth into the mouth but what cometh out of it. 'It was a virtual abrogation, not merely of the traditions of the Elders, but even of the ceremonial law of Moses : a proclamation of the great truth that moral defilement alone is of importance.

24. Ritual.

When it had come to this, a crisis was at hand. Jesus knew it, and retired from the scenes of strife, partly to escape for a while from the malice of his foes, and still more to prepare his disciples, by seasonable instructions, for the inevitable end. The time of these later instructions was that of the northerly excursions[2] already referred to, and their main theme was *sacrifice*. Jesus began to tell his disciples plainly that he himself must suffer death at the hands of the religious leaders, and that they and all faithful souls must be prepared to endure hardship for truth and righteousness (Mk. 8 30-34 Mt. 16 21-24 Lk 9 21-23) ; and from this time forth he devoted much attention towards developing in the twelve the heroic temper demanded by the situation. It was no easy task; for, while the master was continually preoccupied with the cross, the disciples were often thinking vain thoughts. The contrast is depicted in a realistic manner by Mk. 'They were in the way, going up to Jerusalem ; and Jesus was going before them : and they were amazed' (10 32). They could not comprehend the intense preoccupation betrayed in the master's manner. It filled them with awe. The sequel explains. The ambitious request of James and John followed soon after, as comic scenes succeed tragic ones in a drama. Hence the need for inculcating such recondite truths of the kingdom as that greatness comes by service ; that childlikeness is the condition of entrance into the kingdom ; that ambition aspiring to greatness and trampling on weakness is a cursed passion, deserving drowning, with a heavy millstone round the neck, in the deepest part of the sea ; and that only through brotherly kindness and charity can one hope to win the favour of God (Mt. 18 Mk. 9 33-50).

25. Jesus sees the crisis.

1 The preceding incidents are common to the three Synoptists. This one is omitted by Lk. along with a group of other narratives, including the second storm on the lake, the Syro-Phœnician woman, the second feeding, the demand for a sign—in short, the whole of Mt. 14 22-16 12 and Mk. 6 45-8 21 except that Mk. 8 15 Mt. 16 6=Lk. 12 1. These omissions were probably intentional on Lk.'s part, the incidents being known to him, hut passed over for various reasons.

2 The Gospels speak of two excursions—one to the regions of Tyre and Sidon, another to the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi. Even so conservative a critic as Weiss is inclined to resolve the two into one by treating the second feeding as a merely literary duplicate of the first.

During the period of wandering in the north the disciple Peter, the foremost man among the twelve, and usually their spokesman on important occasions, made an eventful declaration concerning the master.

26. Messiah.

Jesus had himself led up to it by introducing into their conversation, as they journeyed towards Cæsarea Philippi, the topic: 'Who do men say that I am?' (Mt. 16 13-20 Mk. 8 27-30 Lk. 9 18-21).[1] That general question disposed of, there came a second: And you, who say you that I am? The answer of Peter was: Thon art the *Christ* (Mk. 8 29). It was apparently the answer which Jesus anticipated and wished; which would imply that he regarded himself as one in whom the Messianic hope of the Jewish people was fulfilled. Can this indeed have been so? Can such an one as Jesus, so wise and good, and so utterly out of sympathy with the religious spirit of his time, have thought himself the Messiah, or even taken any interest in the Messianic idea? It is evident that one occupying the position of Jesus as a religious teacher could not escape having some conscious attitude towards that idea, friendly or indifferent or hostile. And it is certain that he would be utterly unsympathetic towards the Messianic ideas current among the Jews of his time. Pharisaic notions of the Messianic king and kingdom would be as distasteful to him as Pharisaic notions of the Law, of righteousness, of God, and of man. His attitude towards the whole circle of ideas associated with conventional religion was, without doubt, that of a radical sceptic. But he did not live in the region of negation. His way was to discard unwelcome ideas and put better ones in their place. He did this in connection with all the other subjects above mentioned, and doubtless he acted on the same principle in connection with the Messianic hope—this all the more decisively because that hope was not rabbinical but prophetic in its origin, associated with some of the most spiritual aspirations of OT saints and seers, if also finding expression occasionally in materialistic or political representations of the good time coming. By elective affinity Jesus would choose the purest and loftiest elements in prophetic delineations, and out of these form his Messianic idea. From certain indications in the Gospels—the voice from heaven at the Baptism and the Transfiguration, the text of the discourse in the synagogue of Nazareth, the intimate connection between the confession of Peter and the first distinct intimation of the approaching Passion—it may be inferred that Deutero-Isaiah was the chief source of his conception, and that his Messiah was one endowed abundantly with the charisma of *love* (Is. 61), therefore well-pleasing to God (Is. 42 1), and destined to be a man of sorrow (Is. 53).

Messiah stands for an ideal, the *summum bonum* embodied in a person. The Jews believed that such a person would come. Jesus might very sincerely share the expectation, as the Baptist did. Could he also regard himself as the coming one? He could not, if a Messianic consciousness implied self-asserting pretensions, or, generally, states of feeling incompatible with a lowly spirit. He could, if the Messianic vocation presented itself to his mind as a duty, rather than as a dignity, as a summons to a career of suffering, a tempting to renunciation rather than to usurpation. *So,* in fact, it did appear to him. The man of sorrow in Is. 53 is ideal Israel; the faithful in Israel, the men who stand for God and righteousness in an evil world, conceived poetically as an individual. Jesus thought of himself as that individual, the representative of all who live sacrificial and therefore redemptive lives. See MESSIAH.

All goes to bear out this assertion—*e.g.* the self-designation 'Son of man,' so much used by Jesus. The meaning of this title he never defined any more than he formally defined the name 'Father' applied to God. It is doubtful if OT texts can give us much help towards fixing its import.

27. 'Son of man.'

We must watch the Son of man in the act of so designating himself, defining the name by discriminating use. Doing this, we receive the impression that the title is chosen because it is one that makes no claims. In Aramaic it means simply 'the man.' If it be Messianic, through the use made of it in Daniel and the *Book of Enoch*, it is furtively so, an incognito. The admiring people frequently called Him 'Son of David,' and the early Christian Church laid stress on the title as an important link in the chain of Messianic proof. Hence the genealogies in Mt. and Lk. Even Paul recognises the Davidic descent as in its own place important (Rom. 1 3). There is no evidence that Jesus repudiated the title;[1] but the title 'Son of man' does show that he regarded the other (as implying physical descent and therefore regal rights) as of little significance. Others said Son of *David;* he said Son of *Man.*[2] See SON OF MAN.

The message from the imprisoned Baptist to Jesus (Mt. 11 2 *f.* Lk. 7 18 *f.*) is not without significance in this connection: 'Art thou the coming one?' By some (*e.g.*, Holtzmann in *Handcomm.)* the question is viewed as the utterance rather of a budding than of a waning faith. But the comments of Jesus on the message and on the man who sent it, bearing a stamp of authenticity upon them and probably taken by the two evangelists from the Book of Logia, demand the latter interpretation. 'Blessed is he who findeth no cause of stumbling in me.' John had found cause of stumbling in Jesus, in whom from the first his prophetic eye had detected an extraordinary person. John's Messiah was to be an iconoclast, a hewer down of barren trees and effete institutions, one coming in the fury of the Lord to destroy by the wind and fire of judgment. Jesus hitherto had been nothing of the kind; rather a preacher of good news, even to the immoral; a healer of disease, a teacher of wisdom, with nothing like a fan in his hand, save one of searching moral criticism on the ways of scribes and Pharisees. Therefore, John began to fear that, after all, this was not the Christ. His fear is a valuable testimony to the kind of Christ Jesus believed in and was: one seeking to save rather than to judge, and just on that account liable to be misunderstood even by a John, and to be despised and rejected by a religious but ungodly world. How far apart the two prophets were in their ideas and tendencies, may be estimated from the striking remark made by Jesus concerning the Baptist: 'the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (Mt. 11 11).

The triumphal entry into Jerusalem by Jesus towards the close of his career may seem to conflict with the view set forth above, and to exhibit a Messiah parading his claims.

28. Entry into Jerusalem.

The story belongs to the triple tradition, and must be accepted as historical (Mt. 21 1-11 Mk. 11 1-11 Lk. 19 29-44); but cp HOSANNA. Mt., after his usual manner, represents the whole transaction as happening in order that a certain prophetic oracle might be fulfilled. So he viewed it, and so he wishes his readers to view it; but it does not follow that Jesus rode into the holy city on the foal of an ass with conscious intention to fulfil prophecy. The less intention on his part, the greater the value of any uniformity between prophecy and fact. Action with intention might show that he

1 In consequence of the long omission, this section in Luke follows immediately after the first feeding, and there is no indication that it did not happen at the same **place.** There is no trace of the excursion to the north in his narrative.

1 The discussion between Jesus and the scribes in the temple on the relation of the Christ to David has been interpreted in this sense. But the question of Jesus does not necessarily imply denial *in toto* of Davidic descent, or more than a hint as to the comparative unimportance of it. It meant in effect: You begin at the wrong end, physical descent; and it lands you in an unspiritual conception of Messiah.

2 The passages in which the title is used in an apocalyptic sense seem to breathe a different spirit. They cannot be discussed here.

claimed to he, not that he was, the Messiah. On the other hand, his right to he regarded as the Messiah would have stood where it was though he had entered Jerusalem on foot. The actual mode of entrance could possess at most only the value of a symbol. And Jesus seems to have been in the mood to let it have such value, and that just because it was in harmony with his habit of avoiding display and discouraging vulgar Messianic hopes. There was really no pretentiousness in riding into Jerusalem on the foal of an ass. It was rather the meek and lowly one entering in character. The symbolic act was in harmony with the use of the title 'Son of man,' shunning Messianic pretensions, yet showing himself as the true Messiah in a deeper way. Mk.'s narrative of the incident is to be preferred as preserving most of the primitive simplicity. It is only in his version that Jesus instructs his disciples to tell the man from whom the young ass is being borrowed that it will he returned when he has had his use of it (Mk. **11** 3). Some modern commentators, influenced by conventional notions of dignity, will not allow even Mark to put the matter so. But he does; it is one of his realisms.[1]

The thoughts of Jesus, then as always, were humble; but those of his followers were more ambitious, and such as to provoke the ire of those who sought his undoing. They shouted Hosannas in his honour, as to the Son of David through whom the 'long hoped-for kingdom was about to come. The very children in the streets, according to Mt. (**21** 15), caught up the cry, to the chagrin of the guardians of conventional proprieties. The enthusiasm of the people who had come up with Jesus to keep the feast of the passover—men and women from Galilee, proud of their prophet and king—was his death-knell. He had come up to Jerusalem fully convinced that he was going to meet death. Therefore, he used his short time to hear a final testimony against plausible falsehood and sham holiness, and for truth and godliness. Many incidents and utterances are packed into that eventful week—the cleansing of the Temple, parables of judgment *(Two sons, Vinedressers,* ***Marriage of the King's*** *son)*, sundry encounters with captious disputants, and a sublime anti-Pharisaic discourse in which the foibles and vices of a degenerate piety are depicted with prophetic plainness and artistic felicity (Mt. 23). During that fatal week last words had to he spoken to disciples, among which was a foreboding reference to the approaching judgment-day of Israel, accompanied by useful hints for their guidance in a perilous time (Mk. **13** Mt. **24** Lk. 21). The tender pathos of the situation is immortalised in the anointing in Bethany (Mt. **26** 6-13 Mk. **14** 3-9), the holy supper (Mt. **26** 26-29 Mk. **14** 22-25 Lk. **22** 17-20), and the agony in Gethsemane (Mt. **26** 36-46 Mk. **14** 32-42 Lk. *22* 39-46).

29. Passion.

The story of the passion is told at great length, with much agreement, though also with many variations, in all the four Gospels, a sure index of the intense interest taken in the tragic theme within the apostolic church. This interest would not he of late growth. When the apostles began to preach Jesus crucified and risen, they would encounter the eager demand, Tell us how it happened! Faith would make three demands for information concerning its object: What did he teach? What did he do? What did he suffer? Some think that the demand for information concerning the teaching came first and was first met. But even those who, like Holtzmann, take this view regard the history of the passion as the nucleus of the narrative department of the evangelic tradition. First the logia, then the passion drama, then the anecdotes of memorable acts. Whether this was the true genetic order of the three masses of oral tradition, which in combination make up our evangelic records, may reasonably be doubted. The passion group perhaps took shape earliest. The apostles would have to tell at once what they knew,—the main factsof the case,—especiallywhenpreaching outside Jerusalem. Thus began to form itself the passion-chronicle: the main facts first, then this nucleus gradually gathering accretions of minor incidents, till by the time written records began to he compiled the collection of passion-memorabilia had assumed the form which it bears in, for example, the Gospel of Mk. The presumption is that the collection as it stands there is the truth, or at least the truth as far as it could he ascertained.

30. Critical considerations.

For modern criticism the story, even in its most historic version, is not pure truth, hut truth mixed with doubtful legend. Still, even when it is examined with a critical microscope, as it has recently been by Dr. Brandt,[1] not a few of the relative incidents stand the test. Betrayal by one of the twelve, desertion by all of them, denial by Peter, death-sentence under the joint responsibility of Jewish rulers and Roman procurator, assistance in carrying the cross from Simon of Cyrene, crucifixion on a hill called Golgotha, the crime charged indicated by the significant inscription on the cross-beam, 'King of the Jews,'[2] death if not preceded by a prayer for the murderers, or by the despairing cry 'My God, my God,' at least heralded by a loud voice. In these eight particulars we have the skeleton of the story, all that is needful to give the passion its tragic interest, or even to form the basis for theological constructions. The details omitted—the process before the Sanhedrin, the interviews with Pilate and Herod, the mockery of the soldiers, the preferential release of Barabbas, the sneers of passers-by, the two thieves, the parting of the raiment, the words from the cross, the preternatural concomitants of death—arc more or less of the nature of accessories, enhancing the impressiveness of the picture, suggesting additional lessons, hut not changing the character of the event.

Still, even accessories arc not to he lightly sacrificed. Critical estimates arc to he received with caution even in a historical interest, and to measure their value it is important to have a clear idea about the nature of the interest taken by the primitive church in the story of the passion. Now, there can he no doubt that along with sympathy with the fate of a beloved Master went a theoretic or dogmatic interest, at least in a rudimentary form. There was a desire to harmonise the passion with faith in the Messiahship of Jesus. This was obviously a vital matter for disciples. They could not continue to believe in Jesus as the Christ unless they could satisfy themselves that he might he the Christ, the cross notwithstanding; nor could their faith he triumphant unless they could further satisfy themselves that he was all the more certainly the Christ just because he was crucified. The words of the Master concerning suffering as the appointed lot of all faithful souls might help them to attain this insight. With this doctrine as a key, they would see new meanings in OT texts, and graduallylearnfrom histories, Psalms, and prophecies that the path appointed for the godly, and therefore above all for the Messiah, was a path of sacrifice. Thenceforth unison between OT experiences and teaching and the incidents of the passion would become proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus. The offence of the cross would be turned into an apology for faith in the crucified.

1 The true reading is εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει πάλιν where πάλιν implies that the reference is to returning the colt to its owner, not to the readiness with which the owner, after explanations, will send it to Jesus.

1 *Die Evangelische Geschichte* **und der** *Ursprung* des **Christenthums** *auf Grund einer Kritik* **der** *Berichte über* **das** *Leiden und die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1893.

2 This points to Messianic pretensions imputed or confessed. **But** such pretensions had two aspects, a religious and a political. It was the religious aspect that was dealt with in the trial before the Sanhedrin as reported by the Synoptists; hut of course it would he the political aspect that the Sanhedrists brought under the notice of Pilate. The Messianic idea would have no interest for him except in so far as it involved **a** claim to temporal power.

Were those primitive apologists content with correspondence between texts and undeniable facts? Did they invent 'facts' to suit Hebrew oracles, so as to bring out correspondence even in curious details and make the apologetic as convincing as possible? There was certainly a temptation to do so, and we are not entitled *a priori* to assume that they did not yield to the temptation in any instance. On the other hand, we must be on our guard against too hastily assuming the contrary. The probability is that, on the whole, facts suggested texts, instead of texts creating facts. The reasonableness of this statement may be illustrated by an example taken from the history of the infancy in Mt. The last of several prophetic citations in that chapter is, 'He shall be called a Nazarene' (2 23). See NAZARETH. The fact that Nazareth was the home of Jesus is independently certain. It is equally certain that, but for the fact, the supposed prophetic citation would never have occurred to any one's mind; for it is the weakest link in the chain of prophetic evidence for the Christhood of Jesus. This instance suggests that what faith was busy about in these early years was not the manufacturing of history, but the discovering in evangelic facts, however minute, the prophetic fulfilments which are sometimes so far-fetched as to make it inconceivable how they could ever have been thought of unless the facts had gone before. This general observation may be applied to some of the most pathetic incidents in the passion history—the prayer for forgiveness, the taunts of passers-by, the casting of lots for possession of the garments.

31. Ethical significance. If legendary elements of a supernatural character found their wav into the traditions. it is not to be wondered at in connection with events which appealed so powerfully to the imagination of believers. The thine to be noted is that when criticism has done its work–the passion narratives remain in their main details history, not legend. A history how profoundly significant as well as moving! With its theological import we have here no concern; but we may not leave such a theme without briefly indicating its ethical lessons. The crucifixion of Jesus exhibits in a uniquely impressive manner the destiny of righteousness in this world. He was crucified not by accident, not altogether or even mainly through misunderstanding, but because his wisdom and goodness were inconvenient and troublesome. The passion history further sets before us a story not of fate merely, but of *love*. It is the story of one who was willing to die. He knew more or less distinctly what was to happen, consented to it, and was helped to do it by the thought that out of the wrong and evil befalling himself good to others would come. In proof of this statement, it is sufficient to point to the Lord's supper. The passion-history, finally, encourages large hope for the world.

32. Words about the future. Christianity could not have entered on its victorious career unless the followers of the Crucified had believed that he not only died hut also rose again. This is acknowledged even by those who, like Dr. Ferdinand Baur, have themselves no faith in the resurrection. The primitive disciples believed that their Master rose 'on the third day,' and that he would soon come to the earth again; and this faith and hope became the common possession of the apostolic church. The faith and the hope both find support and justification in the words of Jesus as reported by the evangelists. Sad predictions of approaching doom have added to them the cheering words, 'and shall rise again' (Mk. 9 31 and parallels). Many sayings promise the coming of the Son of man in glory, and that speedily, even within the lifetime of the present generation. These sayings present one of the hardest problems for the student of the Gospels: on one side a critical problem which has to deal with the question how far the words of Jesus have been coloured by the hopes of the apostolic age; on another side, an exegetical one having for its task to interpret these words in harmony with others which seem to imply not only a delayed *parousia* (parables of the *Ten Virgins*, the *Upper Servant playing the Tyrant*, and the *Unjust Judge)*, but also an indefinitely protracted Christian era (parables representing the kingdom as subject to the law of growth—the *Sower*, the *Wheat and Tares*, the *Mustard seed*, and, above all, the *Seed growing gradually*, peculiar to Mk. 4 26-29 and his most valuable distinctive contribution to the stock of evangelic traditions). Though some of the relative logia belong to the later and less accredited stratum of tradition, there is no reason to doubt their genuineness. Jesus seems to have had two ways of speaking about the future—partly because, as he himself confessed, he had no clear vision of time's course (Mk. 13 32); partly owing to the purpose his utterances were meant to serve. Some of them were promises meant to cheer (Mk 9 2 and parallels); some, didactic statements bearing on the nature of the kingdom of God (Mk. 4 26-29). In the former the advent is appropriately represented as near; in the latter it is by tacit implication indefinitely remote.

33. Conclusion. The words of Jesus concerning the future show limitation of vision. In other directions we may discover indications that he was the child of his time and people. But his spiritual intuitions are pure truth, valid for all ages. God, man, and the moral ideal cannot be more truly or happily conceived. Far from having outgrown his thoughts on these themes, we are only beginning to perceive their true significance. How long it will be before full effect shall be given to his radical doctrine of the dignity of man! How entirely in accord with the moral order of the world, as interpreted by the whole history of mankind, his doctrine of sacrifice as at once the penalty and the power of righteousness in an evil world! The purity of the doctrine may seem to be compromised by occasional references to the reward of sacrifice, *e.g.*, 'Great is your reward in heaven' (Mt. 5 12); things renounced are to be received back an hundredfold (Mk. 10 30). But the idea of reward cannot be eliminated from ethics. The heroic man is and must be blessed. The apocalyptic presentation of the reward in the Gospels is a matter of form. The essential truth is that it is ever well with the righteous.

34. Literature. Besides the books referred to in the article, and the many Lives of Jesus, the following works may be consulted:—Wendt, ***Die Lehre Jesu***; Weizsacker, *das Apostolische Zeitalter*; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd.* ***Gesch.***; Baldensperger, *das Selbst-* ***bewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der Messianischen Hoffnungen seiner*** *Zeit*; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*. The first two and the last of these works have been translated.

On the sources generally, compare GOSPELS. For History of Period, see CHRONOLOGY, **§§ 43-63**, HERODIAN FAMILY, and ROME. Contemporary life and thought are illustrated in such articles as ESSENES, HERODIANS, PHARISEES, SADDUCEES, SCRIBES, SYNAGOGUE, TEMPLE. Further details of life and teaching are dealt with under such headings as NATIVITY, RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION NARRATIVES, WONDERS, PARABLES (cp FIG-TREE, HUSKS, LEAVEN, SCORPION, VIRGINS, and so forth), LORD'S PRAYER, MESSIAH, SON OF GOD, SON OF MAN, ESCHATOLOGY § *82 ff.* On the names of persons and places mentioned in the Gospels, see the separate articles (*Places:* BETHABARA, BETHANY, BETHESDA, BETHLEHEM, BETHSAIDA, CAPERNAUM, DALMANUTHA, EMMAUS, GETHSEMANE, JERUSALEM, OLIVES [MT. OF], NAIN, NAZARETH, SALIM, SYCHAR, SILOAM: ***Persons***: the several evangelists and apostles, also CLOPAS, HEROD, JOSEPH (NT [2]), JOHN THE BAPTIST, LAZARUS, LYSANIAS, MARTHA, MARY, NATHANAEL, NICODEMUS, PILATE, QUIRINIUS, and the like). **A. B. B.**

JETHER (יֶתֶר; ἰεθερ [BAL]).

1. Ex. 4 18 EVmg. (ιοθορ [BAL]), another form of JETHRO [*q.v.*]. Sam. and some MSS have יתרו.

2. Gideon's first-born son (Judg. 8 20).

3. The father of Amasa (1 K. 2 5 32 [om. A]) by Abigail. In 2 S. 17 25 (MT) he is called ITHRA (יִתְרָא; *ietra*; ܝܬܪܐ; ιεθρας [Jos.]; but ιοθορ [BA; so B in 1 Ch.]), and described, according to the best reading, as a Jezreelite. In 1 Ch. 2 17, however, he appears as an Ishmaelite; hence Thenius, Wellhausen, Driver, Klostermann, Budde, Löhr, H. P. Smith read ישמעאלי in Sam.

But the rival reading יְזְרְעֶאלִי is less likely to be a conjectural emendation (see ABIGAIL, 2; JEZREEL i., 2).

4. A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 32). See JERAHMEEL, § 2.
5. A Judahite, 1 Ch. 4 17 (ιεθερει [B]).
6. An Asherite, 1 Ch. 7 38 (ιεθηρ [B], ιεθραν [L]), see ITHRAN, 2.
7. See JETHETH.

JETHETH (יְתֵת; Jetheth, *OS*[2] 1313) one of the 'dukes' of Edom, Gen. 36 40 (ιεβερ [A], ιεθερ [D[sil.]EL]), 1 Ch. 1 51 (ιεθετ [B], -εθ [A], -ερ [L]).

In view of the readings of 𝔊 it is plausible to read יֶתֶר, which occurs also as a Jerahmeelite and Judahite name (see JETHER). Cp GENEALOGIES i., § 5. S. A. C.

JETHLAH, RV ITHLAH (יִתְלָה; σειλαθα [B], ιεθλα [A], ιθ. [L], ιεθλαν [*OS* 268 78], an unidentified site in Danite territory (Josh. 19 42), associated with Zorah, Eshtaol, Bethshemesh, Aijalon, and Timnah.

JETHRO (יִתְרוֹ, Jithro, § 77; cp Sab. ותראל ותרם; either shortened from Jithron [see ITHRAN and cp Ithra in JETHER, 3], or mispointed for Jithru [cp GASHMU]; ιοθορ [BAL]). Father of Moses' wife, ZIPPORAH, Ex. 3 1 [but 𝔊[L] does not give the priest's name], 4 18 [see JETHER, 1], 18 1 *ff.* All these passages belong to E; the first and third of them add 'priest of Midian.' This was most probably interpolated from Ex. 2 16 (J) by the redactor (R), who also removed the discrepant name 'Hobab' from that passage, and thus produced a superficial harmony, against which, however, Nu. 10 29 and Judg. 4 11 protest (see HOBAB).

The futile attempts of the ancients to reconcile the discrepancies of the documents require no elaborate consideration. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 12 1) says that Jethro was a surname of Reuel (יֶתֶר, 'superiority'); this seems to have influenced 𝔊[A] in Ex. 2 16 18. Targ. Jon. in Ex. 2 18 represents REUEL [*q.v.*] as Zipporah's grandfather. In the former case Hobab, in the latter both Hobab and Jethro are brothers-in-law of Moses. Apart from other considerations; the only biblical sense of חֹתֵן is 'father-in-law,' though חָתָן doubtless can be used in the looser sense of 'wife's relation'.[1]

There is no anachronism in the description given of Jethro or Hobab in Exodus as a priest, and by implication as a sheikh of the Midianites; such dignitaries there must have been in ancient Arabia. Though we cannot adopt Hommel's statement, that the ideas and language (and particularly the ritual terms) of the Priestly Code (P) are largely influenced by instruction which Moses received from the 'Kōhēn Midian,' there need he no *a priori* objection to the view that Arabian culture impressed its mark, at more than one period, on the Israelites. It is certainly remarkable that such an early record as JE represents the Midianite as Moses' instructor in the art of legislation (Ex. 18), and as having been asked by Moses to be his guide in the desert, for which a good reward is held out to him in the Promised Land (Nu. 10 29-32).[2] As Judg. 1 16 represents, Hobab (ιωθορ [B]) did actually accompany Moses;[3] 'Hobab' has evidently dropped out of the text and should be restored, though possibly both here and in the other passages where our text has 'Hobab' we should change 'Hobab' into 'Jonadab' (see HOBAB). The clan called 'b'ne Hobab' is also designated 'Kenite'; it might, however, with sufficient accuracy have been called 'Midianite,' the line of demarcation between the tribes in S. Palestine not being very definite (see AMALEK, MIDIAN). Not impossibly, however, the original text called Jethro or Hobab a Misrite (*i.e.*, virtually a N. Arabian); the readings of MT may be corrupt (see KENITES). It should be observed that

[1] So probably in Ex. 4 25, חֲתַן דָּמִים, 'one newly admitted into (my) family by the shedding of blood.'

[2] Ex. 18, at all events, is misplaced, Israel having already arrived at the Mount of God (cp 5 6). But the Mount of God is Horeb (Sinai) near which Jethro lived (cp 3 1), which makes the latter's request to return to his own land, *vv.* 6 27, unnecessary; cp similarly Nu. 10 30. See EXODUS i., § 5.

[3] See Moore and Budde. This must have been expressed in the passage which Nu. 10 29-32 represents. The redactor, to avoid inconsistency with Ex. 18 27 has stopped abruptly at *v.* 3a.

according to the tradition Jethro was a worshipper of Yahwè (Ex. 18 9 12 [E]).

It is interesting to notice that Sha'ih occurs as the name of a Wādy on the E. of the Jordan, opposite Jericho (see Baed.[(3)], 162 and NIMRIM); and that the diminutive Shu'aib is the name given by Mohammed to Jethro. Hut the name Shu'aib may after all be distinct from Hohab, and in any case the Mohammedan legends have no historical value. Cp Ew. *Hist.* 2 44, n. 2.

JETUR (יְטוּר, ιεττουρ [BADEL]), a son of Ishmael, Gen. 25 15 (ιετουρ [A]; *Jethur*), 1 Ch. 1 31 (ιετουρ [L]; *Jetur*); cp 1 Ch. 5 19 (τουραιᾶ [B], ιτουραίων [A], ιεττ- [L]; *Ituraei*); see ISHMAEL, § 4 (7), ITURÆA.

JEUEL (יְעוּאֵל), b. Zerah, a post-exilic (Judahite) inhabitant of Jerusalem: 1 Ch. 9 6 (επειηλ [B], ιεηλ [AL]).

Jeuel is also the Kt. in 1 Ch. 9 35 (AV JEHIEL, RV JEIEL), 1 Ch. 11 44 (AV JEHIEL, RV JEIEL), 2 Ch. 26 11 (EV JEIEL), 2 Ch. 29 13 (AV JEIEL), Ezra 8 13 (AV JEIEL). See JEIEL.

JEUSH (יְעוּשׁ, § 53; [Kr. always; so also Kt. except Gen. 36 5 14 1 Ch. 7 10 יְעִישׁ], '[God] helps'? cp Ar. god *yaġūth*, which is transliterated ιεγουθος in an inscription from Memphis; see reff. in Buhl, *Gesch. d. Edom.* 49, n. 1, who opposes the view; in Gen. ιεους [ADE] -υλ [L]; in Ch. ιηους [L]).

1. An Edomite clan, son of Esau by his Horite wife Oholibamah, Gen. 36 5 14 18. See ANAH, BASHEMATH, EDOM, § 3 (Gen. 36 5, ιεσβους [E], v. 14 ιευς [A], *v.* 18 ιεουλ [A], ιεουηλ [D], 1 Ch 1 35 ιεουλ [BA]).

2. b. Bilhan in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* §§ 3 and 9 ii. *a*), 1 Ch. 7 10 (ιαους [B], ιεως [A]).

3. b. Eshek in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 39 (καὶ γαγ [ιγ sup. ras. B?], ιδιας [A]; RV, AV JEHUSH); probably the same as (2).

4. b. Shimei, a division of Gershonite Levites, 1 Ch. 23 10 *f.* (ιωας [BL; once in A]); cp (1) above and see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v].

5. b. Rehoboam, 2 Ch. 11 19 (ιαουθ [B], om. A, ιεους [L]).

JEUZ (יְעוּץ, see UZ; ιδωс [B], ιεουс [A], ιωαс [L]), a name in a genealogy of Benjamin (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 8 10†. See *JQR* 11 105, § 3.

JEW (יְהוּדִי, *yᵉhūdī*; Aram. יְהוּדַי*, *yᵉhūdai*; Ass. Ya-'u-da-ai, Ἰουδαῖος, *Judæus*), *i.e.*, a man of Yᵉhūdāh—*i.e.*, JUDAH, [*q.v.*]. JEHUDI [*q.v.*] and the fem. JUDITH (יְהוּדִית, *yᵉhūdīth*) are used as proper names; but the form Jehudijah (יְהוּדִיָּה, 1 Ch. 4 18†) cannot be relied upon (see JEHUDIJAH). The adj. Ἰουδαϊκός, 'Jewish,' occurs in 2 Macc. 8 11, etc., Tit. 1 14; the adv. Ἰουδαϊκῶς in Gal. 2 14; the verb Ἰουδαΐζειν (in Esth. 8 17 מִתְיַהֲדִים, 'became Jews'), Gal. 2 14; the substantive Ἰουδαϊσμός ('religion of the Jews,' 'Jews' religion') in 2 Macc. 2 21 8 1 14 38 Gal. 1 13 *f.*

1. A subject of the kingdom of Judah, 2 K. 16 6 25 25 Jer. 32 12 38 19 40 11 41 3 43 9 ('Jewish men' = men of Judah); 44 1 52 28-30.

1. Use in OT. The date of the passages does not come into consideration, for the Assyrian phrase *Ya'uḫazi Ya'udai* ('Ahaz the Judahite') in Tiglath-pileser's inscription shows that יהודי was already current in the sense of 'man of the land of Judah. Jer. 34 9 is not included; יְהוּדִי has grown out of עִוְּר (see Giesebr. *ad loc.*).

2. A Hebrew of the Babylonian or Persian province of Judah, or of the Maccabæan state, Zech. 8 23 Neh. 1 2 4 1 *f.* [3 33 *f.*] 4 12 [6] 1 Macc. 8 20 23 etc.

3. A member of the Jewish race, broadly taken, Ezra 4 12 23. 5 5 6 8 etc., Esth. 2 5 8 4 6 5 13 8 5 etc., Dan. 3 8.

The word is used in the NT, chiefly in the plur., to denote—

1. Jews as distinct from Gentiles or proselytes, or Samaritans, Mk. 7 3 Jn. 2 6 13 4 9 22 5 1 6 4 7 2 19 40 42 Acts 2 10 21 39 24 24 (Drusilla, a 'Jewess'). Similarly of Jewish Christians (Acts 16 1 'a Jewess who believed'), Gal. 2 13 cp Jn. 8 31.

2. Use in NT.

2. Of 'Israelites indeed'—Jews worthy of the name. Rom. 2 28 *f.* Rev. 2 9 3 9.

3. Of Jews, as antagonistic to Jesus or to the Gospel, Mt. 28 15 Rom. 2 17 2 Cor. 11 24 1 Thess. 2 14 and especially Jn. 6 41 52 8 4-57 9 18 10 19 11 19 31 33 36 12 9 11. Cp Zahn, *Einl.* 2 554. 'Jewess' occurs twice. Acts 16 1 24 24.

JEWEL, the rendering of several Hebrew words (see below). See generally ORNAMENTS, PRECIOUS STONES.

(1) חֲרוּזִים, *ḥărūzīm*; AV 'chains [of gold]'; RV 'strings [of jewels]'; (2) חֲלִי, *ḥălī* or חֶלְיָה, *ḥelyāh*; (3) תּוֹרִים, *tōrīm* (Cant. 1 10; AV 'rows [of jewels],' RV 'plaits [of hair]'). On all three see NECKLACE, 1 and 5.

For (4) נֶזֶם, *nězem*, and (5) עֲגִיל, *'āgīl*, see RING, § 1 *f.*

(6) סְגֻלָּה, *sĕgullah*. See PECULIAR TREASURE.

(7) כְּלִי, *kělī* (Is. 61 10; cp Nu. 31 50 כְּלִי זהב, 'jewels of gold,'

2 Ch. 32 27 חֶמְדָּה כְּ, AV 'pleasant jewels' RV 'goodly vessels'). See ORNAMENTS (1).

JEWRY (יְהוּד), Dan. 5 13 AV, RV JUDAH [*q.v.*].

JEWS' LANGUAGE (יְהוּדִית), 2 K. 18 26, etc. See HEBREW LANGUAGE, § 2.

JEZANIAH (יְזַנְיָהוּ), Jer. 40 8. See JAAZANIAH, 1.

JEZEBEL (אִיזֶבֶל; ιεζαβελ [BAL]. The two explanations in Ges. *Thes.* are 'non-habitatio,' *i.e.*, 'chaste'; and 'island of habitation'—perhaps a title of Tyre. But (against 1) a negative particle אִי is unprovable [see ICHABOD, note, and cp NAMES, § 45], and (against 2) זבל in a personal name will naturally bear its well-attested sense of 'exaltation.' The first element אִי should be explained as in ICHABOD, JEZER, ITHAMAR. König's explanation, 'exalted isle' [*Exp. T.*, 10 190 (Jan. '99)], so far as 'isle' goes, is surely wrong. So, too, is DHM's theory that איזבל is an intentional alteration of the Phœn. בעלאזבל [Baal exalts, or is a husband?] so that it *should mean* 'un-exalted.' An artificial etymology, 'what filth,' is implied in MT of 2 K. 9 37 [דמן=זבל; see below.)

Daughter of Ethbaal of Tyre (see AHAB), wife of Ahab (1 K. 16 31 18 4 13 19 19 1 *f.* 21 5 *ff.* 2 K. 9 7 *ff.*). ATHALIAH (*q.v.*), queen of Judah, was her daughter. Nothing more clearly shows Ahab's thoroughly political instinct than his marriage with this Tyrian princess. It is not so clear, however, whether he foresaw the religious consequences of the step. Solomon had married foreign women, and erected special sanctuaries for them; but the religious influence of no one of these was supreme. Ahab was perhaps a monogamist, like Jeroboam. At any rate, Jezebel had too proud a nature to be content to worship her own god with a few Tyrian sojourners; the Tyrian Baal-worship must have equal rights with the worship of Yahwè. According to the Elijah-narratives Jezebel destroyed all the prophets of Yahwè except ELIJAH [*q.v.*], and even that brave prophet had to seek refuge from her in Horeb. She is made responsible for the judicial murder of NABOTH [*q.v.*], and Elijah's legendary biographer connects her dreadful end with a curse pronounced on her by Elijah on the occasion of Naboth's death (1 K. 21 23). The dramatic tale of Jehu's entrance into Jezreel need not be repeated (see JEHU).

It is worth while, however, to relieve the Deuteronomic compiler of Kings from the tastelessly savage words of MT of 2 K. 9 37. The true reading can probably be recovered from 𝔊L (cp Klo.'s note), 'And the carcass of Jezebel shall be like the carcass of Naboth, and there shall be none to say, Woe is me.'

In Rev. 2 20 there *seems* to be implied a misinterpretation of words of Jehu in 2 K. 9 22. The name 'Jezebel' is given to a false prophetess,[1] who had influence in the church of Thyatira, and is accused of seducing Christians to commit fornication, and to eat things offered to idols. 'Fornication' is probably meant literally. Whether a party of false teachers is here personified, or whether (as Bousset and Schürer suppose) an individual is meant, is disputed. At any rate, the adherents of Jezebel and the NICOLAITANS (*q.v.*) represent the same antinomian tendency (cp 2 Pet. 2 1 18).

JEZELUS (ιεζηλος [BA]). 1. 1 Esd. 8 32 = Ezra 8 5, JAHAZIEL, 5.
2. 1 Esd. 8 36 = Ezra 8 9, JEHIEL, 8.

JEZER (יֵצֶר; ιεσσερ [L]), in genealogy of NAPHTALI (Gen. 46 24 [P], ισσααρ [ADL], Nu. 26 49 [P], ιεσερ [BF], ιεσρι [A], 1 Ch. 7 13 ισσειηρ [B], ιαααρ [A]), gentilic Jezerite (Nu. 26 49, הַיִּצְרִי, ὁ ιεσρι [A], ὁ ιεσερ[ε]ι [BF], -σσ. [L]); cp IZRI (יִצְרִי) in 1 Ch. 25 11.

JEZIAH (יִזִּיָּה), RV IZZIAH (יִזִּיָּה [Ba. Ginsb.]; a third variant is יְזִיָּה [Ginsb.], *i.e.*, Jeza-iah, see NAMES, § 32; ιαζιας [L]), b. Parosh, in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end); Ezra 10 25 (αζ[ε]ια [BA], αδεια [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 26 [AV] EDDIAS, [RV] IEDDIAS, [RVmg.] IZZIAH or IEZIAS (ιεζειας [B], ιεδδι. [A]).

JEZIEL (יְזִיאֵל, Kt. יְזוּאֵל, some MSS read יזואל and יואל; perhaps corruption of Jaḥăzi-el, יחזיאל, 'God sees,' see NAMES, § 31, but also, there, n. 2), b. Azmaveth, one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 3 (ιωηλ [Bℵ], αζιηλ [A], εζ. [L], *Jazicl*, [but in a different text]). See DAVID, § 11 (*a*, iii.).

JEZLIAH, RV IZLIAH (יִזְלִיאָה; ζαρεια [B], εζλια [A], ιεζελια [L]), b. Elpaal, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 8 18†.

JEZOAR (יְצֹחַר Kt., וְצֹחַר Kr.), 1 Ch. 4 7 AV, RV IZHAR (*q.v.* [ii.]).

JEZRAHIAH (יִזְרַחְיָה, § 35, 'Yahwè rises'), a Levite musician priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 42 (om. Bℵ*A, ιεζριας [ℵc.a mg. L]). The identical Hebrew name appears elsewhere as IZRAHIAH.

JEZREEL (יִזְרְעֶאל; 'God sows' ιεζραελ [AL], also B in Hos. 1 4 *f.* 11 [2 2] 2 22 [24], -αηλ [L generally in Ki.]; ιεζαρηλα [Jos.]; ισραηλ [B nearly always; AL in 1 S. 29 11 2 S. 2 9 4 4, and A in 1 K. 20 [21] 23 2 K. 9 10]. Other forms are 𝔊B's εσραελ 1 K. 4 12, εζερεελ Judg. 6 33, and 𝔊A's ιεζαβελ 1 K. 18 46 2 K. 9 36, ιζραελ 1 S. 29 1, 2 Ch. 22 6, and 𝔊Q's ιεσραελ in Hos. 1 11 [2 2]. Gentilic form JEZREELITE (יִזְרְעֵאלִי; ὁ ισραηλ[ε]ιτης [BA], ὁ ιεζραηλ. [L]), 1 K. 21 1 16 etc., in 2 K. 9 21 ὁ ιζραηλ. [A], 9 25 ὁ ισζραηλ. [A]).

1. Clan and town.

1. Originally a clan-name, analogous to Israel, Jerahmeel, Ishmael; then the name of a city and district; lastly, that of the long, deep vale dominated by the city of Jezreel.[1] Of the existence of the Jezreelite clan in N. Palestine, we have no direct biblical evidence; but it may be surmised that the fact recorded bombastically in king Merneptah's famous inscription (see ISRAEL, § 7, end) was the extinction of a tribe called, not Israel, but Jezreel. Renouf's conjecture that the stele actually spoke of 'Jezreel' is not indeed confirmed (see Spiegelberg's report, and EXODUS i., § 2); but it remains possible that the spelling Isir'il (=Israel) is due to a mistake of the ear such as was, at any rate, often made by Greek scribes. The place is assigned in Josh. 19 18 (ιαζηλ [B], ιεσραελ [L]) to Issachar. We know from Judg. 5 that this tribe suffered greatly from Canaanitish preponderance (cp ISSACHAR); and since Taanach, Ibleam, and Megiddo on the one side and Beth-shean on the other are represented in Judg. 1 27 as Canaanitish enclaves, we may, for geographical reasons, assume that Jezreel, though coveted by Issachar, also long remained Canaanitish.

Josh. 17 16 probably confirms this view; we read there of the Canaanites of Beth-shean and of the עֵמֶק (*'ēmeḳ*) of Jezreel as having formidable 'chariots of iron.'

It may be that one of the fruits of the victory commemorated in Judg. 5 was the conquest of Jezreel (Budde, *Ri.-Sam.* 47). In the time of Saul, at any rate, Jezreel was Israelitish; not far from it ('by the fountain [of Ḥărōd] which is by Jezreel') was the camp of the Israelites before the great battle in which Saul was said to be slain (1 S. 29 1; see, however, SAUL, § 4). The district of Jezreel is included in the kingdom of Ishbaal (2 S. 2 8 *f.*, but the text is doubtful).[2] It was

1 For slightly different views of the development see We. *CH* 254, n. 2; Bu. *Ri.-Sa.* 46, n. 1. The passages quoted by We. to prove that Jezreel was originally the name of a district, not of a city, are 1 S. 29 1 11 2 S. 2 9 4 4. The inference is not justifiable; the clan of Jezreelites not merely occupied a district; they must have had one chief settlement called after their own name. That 'Jezreel' was the name of a city in David's time is certain (Bu. rightly quotes 1 S. 25 43). Both We. and Bu., however, seem to misunderstand 1 S. 29 11 *b*, where, comparing 𝔊, we should read וּפְלִ׳ עָלוּ לְהִלָּחֵם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל, 'and the Philistines went up to fight against Israel'—the equivalent of the statement in 31 1 (cp. the duplicate statements in 28 4, 29 1; see GILBOA). In 2 S. 2 9 ואל־יזרעאל ('and over Jezreel') may be a corruption of ־ואל הגרזי or הגרשי ('and over the Girzites,' or 'Girshites'): see GIRZITES. In 2 S. 4 4 'Jezreel' evidently means the district of Jezreel.

2 See preceding note.

1 AB Vet. Lat., etc., read τὴν γυναῖκά σου—*i.e.*, they make her the wife of the Angel of the Church (so Lachm., Zahn [*Einl.* 2 608]); ℵcP Copt., Vg. τὴν γυναῖκα (so Tisch., Treg., WH).

afterwards the residence of Ahab and, after him, of Joram; hard by was the vineyard of NABOTH (1 K. 21 1), where Joram, Ahab's second son, was slain by Jehu (2 K. 9 21 *ff.*). It was at the palace of Jezreel that the usurper had his famous encounter with Jezebel (2 K. 9 30-37). According to Hosea, vengeance would be taken on Jehu for the bloodshed of Jezreel, and where should this be but in the vale of Jezreel? At the same time—so Hosea interpreted to himself the divine message of which he was conscious—the guilt-laden kingdom of N. Israel would come to an end (Hos. 1 4 *f.*; v. 11 [2 2] is much later).

The next time the place is mentioned, it is called Esdraelon (Judith 3 9 4 6 7 3), and Esdraelon is the name given by Eusebius (OS 267 52; Jer. [133 14] omits the name) to 'a very notable village in the great plain between Scythopolis and Legio'; the Jerusalem Itinerary locates it 10 R. m. from Scythopolis. In the times of the Crusaders the Franks knew it as Gerin (Gerinum; William of Tyre, 22 26); in 1173 the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, calls it Zarein. From Saladin's time onwards Zerʿīn has no doubt been the Arabic name of the village which has succeeded the ancient Jezreel (Zerʿīn for Jezreel, as Bētīn for Bethel). Strange indeed it is, that a place once so important should have such a miserable modern representative! The 'tower' referred to in 2 K. 9 17, which was a part of the citadel, has long since disappeared. The ruined tower of the squalid modern village is not ancient; but the view from it compensates one to some extent for disappointments.

'Westward, the Carmel ridge may he followed until it terminates at the sea; in the distant east the Jordan line is made out easily; Gilboa seems near enough for you so to strike it with a stone that the missile would rebound and reach Little Hermon before it fell. The great mountain walls of Eashan and of Eglon [ʿAjlūn] rise in the far east, and seem to forbid any search beyond them' (Harper, *In Scripture Lands*, 285).

In fact, Jezreel itself stands high; you would hardly guess how high, as you approach it riding across the gently swelling plain of Esdraelon. Looking eastward, however, you see that there is a steep, rocky descent on that side into the valley of Gilboa, with the remains of wine-presses cut in the rock, which, with a white marble sarcophagus (found by Guérin), are the only relics of any antiquity at Zerʿīn.

2. Vale. We noticed just now (in Josh. 17 16) the phrase 'the *ʿēmeḳ* (עמק) of Jezreel'; the meaning of this has now to be stated clearly. An עֵמֶק (*ʿēmeḳ*) is a 'wide avenue running up into a mountainous country'; the *ʿēmeḳ* of Jezreel ought therefore to mean, not the great central plain (בִּקְעָה, *biḳʿāh*) W. of Jezreel, the gate of which is Megiddo, but the broad deep vale E. of Jezreel (between the so-called Little Hermon and Gilboa), descending to the Jordan, the gate of which is Jezreel. It should be borne in mind that the later phrase 'the plain of Esdraelon' (Judith 1 8) is less correct than the early phrases 'the plain of MEGIDDO' [*q.v.*] and 'the Great Plain.'[1] We do not mean that the 'great plain' could not he designated the plain of Jezreel, for Jezreel looks two ways—along the *ʿēmeḳ* or 'vale' to the Jordan, and across the *biḳʿāh* or 'plain' to Mount Carmel. But if one place has more claim than another to give its name to the great central plain, it is Megiddo—at least if MEGIDDO [*q.v.*] is *Lejjūn* or Legio, which looks as if it were set there for the very purpose of guarding the chief entrance of the plain from Sharon. The 'Vale of Jezreel,' then, is the fit name for that broad deep vale with its gate at Jezreel, which 'three miles after it has opened round Gilboa to the south . . . suddenly drops over a bank some 300 feet high into the valley of the Jordan' (GASm. *HG* 357). Near the edge of this bank rises the mound which covers the ruins of Beth-shean, in a position not surpassed for strength by any in Palestine. See BETH-SHEAN. T. K. C.

2. A place in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 56 ιαριηλ [B], ιεζδραελ [A], ιεζ [ρ]εελ [L]), not far from Carmel, whence came Ahinoam, David's wife (1 S. 25 43, ισραηλ [B] ιζιαελ [A], ιεζραηλ [L]), and Jether or Ithra, his brother-&-law (2 S. 17 25). Perhaps this name lies hidden in the miswritten JERUEL in 2 Ch. 20. See ABIGAIL, 2; AHINOAM; AMASA, 1; JETHER, 3; also SAUL, § 4.

[1] See GASm. *HG* 384 *f.*; Furrer in Schenkel, *BL* 3302.

JEZREEL (יִזְרְעֶאל). 1. Mentioned in genealogical connection with Etam and SHELAH (1, *q.v.*) in 1 Ch. 4 3 † (αζραηλ [BA*], ιεζριηλ [Ab?], -ρεηλ [L]). Perhaps the eponym of JEZREEL, 2.

2. Name of a son of Hosea (Hos. 1 4; ιεζραελ [BAQ]), in allusion to the 'bloodshed of Jezreel.' See above, JEZREEL i., § 1.

JEZRIELUS (ιεζριηλος [A]), 1 Esd. 9 27 RV = Ezra 10 26, JEHIEL, 11.

JIBSAM, RV IBSAM (יִבְשָׂם, § 54, 'he is fragrant'?), son of Tola (see ISSACHAR, § 7), 1 Ch. 7 2 (βασαν [B], ιεβ. [A], ιαβσαμ [L]).

JIDLAPH (יִדְלָף, § 54), son of NAHOR [*q.v.*] (Gen. 22 22 [J]; ιελδαφ [A], ιεδλαφ [L], om. D.). See PEDAIAH, 1.

JIMNA, JIMNAH, JIMNITES. See IMNAH.

JIPHTAH, RV IPHTAH (יִפְתָּח, see JIPHTAH-EL), an unidentified site in the lowland of Judah, mentioned in the same group with Mareshah: Josh. 15 43 (ιεφθα [AL], om. B?). See JOTBAH.

JIPHTAH-EL, RV IPHTAH-EL, VALLEY OF (גֵּי יִפְתַּח־אֵל, cp JEPHTHAH; γαιφαηλ [B], γαι ιεφθαηλ [AL]), a place on the N. border of Zebulun towards Asher, Josh. 19 14 27 † (γαι και φθαιηλ [B], γαι εσθαηλ [L]). It has been identified with the Jotapata so well known from Josephus's account of the siege during the first Roman war (*BJ* iii. 7). the name of which in the Mishna is יודפת, Yodĕphath (Neub. *Géogr.* 203; cp 193, n. 6). The names Iphtah and Yodĕphath (for another form see JOTBAH) may seem dissimilar; but the old Hebrew names passed through strange vicissitudes; the transformation of Iphtah is not impossible. Jotapata is no doubt the modern Jefāt, a little to the NE. of Ḳānet el-Jelil, and due N. of Sepphoris. To the NW. of Jefāt lies *Kābūl*; see CABUL, col. 615. According to Robinson (BK 3 107), the 'valley' of Iphtah-el is the great Wādy ʿAbillīn, which takes its rise SW. of Jefāt; but this is not plausible. Should we not read, for גֵּי, גִּבְעַת? The letters בעת may have fallen out owing to the proximity of פת. The 'round and lofty' Tell Jefāt, which 'is only connected with the hills to the N. of it by a low saddle,' would form an excellent landmark. For a less probable identification (Conder's), see DABBASHETH. T. K. C.

JOAB (יוֹאָב, 'Yahwè is father'? cp JOAH, ABIJAH, ELIAB. A possible derivation from יאב must not be disregarded: cp Nö. *ZDMG*, '88, p. 477; ιωαβ [BAL]).

1. b. ZERUIAH [*q.v.*], David's nephew and general (1 S. 26 6 2 S. 2 13 etc., 1 K. 1 7 etc., 1 Ch. 2 16; ιωβαβ [A, Ps. 60 title], ιωα [A in 1 Ch. 11 26]). We do not know whether he, like his elder brother Abishai,[1] followed the fortunes of David from the first. We first hear of Joab in connection with the encounter between the men of Abner and Ishbaal and the men of David at Gibeon (2 S. 2 12 *ff.*; see HELKATH-HAZZURIM), and the vengeance which he took[2] upon ABNER [*q.v.*] for the violent death of his brother Asahel (2 S. 2 22-26) had consequences which were helpful to the claims of David, though David himself (according to 2 S. 3 31-39; cp 1 K. 2 31 *ff.*) did not recognise this. It was the exploit of this warrior at the capture of Zion which, according to 1 Ch. 11 4-9, was rewarded by his promotion to be a head

[1] So 1 Ch. 2 16; in 2 S. 2 18, however, he stands first.
[2] How long a time elapsed between the encounter at Gibeon and the events in chap. 3 is unknown. *v.* 28 (cp 30*a*) of the former chapter presupposes a cessation of the war; but ch. 3 1 (cp 6*a*) represents the strife between the rival houses as continuing.

(ראשׁ) and commander (שַׂר).[1] In 2 S. 2023 (cp 816) we find him placed 'over all the host of Israel.' But through what events one who began as the mere leader of a band (cp 2 S. 322) rose to the generalship (2023; cp 816) we are not told in 2 S., and, unlike Abishai, Joab is not referred to in the scanty notices of the war with the Philistines.

Passing over the wars of David and his complicity in the death of Uriah (2 S. 11), we meet with him next in the account of Absalom's exile and rebellion. Here he is represented as standing on terms of close intimacy with David and as prevailing on the king to recall his banished son (14 *ff.*), although it was not until Absalom had taken severe measures that he was able to procure him an interview with the king.[2] In the fight against Absalom (2 S. 18) a thud of the people is put under his charge, although from *v.* 16 he would seem, to have been at the head of the army. That he was directly responsible for the death of Absalom (*vv.* 10-14) is rendered doubtful (1) by the conflicting statement in *v.* 15 which ascribes the deed to his armour-bearers, (2) by his retaining influence over the king, and (3) by the remarkable fact that no allusion is made to the deed in David's final charge (1 K. 2 1 3) or elsewhere. But, however this may be, the king felt himself obliged to promise AMASA [*q.v.*] the post which Joab had held.

On the occasion of Sheba's revolt (which the MT, according to its present arrangement, places immediately after Absalom's rebellion), the command, in the absence of Amasa, was given to Abishai, the king fully realising that Joab would naturally follow his brother (2 S. 20). 'The fact that he then takes the leadership into his own hands is so much a matter of course that it does not need to be mentioned.'[3] Joab finds an opportunity of ridding himself of his rival Amasa, and successfully quells the revolt.

In David's frontier wars Joab was the foremost figure; it is true he is unmentioned in the panegyric, ch. 81-14, but the account in ch. 10 probably gives a more historical view. The later tradition may have deepened the horrors of his campaign in Edom,[4] but that his policy was thorough is shown by the deadly hatred which arose between Edom and Israel. An equally successful campaign was carried out against Ammon and the allied Aramæans (ch. 10; see DAVID, § 8 *b*), and in the following year Rabbath-Ammon, the capital, with all its spoil, fell into his hands (ch. 111 1226-31).

In ch. 24 (a later but pre-deuteronomic narrative; cp SAMUEL ii., § 6) Joab is ordered to number the people. The unwillingness he exhibits is characteristically treated in 1 Ch. 216, 'Levi and Benjamin counted he not among them, for the king's word was abominable (*so* EV) to Joab.'[5]

Finally, at the close of David's life, Joab sided with Adonijah in his attempt to gain the crown (1 K. 17 *ff.*), and upon the accession of Solomon was slain by Benaiah at the altar-horns and buried in his house 'in the wilderness' (1 K. 229 *ff.*). See ZERUIAH, ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.

A recollection of his name may he preserved in 2 and 3 below; otherwise he passes out of history. In the list given by 𝔊BAL at the close of 1 K. 2 a certain αβει (𝔊B, but ελιαβ L, cp also chap. 46) son of Joab is cited as captain of the army, but unfortunately there is no further evidence to support this statement.[1]

In reviewing Joab's history it is difficult to gain a clear insight into his relation to David. Powerful and indispensable as he was, he was replaced by Amasa at the close of Absalom's rebellion, which throws doubt upon the suggestion that the increase in Joab's influence over David dates from the episode of Uriah. If David was afraid of Joab because of his acquaintance with the true facts of Uriah's death, he could certainly have found means to get rid of him. Joab's treachery to Uriah is not *too* clearly stated in 2 S. 1115 *ff.*,[2] and although Joab may have justly incurred blame, it is difficult to see why his brother Abishai (to whom David owed so much, cp, *e.g.*, 2 S. 2117) should be included in the invectives against the 'sons of Zeruiah' (cp 2 S. 339 1610 *f.* [see Klo.], 1920 [21] *ff.*).

There is a consensus of critics that the injunction ascribed to David in 1 K. 25*f.* was written after his time to excuse the killing of Joab and Shimei (see DAVID, § 12). Here, as in the section 228-34, Joab's fate is represented as a just retribution for the murder of Abner, 'captain of the host of Israel,' and of Amasa, 'captain of the host of Judah.' The special stress laid upon the innocence of David,[3] as well as the reiterated condemnation of the 'sons of Zeruiah,' reveals the tendency to idealise the character of the great national hero which characterised later ages (cp DAVID, § 9).

2. The father of Ge-harashim (1 Ch. 414; ιωβαβ [BL]). See HARASHIM. Meyer (*Entst.* 147) suggests a connection with ATROTH-BETH-JOAB [*q.v.*]. The resemblance between Seraiah (the name of his father) and Zeruiah (above) is superficially striking, but apparently accidental.

3. One of the two families of PAHATH-MOAB [*q.v.*] in the great post-exilic list [EZRA ii., §§ 9, 8 *c*], Ezra 26 = Neh. 711 (ιωβαβ [B in both]) = 1 Esd. 511 (ροβοαβ [B], AV om.); cp Ezra 89 = 1 Esd. 835. S. A. C.

JOAB, HOUSE OF. See ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.

JOACHAZ (ιωχαζ [A], ιωαχαζ [L]), 1 Esd. 134. See JEHOAHAZ.

JOACHIM (ιωακειμ [BAQ]), Bar. 13, and Joacim 1 Esd. 137 43; RV Joakim. See JEHOIAKIM, JEHOIACHIN. Joakim is also the name of a son of Zerubbabel (1 Esd. 55). of the high priest in Judith's time (Jud. 46), and of the husband of Susanna (Sus. 11).

JOADANUS (ιωαδανος [B], ιωαδανος [A]), 1 Esd. 919 = Ezra 1018, GEDALIAH, 5.

JOAH (יוֹאָח, 'Yahwè is brother,' cp אֲחִיָּהוּ, and see NAMES, § 44; ιωαχ [BNALOQ]).

1. b. Asaph, Hezekiah's vizier at the time of Sennacherib's invasion (2 K. 1818, ιωσαφατ [BA, omitting 'b. Asaph'], *vv.* 26 37, ιωας [B; in v. 26 ιωσαφατ A]; Is. 363, ιωχ [N*], ιωαβ [Γ], *v.* 11 ιωας [B], om. N*Γ, *v.* 22 ιωαβ [Γ]).

2. b. Joahaz, Josiah's vizier during the religious reforms (2 Ch. 348, ιουαχ [B], ιωας [AL] om. Pesh., ιωατην [Jos. *Ant.* x. 41]).

3. b. Zimmah, a Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 621 [6]: ιωαβ [B], ιωαε [L]; 2 Ch. 2912: om. B., ιωα [A], ιωδααθ [L]). *See* GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iii., *b*), and note that ASAPH (*q.v.* 3, cp 1 above) is also a Gershonite name.

4. b. OBED-EDOM [*q.v.*] (1 Ch. 264: ιωαθ [B], -δ [L], ιωαα [A]).

JOAHAZ (יוֹאָחָז, cp יְהוֹאָחָז; ιωαχαζ [BAL]).

1. The father of JOAH [2] (2 Ch. 348; ιωαχ [B], om. Pesh.).

2. (= יְהוֹאָחָז, JEHOAHAZ), king of Israel (2 K. 141; ιωαχας [B], αχαζ [A]).

3. (= יְהוֹאָחָז, JEHOAHAZ), king of Judah (2 Ch. 362 4).

JOANAN. 1. (ιωαναν [A], ιωνα [B], om. L), 1 Esd. 91 = Ezra 106, RV 'Jonas. See JOHANAN, 2.

2. (ιωαναν [Ti. WH]), Lk. 327 RV. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

1 The Chronicler's account of the way in which he rose to distinction ignores the important part which he played in counteracting Abner, the Abner episode is, in fact, omitted in Chron.

2 It is difficult to place much confidence in the notice (14 28*b*) that two years elapsed before Absalom saw David's face. vv. 25-27 are an acknowledged gloss; but since *v.* 28*b* is an almost identical repetition of *v.* 24*b*, it is probable that *v.* 28 is also a gloss, and *v.* 29 follows immediately upon *v.* 24.

3 So at any rate, Bu. (*SBOT*) in opposition to the almost general opinion that for 'Abishai' (*v.* 6) we should read 'Joab' (*so* Pesh.). If as has been suggested elsewhere (see *AJSL* 16168 [1900]), the connection between the revolts of Sheba and Absalom and the story of Amasa's murder are both due to a redactor, it is probable that Pesh. is right, and that the alteration to Abishai occurred *after* the two narratives had been joined, and was indeed, rendered absolutely necessary by 1913 [14].

4 'In 1 Ch. 1812 the campaign is ascribed to Abishai.

5 1 Ch. 2724 says that Joab began to number, but finished not.'

1 Joab according to Thenius, is a mistake for Shaphat (cp σαφ[ατ] BA 1 K. 46).

2 David orders Uriah to he placed in the thick of the battle and then left. But in *vv.* 17 *f.* Uriah appears to join with other heroes in an onslaught against the city (no names of enemy or city are given in 112 *ff.*) and falls with them. Nor is the introduction of Abimelech in *v.* 21 a case in point, for how was a city to be taken without going up to the wall (as in 2 S. 1713)?

3 1 K. 232: 'my father David knew it not'; cp the awkward expression 2 S. 328 וישמע דוד מֵאַחֲרֵי כֵן.

JOANES (ιωανου [WH], -ννου [Ti.]), Jn. 1 42 RVmg., AV 'Jona,' RV 'John.' See BAR-JONA, JOHN.

JOANNA, or rather, as in RV JOANAN (ιωαναν [Ti. WH]), eighteenth in the ascending genealogical series which begins with Joseph, Mary's husband, in Lk. 3 23-38. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

JOANNA (ιωαννα [Ti.], ιωανα [WH]; cp Aram. יוחנא, יוֹחָנִי, Ber. R. **64**, b. Sot. 22 *a*, from an original Heb. יוֹחָנָן or יוֹחָנָּה, Dalm. *Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* **142**, n. **9**, cp BAR-JONA), wife of CHUZA (Lk. **83**). She was one of the pious women who ministered to Jesus and the twelve apostles (αὐτοῖς [Ti. WH]) of their substance, and of those who went to the sepulchre to embalm his body (Lk. 83 24 10†).

JOANNAN (ιωαννης [AAKV]), 1 Macc. 2 2, RV 'John.' See MACCABEES i., §§ 1, 3.

JOARIB (1 Macc. 2 1). See JEHOIARIB.

JOASH (יְהוֹאָשׁ, and, in an abbreviated form, יוֹאָשׁ. Both forms occur in 1 and 2, but in 3 *ff.* the latter is consistently found; cp *yasi-ilu*, an Arabian tribal-name, temp. Sennacherib and Ašur-bāni-pal [Hommel, *Exp.T.* 8 562 *f.*]; Sab. אלאוס, Sin. אבאושו, etc.[1] Possibly 'Yah gives,' § 26, see Gray, *HPN* 154 *f.*, but more probably it is not a verbal form; ιωας [BNAL]; ιας [A 2 K. 14 8]).

1. b. Ahaziah, king of Judah (B.C. 835-7963, who was hidden during the usurpation of Athaliah and crowned at the age of seven (2 K. 12 2 Ch. 24).

On the two parallel accounts of the revolution which placed Joash on the throne, (*a*) 2 K. 11 1-12 18*b*-20, (*b*) *ib. vv.* 13-18*a*, see Stade, *ZATW* 5 280 *ff.* ('85), who is followed by Benzinger and Kittel. The former, which emphasizes the religious motives of the revolution, may have come from a work on the history of the temple. The account in 2 Ch. 22 10-23 21 is largely recast; but, where this is not the case, can he used as a parallel text to (*a*).

We know but little of Joash's long reign. Somehow the temple had been allowed to get into disrepair, and Joash made a new arrangement for the due preservation of the fabric, the priests being made responsible for this. The temple is evidently regarded as a royal possession. A statement of more historical interest (turned to his own account by the Chronicler, 2 Ch. 24 23*b*) is concerned with the inroad of the Syrians under Hazael, who only departed on receiving a large tribute. No doubt this inroad stands in close connection with Hazael's successful wars against Jehu or Jehoahaz. Joash met his death at the hands of assassins, which was possibly an act of private vengeance for the cruel murder of Zechariah b. Jehoiada, the priest. (This is suggested by the statement of 2 Ch. 2425, which may be not wholly incorrect.) See ISRAEL, § 31; CHRONICLES, § 8; CHRONOLOGY, § 35.

2. b. Jehoahaz (**797-783** B.C. ?), king of Israel (2 K. 13 10 14 2 Ch. 25). One of the greatest of the Israelitish kings. His success over BENHADAD [*q.v.*] b. Hazael (which is said to have been foretold by Elisha, 2 K. 13 14 *ff.*) and his victory over Amaziah, followed by his breaking down of the wall of Jerusalem, are the most prominent facts of his reign. That Judah was reduced to vassalage was the result, according to the narrative, of an audacious challenge of Amaziah b. Joash (1), king of Judah, which provoked the scornful and only too prophetic parable of the 'thistle and the cedar' (2 K. 14 8 *ff.*). See AMAZIAH, 1.

3. Gather of GIDEON [*q.v.*] (Judg. 6-8). See AMAZIAH.
4. A prince (lit. 'the king's son') temp. Ahab (1 K. 2226 cp 2 Ch. 1825 ιωασα [B]). Either the title 'king's son' was given to officers of state, or members of the royal house did not disdain such an office as the governorship of the prison. Possibly המלך is a corruption of ירחמאל (Che.), see HAMMELECH.
5. A son of SHELAH [*q.v.*], b. Judah, 1 Ch. **422** (ιωαδα [B]).
6. One of David's heroes (1 Ch. 12 3, ιωα [B], ιωρας [A]). See DAVID, § 11 *a*, iii.

S. A. C.

JOASH (יוֹעָשׁ, § 80, 'Yahwè aids,' for עש, cp Ar. *gātha* and Sab. n. pr. אלעות. This, however, is not favoured by the Gk. transcription ιωας [BAL], which does *not* presuppose the harder y [= غ]. See JEUSH [יְעוּשׁ]).

1. b. BECHER [*q.v.*] in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *a*), 1 Ch. 7 8, cp JEUSH, *v.* 10, and 1 Ch. 23 10 *f.* [𝔊].
2. One of David's overseers (1 Ch. 27 28). See DAVID, § 11.

JOATHAM (ιωαθαμ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 9, RV JOTHAM [*q.v.*].

JOAZABDUS (ιωζαβδος [A]), 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 87, JOSABAD.

JOB (יוֹב), Gen. **4613** AV, a corruption of JASHUB (*q.v.*, 1).

JOB (אִיּוֹב; ιωβ, *IOB*), the hero of the Book of Job (cp also Ezek. 14 14 20 Jas. 5 11, on which see below), confounded in the postscript to 𝔊 with JOBAB (*q.v.* 2), king of Edom (Gen. 3633). Though this confusion is due to a late uncritical miter. probably a Jewish Haggadist,[1] we must admit the possibility that there may be a connection between the names. Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar all have points of contact with name-lists in Genesis, and we should naturally expect this to he the case with 'Iyyōb. It is true, most critics before Dillmann have explained 'Iyyōb from the Hebrew, as if the original framer of the story of Job either coined the name or at least modified it so as to make it symbolic of his hero; the alternatives are (1) 'the pions' = Ar. *'awwāb*, 'one who turns to God' (see Koran, **38** 16 29 **44**); (2) 'the assailed, or persecuted —*i.e.*, by God, or by Satan.' Neither is very satisfactory. The former is not definite enough in meaning, nor is the root Israelitish;[2] the latter implies an exceptional use of the grammatical form (cp יִלּוֹד = יָלוּד).

1. Name.

There is no indication that the writers of Job thought of any meaning for the name.

Another problem remains—the true origin of the name. In Am. *Tab.* 2376 **13** we find Aiab a personal name in N. Palestine (Che. *Expos.*, 1897, 6, p. 23); possibly Aiab = *'Iyyōb.*[3] In the next article (JOB, BOOK OF, § 4), the name of the hero of Job (איוב from איבן?) is traced to Ea-bani, the name of an ancient Babylonian hero, whose creation out of clay has been compared with the narrative in Gen. 2 7 (see CREATION, § 20, n. 4). Ea-bani seems to have been confounded with Gilgameš, who, according to the myth, was attacked by some sore disease, and was supernaturally healed. For other legendary Hebrew names of Babylonian origin, see CAINITES, §§ **6-8**, 10. On the land of Uz see Uz.

2. Its origin.

The question whether Job really lived—which is distinct from the question whether he actually said and did all that is related of him in our book —can only be answered in the affirmative if we are prepared to regard Cain, Enoch, and Noah as historical personages. The saying of Resh Lakish, 'Job existed not, and was not created, but is (only) a parable,'[4] shows that great freedom of speech upon such matters was allowed among Jewish doctors. There has been some vagueness in the utterances of modern Christian scholars, who have not always considered that for a story to have a traditional basis is not equivalent to its being founded on fact. The moral value of the story of Job is unimpaired by the denial of its historicity; like the story of Jonah it is a parable, and the only question is —a parable of what? The ancients were struck by Job's righteousness (Ezek. **14** 14 20 Ecclus. 49 9 [Heb. text]), or by his patient endurance (Jas. **5** 11). To Mohammed, too, Job was a model of piety and

3. Job's character.

1 See Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, *s.v.* אוש, אושו.

1 Bleek, Dillmann, Rudde ascribe it to a Hellenist: but the arguments of Fränkel (*MGWJ* **21** 308 *f.* ['72]) deserve attention. See Uz.

2 Cp Lag. *Uebers.* go.

3 Cp also the later Heb. אֵיָב Dalm. *Aram. WB.*

4 The saying was, however, tampered with. See Fränkel, *ib.* 310; and cp *Job and Sol.* 60 *f.* On Resh Lakish see further Gratz, *Hist. of the Jews* (ET), 2 500 *ff.*

patience (Koran, 38 40), and the Mohammedans humorously call the camel *abu Eyyūb*, 'Job's father.' In Christian Egypt, too, as Amélineau remarks,[1] the story of Job was very popular, but not the speeches. The one was practical, the other appeared to be speculative. Theodore of Mopsuestia witnesses to the same preference of the story to the speeches in his time. For evidence of the further legendary development of the story of Job in the Jewish and Moslem world see D. B. Macdonald, *AJSL* 14 137-164 ['98]; K. Kohler, 'The Testament of Job,' *Kohut Memorial Volume* ('97), 264-338.

4. References. In Ecclus. 49 9 𝔊 is certainly wrong in reading [איב]ים for אִיּוֹב; the latter reading is supported both by Syr. and by our Hebrew text. The recovered Heb. text, however, must be corrupt. Smend thinks he can read נשיא in the MS after איוב (*Das hebr. Fragment*, '97, p. 32). 𝔊, however, has ἐν ὄμβρῳ = בְּשָׂעִיר, and this is what the copyist of our MS may have meant to give; but the word we want is הַיָּשָׁר, and in *b* המכלכל כל should be הַמְמַלֵּל, and the ד[רכי] of Cowley and Neubauer should he ד[ברי]. The passage then becomes, 'He also mentioned Job the upright, who uttered right words' (see Job 42 7). In Jas. 5 11 Zahn (*Einl.* 155) may be right in preferring the reading ιδετε (AB3 13 31 L Arm.) to εἴδετε (B*א *Ks. vv.*). The verse becomes, 'Ye have heard of the patience of Job and the end (appointed by) the Lord. See (here) that the Lord is full of compassion and pitiful.'

T. K. C.

JOB, BOOK OF. The book stands third among the *Kĕthūbīm* or Hagiographa, according to the Talmudic arrangement, but not always in the same place relatively to other books; in the Greek Bible too, there are variations in the MSS. On these points see Ryle, *Canon of the OT* (1892). In the Syriac Bible Job is placed between the Pentateuch and Joshua, because, according to the Jews (*Bābā bathrā*, 15*a*), it was written by Moses (cp CANON, § 45). It may mitigate our surprise to remember that one of the fathers of modern criticism, Eichhorn, even claimed for the book a pre-Mosaic origin. We need not, however, any longer discuss the possibility of this view, since no scholar could be found to defend it. The most scientific arrangement is that which includes Job in the group of books of Wisdom (*Ḥokmah*), of which it is doubtless the greatest, and the most fraught with suggestion for the history of the Jewish religion. See WISDOM LITERATURE.

As the book now stands, it consists of five parts.

1. The Prologue, written, like the Epilogue, in prose (chap. 1 *f.*).
2. The Colloquies of Job and his friends (chaps. 3-31).
3. The speeches of Elihu (chaps. 32-37).
4. The speeches of Yahwè out of the storm, with very brief answers of Job (chaps. 38-42 6).
5. The Epilogue (42 7-17).

Thus it is plain that the book of Job is deficient in literary unity. Two literary styles are represented in it

1. Contents and character. —narrative prose and didactic poetry; both, however, are thoroughly artistic in character. We must not read the Prologue as a history; this would be to do injustice to a considerable epic poet. Nor must we read the Colloquies as mere specimens of Hebrew philosophy in metre. This would be to miss making the acquaintance of a powerful lyric poet who was also skilled in the delineation of varieties of character. Certainly it is not legitimate to call the book of Job a drama; a Hebrew drama, especially in post-exilic times, is inconceivable. The attitude of the Priestly Writer (P) in the Hexateuch towards the ancient Hebrew myths and legends sufficiently shows how hopeless a dramatic movement would have been, even had it been initiated. Nevertheless, the idea of inclosing a poetical debate between the two parts of a quasi-poetical tale is dramatic in tendency, and suggests that in more favourable circumstances gifted dramatists might have arisen among the Jews. In order that students may appreciate the art (not less than the meaning) of the poem and its different sections, there is one preliminary service which the textual critic must render—viz., to submit the text of Job to a careful revision.

All that can be done for exegesis from an opposite point of view has been done by Dillmann, and if Davidson cannot be mentioned as Dillmann's rival, yet every one of the too few pages that Davidson has written on Job testifies to familiarity with the available exegetical material; where either of these eminent critics has failed it has been simply owing to the inadequacy of their critical methods. To Bickell, Siegfried Budde, Beer, and Duhm is due the credit of having perceived that the next step forward in exegesis must be preceded by a purification of the text. The labours of these scholars and of others who have worked at the text of Job on the same lines, though less continuously, cannot be disregarded by exegetical students, and any article like the present must constantly refer not only to the Massoretic but also to an emended text.

The present writer is tied to no master, and will give the student the best that he knows. Nor can he abstain from adding that the emended text to which he will appeal is one which has partly been produced by considerations of metre. For the most necessary information on this subject he would refer to the article POETICAL LITERATURE; it is enough here to endorse the statement of Duhm, that the usual poetical form in the Colloquies of Job and his friends is the simplest metre of Hebrew prosody—viz., the stanza of four stichi, of three beats each.[1] There are also, it is true, passages of tristichs in chaps. 24 and (perhaps) 30; but these are among the later insertions. One of the clearest reasons for denying these passages to the main author of the work is the difference in their poetical form. The statement of Zenner (*Zt. f. Kath. Th.* '99, p. 173) that the book of Job contains much more than a hundred tristichs implies far too conservative an attitude towards the traditional text.

2. Prologue and Epilogue. The object of the Prologue is to show that disinterested love of God is possible, and that in the case of such an one as Job, or of that quasi-personal being whom Job symbolises, the terrible load of suffering has this one intelligible purpose—viz., that the perfection of his unbought piety may be exhibited before angels and men. Job is introduced to us as a rich Edomite Emeer, happy in his family and in his enormous possessions. He also knows the true God under the name Elōhīm, and is scrupulous in the established observances of piety. Heaven is thrown open to us that we may see what Yahwè himself thinks of Job, and how the Satan is only permitted to hurl this great and good man into an abyss of misery that his piety may come out as pure gold. The deed is done, and Job, stricken with a loathsome sickness (see PESTILENCE), withdraws to the ash-mound (*mazbala*) of his village (cp Lam. 4 5). 'Flesh for flesh,'[2] the Satan had said (2 4); 'his dearest relations are nothing to a man, if he may but save his life.' That, however, was not the right reading of Job's character. His wife's faith indeed gave way. Loyal to her husband, but faithless to her God, she bade Job be a man, since God withheld the reward of piety, and curse his all-powerful enemy before he died. To Job, however, this was the height of folly; she who so spoke had degraded herself—had become 'one of the foolish women' (see FOOL). Not only did he 'speak no rash word[3] against God,' he willingly accepted the

[1] 'Version Thebaine du Livre de Job,' *PSBA*, '87, p. 109.

[1] Jerome states that the book is composed in hexameters with a dactylic and spondaic movement. Evidently he means double trimeters. Duport, Prof. of Greek at Cambridge, translated Job in Homeric hexameters under the title θρηνοθρίαμβος (Cambr. 1653). Vetter (*Die Metrik des B. Job* ['97]), and Ley (articles in *St. Kr.* '98) are the most recent special monographs on the metre of Job.

[2] Read probably בָּשָׂר בְּעַד בָּשָׂר. MT's עור בעד עור, 'skin for skin,' gives no adequate sense; Schwally's explanation (*ZATW* 20 46 *f.* [1900]), is only slightly more plausible than that of Merx and Budde.

[3] MT in 1 22 reads ולא נתן תפלה לאלהים, 'and attributed nothing unsavoury to God,' the exact sense of which is variously given (see Schultens, Di., Bu.). Probably, however, we should read

'evil' which could not blot from his memory the 'good' of happier days. In a little while his three chief friends arrive, for the news has spread far and wide; they are doubtless Emeers like Job, and they know how true sympathy should express itself.

The prose narrative is resumed in the Epilogue. Yahwk declares that his anger is kindled against the friends of Job became they have not said of him the thing that is right, like his servant Job; he tells them to offer sacrifice, and Job shall intercede for them, 'that sudden ruin may not befall them.'[1] So Job prayed for them, and, as a public act of justification, God restored him more than his former prosperity, till at length he died, old and full of days.

As a piece of narrative the Epilogue compares very unfavourably with the Prologue. The idea that after having been proved capable of 'fearing God for naught,' Job should have to spend a hundred and forty years in the enjoyment of a commonplace prosperity will seem to most moderns so unreasonable that they probably would be glad to have reasons for cancelling it. It is not less strange that nothing should be said in the Epilogue either of Satan's loss of his wager, or of Job's recovery from his leprosy. However, to do justice to the writer we must view him, not as an artist, but as a teacher. The Epilogue was a necessary concession to the unspiritual multitude, who had been taught even by prophets to look forward to double compensation for Israel's afflictions[2] (Is. 61 7 Jer. 16 14-18 Zech. 9 12). Regarding Job as a symbol of suffering Israel, Jewish readers could not but expect him to be re-endowed with sons and daughters, flocks and herds, and treasures of gold[3] (cp Is. 54 1 60 6 *f.* 9). Now, too, we can see why, instead of telling ns how Job recovered from his sicliness, the narrator uses the vague expression שָׁב אֶת־שְׁבוּת, which is so often used of the hoped-for restoration of the national prosperity (*e.g.*, Ps. 14 7 Joel 3 [4] 1). He is thinking here, not of the legendary Job, but of his people Israel.

3. Criticism of the preceding.

We next consider Prologue and Epilogue together. Can these be by the same writer as the Colloquies? (1) It must be admitted that the Colloquies in general presuppose the main facts of the story in the Prologne; on the other hand, in 19 15 17 *f.* (contrast 8 4 29 5) we have certain statements which are plainly inconsistent with some of those facts. (2) In Job 42 7 Job is commended for having spoken rightly of God; obviously this does nof correspond with the speeches of Job in the Colloquies. (3) The Prologue ascribes the trials of Job to the Satan. Nothing is said of this in the poem; neither Job nor his friends know anything of such a being. (4) In the Prologue Job is a model of patience; in the Colloquies he is impatient. (5) The explanation of Job's sufferings given in 1 10*a* is unknown to the Colloquies. (6) Sacrifices are essential to piety in the prose-story of Job; they are not once mentioned in the Colloquies.

The necessary inference is that the Prologue and the Epilogue were written before the Colloquies, and since 42 7 implies that both Yahwk and the friends had held discourse with Job, it follows that the present Colloquies (if we may provisionally regard them as a whole) have been substituted for speeches of very different purport which came from the narrator of the prose-story, and were in perfect harmony with it.[1]

The chief value of the Epilogue for us moderns (who on aesthetic and religious grounds alike are compelled *to* take exception to its contents) is that it enables us to reconstruct the main outlines of the original colloquy and of those portions of the story which had to be omitted together with the original colloquy. Elsewhere an attempt has been made to reconstruct what inight conceivably have formed the omitted portion of the earlier hook of Job.[2] Something of the sort can hardly be dispensed with in a full treatise on the criticism of Job, though to economise space it is not given here. The theory adopted above enables us to account *(a)* for the severe blame which Yahwè gives to the three friends, and for their assumed liability to some terrible calamity;[3] *(b)* for the high praise awarded to Job; *(c)* in part for the expressions in the description of the suffering Servant of Yahwl: in Is. 52 13-53 12; and *(d)* for the early view of Job, which persisted for centuries in many quarters in spite of the later insertions in the hook, as **a** model of righteousness and patient endurance.

4. Legendary basis.

We must now ask, Is it possible to get behind the representation given of Job and of his misfortunes in the Prologue and Epilogue? That there is a legendary basis may be assumed as on *a priori* grounds likelv. Even the book of Tobit has its legendary element, though the main current of the narrative is unaffected by it. Much more may we expect to find a traditional basis for the story of Job, which is of just the type in which the primitive imagination delighted; indeed, the name of its hero (in striking contrast to Tobit=Tobiah) is plainly no fiction, but **a** legacy from antiquity.

The prevalent view among critics is that a wise man of poetical gifts in Judæa in the post-exilic period adopted a story which had been handed on from age to age in popular tradition, and adapted it to his own didactic purposes.[4]

One of the chief points in favour of this view is the supernatural machinery of the Prologue, which has **a** strong quasi-mythological character. In particular, the humorousness[5] of the dialogue between Yahwl: and the Satan, which might he abundantly paralleled from Christian hagiology, evidently represents the popular, not the official religion. On the other hand, it must be remarked (1) that the Prologue is evidently constructed with **a** didactic object—viz., to give an adequate explanation of the sufferings of the righteous; (2) that the Epilogue is not fully intelligible unless Job he understood as **a** type of the people of Israel; and (3) that the Epilogue presupposes that Job and his three friends have been conversing on the subject of the divine government of the world (Job 42 7), whereas discussions on speculative subjects are uncongenial to the popular mind.

How far can this view be endorsed? So much as this appears to be certain—the story of Job is based upon **a** popular legend. It is probable, however, that some of the most interesting features of the Prologue are not of traditional origin, but come from a cultivated wise man who knew how to write for the people, but stood somewhat apart both from the popular and from the official religion. This wise man lived in the post-exilic period, when the belief in the Satan was becoming general. Very probably the imaginary dialogue between Yahwè and the Satan is not merely humorous but ironical. The narrator may wish to suggest **a** grave doubt as to the appropriateness of such a belief in Judaism; certainly he regards the Satan, like the b'ne Elōhim,[6] **as** no more than a part of his poetic machinery. His main object, however, is to show (anticipating much later teaching) that the accumulated woes of Israel are but tests of the disinterestedness of Israel's love for God. It is true, the Epilogue is inconsistent with this: this wise man and artist, free-minded as he is, has to make concessions to the multitude (see § 3).

וְלֹא בִטֵּא בשפתיו לאלהים (cp 2 10, and especially Ps. 106 33). (נר represents בטא; נתפה comes from בשפתיו. ל was inserted by the last editor to make sense.)

[1] In 42 8 MT gives, לְבִלְתִּי עֲשׂוֹת עִמָּכֶם נְבָלָה, 'that I may not do something shameful to you'—*i.e.*, give you an exemplary punishment (Bu.). The text of Job is so far from immaculate that it is better to emend it here than to force נְבָלָה in this way. A more impossible word than נְבָלָה for Yahwè to use could hardly be imagined. Probably we should read, לְבִלְתִּי תְּאֹתֶה עֲלֵיכֶם בַּלָּהָה. בְּהָלָה and בַּלָּהָה are both very liable (as experience of Job and Psalms will show) to corruption.

[2] 'The exact doubling of Job's former possessions shows that we are not reading literal history here' (Davidson on 42 12).

[3] On the close of 42 11 see KESITAH, and on the names of Job's three daughters, the first and the third of which are strangely misread, see JEMIMA, KEZIA, KEREN-HAPPUCH.

[1] See, D. B. Macdonald, *JBL* 14 63-71 ('95); Duhm, ***Hiob***, ('97), Eml. p. viii.

[2] Che. *Jewish Religious Life*, 161.

[3] בַּלָּהָה (see preceding col. n. 1).

[4] See Wellh. *JDT*, 1871, p. 555; Che. *Job and Sol. 66*; Budde, pp. viii *ff.*; Duhm, p. vii *f.*

[5] Cp *Job and Sol.* 110 (parallel between Job and *Faust*).

[6] *I.e.* 'members of the divine guild' (ANGELS, § 2).

Most probably all that he adopted from the legend was (1) the name of the hero and of the land in which he lived; (2) the fact of Job's close intercourse with God; and (3) the surprising circumstance that this most righteous and divinely favoured of men was attacked by some dread disease such as leprosy, but was ultimately healed. *So* much as this was not improbably known to Ezekiel, who (14 14 20) mentions three men, Noah, Daniel (or rather perhaps 'Enoch'—see ENOCH), and Job as having escaped from peril of death by their righteousness. The original story was probably derived from Babylonia (cp preceding article). Eabani, the friend of the solar hero Gilgameš (see ENOCH), himself too created for Ea by the potter-goddess Aruru, was attacked by a distressing sickness, apparently the same from which Gilgameš had for a time been a sufferer. In the Babylonian legend Eabani dies, whereas Gilgameš is healed for a time by a magic potion and immersion in the fountain of life in the earthly paradise. It would seem that in Palestine one part of the story of Gilgameš dropped away from that hero and attached itself to Eabani, whose name became Hebraised into איבן, out of which arose אִיּוֹב, *'Iyyōb* (Job). Probably the story was brought by the Israelites from Hauran, if, as has been suggested (see HARAN), the Haran of Genesis is a distortion of Hanran. The 'land of **Uz**' (see UZ) was therefore probably in the NE. of Palestine, where indeed the name 'Uz' would naturally lead us to place it, but is transferred to Edom by the author of the original Book of Job, because of the traditional reputation of the Edomites for wisdom[1] (Obad.8; cp TEMAN). This new situation suggested the mention of the Sabeans (1 15), and the Cushites (1 17; read כשיים for כַּשְׂדִּים; see CUSH, § 2, *i.*), also the designation of Jbb as 'the greatest of all the sons of Jerahmeel' (1 3; read בני ירחמאל for בני קדם; see JERAHMEEL, KEDEM, MAHOL) and of the friends of Job as a Temnnite, a Zarhite, and a Temanite respectively (for the emendations here adopted see SHUHITE, ZOPHAR). The later wise man (once more we provisionally assume the unity of the Colloquies) who, as we have seen, discarded the original Colloquies and substituted new ones, does not seem to have altered the Prologue and Epilogue. To his work, which from the very first impressed thinkers as much as the prose narrative of Job impressed the multitude, we now direct our attention. Evidently he admired that narrative, for he has adopted it; but not less evidently he was not satisfied even by the attractive theory embodied in the Prologue, partly, we may suppose, because it depended for its efficacy on the opening of the heavens, and the admission of human listeners to the council-hall of Elōhīm. For the wise men sought to connect religion as much as possible with mother-earth.

5. First cycle of speeches.

It should be noticed that there are three cvcles of speeches, or colloquies, so that each friend speaks nine times (on Zophar's third speech see below), and Job answers nine times. Job also opens the colloquies by a poetic complaint.

The friends, who represent the Jewish theologians of the author's time, are about to speak. An excuse for this had to be provided. Submission to the divine will was the fundamental note of the character of Job, according to the Prologue. In order to justify argumentation, the sufferer must he seen to have lost his composure. The word 'God' occurs but twice in Job's complaint (chap. 3); he murmurs, but without accusing God of injustice. All that he craves is an explanation of this sudden catastrophe. Why was he suffered to live on when born—why must he live on, now that he is in abject misery? Piety does not forbid him to curse his natal day—the day which *began* with the night of his birth.

> Perish the day on which I was to be born
> And the night which said, Behold,[1] a boy'!
> Let not God above ask after it,
> Let not the moon show her splendour above it.[2]

Years and days are not imaginary, but have an objective existence in the unseen world. Job would fain revenge himself on this luckless day. As Moulton well says, 'All variations of darkening that fancy can suggest are invoked to blot out that day which betrayed Job into life.'[3] Then Eliphaz the Temanite comes forward. He is the oldest of the party—older than Job's father (15 10). It is characteristic of him that he appeals to special revelations of his own; characteristic of Bildad that he loves to appeal to tradition; characteristic of the young and impetuous Zophar that he appeals to no authority but his own judgment, and gets irritated at any one who disputes the correctness of his theory.[4] All are agreed that the cause of all calamity (and therefore of Job's) is sin, whereas Job himself from the first ascribes his trouble to some baffling mystery in God himself. The point which is not clear to the friends is, whether the calamity which has befallen Job is a punishment or merely an educational. chastisement. They could not have hesitated to adopt the second view but for the vehemence of Jobs complaint which seemed to them unbecoming in a devout man. Eliphaz gently remonstrates with his friend, and, if textual corruption be removed, his speech will not strike us as either unconnected or dictatorial. Why should Job lose heart? Who ever perished, being innocent? Job must know this; clearly Eliphaz does not expect any criticism of his statement. There is one truth, however, of which Job seems to him not fully aware; indeed Eliphaz himself had needed to have it enforced by a special, personal revelation, whispered to him by a mysterious form at night (4 17-21):—

> Can mortal man be righteous before God?
> Can man be pure before his maker?
> Behold, he trusteth not his servants,
> His holy ones are unclean before God;
> How much more the dwellers in houses of clay . . .
> Do they not dry up, when he bloweth upon them?
> They die, but without wisdom.[5]

What, then, is man's true wisdom? It is to recognise trouble as the consequence of sin, and not to he seduced into irritating words which can only lead to the complete destruction both of the fool who utters them and of his children (5 24 *f.*). Does Job think that there is anyone of the celestials who can be induced to help him? He will hardly indulge in this fancy after the revelation which Eliphaz has just related. For his own part, Eliphaz would rather turn trustfully to God, whose purposes are so unsearchable, but, for the righteous man, so beneficent. He concludes with an idealistic picture of the happiness in store for Job, if he will defer to the friendly advice offered to him by Eliphaz (5 17-27).

Job 4 8-11 and 5 3 6 *f.* 10 are late insertions which spoil the fine rhetoric of the poet. Chap. 5 is also questioned by Siegfr., Beer, and Duhm, hut seems to be protected by 4 18*b* if read as emended above; indeed, 'call now,' etc. is much too vigorous an address for an ordinary glossator. Verse 7 needs correction in order to suit *v.* 6, but cannot be rescued for the poem, both *v.* 6 and *v.* 7 being alien to the Temanite's argument, (Verse 7 should probably be read, 'Yea., man brings forth misery, and the sons of wickedness pour forth iniquity';

1 For a peculiar view of the 'Edomite setting' of the original poem, see Klostermanu on 1 K. 4 11.

1 הִנֵּה for הֹרָה (𝔊 ἰδού; Bick., Bu., Du.).

2 See translation of four stanzas of Job's complaint; with justification, in *Exp. T* 10 380 *f.* ('99).

3 *Book of Job*, Introd. p. xix.

4 Cp Davidson, *Job*, 25 *f.*

5 In l. 4 read וְנִגְאֲלוּ קְדֹשָׁיו מֵאֱלוֹהַּ. After l. 5 we have omitted four lines, to avoid having to justify emendations at too great length. When we follow 𝔊, there is a quotation from Is. 40 24. See Beer *ad loc.*

JOB (BOOK)

כִּי אָדָם לְעָמָל יוֹלִיד וּבְנֵי רֶשַׁע יַבִּיעוּ עָוֺן. Cp Budde, Duhm, Matthes).

Bildad's first speech is chiefly remarkable for his respectful attitude towards tradition. 'We are of yesterday,' he says, 'and know nothing' (8 9), whereas the wisdom of the past is centuries old, and has a stability to which Job's new-fangled notions (for Job represents a 'new school' of religious philosophy) cannot pretend. Here the first genuine allusion to Egypt אָחוּ, 'Nile-grass,' 8 11; see REED) should be noticed; also Bildad's cruel reference to the fate of Job's children (8 4). Zophar gives a panegyric of the divine wisdom (11 5-8), which, however, only leads up to the poor inference that God must be able to see secret sin (11 11), and which Job (12 2 *f.* 11 *f.* 14-25 13 1 *f.*) reduces, as he thinks, to its just proportions.[1]

The saying in 11 6*c*, 'Know therefore that God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquity deserveth' (EV) is indeed a terrible one, but Zophar is not to he held responsible for it. It is not an interpolation, however, but an editorial attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage. When duly emended, it may assist us in the emendation of 11 6*b*, which should probably run thus, 'That thou mightest know that it (*i.e.*, divine wisdom) is marvellous in reason': ודעו כי ישה לך אלוה is corrupted from וְתֵדַע כִּי פְלָאִים לְתוּשִׁיָּה. Chap. 12 has been much misunderstood. Grill would excise 12 4-13 2 as a later insertion. Siegfried prints 12 4-6 and 12 7-13 1 in colours (as insertions): and Duhm omits 12 7-10 and 12 4-6, and makes 12 4-6 (tristichs, he thinks) parallel to the cycle of poems in chaps. 24 and 30 2-8. This is simply owing to corruptions of the text which have obscured the meaning. Probably the only interpolations are *vv.* 4 9 and 13. The passage should begin, No doubt with you is discernment, And with you is perfection of wisdom. Yea, I have not learned wisdom, And your secrets I know not (cp 11). But ask now the beasts that they may teach thee, etc. (*vv.* 7 *f.*). The wicked man at the judgment is confident. At (God's) fixed time his foot is secure, etc. (*vv.* 5 *f.*). Doth not the ear try words, etc. (*v.* 11).

The only result of these successive speeches is to make the complaints of the sufferer bolder and more startling. But before he 'gives free course to his complaint' (10 1), he secures his right to do so. The immensity of his woe is his justification. All he asks of his friends is—spoken or silent sympathy; but he asks it in vain, and this intensifies his agony. The friends may lecture to him on the infinite power and wisdom of God. Miserable comfort! He knows it only too well. To be compelled to think that this power and wisdom is not directed by morality, and that he is worth no more to the Almighty and the All-wise than the mountains which he removes, or the rivers which he dries up, is acutely painful. Job does not profess to understand God's dealings in the world of nature, but hitherto it has appeared to him that he understood Gods intercourse with His moral creature—man. He looks for consistency in Gods dealings with moral beings. The sudden transition from happiness to misery in Job's case can only, so he fancies, be ascribed to capriciousness in God; or, if we may express the underlying symbolic meaning, the catastrophe by which a religious and prosperous people like Israel was suddenly crushed by the iron heel of a foreign despot, appears to show that Zion has been forgotten by her God. As for the theory that calamity is a chastisement, it will not apply to Job's case, for his days are numbered, and even for those few days God, as if a wild beast, cannot refrain from torturing his prey. Yet, such is the power of true religion, the man who utters these desperate words, pleads with his God for gentler treatment! These three speeches of Job (*6 J 9 f.* 12-14) are rich in poetic ore; but we have space here only for the wonderful expressions of an inextinguishable heart-religion which occur near the close of the first and third speeches respectively.

[1] Davidson's remark (p. 88) that in reply to Zophar Job shows, by a brilliant declaration of the divine wisdom and power that he is a greater master in the knowledge of these than his friends are, hardly touches the main point. Job admits that God is wise; but the result of his observation is that God's wisdom is mainly devoted to destructive ends.

It will be noticed that in the first quotation a supposed 'parody' of Ps. 8 5 [6] and an unaesthetic phrase which no Arabic parallel can make tolerable, have disappeared. Ifemenda. tion is permissible, it is so here.[1]

What is man that thou shouldest spy him out,
And direct thine attention to him?
That thou shouldest try him (by fire) every morning
And test him every moment?

*

How long ere thou look away from me,
Ere thou leave me that I may have a moment's cheer?
Why hast thou set me as a target?
Why am I unto thee as a mark?

*

And why dost thou not pardon my transgression,
And cause mine iniquity to remove?
For now I must lie down in the dust,
And when thou seekest after me, I shall he gone (7 17-21).

O that thou wouldest hide me in Shed,
That thou wouldest conceal me till thine anger were spent,
That thou wouldest appoint me a set time and remember me,
If the fury of wrath should come to an end!

*

All my days of anguish I would wait
Till thy relenting came;
Thou wouldest call, and I would answer thee,
Thou wouldest long after the work of thy hands (14 13-15).[2]

It will be plain, even from these quotations, that the first part of the discussion has not been wholly useless.

6. Second cycle.

It is true, the several points of view of Job and of the friends are in some respects totally different. Both parties, however, have alike become awake to the fact that the problem before them has more than a merely personal reference. It is not only Job but a large section of the human race which has, apparently, lost its sense of union with God. The old days of idyllic happiness and unquestioning faith have passed away not merely for Job, but also for Israel, and for many another people, and 'the earth' seems to be 'given over into the hands of the wicked' (9 24). According to the friends, this was because of some sin committed by Job (*i.e.*, by Job'santitypes). Job, however, could not accept this, and went on piling complaint upon coniplaint. The friends, he said, were treacherous, and God was inconsistent—'He destroys the perfect and the wicked' (9 22). We might have supposed that this enlargement of the problem would have softened Job's mood.[3] It does not soften it; the poet fails to make the most of the psychological situation. There is but one idea which can at all comfort Job; it is this—that Gods love cannot really be extinct—that in the depths of his nature God cannot be as hostile to him as he seems. Though slowly dying he can even now imagine God longing after him when it is, humanly speaking, too late, and he indulges in the dream of a successful conflict between God's wrath and God's love.[4]

It is Wrath that hurries Job to Shĕōl, Love stands by sorrowfully and waits his time. Thanks to Love, it will at length be seen that Job's removal to the dark underworld was the best thing that could have happened. No longer seeing him, God's

[1] The readings here proposed are תְּרַגְּלֶנּוּ (l. 1): תְּצָרְפֶנּוּ (l. 3; see *Exp.T* 10 381): וְאַבְלִיג רֶגַע (l. 6); לְהַשָּׂרָה (l. 8; cp 16 12*b*; Beer). The opening words of *v.* 20 are omitted as an interpolation (Bick., Du.).

[2] The emendations in 14 13-15 are:—אִם תִּתֹּם עֶבְרַת חֵמָה (1.4); עָצְבִּי (l. 5; *Exp. T*, *l.c.*); חֶמְלָתְךָ (1.6). Of these, the most important is the first. MT has, אִם־יָמוּת גֶּבֶר הֲיִחְיֶה; 𝔊 ἐὰν yap ἀποθάνῃ ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται, which Bickell, Cheyne (Jew. *Rel. Life*, 234), and Duhm follow ('if a man were to die and to live again'). This, however does not fit the parallelism. (ע and מ, נ and ח are easily confounded.)

[3] Cp the touching apologue of the mustard-seed in *Buddhaghosha's Parables.*

[4] On this division of God into two parties, cp Davidson on 17 3; Che. *Job and Sol.* 31. The Jewish poet Ibn Gabirol finely says, אֶבְרַח מִמְּךָ אֵלֶיךָ, 'I fly from Thee to Thee'; and our own inimitable Crashaw says,

But thou giv'st leave (dread Lord!) that we
Take shelter from Thyself in Thee;
And with the wings of Thine Own dove
Fly to Thy sceptre of soft love.

irritation will pass away, and he will long to renew his intercourse with him on earth or in heaven. Thus, though Job will still have the 'anguish '[1] of being parted from God, he will be able to wait patiently for the reawakening of his love. Will Job come to believe that this is no dream? That is the important question with which we approach the second colloquy.

Jobs essential devoutness is manifest to us; but it was not so to his friends (cp 154). In fact, passages like those quoted above are not intended for the ears of the friends. They are lyric monologues which illustrate the dramatic process going on within the mind of Job; they form no real part of the colloquy. Job's narrow-minded friends can see his outward irreverence, but not the longing to be at peace with God which alone made such irreverence possible. Now, they think, Job reveals himself in his true character, and, their gentler treatment having failed, they proceed to try the effect of lurid pictures of the wicked man's fate,[2] intending that Job should see in these pictures no distant resemblance to himself. This wounding language Job meets with growing dignity. The symptoms of his sickness are becoming aggravated; death, he feels, cannot be far distant. He has already said, 'Yea, let him kill me, I will not desist.[3] Surely my ways I will defend before him' (13 15). But now his condition appears desperate;[4] and in his loneliness he returns to the idea that God cannot be entirely his enemy.

Death, indeed, he cannot escape; he is caught in God's net, and complaints of injustice are unavailing (19 6 *f.*). Job is now sure that he has an avenger of blood in heaven (cp Ps. 9 12 [13]); when he is dead, his cry (*i.e.*, the appeal of his blood, which lies on the bosom of the earth) will reach the ear of the divine Love. To mgther-earth he first makes his appeal; then he tells the universe of a stupendous fact of his consciousness.

> O earth cover not my blood,
> And let my cry have no (resting-) place.
> Yea, I know it—my piercing cry is in heaven,
> And my shriek has entered the heights.
>
> He will accept the words with which I cry,
> My Blood-avenger will hear my call,
> That be may decide between a man and God,
> And between man and his fashioner (16 1-21).[5]

But here Job stops. It is implied that reparation will be made for Jobs unjust and violent death; but no surmise is offered as to the form that this will take. The much-suffering man has advanced beyond what he said in 9 32 *f.*; he has found a 'daysman betwixt us that might lay his hand upon us both'; the daysman's nature, if not his name, is Righteous Love. But he has not resumed the position adopted for a moment in 14 13-15; he does not on this occasion specify the form which the expected reparation, or vengeance for blood, will take. It was a noble idea that he had stated; but, not being able to offer any tangible proof of its correctness, he soon falls back into his old elegiac strain, and even appeals to the friends for pity (19 21). He might as well have appealed to icebergs. From their averted faces the persecuted heretic sees that his doom is sealed. If God had not marked him out for death, they might have thought to do God service (cp 13 8) by stoning him. Job warns them of their guilt (cp 13 10 *f.*); he does not threaten them with 'the sword,' as the faulty MT represents. First, however, he revives his own courage by giving for the third time a public expression to his unextinguished belief in his God (19 25 *f.*). We cannot indeed venture, in deference to later Christian beliefs, to let the text of 19 25-27 pass, and assume that the passage refers either to the hope of the resurrection, or at least to the hope of conscious and continuous intercourse with God in an unbodied state of existence cp ESCHATOLOGY). A close examination of the text shows that it has not only suffered corruption but also received interpolations, and our general experience with the ancient versions (which have often made prophets and poets give support to the later eschatology) justifies us in dealing with the MT somewhat freely. The present writer's attempt at a thoroughly critical restoration may be thus rendered,—

> As for me, I know it—my Avenger lives,
> And (lying) in the dust I shall receive his pledge;
> Shaddai[1] will bring to pass my desire,
> And as my justifier I shall see God.
>
> *
>
> When ye say, 'We will pursue him like a hart
> And will satisfy ourselves with his (lacerated) desh';
> Have fear for yourselves because of your words,
> For those are words of iniquity (19 25-29).

So then the dream of a permanent resurrection of the old intercourse with God on earth or in heaven is not finally ratified by Job's mature thought. Still he ventures nearer to that dream than when he uttered the cry to mother-earth. He will not give up his belief in God's righteousness, and therefore declares it to be certain that God will one day publicly recognise his servant's innocence; and since on the one hand it is essential to the completeness of this reparation that Job should witness it, and on the other it is inconceivable (14 12) that man should 'awake, or be raised out of his sleep' to the old familiar life, it is the only solution which remains that the unbodied spirit of Job should for a moment he transferred to the upper world to 'see God as his justifier.' On this view great stress must be laid; no other exegesis appears possible, על-עפר, 'on the dust (of Shad),' and מצדיקי, 'my justifier' (underlying מבשרי), being both apparently planted firmly in the text. That God can 'both kill and make alive' would no doubt have been granted by the poet; exceptionally a man like Enoch or Elijah might doubtless be saved either *from* death or *out of* death. But he regards his hero not as an exceptional person hut as a representative df the class of righteous sufferers, and as such (so the poet thinks) Job cannot be raised from the dead.

Job, then, in some unimaginable way will for a moment be enabled to see the Light of lights—Elōăh. His desire has been to have his innocence established by the righteous Judge; that desire 'Shaddai will bring to pass.' First, the Gōēl, or Vindicator (see GOEL), will convey to Job the 'pledge' of his willingness to act as Gōēl (cp Ruth 4 7 *f.*), then the solemn act of justification will be performed in the presence of Job. We must not be 'wise above that which is written,' and speculate with the help of later Jewish eschatology on the change which, for Job, must pass upon Shĕōl when he returns thither at peace with God. Certain it is, that Job, and therefore also his poet, has broken with the conventional

1 Read עֹצֶב for צָבָא, both in 14 14 and in 7 1.

2 There are, of course, corruptions of the text as elsewhere. For instance, 15 14-19, as they stand are highly suspicious. It is not enough to omit *vv.* 14 and 17 (hi.) as interpolations. A single stanza should take the place of *vv.* 14-19; the original text can easily be detected under the present much-edited text. What Eliphaz really says is, 'Ask the wise men, for they alone have unerring wisdom; they will not withhold their *tōrah*' (see *Crit. Bib.*).

3 Read לֹא אֶחְדַּל (*Exp. T* 10 382); MT, לֹא אֲיַחֵל, is clearly wrong. Davidson, 'I will not wait'; Duhm, 'I cannot hold out'; Budde, 'I hope for nothing.'

4 The passage, 16 22, 17 1 *f.*, so far as we can understand it, interrupts the context, and must surely be an interpolation. Cp. Siegfried's notes.

5 Lines 3 and 4 in MT run, 'Even now, behold, my witness is in heaven, and my witness is in the heights. But the context requires more than a 'witness' of Job's innocence, and √שהר (Aram.) occurs only once again in the MT, and there it is corrupt (see JEGAR-SAHADUTHA). Read probably גַּם־יָדַעְתִּי רִנָּתִי בַשָּׁמַיִם וְשַׁוְעָתִי בָאָה בַמְּרוֹמִים. Sense, metre, and the textual phenomena are thus satisfied. Lines 5 *f.* make a miserable sense in MT; 𝔊 represents an intermediate stage between the true text and MT. The true text may be something like this, יִרְצֶה מִלַּי צַעֲקָתִי וּתְפִלָּתִי יִשְׁמַע גֹּאֲלִי. In line 8, for רֵעֵהוּ read יוֹצְרוֹ (illustrated by the argument in 10 8). 'His friend,' however explained, whether as Job's friends (collectively) or as a title for God, is intolerable. For a minute, though not quite satisfactory discussion of the passage, see Budde; and on the versions see Beer.

1 Shaddai (see NAMES, § 117), occurs 31 times in the MT of Job.

doctrine of Shĕōl, but he has not formed a new and better doctrine, capable of being presented in poetical form.

The view that Job anticipates restoration to health and prosperity in this life still finds supporters (see Bu., 110; Laue, 49*f*.; Beer 127). It appears to the present writer to he connected with an *a priori* view of the structure of the Book of Job, and, in the case of Budde especially, with an unduly optimistic view of MT in this passage. Di. and Da. both favour the view that Job's justification will be after death; such also, in a form agreeing in essentials with that given ahove, is the view of We. (*IJG* 177), Smend (*Rel. Gesch.* 471), and Du. 104. Of these critics, Duhm has given most attention to the text; hut his retention of מִבְּשָׂרִי and his introduction of תָּו (which properly means a tribal or religious sign on the person [see CROSS]), can by no means be justified. The restoration offered above is the writer's third experiment; it is, even if imperfect, neither hasty nor arbitrary. A few notes appear necessary. In l. 2 we should probably read וְעָרְבֹנִי as in 173 [Beer, Bu., Du.], a passage which belongs to the same group as 19 25-29: *i.e.*, it implies the idea of a division in the divine Being—the God of love over against the God of wrath. For the impossible מבשרי read מַצְדִּיקִי (Is. 508); this reading is practically certain. MTs אחרון is now generally explained as 'afterman'='vindicator' (cp Perles, *Analekten*, 74), which produces a good parallel to גאלי, hut is in itself unnatural. על-עפר יקום has no intelligible meaning. As Eichhorn (*Allgem. Bibliothek*, 1388) remarks קום על always means 'to assail.' Unaware of Eichhorn, We. (*JDT*, 16 556 ['71]) makes the same observation, and proposes to render MT, 'will arise (as witness) against dust'—*i.e.*, against the friends (cp Job 4 19)! This being too artificial, either על-עפר or יקום must he read, and considering how emphatically (7 21) Jdh has mentioned his expectation of 'lying down on the dust'—*i.e.*, on the dusty ground of Shĕōl (see 17 16), it is the more reasonable course to emend the latter and retain עַל־עָפָר, which means '(lying) upon the dust' (20 11 21 26; cp 7 21). אקח for יקם is an easy change; the preformatives א and י are frequently confounded. In l. 3 for עורי read probably שַׁדַּי; אחר is dittographed. For נקפו זאת read יָכֵן תַּאֲוָתִי; י fell out owing to שדי; cp 17 15 (in dread תאותי). The much tortured נקפו is a mere editorial guess. אשר אני is clearly a corruption of מִבְּשָׂרִי (note the warning Pasek), and לִי of אלוה. ועיני ראו ולא-זר is a gloss on אחזה-לי; כלו כליתי בחקי is a corruption of לְחַיֵּנִי מִקִּבְרִי, a gloss on על-עפר יקום ('God shall arise . . . *to* ***revive me*** *from my grave*'). In l. 5*f*. the critics have not noticed that Job returns *to* his statement in *v*. 22; yet to a practised eye שרש דבר should reveal its secret. Read כי ח' נרדפנו כמו-אַיָּל ומבשרו נשבע (אַיָּל for אֵל, in *v*. 22, Reiske, Perles, Beer); ומבשרו has two beats. In l. 7*f*. חרב is too vague, and the threat of a violent death is not in character with the Job of chaps. 3-19. Nor is there any allusion to the threat in Zophar's third speech. Read 03131 and דברי עונות, and for ann read הֵמָּה (Ges.). The last three words of *v*. 29 in the consonantal text (read, with Bu., [כִּי] יֵשׁ דַּיָּן, 'that ye may know that there is a judge') are a gloss.

Job has now taken a long step forward tow-ards the religious solution of the problem of the suffering of the *individual*, and since true religion is primarily individualistic he can, if he will, afford to lay the large problem of the suffering of *classes* of men on one side.

7. Original close of colloquies.

The importance of the deeply felt utterance of Job in 19 25*f*. is universally admitted; yet none perhaps have realised its bearing on the structure of the poem except Meinhold[1] and Laue.[2] The former critic makes a new part of the poem begin at chap. 20; the latter thinks that the non-appearance of Yahwè to recognise Job's innocence has produced a radical transformation of the character of Job, who, aggrieved at his disappointment, becomes an open blasphemer, gives an unqualified denial to the divine righteousness, and, welcoming a temptation which he has twice before (9 2*f*. 13 18*ff*.) overcome, challenges God, in language full of Titanic pride, to an investigation of his case (31 35-37). The latter view is, certainly inadmissible. Nothing is said in the second cycle of speeches which leads us to suppose that Job had expected God to appear for his vindication and been disappointed;[1] the account of 19 25*f*., which this view presupposes, is that which the best recent critics of Job have rejected. Still, it remains true that the Job whom we meet with from chap. 20 onwards, lacks that tender religious undertone which surprises and delights us in the first colloquy, and we might be tempted to suppose with Meinhold that a new part of the poem begins at chap. 20. This supposition we might support by the theory that when the poet reached the end of chap. 19, he laid his work aside for a time, and that when he resumed it he was himself in a less religious and a more definitely critical frame of mind than before. This theory, however, is by no means probable. The poet would certainly have corrected his earlier work, and not have allowed such strongly contrasting works to stand side by side. We cannot help supposing that another member of the guild of wise men to which the poet belonged, took up his work and continued it, so as to embody a somewhat different conception of the hero. This view is supported by the phenomena of chaps. 29-31. Several critics have noticed that this much-admired section is deficient in unity. Chaps. 29*f*. are an elegy; chap. 31 is a proud self-justification. The present writer formerly thought[2] that the author might have written chap. 31 some time after he wrote chaps. 29*f*., and have placed it here by an afterthought, omitting to construct a connecting link with the preceding chapter. But there is no necessity for such an assumption here. The elegy in chaps. 29*f*. appears to be the original conclusion of the colloquies—the counterpart of the elegy (chap. 3) which forms the opening of the poem.

Any one who will read chaps. 19 and 29*f*. consecutively will be struck by the appropriateness of the arrangement. Chap. 19 itself is strongly elegiac. As Davidson says, 'He realises . . . more clearly than ever he had done before, his dreary isolation, God and men being alike estranged from him, which he laments in most pathetic words.' 'Have pity, have pity upon me, O ye my friends,' is its central passage, and when the sufferer thinks of the cruel insinuations of his friends, he warns—he does not threaten them. He speaks indeed of an Avenger of blood, but it is God, not God's misguided advocates, from whom reparation is expected, and there is an Over-God, whose nature is Love, and whom Job longs to be permitted to love. After this we are prepared to hear his sorrowful retrospect of past happiness in chap. 29, and the contrasted contemplation of his present abject condition in chap. 30. The first part is a poetic commentary on the opening verses of the prologue (1 1-5):—

> O that I were as in months past,
> As in the days when God watched over me:
> When he made his lamp shine above my head,
> By his light I went in darkness;
> According as I fared in my (life's) way,
> When God screened my tent;
> When mine intimates were with me,
> And my children were round about me (29 2-5).[3]

It seems far back—the time when the poor and fatherless blessed him, and when the great hushed their words at his presence. Now to those who once honoured him he is a by-word.[4] The Providence which used to guard him is no more; God hears him not.

[1] *Neue Jahrbb. f. dertsch. Th.*, '92, p. go.
[2] *Die Comp. des B. Hiob*, 53, 77, 141.

[1] It is true, 23 13 expresses disappointment at God's evident determination not to hear Job's case, but this has no reference to the hope uttered in 19 25*f*. Although Job's wish for an equitable discussion of his case has found repeated expression, he has never deluded himself with the fancy that his wish will be granted. He could never have said, with reference to this, אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי, 'I know,' 'I am sure.'
[2] *Job and Solomon*, 39, *n*. 1.
[3] Reading בְּהָלּוֹ or בַּהֲהִלּוֹ (Olshausen, Bu., Beer, Du.): כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי בְּמוֹ־אָרְחִי (cp 𝔊); מְיֻדָּעַי (Ps. 88 19).
[4] 30 1-8 should be omitted (see §§ 8, 11), and *v*. 9 should follow 29 20.

Life has ceased to be a song of joy ; he is perishing by a slow, painful death.

My skin falls, blackened, from me,
My bones are burned with heat ;
My cithern is changed to mourning,
My pipe to notes of grief (30 30*f.*).

So ends the elegy according to the present text. Most probably, however, 31 1-4 has taken the place of two lost stanzas which formed the real conclusion ;[1] after this may have come the editorial notice, 'The words of Job are ended' (31 40*b*). That the writer intended it to be followed by the present epilogue is impossible; neither chap. 19 nor chap. 30 could possibly have been followed by 42 7. Whether the writer gave an epilogue of his own, or left his work a torso, it is impossible to conjecture.[2]

The skilful writer who, with an object that we shall see later, undertook to continue the earlier poem, had no difficulty in adopting his predecessor's style, though he fails very much in consistent delineation of character. Zophar no doubt is still the same blunt person as before (though 20 7*a* must not be quoted as a proof of this),[3] hut Eliphaz too is surely blunt enough in 22 2-20. Job for his part disdains to answer such revilings. He is absorbed in the astonishing heresy (*so* he deems it) which he has to propound. He shrinks from it with horror, and yet ventures to state it—the divine governor of the world is non-moral. The friends may prescribe methods of operation to God which are pleasing to human minds, hut God too clearly shows that they are not the methods which he himself adopts.

8. Third cycle.

Not unnaturally chap. 21 gave offence to many readers. It appears that *vv.* 16-18 were inserted to conform the passage to the prevalent doctrine of retribution. Though Budde and Duhm still claim for it the authorship of Job, Siegfried's view, which is here adopted, seems more probable. At any rate, dogmatic corrections have certainly been made elsewhere in this chapter. Thus, in *v.* 13*b* MT says, that after a prosperous life the wicked man goes down 'in a moment' (בְּרֶגַע) into Shĕōl. This cannot be right ; the true text probably had בְּעֹנֶג, 'in luxury.' So in *v.* 30*a* and 6 ליום is an orthodox correction which makes Job say that the wicked man is reserved for the day of calamity, and led forth (?) to the day of wrath.

In *v.* 30a it seems necessary to read מֵאִיר and in *b* מִיּוֹם (Du.). יובלו seems to be a corruption of נָבָל (נ should also be read for נָדִיב in *v.* 28). The whole description of the wicked man's career in *vv.* 28-33 is full of textual errors. 'Know their tokens' (*v.* 29*b*) should be 'examine travellers' (וְאֹרְחִים הֲלֹא תִבְחָנוּ). *Vv.* 32 *f.* are ludicrously wrong. Read probably, 'Seeing that he is escorted (in honour) to the citadel, and diligently seeks the sanctuary of God'[4] (וְהוּא לְקֶרֶת יוּבָל וּמִקְדַּשׁ אֵל יְשַׁחֵר), 'Gold he amasses like the sand, and of his treasures there is no number' (כֶּתֶם יִצְבֹּר לוֹ כַּחוֹל וְלִצְפֻנָיו אֵין מִסְפָּר). Perhaps no passage has given more useless exercise to exegetical ingenuity than this.

That even Eliphaz should follow Zophar's example, and hurl the falsest accusations against Job, would be indeed a striking phenomenon, if the original writer were responsible for this speech. 'Surely,' he says, 'thy wickedness is great, and thine iniquities are 'infinite' (22 5). Job must be a practical atheist (*vv.* 21-30 appear to be a later insertion,[5] designed to mitigate the strange contrast between the Eliphaz of chap. 22, and the kindly speaker who opened the first colloquy). Job's next speech, in its original form, was probably intended to show that, as the wicked often enjoy a long and prosperous life, so the righteous often experience nothing but misery.[1] Such a case is his own. God's commandments have been his rule of life. If he could only find God—who ever eludes his search—and induce him to listen to his plea, his vindication would be certain. True, Job would have to make one condition with God (23 6; cp 9 34, 13 21). In MT the passage is strangely distorted ; most probably it should run thus—

He would remove the pressure of his hand upon me ;
Then he would use no threatening to me.[2]

But alas! it has become too plain that God has resolved to destroy him (*v.* 13 ; read בָּחַר with Bu., Du.), though God knows full well that if he were to examine him, Job would come forth as gold (*v.* 10) ; and feeling himself to be the spokesman of the suffering righteous everywhere, Job goes on (*so* we must suppose) to produce further evidence for the awful theory of Gods non-moral character. The true continuation, however, has been lost. Chap. 24, as Duhm rightly holds, is not a connected discourse, but a cycle of poems written in tristichs instead of tetrastichs.[3] It is only 24 25 that we can safely regard as genuine ; this is the true close of Job's original speech.

How Bildad took this powerful indictment of the Governor of the world, does not appear. His third speech was lost, and a rhetorical description of the power, wisdom, and purity of God was inserted as a substitute. The second part of this description was, by a scribe's error, transposed *so* as to stand after 26 1-4. The latter passage is properly Job's ironical answer to this superfine but unoriginal piece of rhetoric; it is therefore necessarily not genuine. Jobs true answer to the (lost) speech of Bildad is to be found in chap. 27. It is, however, impossible to ascribe the whole of this chapter to Job ; part of it in all probability is a genuine fragment of the third speech of Zophar.[4] The calmness of Job's dignified protest in *vv.* 1-6 and 12 is very noteworthy. Duhm contrasts it with the bitterness of Jobs earlier speeches, and ascribes the change of tone to the intuition expressed by Job in chap. 19. The observation is just; but the cause assigned does not seem to be the right one. As we have seen, it is a partly new conception of Job that underlies these later chapters. Job is calm because that bitter-sweet undercurrent of yearning love to God which appears again and again in chaps. 3-19 does not disturb or distract him.

If it is correct to view 27 7-11 13-23 as a fragment of Zophar's last speech, the latter certainly merited the disdain with which Job treated it. It is, however, not impossible that we have here the attempt of a later orthodox writer to make the sufferer retract his heterodox statements (cp chap. 28). At any rate it has no right to appear in the last speech of Job, the true continuation of which must be sought elsewhere. We have in fact reached the great 'Oath of Clearing,'[5] by which Job finally proves his innocence, and which represents the

1 31 1 looks as if it were based on a scarcely legible text which the editor interpreted according to his own fancy.

2 In its sadness the present conclusion reminds us of the close of Ps. 88—a very Job-like psalm (cp Delitzsch).

3 For בגללו read כבורו (*Exp. T* 10 382).

4 The sanctuary would naturally be attached to the citadel.

5 Note the points of contact between 22 24 (Eliphaz) and 21 33 (Job ; emended text). It is not likely that the chief poet himself would have fallen into such a close parallelism between Job and Eliphaz.

1 Cp 23 15-17 with 21 6 (which precedes the description of the prosperity of the wicked). The parallelism is pointed out by Duhm.

2 יִרְחַק יָדוֹ מֵעָלַי
אָז הוּא לֹא יִוָּעֵם בִּי.

In 23 6*b* 𝔊 should be read thus, εἶτα ἀπειλῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐ χρήσεται.

3 The tristichs in *vv.* 1-4 are imperfectly preserved, and the form may therefore be doubted. It does not seem likely, however, that this member of the cycle of poems would be in tetrastichs when the other members were in tristichs.

4 So Gra. (*MGWJ*, 21 241 *ff.*), Che. (*Job and Sol.* 38), G. Hoffm., Duhm. Grätz and Hoffm., however, are wrong in assigning chap. 28 to Zophar (see below). It is only 27 7-11 and 13-23 which can reasonably be given to this lover of platitudes.

5 Moulton, p. 36.

high-water mark of Old Testament morality. His last words to his friends are—

Behold, ye have all seen it ;
Why then do ye so vainly rage? (27 12).[1]

Then, in all probability, followed an appendix, so framed as to form a parallel to chaps. **29** *f.* The opening words were transferred to the end, when chaps. **29** *f.* were removed to their present place. Let us restore 31 35-37 to its proper place at the head of the 'Oath of Clearing,'[2] and since it is highly corrupt, let us endeavour to emend it in accordance with Job's aspirations elsewhere.

O that he would hearken to my voice,
[And listen to the words of my complaint,]
That he would take away the insulting of mine opponent,[3]
That he would lay his hand upon **us** both !
* * * * *
Surely my concern would I present,
1 would arrange arguments for him ;
I would tell him the number of my steps,
My rising up and my lying down he would examine.

The usual view is that Job imagines himself approaching the Divine Judge (whom in *v.* 356 he is made to call 'my adversary') with the proud self-possessionof a 'prince' (נגיד), holding the accusation written by God and his own answer with his signature, and that Job declares that if he but possessed this accusation, he would not hide it as a thing which brought disgrace, but would parade it upon his back (!) as a distinction (cp **Is. 22** 22), and (or ?) wear it as a diadem on his brows. All this is violently improbable, and yet this very passage is utilised in the service of the theory that Job fell away from his God (Laue, **p. 96**). Truly Hoffmann deserves credit for his refusal to twist the exegesis of *v.* **36** in order to soften the surprising character of the passage. It is God, he says whom Job says that he will take upon his hack and bind upon himself **as** a coronet—an 'Ungeheuerlichkeit,' says Budde ; yes, indeed, hut an inevitable one, if the present text is to he strictly interpreted. It is probable that the passage can he restored nearly to its original state. The most important emendations are **(l. 3)** וְיֶאֱסֹף חֶרְפַּת אִישׁ־רִיבִי ; (l. 4) וְיָשִׁית יָדוֹ עַל־שְׁנֵינוּ ; **(l. 5)** אִם־לֹא מְלַאכְתִּי אַגִּישׁ ; (l. 8) קֻמִי וְרִבְעִי יִפְקֹד. For the rest, see *Crit. Bib.*

Then this ideal righteous man tells us how he would clear himself if God were to hear his cry, and investigate his case. He goes through a catalogue of evil deeds and thoughts, and in the most solemn manner imprecates upon himself God's vengeance if he be guilty. The first two stanzas (=*vv.* 5-8) fit on particularly well to the last stanza of the introduction (*i.e.*, 31 35-37) ; they continue the figure of the 'way.' The last stanza is by no means an equally good conclusion. Doubtless, like *vv.* 35-37 (which, as we have seen, should form the opening of the chapter), it has been misplaced, and probably the same fate has befallen *vv.* 29-34.[4] If so, the last extant part of the monologue will be (*vv.* 26 *f.*)—

If, when **I** saw how the sun shone,
Or the moon walking in splendour,
My heart was secretly beguiled,
And I kissed—putting hand to mouth.

This, however, cannot be the true conclusion. Unfortunately that was lost at an early date, and the two opening stanzas were detached *so* as to form a conclusion.

We can now see why the second wise man undertook to continue the original colloquies. It was to complete the disproof of the current theorythat sufferingwas always either disciplinary or educative. This wise man must have agreed with his predecessor in rejecting the Epilogue, and he would certainly not have sanctioned either the speeches of Elihu or even the grand orations of Yahwb.

[1] Read תִּתְהֹלָלוּ ; **cp** Ps. **62** 11, where **a** similar emendation is repuired.
[2] **31** 1-4 are doubtless an editorial insertion (cp *v.* **4** with *v.* 37*a*). They fill the place of an illegible passage.
[3] 'The opponent' is a collective term for the friends, who with one consent vilify Job (cp Ps. **43** 1). In the next line the continuator forgets that, according to the original poet, God is Job's adversary, and the friends merely his partial advocates.
[4] Davidson's view of *vv.* 24-34 as the repudiation of another class of secret **sins** is hardly quite satisfactory.

9. Speeches of Elihu.[1]

To the speeches of Elihu we now turn our attention. According to Duhm Elihu is brought before us as a distinguished historical person, and *so* (as a 'man of family') contrasts with Job and the three friends. The truth, however, probably is that the prolixity of the description of Elihu in 32 2 is due to corruption and interpolation ; Elihu was originally called simply 'the son of Jerahmeel'—*i.e.*, the Jerahmeelite, with reference to a Jerahmeelite famous in legend for his wisdom, who appears to be mentioned in 1 K. 4 31 (on the text see JERAHMEEL, § 4).[2] The lateness of the prose introduction to chaps. 32-37 is shown by the use of the ethnic 'the Buzite,'[3] which presupposes the corrupt traditional reading in Gen. **22 21**, 'and Buz his brother' (instead of וְאֶת־אֲחִיבוּז, 'and Ahibuz ;' cp AHI).[4] Anticipating some surprise at Elihu's appearance, the narrator states that Elihu was angry with Job because he held himself more righteous than God, and with the friends because they found no answer (to Job), and so made God seem guilty (32 2 *f.*). He says himself that he had waited because he was so young, and assuredly he falls into all the worst errors of juvenility. There is no intention, however, of amusing the reader ; the faults of juvenility were also the faults of the narrow, orthodox school to which the writer belonged. The matter of which Elihu is so 'full' (32 18-20) is distributed over four speeches. The themes of the first three are (1) the ground and object of suffering (32 *f.*), (2) the righteousness of God (34), (3) the use of religion (35). These are treated in relation to the erroneous utterances of Job, whom (unlike the three friends) Elihu constantly mentions by name. Then, in his last and longest effort, Elihu unrolls before Job a picture of the divine government, in its beneficence and righteousness as well as its omnipotence, with the object of breaking down Job's pride (36 *f.*). It is in the second part of his last speech that Elihu exerts himself most as a poet, and it has often been suggested that the sketch of the storm in 36 29-37 5, and the accompanying appeals to Job, are preparatory to the theophany in **38** 1 (*so* lately Moulton, xxxiii). The objection is (1) that the close of the speech of Elihu does not relate to the storm, as it ought to do, and (2) that Yahwb begins (38 2) with the declaration that the last speaker was a darkener of (the divine) counsel. We shall return to the Elihu section which is more interesting theologically than poetically ; see § 12. There is much corruption and possibly some interpolation in 'Elihu.' But we shall not spend more time on this speaker, whose discourses are but a foil to the Colloquies, the speeches of Yahwè, and the Praise of Wisdom.

10. Speeches of Yahwè.

We now pass on to the great poetical ornament of the book. The Speeches of Yahwk (38-42 6) serve a twofold purpose. They are a link between the Colloquies (in their expanded form) and the Epilogue, and they present, if not a solution, yet a powerfully expressed substitute for a solution of the great problem of suffering. The writer had rejected the theory defended by the three friends; he also disapproved of Job's vehement censure of the divine government of the world, but not, we may suppose, of his intuition of a justification of the righteous after death. He was obliged to make Yahwè intervene in Job's lifetime, because he felt it necessary for the circulation of the book (Prologue

[1] Cp further, § 12.
[2] 'Barachel' and 'Ram' *are* probably fragments of 'Jerahmeel.'
[3] 'The Buzite' would of course be superfluous after 'son of Jerahmeel.' It seems to be due to a scribe who had hefore him the same corrupt text that we have. Buz' was suggested by 'Uz.'
[4] Ahibuz was the true name of the brother of Uz and Jerahmeel (?), according to Gen. **22** 21 *f.* 'Jerahmeel' should probably be read for 'Kemuel the father of Aram,' *ib.* ; a late editor produced the latter as an attempt to make sense of corrupt fragments of 'Jerahmeel.' See JERAHMEEL, § 4.

and Colloquies) that it should be accompanied by the Epilogue, and he could not help making YahwB pass a strong censure on Jobs fault-finding propensity, partly no doubt to satisfy his own conscience, and partly also to make it possible for Yahwè in 42 7 to eulogise Job's statements respecting God (after Job had retracted all that could justly be accused of arrogance).

An editor has prefixed to these Speeches the words, 'And YahwB answered Job out of the tempest, and said' (38 1), but it would have been more in the spirit of our poet to have quoted 1 K. 19 11*b* 12 (Elijah's theophany), where it is distinctly said that Yahwè was not present in the storm-wind. It is by an appeal to the reason, not by physical terror, that YahwB seeks to work upon Job, though the awful mysteriousness of the universe, as set forth poetically by YahwB, forces from the lips of Job the words :—

> I had heard of thee hy the ear,
> But now mine eye has seen thee;
> Therefore I must pine away,
> And dissolve to dust and ashes.[1]

What Job means is that his previous notions of the divine government were derived from mere doctrine, whereas now he had obtained a vivid intuition of God's working, not merely among men, but in the great and complex universe. He had in fact seen Gods glory, and the strain upon his whole nature was such that he seemed about to break down. Of consciousness of moral offence on his part there is no trace; his error was of intellectual origin, and this certainly did not require him to 'repent in dust and ashes.' The only charge hrought against him is that he has 'darkened (Gods) counsel by words without insight' (38 2; cp **42 3**). Remonstrance is the general purport of the speeches of YahwB, and though the form of this may be humiliating to Job, yet the glorious pictures of nature which are presented cannot fail to lighten his load of grief (see Blake's beautiful thirteenth illustration of Job). Unfortunately the text of the Speeches is in some disorder. As the text stands, the Divine Speaker breaks off at 40 1 *f.* with a searching question which elicits from Job *a* confession of his ignorance. This, however, cannot be right. Another question is put in 40 8 *f.*, and, as Davidson remarks, the second question is implied in the first. As Bickell and Duhm have seen, *vv.* 8-12 must originally have followed *v.* 2; the separation was consequent on the interpolation of **40 15-41 34** (Behemoth and Leviathan). The Behemoth and Leviathan passages will be considered later; other insertions are the passage on the ostrich (**39** *13-18*), and, according to G. Hoffmann and Duhm, 38 13 6 14*b* 15; 38 28, too, should be omitted as a tautological prose version of *w.* 29. The poem (for as such we may regard it) will gain much by restoration to its original form; its splendid imagery will then be seen to the best advantage.[2] The earth, the sea, the world under the sea (Shĕōl), and the manifold wonders of the heavens are successively treated ; Job is asked whether perchance he brought these into existence, **or** knows the secrets connected with them.[3] More striking, however, are the poetical pictures of animals. Nine (excluding the ostrich) are brought before **us** in Yahwè's searching interrogatory; the poet enters into the habits of each, and conveys to us the fascination of which he is conscious himself.

Regretfully we abstain from dilating on these pictures, in special articles the omission **is** partly remedied (see, *e.g.*, CREATION § 21, HORSE; OSTRICH; MAZZAROTH, STARS, § 3; UNICORN).' It may he that the pictures were originally fewer in number (𝔊 is deficient in some details): if so, we need not regret the insertions.

Duhm hints a doubt respecting the raven-stanza (38 41), and adopts Wright's conjecture (לָעֶרֶב 'for the evening'); cp *Job and Sol.* 52, n. 4. **This** can hardly be right. More probably לערב is a corruption of לזאב, 'for the wolf.' The lion and the wolf are naturally mentioned together.

Our survey of Job would be most imperfect if we did not mention here at least the principal interpolations (cp especially Bickell and Duhm).

11. Chief interpolations. (1) The poems of which **24 1-24** is composed are as follows:—(*a*) *vv.* 1-4, a fragment on the merciless rapacity of the wicked. Details of this sort are not characteristic of Job. The other poems spoken of being in tristichs, it is probable that (*a*) was also written in this form. The text, however, is in a bad condition.

For *v.* 1 48 only gives διὰ τί δὲ κύριον ἔλαθον ὧραι, omitting לא (the text was already corrupted, as in MT) for dogmatic reasons; *v.* 2, which is also omitted, was apparently unintelligible. In fact, עִתִּים and יָמָיו are obscure. Duhm's restoration of the imperfect tristich in *v.* 1 is not quite natural, and he has to change ימיו into יומו. It is better to emend in such **a** way as to suit the sequel. משרי should probably he רשעים; for the rest see *Crit. Bib.* The sense which we obtain is,

> Why do the wicked prosper?
> They grind the face of the destitute;
> Bad men oppress the poor.

(*b*) Verses 5 *f.* (7*b*?) 8 10 12, a description of an oppressed, pariah race. This should be taken with 30 2-8, which contains the sequel. Text very bad; compare or contrast 𝔊.

(c) Verses 13-18*a* (??), a sketch of the 'rebels (?) against the light'—murderers, thieves, etc.

(*d*) Verses (18*b* (?)-24, a fragment on the end of tyrants. Text very bad.

(2) 30 2-8, more on the unhappy pariahs and troglodytes; one could almost fancy that it came from the oration of a democratic leader (cp 1*b*).[1]

(3) 28 1-27. No earthly treasures lie too deep for human industry, but Wisdom is with God alone. By Wisdom the writer means the Reason which originated and pervades the phenomena of the world (cp Prov. 8). The poem cannot have been written to stand where it does, for it is altogether in **a** different style, full of imagery, and too rich for the deep but simple idea which it is meant to convey; it contains no allusion whatever to Job's problem.[2] An editor of the Colloquies, however, seems to have thought that it might fitly be introduced (cp Job 11 5-12), because Job, as a censor of the government of the world, had virtually questioned the existence of the Divine Wisdom (a different view of Wisdom). According to this humble-minded person all speculation was wrong,[3] and he pleased himself with making Job anticipate his retractation in 40 4 *f.* Verse 28 comes from his pen, unless, as the warning Pasek after ויאמר may perhaps suggest, the interpolated verse is no longer in its original form, in which case we must be cautions how far we accuse the interpolator of narrowness of mind; it may have been a later scribe who made the best substitute he could for an indistinctly written passage.

It is the distinction of Duhm to have cleared up the exegetical problem of the opening word (כִּי, **'for')**. Verse 7 is usually supposed to take **up** what is said in *v.* 6; the 'path' is the way to the place of 'sapphires' (?). But it is much more natural to suppose that the words, '(But) whence doth wisdom come,' etc., which now appear only in *v.* 12[4] and *v.* 20, originally stood before *v.* 7, and if the refrain was forgotten there,[5] we may reasonably explain the 'for' in *v.* 1 as referring to the same refrain, which would therefore seem to have opened each of the

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1 Read הָמִּם אָמֻּם (Bottcher, Beer), and נִמְקֹתִי. Jnh surely cannot say that he is now ready to die on his ash-mound, with the gladness of one who has seen God (Du.).

2 The details of the poem are to some extent treated in special articles.

3 There are Zoroastrian parallels. See the question put by Zarathustra to Ahura-mazda in the Gathas (Yasna *44 3-5* in the Oxford *Zendavesta*, 3 113 *f.*); also the fine description of the divine creative acts in Bundahish **30 4-6** (West, *Pahlavi Texts*, **1** 121).

1 For a seemingly important emendation of the text of *vv.* 3 *f.*, see PURSLAIN.

2 So Studer, Che. (*Job and Sol.* 40 *f.*), Du., Laue. On the other side see Dillmann, Budde, and König (*Einl.* 414).

3 See *Jew. **Rel.** Life*, 153.

4 In *v.* 12 תִּמָּצֵא has evidently intruded from *v.* 13.

5 **As** was the case in Pss. **46** and **49**.

four stanzas of the poem.[1] Into the complicated controversy which has arisen out of this little word 'for,' it *is* needless to enter. Budde adheres to the ingenious but unnatural theory which he proposed in *ZATW*, **2** 193-274 ('82); he has not however, convinced Smend (*Rel.-gesch.*(2), 476), who still hold; to Wellh.'s view (Bleek's *Einl.*(4), 540 *ff.*) that 27 7-28 27 **is of** late origin.[2]

28 1-27, when restored to its original strophic form, is a beautiful specimen of Hebrew poetry. The corruptions of the text are not incurable (see, besides the commentaries of Budde and Duhm, the articles GOLD, LION, MINING, SAPPHIRE, TOPAZ). The naïve delight which the author takes in his knowledge of mining and **of** gems (cp Dante) is communicated to the reader.

(4) 39 13-18. See OSTRICH.

(5) 40 15-24 41 9-11 (12 ?) **41** 1-8 13-24. The description of two mythical monsters called Behemoth and Leviathan; the old mythological tradition having become pale, the poet fills **up** the gaps in his supposed knowledge from what he had seen or heard of the two Nile monsters—the hippopotamus and the crocodile (see **BEHEMOTH** AND LEVIATHAN, HIPPOPOTAMUS). If Job was really Gods equal, he could of course bring even these wondrous creatures into subjection. The seeming hyperboles in the descriptions are partly due to corruption of the text.

Thus in 40 17 'tail' and 'cedar' in 41 31 'pot of ointment,' and in 41 32 the 'hoary' sea should disappear. In 40 17 we should perhaps read 'he cleaveth reeds as with shears; the sinews of his neck are intertwined';[3] in 41 31*b*, 'he maketh the sea like a caldron,'[4] and in *v.* 32 'the bottom of the sea is his path; the dark places of the sea are his road.'[5] For other critical emendations, see HOOK, **JORDAN**, SOUL, and of course such writers as Budde, Duhm, Gunkel, and Beer should be consulted. Budde and Duhm, however, start with an incorrect theory as to the meaning of the names Behemoth and Leviathan.

That the passages which we have been considering really are interpolations, can hardly be questioned except on the ground of an *a **priori*** assumption of the unity of the hook. They are interpolations because their insertion in the Book of Job has involved interference with the form of the context, except where, as in the case of chap. 28 (see *v.* 28), the interference was confined to the inserted poem itself, and, even when beautiful in themselves, they mar the effect of the true poem of Job.

The Speeches of Elihu are somewhat differently circumstanced. It seems best to call them (with G. Hoffmann) a supplement to the original poem, rather than an interpolation. Their insertion (if they were inserted) has involved taking no liberty, either with the text of the speeches themselves, or with that of the Colloquies of Job and his three friends, and some writers[6] think that they give the best solution of Job's problem that was, from the point of view of the Hebrew Wisdom, possible, and that without them the Speeches of Yahwè would be liable to the charge of using force towards Job instead of argument. This charge, however, would be valid only if the Speeches of Yahwè belong to the author or authors of the Colloquies. For certainly the Speeches **of** Yahwè, noble as they are in themselves, are not such as were adapted to impress the supposed auditor (see, *e.g.*, 233-7). **As** to the high estimate of the Elihu Speeches in the writers referred to, it may be enough to say that (in spite of Elihu's assertion in 32146) there is hardly any argument in the Elihu section which cannot he found in the Speeches of the Friends, while the description of God's incomprehensible greatness in 36 13-37 24 appears like an inferior copy of

12. Elihu section (resumed).

[1] Each stanza consists of four tetrastichs or quatrains.

[2] Giesebrecht (*Der Wendepunkt des B. Hiob*, '79) adopts a point of view akin to that of Budde.

[3] Read יַחְצֹב אַגְמוֹן כְּמַעְצָד, and in *b*, עֲרָפוֹ for פחדו. See *Crit. Bib.*

[4] Read יָם יָשִׂים כַּפָּארוּר.

[5] Read קַרְקַע יְאֹר נְתִיבוֹ מַחֲשַׁכֵּי תְּהוֹם שְׁבִילָיו (see 𝔊, and cp **Am.** 9 3).

[6] Among older scholars Stickel ('42), and among recent writers Budde, Cornill, and Wildeboer may he specially mentioned.

the Speeches of Yahwè. The admiration expressed by some critics for the teaching of Elihu is certainly much exaggerated, and would not have been shared by the poet of the Colloquies, who rejects the doctrine of the Friends. Not to speak now of the poverty of the style, it may truly be said that the speaker or writer thinks far too much of his minute advances in religious theory. The only excuse for him is his marvellous naïveté. Here is one of his self-assertive utterances :—

I will fetch my knowledge from far,
And will see justice done to my Maker,
For truly my words are no lies,
One perfect in knowledge is before thee (36 3 *f.*).

What an over-estimate of his originality ! Elihu's favourite theory of the disciplinary character of suffering (33 14-30 368-25) was fully stated by Eliphaz at the outset (5 8 *ff.* 17 *ff.*). If he ceases to advocate it, it is because Job will not allow that it applies to his case. There is only one section in which Elihu may claim some originality. He says (3314) that God speaks to sinners in two ways ; first, by alarming them with dreams (*vv.* 15-18), and next by sending them sicknesses which would have a fatal issue but fot the intervention of a friendly angel (*vv.* 19-28). The central stanza of the former passage (33 15 *f.*) should run thus :—

By a dream, a vision of the night,
In slumberings upon the bed,
He opens the ears of men,
And makes their flesh to tremble.[1]

Here Elihu differs from Eliphaz his model by making the dream (see *v.* 17) a means of 'withholding **a** man from injustice' (מֵעַוְלָה, *v.* 17. Bick., Du., after 𝔊). The most important part of the second passage (3322-25) is very incorrectly given in MT, though the interpretation given to MT by critics (cp PARACLETE) does not seriously misrepresent the mind of the writer. Most probably we should read as follows :—

And his soul draws near to the pit,
And his life to the dark world,
Unless an angel redeem him,
One who rescues man from Abaddon,
* * * * * *
And he be gracious to him, and say, 'Let him go ;
I have found the ransom of his soul ;
Let his flesh swell with youthful strength,
Let him return to the days of his youth.'[2]

Here Elihu ventures on a virtual contradiction of Eliphaz who (*v.* 1) denies that 'holy ones,' *i.e.*, angels, can help a man struck by deadly sickness. He positively asserts that when a sick man seems near his end, one of those angels whom God commissions, not to lie in wait (like the Satan) for the tripping of the righteous, hut to prevent the chastisement of penitent sinners from going too far, rescues him from the destroying angel who has already grasped him. The 'ransom' spoken of is probably the prayer of penitent confession (*vv.* **26-28**). The angelology of 'Elihu' is

[1] **MT**, obscurely, וּבְמֹסָרָם יַחְתֹּם,—*i.e.*, 'and seals their discipline' (or, 'their bond'). @, Aq., Pesh. (Bick., *G.* Hoffm., Bu., Beer, Du.), יְחִתֵּם, 'terrifies.' For מסרם Du., Beer suggest מוֹרָאִים, 'terrors'(𝔊, ἐν εἴδεσιν φόβου τοιούτοις). But this leaves metre and parallelism imperfect. **A** close inspection reveals וּמִפַּחְדּוֹ בְּשָׂרָם יְסַמֵּר (see 4 14 *f.* ; **Ps. 119** 120). Writing the letters of MT continuously, one sees how the error arose.

[2] In l. 2 for לַמְמִתִים, 'to the destroying (angels?),' which is not properly ‖ to לַשַּׁחַת, 'to the pit,' read לְמוֹ צַלְמוּת ; 𝔊 ἐν ᾅδῃ. לְמוֹ מֵתִים gives one beat more, but has no other recommendation. In l. 3 read אִם־לֹא יִגְאָלֵהוּ מַלְאָךְ. Note the Pasek after עָלָיו. In l. 4 read מַצִּיל אָדָם מֵאֲבַדּוֹן ; אדם was perhaps still in the text when the gloss 'להגיד וגו was inserted. מאבדון, hy **a** little transposition and corruption, became מִנִּי אָלֶף. Bu. omits מלאך אחד מני־אלף as agloss, which isunjustifiable. In l. 5 read פְּדָעֵהוּ (so some MSS) with Böttch., Wright, Gra., Hoffm., Bu., Du., Beer. In l. 6 insert נַפְשׁוֹ ; Bick.(1), Bu., Du. In l. 7 read יִטְפַּשׁ ; **Hoffm.**, Bi., Bu., Du.

therefore more developed than that of the Colloquies (cp *Job and Sol.* 44 *f.*).

We have on the one hand an angel of Death, and on the other an angelic redeemer. Whatever may have been popularly believed at an earlier date, it is only a late poet (later, it would seem, than those who gave the tone to the Psalter, and later also than the poem of Job) who could have authoritatively sanctioned this belief. Elihu's minute reproductions of sayings of Job (see 33 8 *f.* 34 5 *f.* 35 2 *f.*) also point to an author who had the book before him as a whole, so far as it was then extant. What he gives us is a reassertion of the doctrine of earthly retribution in what seemed to him an improved form, and he gives this reassertion greater force by leading the reader to suppose that Job was silenced by it, and that Yahwè tacitly approved it.

13. Style of Elihu speeches.

(*a*) *Language.*—That there are many points of contact between Elihu and the Colloquies is not denied (cp Bu., *Beitr.* 92-123); but there are also many words (*e.g.*, רֵעַ) and phrases peculiar to 'Elihu' (*ib.* 124-146), which would hardly have been the case if 'Elihu' were written by the author of the Colloquies, considering that the circle of ideas in 'Elihu' is not very different from that in the Colloquies. It may of course be answered that an interval of some duration separates the composition of the two sections, so that we are ultimately thrown back on the question whether it is likely that the same writer would have worked up the old material again with the object of restating old solutions of Job's problem. A good deal has been said on the larger number of Aramaisms in 'Elihu' as compared with the Colloquies, and, as the text now stands, not without reason. But the text of 'Elihu' is in urgent need of critical emendation (*e.g.*, הֱוֵא in Job 37 6 is certainly wrong).[1] So far as the present writer can see, however, the legitimate emendations of the text of 'Elihu' do not raise the Speeches of Elihu to the same plane of literary excellence as the Speeches of Job and his Friends (upon which, be it remembered, the same beneficent art of critical emendation has also to be practised). Budde, it is true, is of an opposite opinion. By the removal of corruptions and interpolations he thinks that the linguistic argument against the so-called 'genuineness' of the Elihu-section has lost its basis, and that both the form and the contents of the speeches can now be much better appreciated (*Hiob*, Einl., p. xx). To criticise this statement adequately would require too much space. The present writer has no disinclination to join in the effort to relieve Elihu's speeches from some of the rust which has gathered about them; but he feels sure that no restoration can make the picture a masterpiece (cp Driver, *Intr.*(6), 429).

(*b*) *Non-mention in Prologue and Epilogue.*—There certainly ought to have been a condemnation of Elihu in the Epilogue; the non-mention of him in the Prologue we can perhaps pass over. It is absurd to speak of the harmony (?) between the Speeches of Elihu and those of Yahwè as sufficiently indicating Yahwè's approval of his youthful advocate (Stickel). Almost more reasonable is the statement in the *Testament of Job* (a Greek Jewish Midrash), 'And after he (Elihu) had ended, God appeared to me (Job) in a storm and in clouds, and spoke, blaming Elihu, and showing me that he who had spoken was not a man but a wild beast.'[2] It would, indeed, have been inhuman to harass a sufferer like Job with such feeble commonplaces!

14. Date.

The recognition of the fact that the Book of Job, like Homer and like the Sagas, has grown together by the combination of different elements, has an important bearing on the date of the Book. The phrase 'the Book of Job' may have two meanings: (1) the original Book of Job, so far as it is extant (1 1-2 13; 42 7-17), and (2) the Book of Job with the latest inserted passages. The date of the Book, in the second sense, will be that of the latest insertion; in the first sense, it will be that of the writing of the Prologue

[1] Perles, הַרְוֵה; Siegfr., Bu., רְוֵה.

[2] Köhler, 'The Testament of Job,' *Kohut Memorial*, 333.

and Epilogue. The latter date can easily be determined. A prominent supernatural personage in the celestial court is called 'the Satan' ('adversary,' 'accuser'). The same personage appears in his character of 'accuser' before Yahwè in Zech. 3, and it can readily be shown (see SATAN) that the conception of the Satan is more developed in Job 1 and 2 than in Zech. 3.[1] Now the date of Zech. 3 is 519 B.C.; the first Book of Job is therefore later than 519 B.C. It is no objection to this date: (*a*) that the picture of the life of Job in the Prologue is in harmony with the old patriarchal stories, or (*b*) that the author shows himself to be a gifted narrator. The Book of Ruth shows that there were highly gifted narrators in the later times, and such a writer could easily imitate the patriarchal stories. If the *ḳěsīṭāh* (EV piece of money) in 42 11 is really copied from Gen. 33 19, the writer of the original Job was only too faithful an imitator, for *ḳěsīṭāh* is probably a corruption of a much more intelligible and historical phrase (see KESITAH). The mention of the Chaldeans (1 17) as marauders has been thought to point to the period before Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar. But 'Chaldeans' should probably be 'Cushites' (see CUSH, § 2, 1); the 'Cushites' and 'Sabeans' of antiquity were remembered by a late tradition (cp 2 Ch. 14 9).

The date of the Prologue and Epilogue is marked (1) by the double restoration of Job's property (42 12; *v.* 10*b* may be a gloss),[2] which corresponds to a standing feature in the descriptions of glorified Israel (see Is. 61 7, Zech. 9 12, Jer. 16 14-18), and (2) still more by the parallelism between the story of Job's calamity and restored prosperity and the figurative description of the vicissitudes of the Servant of Yahwè in Is. 52 13-53 12. The latter point requires some elucidation. Is. 53 3 4 6 7 are like a poetic description of the 'stroke' of Job's sickness, of the horror of his neighbours, and of his own pious resignation; G. Hoffmann deserves special credit for pointing out the analogy of the metaphorical sickness of the Servant to the actual sickness of Job. It appears likely that Job, who in the Prologue and the Epilogue is a type of Israel, partly suggested the figurative description of the 'Servant of Yahwè'—the personification of the company of pious Israelites in the age inaugurated by Ezra which regarded itself as the true, spiritual Israel. 'Reflecting on the cause of Job's misery, the writer (of Is. 53) came to the conclusion that God must have appointed this for the good of those who, unlike Job, were transgressors (cp 42 8), and that Job's consciousness of this must have helped him to bear his sufferings uncomplainingly.'[3] And taking Job to be a type of Israel, he became assured that true Israelites, who bore the sufferings brought upon them through the great national calamity as uncomplainingly as Job (*i.e.*, the Job of the original Book), would like him be the means of salvation to others, and would thus, like him, demonstrate the possibility of disinterested piety. It must surely be admitted that the two writers (of the original Job and of the 'Servant' passages) belonged to the same period, and if so it is probable that they lived subsequently to the introduction of Ezra's lawbook, for this is the period to which the passages on the Servant of Yahwè may most plausibly be assigned (see SERVANT OF THE LORD). It is, however, not quite impossible to give both Is. 53 and the original Book of Job a somewhat earlier date, viz., somewhere about 500 B.C., which is the date to which G. Hoffmann, *Hiob*, 34, assigns the 'genuine Book of Job.'

It is impossible to estimate with precision the amount of linguistic evidence for the late date of Prologue, Epilogue, and Colloquies, owing to the frequent uncertainty of the text. For instance, the first three words cited by Dillmann (p. xxxi) as Aramaic probably do not belong to the true text of the Colloquies.

[1] This is of importance. Dillmann asserts, 'In Zech. (1 10 *f.* 3 1 *f.* 6 5) the Prologue of Job is already used and imitated' (*Hiob*, Einl. p. xxxvi). See, however, Nowack, *Kl. Pr.* 325.

[2] But see Budde's note.

[3] *Jew. Rel. Life*, 162.

גֶּלֶר in 16 15 and הֹב in 31 33 are corrupt; and 15 17 *f.*, which contains חַוָּה (a favourite word of Elihu), is a wretched distich, which has no place in this fine poem; אַחֲוָתִי, a doubly Aramaic form, also occurs in an interpolated distich (13 17; see Bick., Du.). רקב, which Beer (p. 83) and Nestle (*ZATW* 20 172 [1900]) rightly claim as an Aram. word for ἀσκός (so 𝔊), 'skin-bottle,' is found again in an inserted distich (13 28; see Du.); שָׂהֲדִי, 'my witness,' 16 19 and שִׁפְרָה in 26 13 (see **Rahab**) are corrupt. There are, however, undoubted Aramaisms, such as כָּפַן (5 22), מִלֵּל (8 2), מִלָּה with plural מִלִּים and מִלִּין (6 26 12 11 13 17, and often), סַר (13 27), קָמַט (16 8 [?], 22 16), שְׂנָא and שְׂנָה (8 7 11 12 23).

Dillmann accounts for these partly as dialectal peculiarities partly as arising from a rhythmic need of variety; hut the forme; explanation cannot safely be pressed. As words, or senses of words characteristic of later Hebrew (7th or 6th century) he mention; **(a)** קִבֵּל, 2 10; (*b*) גָּזַר 'to determine' (22 28), an Aramaic usage. But Dillmann's note on 22 28 is most unsatisfactory; he is compelled to take the next word אֹמֶר to mean 'a thing'—a purely imaginary meaning, though one commentator after another reaffirms it. The passage is corrupt; ותגזראמר comes from וְכַצָּהֳרַיִם (continue יְמֵי חֶלְדְּךָ); the line **is** copied from 11 17 (on which see *Exp. T* 10 381 *f.* ['99]); it occurs in the ***late*** appendage ***to*** the third speech of Eliphaz; (*c*) תְּקַף [Aram.], 14 20 15 24; (*d*) מְנָה, 7 3 (a doubtful passage).[1] ***(e)*** הִתִּיר, **'to let loose (the** hand),' 6 9. Here again the text is corrupt: we can emend with more confidence than in 73. Read יַעְתֶּר לִי וִירַצְּצֵנִי, 'that he would grant my prayer and shatter me.' (*f*) נָדִיב, 'tyrant,: 21 28, **as** in **Is.** 13 2. The change from 'liberal, noble' to 'tyrant is not probable (contrast Is. 32 5), and it is better to emend **to** גִּבּוֹר in both passages. ***(g)*** חֵפֶץ, **'interest,'** 21 21, 22 3. (*h*) סֵדֶר, 10 22.† But Shĕōl was certainly not לֹא־סְדָרִים, 'disorderly'; 'לא ם' is based on a miswritten form of צלמות.[2] (*i*) קָצִיר, 'branches' (14 9, etc.). ***(j)*** שְׂעִפִּים, 4 13 20 2 (doubtful passages). (*k*) פַּלָּצוּת, 21 6. (*l*) תִּכְלִית, 26 10. ***(m)*** תְּשׁוּבָה, 21 34. Dillmann also mentions the use of לְ for the accusative, and the occasional use of the plural in ־ין. He might have added that the relative שֶׁ only occurs once in the MT of the Colloquies (19 29 63); it is found, however, in Lam. 2 4 *f.* (see Lamentations).

On the whole, Dillmann has not been able to indicate **many** distinctly late Hebrew words in the Colloquies; rare words, only to be explained from the Arabic, need not necessarily be late, though the possibility of the late adoption of Arabic words in literary Hebrew cannot be denied.[4] It would seem that if the writer is of late date (and the other arguments go far to prove that he is so) he took pains to cultivate a classic Hebrew style, and his success shows that the facilities for writing such Hebrew were great; there was probably a regular school for the practice of classic Hebrew writing. The falling **off** in the Hebrew of Ben Sira is very noticeable.

To place the Book of Job—whether in a larger or **a** narrower sense—in the age of Jeremiah (Dill., Konig), or more precisely not long before the siege of Jerusalem, is becoming more and more difficult. It is true, the death of Josiah, and the sad events which rapidly followed, must have prompted the question, 'Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper' (Jer. 12 1; cp Job 21 7)? Moreover, we actually find Jeremiah (20 14-18) cursing the day on which he was born. It is true, both passages are liable to grave suspicion, and may without arbitrariness he regarded as 'secondary'; even Dillmann questions 20 14-18. But even accepting provisionally Jeremiah's authorship of both passages, we cannot draw any critical inference from this. Poetry like that of Job and the Psalms represents, not the scanty band of a prophet's disciples, but that large section of the community which had at length absorbed Jeremiah's ideas. The probability, therefore, is that the poems which contain parallels to passages plausibly ascribed to Jeremiah were written a good while after that prophet's age. It is true the language of Job is so vigorous and, comparatively speaking, so pure (especially when a methodical textual criticism has been applied) that apart from other considerations one's first impulse might be to place such a book rather early. But *very* early it is impossible to place it, and a time of rapid national decline, like that of Jeremiah, is really less suitable for the composition of such a fine work than any moderately quiet part of the Persian period. As a compromise we might of course refer the work to the exilic period (see Davidson,[1] p. lxvii; Che. *Job and Sol.* **74).** But when we take the ideas of the book into consideration, we see that it is best understood as the provisional summing **up** of a long period of meditation under the combination of special influences which existed in the post-exilic age and at no other period.

How much later the existing Colloquies were substituted for the original Colloquies or Colloquy, is of course uncertain. The former imply a heightened interest in the problem of suffering. The wise men tell Job that he must have been **a** great sinner to have been overtaken by such a calamity. So in Is. 63 17 we find the Jewish community asking why Yahwè bad caused the Jews to err from his ways, and hardened their hearts so as not to fear him? The company of faithful Jews (=the Servant of Yahwè) could not remember any transgressions sufficient to account for the recent aggravation of their misery. They were 'those who worked righteousness and remembered the ways that God would have' (Is. 64 5*a*); yet they were compelled to suppose that Israel had somehow broken faith, and become guilty in the eyes of God, so that all their righteous deeds (which they could no more disown than Job could disown his righteousness) were as a filthy garment (Is. **64** 5 [4] *f.*), and consequently they had to bear the weight of God's unaccountable anger. This is analogous to what the three Friends would have had Job say, and what he stoutly refused to say; there is nothing to compare with it in the section consisting of Is. **40-55** (see 40 27 49 14).

The later we bring down the date of the Colloquies the better we can understand not only the atmosphere of political and social unrest (see, *e.g.*, 7 1) which seems to pervade them (cp 12 17-25, 14 1 *f.*), but also the wide intellectual interests of the author. Even if we restrict our view to Job 3-19, the extent of those interests is very striking; the earlier writer apparently had it in him to say nearly all the best that his successors have said. Apart from their particular controversy, both Job and the Friends state much that is admirable respecting God and human nature, and show an interest in the world of nature which can only be paralleled to some extent in the second part of Isaiah. The angelology and mythological allusions, too, indicate a remarkable freedom from religious scruple, such as we know to have characterised the later period.[2] Nor must we omit to pay homage to the purity and inwardness of the morality of Job's great self-justification (chap. 31). He may seem to be self-righteous; but this is only due to the predominance of the conception of God as a Judge. He knows equally well with the Friends that essential purity belongs to God alone, though the passage which distinctly expresses this truth (14 4) is plainly an interpolation.[3] Job has never really fallen away from God. Nor are the authors of the Colloquies sceptics except as regards an antiquated orthodoxy. They are no doubt

1 The parallelism is bad, and the distich does not fit in with the context. מנו לי is a corruption of אַרְנִי.

2 The scribe may have collected the singular combination of corrupt variants in *v.* 22 from different manuscripts.

3 See Konig (*Einl.* 417), who, with Dillmann, reads שַׁדַּי. Probably the passage is glossatorial. See also Konia on the variation of usage in Job between אני and אנכי.

4 Ihn Ezra (on Job 2 11) expresses the opinion that the Book of Job is a translation. In his *Liber Jobi* (1737) Schultens describes the language as Hebræo-Arabic, and says that it expresses the true genius of Arabic. This **is** in every way an exaggeration.

1 In *EB*(9) Professor Davidson places the Book 'somewhere in the troubled period' between the early part of the seventh and the fifth centuries.

2 See *Job and Sol.* 79 *ff.*; *OPs.* 270; and cp Budde, *Hiob*, Einl. 44 *f.*

3 It interrupts the connection. Rudde keeps the passage in the text, hut in the note inclines to regard it as **an** interpolation (so Bick., Beer).

in a sense cosmopolitans. Either by hearsay or by travel (cp 6 19 21 29) they have some real acquaintance with the world outside Judæa. But to all that, from a modern Christian point of view, is fundamental in the Jewish religion Job is as loyal as Ezra himself. And what can be more truly prophetic than Job's appeal to God's love against his undiscriminating wrath? All this can hardly have been written much before the close of the Persian period.[1]

The Speeches of YahwB (38-42 6) belong to a poet of the same school as the poem on the Divine Wisdom (28 1-27); they are, however, of somewhat earlier date than that fine poem, which contains one line borrowed from the Speeches (*v.* 26*b* ; cp 38 25*b*). The writer's interest in the problem of suffering is but slight. Nor does philosophical speculation attract him : he is an observer —a poetic observer—of nature. Chap. 28 has special affinities with the eulogies of wisdom in Prov. 3 13-20 and 8 22-31. The happy tone, the interest in nature, and in the case of chap. 28 (and parallels) the tendency to hypostatize Wisdom, suggest the bringing down of all these works to the period of widened outlook and greater freedom from anxiety at the beginning of the Greek rule. We need not, however, on this account identify חכמה, 'wisdom,' with the λόγος or the νοῦς ποιητικός ; indeed, such a view would oblige us, with Duhm, to bring down Prov. 8 22-31 and Job 28 to the *third* century B.C. The Zoroastrian conception of the twofold wisdom[2] (heavenly and earthly) is old enough to have influenced the Jews : Persian (and Babylonian) influences continued to be felt long after the fall of the Persian Empire.

The various conflicting theories which have been offered as to the purpose of the book will now be seen to proceed from a false assumption. The book of Job has no literary unity, and cannot have had a purpose. It has grown ; it has not been made. The different parts of the book, however, had their purpose, which must be sought for by an exegesis unfettered by *a priori* theories. The earliest writer wished to suggest that righteous Israel's sufferings were an honour, because they showed that Israel's service of God was disinterested. The next writer simply gave expression to the conflicting thoughts of his time on the great problem of suffering; he himself had no definite solution to give. A third writer could only offer the anodyne of the poetic imaginative observation of the wonders of nature. A fourth sought to undo the work of his predecessors by restating a theory which had not, he thought, been adequately represented before. The present book is heterogeneous and amorphous ; it gives **us,** however, a picture of Jewish religious life and thongbt which is of priceless value. For a subtle and interesting attempt to commend a very different view see § 4 of the Introduction to Budde's comnientary.

15. Growth and object of Job.

The genuine Septuagint text has been practically recovered from the Sahidic Version (Coptic of Upper Egypt) of Job published by P. Agostino Ciasca in 1889; **39** 9*b*-40 7 is the only lacuna, It is shorter than the Hebrew text by nearly 400 stichi. Origen in his *Hexapla* supplied its deficiencies from Theodotion, marking the insertions by asterisks, and there are still five MSS which give Origen's marks more or less completely (see Hatch, *Essays on Biblical Greek,* 216). Hatch in 1889 accepted the shorter Septuagint form as that of the original Book of Job, and Bickell (1892-1894), whenever his metrical theory will allow it, follows the Greek.[3] Dillmann, however, in the Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy (*Textkritisches zum B. Ijob*, '90) has subjected Hatch's arguments to a detailed consideration, and has shown that, except in a few cases, the omissions were arbitrarily made by the Greek translator, or, as we might almost better call him, paraphrast. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that some of the omissions may he justifiable on grounds of internal criticism, and that the translator may have been partly guided by warning signs (Paseḳs) in the Hebrew text indicating the non-originality of certain passages, some of which signs may easily have become misplaced. See further Budde, *Hiob*, Einl. xlviii *ff.* ; Beer, 'Textkritische Studien zum B. Job,' *ZATW* 16 297 *ff.* ('96), 17 97 *ff.* ('97), 18 257 *ff.* ('98). Beer's work deals with all the versions ; see also his ***Text des B. Hiob***—two parts ('95, '98). On the Peshitta, see A. Mandl, ***Die Peschittha zu Hiob, nebst einem. Anhang üb. ihrer Verhältniss zur LXX u. Targum*** ('92), and E. Baumann, *ZATW* 18 305 *ff.* ('98), 19 288 *ff.* ('99), 20 1778 (1900). See also W. Bacher, 'Das Targ. zu Hiob,' *MGWJ* 20 208-223 ('71), and H. Gratz, 'Das Zeitalter der griech. Uebersetz. des B.H.,' *MGWJ* 26 83-91 ('77).

16. Versions.

(a) Text.—Now that the study of the textual criticism of Job is entering on **a** new stage, we must not omit to trace its earlier history. These are the chief names. C. F. Houbigant (priest of the Oratory), *Notæ Criticæ in universos VT libros* 2 155-218 (1777). A hundred years later, A. Merx, *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (1871), reviewed unfavourably by Ewald, *GGA*, Nov. 29 '71, hut gratefully by H. Schultz, *JDT* 16 ('71)]. The import! ance of the hook lies in its treatment of the text, especially in its attempt at a methodical use of the versions, not *so* much in its use of **a** theory of strophes to discover interpolations or lacunae. P. de Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, see pp. 1 *f.* ('72). G. Bickell, *Carmina VT metrice*, 150-187 ('82), giving the text of Job arranged according to his metrical theory, marks a step forward; cp Flunk in *ZKT*, '82, p. 340 *ff.* G. H. Bateson Wright, *The Book of Job*, ***a new critically revised translation, with essays** on **scansion, date, etc.*** ('intended to follow in the wake of the critical edition of A. Merx'), **a** pioneering work, produced at Hong Kong, with easily explained defects, and strange indications of **a** critical tendency almost new among students of the text of Job (cp Bndde, *TLZ,* June 14, '84; Cheyne, *Job **and** Solomon*, 113 ; ***3QX*** **9** 574, ['97]). H. Gratz, *MGWJ* 36 ('87), **in** a review of Cheyne's *Job **and** Solomon*, which contains a conspectus of Grätz's emendations **as** far as chap. 29, not included in the posthumous *Emendationes*. **G.** Hoffmann, *Hiob* ('91); cp Cheyne, *Crit. Rev.* 1 250-259 ('91). Bickell, 'Der ursprüngl. Sept.-text des B. Job,' *ZKT*, '86, p. 557 *ff.* ; Krit. Bearbeitung des Job-dialogs,: *WZKM*, '92, pp. 137 *ff.* 241 *ff.* 327 *ff.* ; '93, pp. 1 *ff.* 153 *ff.* ; 94, p. 121 ; of the highest importance in spite of its too frequent arbitrariness, which is subjected to good-natured banter by Budde. Perhaps, however, Budde would have improved his own work by adopting more from Bickell. The theory that the poetical portions (except the eight-line speech of Yahwi: and certain passages in tristichs) are composed in four-line strophes cannot he said to have been overthrown by Budde. On Bickell's view of the original Septuagint, see C. Siegfried 'Job' in ***SBOT*** (Heb.), '93 ; cp. R. Gottheil, *JQR* 7 552 *ff.* ('94). Bickell's work was not in time to be used by Siegfried. J. Ley, 'Die metrische Beschaffenheit des B.H.' *St.Kr.* '95, pp. 635-692, and later essays in *St.Kr.* '99. G. Beer ('95-'98); Budde ('96); Duhm ('97); see below. Perles, *Analekten* ('95). Cheyne, 'The Text of Job,' *JQR* 9 573 *ff.* ('97); 'More Critical Gleanings from Job,' *Exp. T* 10 380 *ff.* ('99), and many scattered notes in ***JQR*, *Exp. T*, *Crit. Bid.***, and the present work.

17. Literature.

(1.) *Metre.*—J. Ley, **as** above. Paul Vetter, ***Die Metrik des** B. Job* ('97). See also Bickell, Budde, Duhm, and cp POETICAL LITERATURE, § 8.

*(c) Commentaries **and Translations.—For*** orientation in the work of the earlier exegesis, see Del.'s indispensable work on Job, Introduction, § 10, 'History of Exegesis ; cp Diestel, *Gesch. des AT in der christl. Kirche*. No other book was *so* impossible to interpret before the reawakening of linguistic knowledge as that of Job. In the 16th century Mercerus (1573) both for Job and for the 'Solomonic' writings did work of some permanent value. The famous passage, Job 19 25, he explains of Job's hope of **a** public recognition of his innocence by God in his lifetime. The first strictly philological commentary is that of Albert Schultens, ***Liber Jobi***, 2 vols. Leyden, 1737—a magnificent and thorough attempt to apply the key of Arabic philology to problems which were often only created by corruption of the text. Elizabeth Smith (*d.* 1805), translation, '10. S. Lee, '37. H. Ewald, *Dichter **des** Alten Bundes* (2), *3* ('54); cp Cheyne, *Founders*, 88 *f.* J. G. Stickel, '42. K. Schlottmann, '51. E. Renan, *Le Livre **de** Job*, '59. F. Delitzsch, '64, (ET '76). A. Dillmann, in *KGH*, '69, '91 (valuable). A. Merx, '71 (see above). A. Elzas, '72 (Jewish). F. C. Cook (*Speaker's Comm.*), '73. F. Hitzig, '74. J. C. Matthes, part 1, '76 (philological commentary; excellent). G. L. Studer, ***Das B.H. fur geistliche u. gebildete***

[1] See Kleinert. 'Das spezifisch-hebräische im B. Hiob,' *St. Kr.*, '86, p. 290 *ff.*

[2] See *Expositor*, '92 *a*, p. 79 ; cp PERSIA (Religion).

[3] See § 17 *a*. For Bickell's earlier view of 𝔊, see his ***De indole ac ratione Versionis Alexandrinæ in interpretando libro Jobi*** ('63).

Laien, '81 (a useful companion to his critical essays ; see below). E. Reuss, in *La sainte Bible*, Anc. Test. vi. ('78), and *Hiob* (translation), '88. G. H. B. Wright, '83 (see above). A. B. Davidson, *Commentary*, vol. i. '62 (philological), '84 (in Cambridge Bible). W. Volck, in *KGK*, '89. G. H. Gilbert, *The Poetry of Job*, part i., a rhythmical translation in three-toned lines ; part ii., interpretative essays (Chicago, '89). G. Hoffmann ('91 . translation, etc.). C. Siegfried, '93 (see *Text*). Fr. Baethgen in Kau. *HS*, '94 ; and *Hiob* (translation), '99. G. Bickell, 'Job,' in *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, ii, '82 (translation ; should go with *Carm. VT Metr.* ; see above, *a*) ; *Das B. Job nach Anleitung der Strophik u. der Septuaginta*, '94 (translation ; should go with Bi.'s later Heb. edition ; see *a*). K. Budde, '96. B. Duhm, '97. The last two writers seem to mark a new stage in exegetical study.

(*d*) *Articles and other contributions.*—A. Schultens, 'Animadversiones philologicæ in librum Jobi,' in *Opera minora*, 9-92 (1769). Fr. Böttcher, in *Exeg.-krit. Aehrenlese*, '49, and *Neue exeg.-krit. Aehrenl.* (Abthl. 3), '65. J. A. Froude. *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 1 256 *ff.* ('67). S. Hoekstra, 'Job de knecht van Jehovah,' *Th. T* 5 1 *ff.* ('71). H. Grätz, 'Die Integrität der Kap. 27 u. 28 in Hiob,' *MGWJ* 21 241 *ff.* ('72). J. Wellh. *JDT*, '71, p. 552 *ff.* A. Kuenen, 'Job en de lijdende knecht van Jahveh,' *ib.* 7 492 *ff.* ('73). Godet, essay in *Études Bibliques*, '74. W. H. Green, *The Argument of the Book of Job unfolded*, '73. Studer, 'Über die Integritat des B.H.' *JPT*, '75, p. 668 *ff.* J. Barth, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des B. Job*, '76. K. Budde, *Beiträge zur Krit. des B.H.* '76 ; 'Die Capp. 27 u. 28 des B.H.,' *ZATW* 2 193 *ff.* ('82). Fr. Giesebrecht, *Der Wendepunkt des B.H.*,' '79 (subtle; obscure in style). J. Derenbourg, 'Réflexions détachées' *REJ* 1 1 *ff.* ('80). T. K. Cheyne, 'Job and the Second Par; of Isaiah,' *Proph. Is.*(3) 2 259 *ff.* ('84). ; *Job and Solomon*, '87. J. Grill, *Zur Kritik der Composition des B.H.* '90 (original). J. Meinhold, 'Das Problem des B.H.' *Neue Jahrbb. f. deutsche Théol.*, '92, p. 63 *ff.* H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 36-38 48-70 92, '95 (important). L. Laue, *Die Composition des B.H.*, '95. C. H. H. Wright, *Biblical Essays*, 1-33, '86. G. G. Bradley, *Lectures on Job*, '87. Seyring, *Die Abhängigkeit der Sprüche Sal. Cap.* 1-9 *von Hiob*, '89. D. B. Macdonald, 'The original form of the Legend of Job,' *JBL*, 14 63 *ff.* ('95). H. L. Strack, 'Die Priorität des B.H. gegenüber den Einleitungsreden z.d. Spr. Sal.' *St.Kr.*, '96, p. 609 *ff.* J. Ley, 'Die dramat. Anlage der Hiobdichtung,' *Neue Jahrbb. f. Philos. u. Pädagogik*, '96 (2), 126 *ff.* ; 'Charakteristik der drei Freunde Hiobs,' *St.Kr.*, 1900, p. 331 *ff.* S. R. Driver, 'Sceptics of the OT,' *Contemp. Rev.*, '96, p. 257 *ff.* T. K. Cheyne, 'The Book of Job and its Latest Commentator,' *Expos.*, '97 *a*, p. 401 *ff.* ; '97 *b*, p. 22 *ff.* ; *Jew. Rel. Life*, '98, *passim*. R. G. Moulton, '96 (in Modern Reader's Bible).

Among the Introductions see especially those of Driver, Cornill, and Wildeboer. T. K. C.

JOBAB (יוֹבָב, ιωβαβ [BADFL]).

1. One of the thirteen tribes called sons of JOKTAN (Gen. 10 29, ιωβαδ [E]; 1 Ch. 1 23 om. B, ωραμ [A]). Its precise seat is unknown, but there may be an echo of the name in that of the *Yuhaibab* (יהיבב), a tribe mentioned in two of Glaser's inscriptions (*Skizze*, 2 303), which seems to have been subject to the Sabæan king. Cp Di.'s note.

2. b. Zerah, an Edomite king whose city was Bozrah (Gen. 36 33 *f.*, ιωβαδ [A in *v.* 33] ιωβακ [E]; 1 Ch. 1 44 *f.*, ιωαβαβ [B in *v.* 44 only]); identified with Job in the appendix to the 𝔊 version of that book (42 17 *b*). Cp schol. in Field's *Hex.* on Gen. 36 *l.c.*

3. King of Madon, who joined Jabin, king of Hazor, against Joshua (Josh. 11 1, ιωαβ [L]).

The name Jobab appears twice in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 4. b. Shaharaim (1 Ch. 8 9) (see *JQR* 11 108, § 6), and 5. b. Elpaal (1 Ch. 8 18, ιωαβ [B]) (see *JQR* 11 102 *ff.*, § 1, 114, § 13).

Very possibly Jobab is not always correct. Joab or Jonadab is more probable (cp HOBAB) ; *n* is often omitted or misread. T. K. C.

JOCHEBED (יוֹכֶבֶד, probably 'Yahwè is [my tribe's] glory,' cp §§ 38, 80 ; ιωχαβεδ [BAFL]) was, according to P, the *dōdāh* (דֹּדָה) or aunt of Amram, who took her to wife ; their children were Aaron, Moses, and Miriam (Ex. 6 20 [P], Nu. 26 59† [R], -βεθ [A]). The tradition (*a*) that the mother of Moses was a 'daughter of Levi' (*i.e.*, a woman of the tribe of Levi) was certainly, and the tradition (*b*) that her name was Jochebed was possibly, earlier than P, because (1) the phrase 'daughter of Levi' is used of Moses' mother in Ex. 2 1 (E), and (2) names compounded with Jeho- (Jo-) were apparently regarded by P as of somewhat later origin (see Nu. 13 16). It is noteworthy, however, that the narrators nowhere call Moses and Aaron b'nē Amram ; we cannot be sure that in the earlier tradition Moses was not like Melchizedek, ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ. A son of the second Phinehas (b. Eli) was probably called Jochebed (see ICHABOD). This would hardly have been so if tradition attached the same name to Moses' mother. We may safely assume, however, that Jochebed was a name current in the family of Aaron and Moses from the Sinaitic period, and perhaps it is the long looked-for key to the mysterious name יעקב (Jacob) which has doubtless been worn down in popular use from some longer name, which we need not suppose to have included the divine title *el*. Cp JACOB, § 1.

On the name see Nestle, *Eig.* 77 *ff.* ; Gray, *HPN* 156, and cp NAMES, § 112. 𝔊's representation of Jochebed as Amram's cousin (Ex. 6 20) is interesting; a *dōdāh* could not marry her nephew, according to Lev. 18 12 20 19. But perhaps 𝔊 is right : בת could easily disappear after בד. Cp KINSHIP, § 5, MARRIAGE, § 2. T. K. C.

JODA. 1. 1 Esd. 5 58 (ιωδα [A]) = Ezra 3 9, JUDAH (3).

2. (ιωδα [Ti. WH]), Lk. 3 26 RV, AV JUDA. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

JOED (יוֹעֵד [Bä.], יוֹעַד [Ginsb., misprint?] ; ιωαδ [B, omitting preceding υιος], ιωαδ [AL], -αβ [ℵ], cp on the name, Ki.'s note 2 Ch. 9 29, *SBOT*), a Benjamite (Neh. 11 7).

JOEL (יוֹאֵל ; ιωηλ [BKAL]).

1. b. Pethuel (Joel 1 1), see next art.

2. The eldest son of Samuel the prophet ; see SAMUEL. In the parallel passage 1 Ch. 6 28 [13], for הבכור ושני ואביה (AV the firstborn Vashni and Abiah) we must read הבכור יואל וְהַשֵּׁנִי אביה[1] (cp RV 'the firstborn Joel and the second Abiah'). The comparison of the two texts illustrates, in an interesting manner, the ways in which errors have found their way into MT. According to the Chronicler (1 Ch. 6 33 [18] and 15 17), Joel is the father of the singer HEMAN (*q.v.*).

3. The brother of Nathan of Zobah, 1 Ch. 11 38 (so 𝔊AL, but 𝔊B in both Ch. and S., followed by Bertheau, Keil, Gesenius, 'the son of Nathan') and one of David's heroes. In 2 S. 23 36 his name appears as יִגְאָל (see IGAL). The correct reading is doubtful, since in S. 𝔊L reads ιωηλ (𝔊BA, however read *yaah*). For ZOBAH, however, Marquart (*Fund.* 21) would read הַמִּצְבָה = הַמִּצְפָּה in Benjamin.

4. A Simeonite prince (1 Ch. 4 35).

5. In 1 Ch. 5 4 8 Joel would seem to have dropped out of the preceding verse, or else we must insert here the name of one of the sons of Reuben. Pesh. reads here CARMI, which is probably right.

6. A Gadite chief (1 Ch. 5 12).

7. A Kehāthite, 1 Ch. 6 36 [21]. In *v.* 24 [9] his name appears as SHAUL (*q.v.*). He is mentioned again in 2 Ch. 29 12. See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iii., *c*).

8. b. IZRAHIAH (*q.v.*), 1 Ch. 7 3 (ραηλ [B]).

9. A Gershonite chief (1 Ch. 15 7 11), descended from Ladan (1 Ch. 23 8). Cp 10 below.

10. b. Jehieli, a Gershonite temple treasurer (1 Ch. 26 22). 'Joel' was perhaps looked upon as a favourite Gershonite name : cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iii., *b.* n.).

11. b. Pedaiah a Manassite captain (1 Ch. 27 20).

12. One of the b'ne NEBO in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 43 = 1 Esd. 9 35, JUEL (ουηλ [B], ιουηλ [A]).

13. b. Zichri, in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5 *b*, § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 9.

JOEL. The second book among the minor prophets is entitled 'The word of Yahwè that came to Joel the son of Pethuel,' or, as the LXX (ιωηλ τὸν τοῦ βαθουηλ [BℵAQ]), Latin, Syriac. and other versions read, 'of Bethuel.' Nothing is recorded as to the date or occasion of the prophecy, which presents several peculiarities that aggravate the difficulty always felt in interpreting an ancient book when the historical situation of the author is obscure. Most Hebrew prophecies contain pointed references to the foreign politics and social relations of the nation at the time. In the book of Joel there are only scanty allusions to Phœnicians, Philistines, Egypt, and Edom. couched in terms applicable to very different ages, while the prophet's own people are exhorted to repentance without specific reference to any of those national sins of which other prophets speak. The occasion of the prophecy, described with great force of rhetoric, is no

1. Scarcity of data.

[1] This is actually supplied by 𝔊L.

known historical event, but a plague of locusts, perhaps repeated in successive seasons; and even here there are features in the description which have led many expositors to seek an allegorical interpretation. The most remarkable part of the book is the eschatological picture with which it closes; and the way in which the plague of locusts appears to be taken as foreshadowing the final judgment — the great day or assize of Yahwè, in which Israel's enemies are destroyed — is so unique as greatly to complicate the exegetical problem. It is not therefore surprising that the most various views are still held as to the date and meaning of the book. Allegorists and literalists still contend over the first and still more over the second chapter, and whilst the largest number of recent interpreters accept Credner's view that the prophecy was written in the reign of Joash of Judah, a rising and powerful school of critics follow the view suggested by Vatke (*Bid. Theol.* 462 *f.*), and reckon Joel among the post-exilic prophets. Other scholars give yet other dates; see the particulars in the elaborate work of Merx (see below, § 8). The followers of Credner are literalists; the opposite school of moderns includes some literalists (as Duhm), whilst others (like Hilgenfeld, and, in a modified sense, Merx) adopt the old allegorical interpretation which treats the locusts as a figure for the enemies of Jerusalem.

2. Alternative dates.

The reasons for placing Joel either earlier or later than the great series of prophets extending from the time when Amos first proclaimed the approach of the Assyrian down to the Babylonian exile are cogent.

In Joel the enemies of Israel are the nations collectively, and among those specified by name neither Assyria nor Chaldæa finds a place. This circumstance might if it stood alone, be explained by placing Joel with Zephaniah in the brief interval between the decline of the empire of Nineveh and the advance of the Babylonians. It is further obvious, however, that Joel has no part in the internal struggle between spiritual Yahwè-worship and idolatry which occupied all the prophets from Amos to the captivity. He presupposesanation of Yahwè-worshippers, whose religion has its centre in the temple and priesthood of Zion, which is indeed conscious of sin, and needs forgiveness and an outpouring of the spirit, but is not visibly divided, as the kingdom of Judah was, between the adherents of spiritual prophecy and a party whose national worship of Yahwè involved for them no fundamental separation from the surrounding nations.

The book, therefore, must have been written before the ethico-spiritual and the popular conceptions of Yahwè came into conscious antagonism, or else after the fall of the state and the restoration of the community of Jerusalem to religious rather than political existence had decided the contest in favour of the prophets, and of the law in which their teaching was ultimately crystallized.

3. Supposed early date.

The considerations which have given currency to an early date for Joel are of various kinds. The absence of all mention of the one great oppressing world-power seems most natural before 'the westward march of Assyria involved Israel in the general politics of Asia. The purity of the style also is urged, and a comparison of Amos 1 2 Joel 3 [4] 16, and Amos 9 13 Joel 3 [4] 18 has been taken as proving that Amos knew our book.

The last argument might be inverted with much greater probability, and numerous points of contact between Joel and other parts of the OT (*e.g.*, Joel 2 2 Exod. 10 14 Joel 2 3 Ezek. 36 35 Joel 3 [4] 10 Mic. 4 3) make it not incredible that the purity of his style—which is rather elegant than original and strongly. marked —is in large measure the fruit of literary culture. The absence of allusion *to* a hostile or oppressing empire may be fairly taken in connection with the fact that the prophecy gives no indication of political life at Jerusalem. When the whole people is mustered in 1 13 *f.*, the elders or sheikhs of the municipality and the priests of the temple are the most prominent figures. The king is not mentioned,—which on Credner's view is explained by assuming that the plague fell in the minority of Joash, when the priest Jehoiada held the reins of power,—and the princes, councillors, and warriors necessary to an independent state, and *so* often referred to by the prophets before the Exile, are altogether lacking. The nation has only a municipal organisation with a priestly aristocracy, precisely the state of things that prevailed under the Persian empire. That the Persians do not appear as enemies of Yahwè and his people is perfectly natural. They were hard masters but not invaders, and under them the enemies of the Jews were their neigbhours, just as appears in Joel.[1]

Those, however, who place our prophet in the minority of King Joash, draw a special argument from the mention of Phoenicians, Philistines, and Edomites (3 [4] 4 *f.* 19), pointing to the revolt of Edom under Joram (2 K. 8 20), and the incursion of the Philistines in the same reign (2 Ch. 21 16 22 1). These were recent events in the time of Joash, and in like manner the Phoenician slave trade in Jewish children is carried back to an early date by the reference in Amos (1 9).

This argument is specious rather than sound. Edom's hostility to Judah was incessant, but the feud reached its full intensity only after the time of Deuteronomy (23 7 [8]), when the Edomites joined the Chaldeans, drew profit from the overthrow of the Jews, whose land they partly occupied, and exercised barbarous cruelty towards the fugitives of Jerusalem (Obad. *passim*, Mal. 1 2 *f.* Is. 63). The offence of shedding innocent blood charged on them by Joel, is natural after these events, but hardly *so* in connection with the revolt against Joram.

As regards the Philistines, it is impossible to lay much weight on the statement of Chronicles, unsupported as it is by the older history, and in Joel the Philistines plainly stand in one category with the Phœnicians, as slave dealers, not as armed foes. Gaza in fact was a slave emporium as early as the time of Amos (1 6), and continued so till Roman times.

Thus, if any inference as to date can be drawn from chap. 3 [4], it must rest on special features of the trade in slaves, which was always an important part of the commerce of the Levant.

In the time of Amos the slaves collected by Philistines and Tyrians were sold *en masse* to Edom, and presumably went to Egypt or Arahia. Joel complains that they were sold to the Grecians (Javan, Ionians).[2] It is probable that some Hebrew and Syrian slaves were exported to the Mediterranean coasts from a very early date, and Is. 11 11 already speaks of Israelite captives in these districts as well as in Egypt, Ethiopia, and the East.

The traffic in this direction, however, hardly became extensive till a later date.

In Deut. 28 68 Egypt is still the chief goal of the maritime slave trade, and in Ezek. 27 13 Javan exports slaves to Tyre, not conversely. Thus the allusion to Javan in Joel better suits a later date, when Syrian slaves were in special request in Greece.[3] The name of Javan is not found in any part of the OT certainly older than Ezekiel. In Joel it seems to stand as a general representative of the distant countries reached by the Mediterranean (in contrast with the southern Arabians, *Sabæans*, chap. 3 [4] 8), the furthest nation reached by the fleets of the Red Sea. This is precisely the geographical standpoint of the post-exile author of Gen. 10 4, where Javan includes Carthage and Tartessus; cp JAVAN.

Finally, the allusion to Egypt in Joel 3 [4] 19, must on Credner's theory be explained of the invasion of Shishak a century before Joash. From this time down to the last period of the Hebrew monarchy Egypt was not the enemy of Judah.

4. Probable late date.

If the arguments chiefly relied on for an early date are so precarious or can even be turned against their inventors, there are others of an unambiguous kind which make for a date in the Persian period. It appears from chap. 3 1 *f.* that Joel wrote after the Exile.

The phrase, 'to bring back the captivity' (שׁוּב שְׁבוּת), would not alone suffice to prove this, for it is used in a wide sense, and perhaps means rather to 'reverse the calamity';[4] but the dispersion of Israel among the nations, and the allotment of the Holy Land to new occupants, cannot fairly be referred to any calamity less than that of the captivity.

With this the whole standpoint of the prophecy agrees. To Joel Judah and the people of Yahwè are synonyms; Northern Israel has disappeared.

Now it is true that those who take their view of the history from Chronicles, where the kingdom of Ephraim is always treated as a sect outside the true religion, can reconcile this

1 In the AV of 2 17 it appears that subjection to a foreign power is not a present fact but a thing feared. The parallelism, however, and *v.* 19 justify the now prevalent rendering, 'that the heathen should make a mock of them.'

2 The hypothesis of an Arabian Javan, applied to Joel 3 [4] 6 hy Credner, Hitz., and others, may he viewed as explqded. See St. *De Populo Javan*, Giessen Programme, '80 (reprmted in *Akademische Reden u. Abhandlungen*, '99, 125 *ff.*).

3 Cp Movers, *Phönizisches Alterthum*, iii. 1 70 *f.*

4 See Ewald on Jer. 48 47, and Kuenen, *Th. T*, 1873, p. 519 *f.* [Di. on Job 42 8 etc.].

fact with an early date. In ancient times, however, it was not so; and under Joash, the contemporary of Elisha, such a limitation of the people of Yahwi: is wholly inconceivable. The earliest prophetic hooks have quite a different standpoint; otherwise, indeed, the books of northern prophets and historians could never have been admitted into the Jewish canon. Again, the significant fact that there is no mention of a king and princes, but only of sheikhs and priests, has a force not to he invalidated by the ingenious reference of the book to the time of Joash's minority and the supposed regency of Jehoiada.[1] Moreover the assumption that there was a period before the prophetic conflicts of the eighth century when spiritual prophecy had unchallenged sway, when there was no gross idolatry or superstition, when the priests of Jerusalem, acting in accord with prophets like Joel, held the same place as heads of a pure worship which they occupied after the Exile (cp Ewald, *Propheten*, 1 89), is not consistent with history. It rests on the old theory of the antiquity of the Levitical legislation, so that in fact almost[2] all who place that legislation later than Ezekiel, are agreed that the book of Joel is also late. In this connection one point deserves special notice. The religious significance of the plague of drought and locusts is expressed in chap. 1 9 in the observation that the daily meal-offering and drink-offering are cut off, and the token of new blessing is the restoration of this service, chap. 2 14. In other words, the daily offering is the continual symbol of gracious intercourse between Yahwi: and his people and the main office of religion. This conception, which finds its parallel in Dan. 8 11 11 31 12 11, is quite in accordance with the later law (cp the importance attached to the meal-offering and burnt-offering in Neh. 10 33 [34]).

Such is the historical basis which we seem to he able to lay for the study of the exegetical problems of the hook.

The style of Joel is clear, and his language presents little difficulty beyond the occurrence of several unique words, which in part may very well-be due to errors of the text. On the other hand, the structure of the book, the symbolism, and the connection of the prophet's thoughts, have given rise to much controversy. It seems safest to start from the fact that the prophecy is divided into two well-marked sections by chap. 2 18 19*a*.

5. First part.

According to the Massoretic vocalisation, which is in harmony with the most ancient exegetical tradition as contained in 𝔊, these words are historical: 'Then Yahwi: was jealous . . . and answered and said unto his people, Behold,' etc. Such is the natural meaning of the words as vocalised, and the proposal of Merx to change the vowels so as to transform the perfects into futures, and make the priests pray that Yahwi: will answer and deliver the gracious promises that fill the rest of the book: is an exegetical monstrosity not likely to find adherents.

Thus the book falls into two parts. In the first the prophet speaks in his own name, addressing himself to the people in a lively description of a present calamity caused by a terrible plague of locusts which threatens the entire destruction of the country, and appears to be the vehicle of a final consuming judgment (the day of Yahwè).

There is no hope save in repentance and prayer; and in chap. 2 12 the prophet, speaking now for the first time in Yahwb's name, calls the people to a solemn fast at the sanctuary, and invites the intercession of the priests. The calamity is described in the strongest colours of Hebrew hyperbole, and it seems arbitrary to seek too literal an interpretation of details, *e.g.*, to lay weight on the four names of locusts (see LOCUST), or to take chap. 1 20 of a conflagration produced by drought when it appears from 2 3 that the ravages of the locusts themselves are compared to those of fire.

When due allowance is made for Eastern rhetoric, there is no occasion to seek in this section anything else than literal locusts.

Nay, the allegorical interpretation, which takes the locusts to be hostile invaders breaks through the laws of all reasonable writing; for the poetical hyperbole which compares the invading swarms to an army (2 4 *f.*) would be inconceivably lame if a literal army were already concealed under the figure of the locusts. Nor could the prophet so far forget himself in his allegory as to speak of a victorious host as entering the conquered city like a thief (2 9).

The second part of the book is Yahwè's answer to the people's prayer. The answer begins with a promise of deliverance from famine, and of fruitful seasons compensating for the ravages of the locusts.

6. Second part.

[1] Stade (*op. cit.* 17 [*Akad. Reden*, 142]) not unreasonably questions whether 2 K. 12 1-3 [2-4] implies the paramount political influence of Jehoiada.

[2] Reuss (*La Bible*, and *Gesch. Heil. Schr. AT*, § 210 *f.*), though with hesitation, adhered to the earlier date.

In the new prosperity of the land the union of Yahwè and his people shall he sealed anew, and so Yahwè will proceed to pour down further and higher blessings. The aspiration of Moses (Num. 11 29), and the hope of earlier prophets (Is. 32 15 59 21; cp Jer. 31 33), shall he fully realised in the outpouring of the Spirit on all the Jews and even upon their servants (cp Is. 61 5 with 56 6 *f.*); and then the great day of judgment, which had seemed to overshadow Jerusalem in the now averted plague, shall draw near with awful tokens of blood and fire and darkness.

The terrors of that day are not for the Jews but for their enemies.

The worshippers of Yahwè on Zion shall be delivered (cp Obad. *v.* 17, whose words Joel expressly quotes in chap. 2 32 [3 5]), and it is their heathen enemies, assembled before Jerusalem to war against Yahwi:, who shall be mowed down (see JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF) by no human arm, but by heavenly warriors ('thy mighty ones, O Yahwè,' 3 [4] 11). Thus definitely freed from the profane foot of the stranger (cp Is. 52 1), Jerusalem shall abide a holy city for ever. The fertility of the land shall be such as was long ago predicted in Am. 9 13, and streams issuing from the temple, as Ezekiel had described in his picture of the restored Jerusalem (Ezek. 47), shall fertilise the barren Wādy of Acacias (cp ABEL-SHITTIM).

Egypt and Edom, on the other hand, shall become desolate, because they have shed the blood of Yahwè's innocents. Cp the similar predictions against Edom, Is. 34 9 *f.* (Mal. 1 3), and against Egypt, Is. 19 5 *f.* Ezek. 29. Joel's eschatological picture appears indeed to be largely a combination of elements from older unfulfilled prophecies.

The central feature, the assembling of the nations to judgment is already found in Zeph. 3 8, and in Ezekiel's prophecy concerning Gog and Magog, where the wonders of fire and blood named in Joel 2 30 [3 3] are also mentioned (Ezek. 38 22). The other physical features of the great day, the darkening of the lights of heaven, are a standing figure of the prophets from Amos (5 8 8 9) downwards. It is characteristic of the prophetic eschatology that images suggested by one prophet are adopted by his successors, and gradually become part of the permanent scenery of the last times; and it is a proof of the late date of Joel that almost his whole picture is made up of such features. In this respect there is a close parallelism, extending to minor details, between Joel and the last chapters of Zechariah.

That Joel's delineation of the final deliverance and glory attaches itself directly to the deliverance of the nation from a present calamity is quite in the manner of the prophetic perspective. On the other hand, the fact that the calamity which bulks so largely is natural, not political, is characteristic of the post-exile period.

Other prophets of the same age speak much of dearth and failure of crops, which in Palestine, then as now, were aggravated by bad government, and were far more serious to a small and isolated community than they could ever have been to the old kingdom. It was indeed by no means impossible that Jerusalem might have been altogether undone by the famine caused by the locusts; and so the conception of these visitants as the destroying army, executing Yahwè's final judgment, is really much more natural than appears to us at first sight, and does not need to he explained away by allegory.

The chief argument relied upon by those who still find allegory at least in chap. 2, is the expression הצפני, 'the northerner,' in 2 20. In view of the other points of affinity between Joel and Ezekiel, this word inevitably suggests Gog and Magog, and it is difficult to see how a swarm of locusts could receive such a name, or if they came from the N. could perish, as the verse puts it, in the desert between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea. The verse remains a *crux interpretum*, and no exegesis hitherto given can be deemed thoroughly satisfactory;[1] but the interpretation of the whole book must not be made to hinge on a single word in a verse which might be altogether removed without affecting the general course of the prophet's argument.

7. Verse 2 20.

The whole verse is perhaps the addition of an allegorising glossator. The prediction in *v.* 19, that the seasons shall henceforth he fruitful, is given after Yahwi: has shown his zeal and pity for Israel, not of course by mere words, but by acts, as appears in *v.* 20 *f.*, where the verbs are properly perfects, re-

[1] [See the commentaries. In *Critica Biblica* it is proposed to make *v.* 25 precede *v.* 20, and in *v.* 20, for the enigmatical ואת־הצפוני to read וְאֶת־סֹפוֹ וְאֶת־פָּנָיו, 'and both its rear and its van' (will I remove, etc.), referring to חֵילִי הַגָּדוֹל, 'my great army,' which precedes. It is held that many examples occur of just such corruption and contraction, and just such misplacement, as is here supposed. The sense appears good. ED.]

cording that Yahwb has already done great things, and that vegetation has already revived. In other words, the mercy already experienced in the removal of the plague is taken as a pledge of future grace not to stop short till all God's old promises are fulfilled. In this context *v.* 20 is out of place. Observe also that in *v.* 25 the locusts are spoken of in the plain language of chap. 1. [See PROPHETIC LITERATURE, and on the relation between passages of Joel and Amos, see AMOS, §§ 8, 10. On the argument as to date drawn from the language of Joel, see Holzinger's article cited below.]

8. Literature. Ew. *Propheten*, 1; Hitz., Keil, Pusey, v. Orelli, We., Nowack, GASm., in their comm. on the Minor Prophets; and separate comm. by Credner ('31), Wünsche ('72), Dr. (in *Cambridge Bible*, '97). See also Kue. *Ond.*2, § 68 *f.* Merx (*Die Prophetie des Joels u. ihre Ausleger*, '79) gives an elaborate history of interpretation from the LXX down to Calvin, and appends the Ethiopic text edited by Di. Of older comm. the most valuable is Pococke's (Oxford, 1691). Bochart's *Hieroz.* may also be consulted; cp also Dav. *Expositor*, March '88; Gray, *ibid.*, Sept. '93; H. T. Fowler, *JBL* 16 146-153; Oort, *Godgeleerde Bijdragen*, '66, pp. 2-15, *Th.T*, '76, p. 362 *ff.*; Matthes, *ibid.*, '85 pp. 34-66 129-160; '87, pp. 357-381; Grätz, *Die einheitliche Charakter der Prophetie Joels*, '73; Holzinger, *ZATW*, '89, pp. 89-131.

W. R. S.—S. R. D.

JOELAH (יוֹעֵאלָה), b. JEROHAM [5] one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 7, ελια [BN], ιωηλα [AL]). See DAVID, § 11, (*a* iii.).

יועאלה appears to be the error of a scribe who began to write יועזר (see *v.* 6); read therefore אֵלָה, Elah (cp 9 8, where Elah and Jeroham again occur close together). Ki., however, suggests יַעֲלָה; but this, though supported by many MSS (Kenn.), and perhaps by 𝔊B, is less natural. T. K. C.

JOEZER (יוֹעֶזֶר, 'Yahwè is help,' cp אֱלִיעֶזֶר Ph. בעלעזר, and NAMES, § 28), one of David's warriors, a Korahite (1 Ch. 12 6 ιωζαρα [BN], -ζααρ [A], ιεζρααρ [L]). See DAVID, § 11, (*a* iii.).

JOGBEHAH (יָגְבְּהָה; Nu. και υψωσαν αυτας [BAL]; Judg. ιεγεβαλ [B], εξ εναντιας ζεβεε [A], εξ εναντιας ναβε [L]), one of the cities fortified by Gad (Nu. 32 35). The indications given in the story of Gideon (Judg. 8 11) are sufficient to show that it is the modern *Kh. 'Ajbēhāt* (so GASm. *HG* 585 and Baed.(3) 172; usually el-Jubeihāt), 3468 ft. above sea level, some 6 m. NNW. from 'Ammān (Rabbath Ammon) on the road to es-Salt.

The identification is not Conder's. It had been critically defended by Dietrich, 'Beiträge zur bibl. Geog.,' in Merx's *Archiv*, 346-349 (1867-69), but even before him had been accepted by Knobel and Ewald (against Gesenius and Bertheau). Cp. NOBAH, KENATH. T. K. C.

JOGLI (יָגְלִי, 'led into exile'), father of BUKKI (Nu. 34 22 [P], εγλει [B], εκλι [A], ιεκλι [F], ιεκλει [L]).

JOHA (יוֹחָא, abbrev. from יוֹחָנָן, § 51; or more probably an error for יואחז—*i.e.*, יוֹאָחָז, Joahaz; cp some of 𝔊's forms below).

1. b. Beriah in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. *β*); 1 Ch. 8 16 (ιωαχαν [B], ιωαχα και ιεζια [A], και ιεζια [L]).

2. One of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11 45; ... [BNA], ηλα [L]). See DAVID, § 11.

JOHANAN (יוֹחָנָן [nos. 9-15], a shorter form of יְהוֹחָנָן [nos. 1-8, EV nearly always JEHOHANAN]. 'Yahwè is gracious'; cp אֶלְחָנָן, חֲנַנְאֵל, etc., and see NAMES, §§ 28, 84. With one exception [no. 9], the name occurs only in late writings. ιωαναν [BKAL], ιωναν [BL]; for details see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE).

1. Priest temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., §§ 6*b*, 11), Neh. 12 13.

2. b. Eliashib, a high-priest (Ezra 10 6, ιωναν [Nc.a], AV JOHANAN, cp Neh. 12 22 *f.*, יוֹחָנָן). In 1 Esd. 9 1 called JOANAN, RV JONAS (ιωνα [B], om. L); perhaps the same as JONATHAN b. Joiada (Neh. 12 11; but cp Meyer, *Entst.* 91), and possibly also the high-priest Johanan who murdered his 'brother' Jeshua in the temple in the time of an Artaxerxes (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 1). If so, Johanan was the uncle, not the brother, of Jeshua (so Marq.).

3. A priest in procession (see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*) Neh. 12 42 (om. BN*A).

4. b. Tobiah, the 'Ammonite,' who married the daughter of Meshullam (Neh. 6 18; ιωναθαν [Nc.aA]).

5. b. Meshelemiah, a porter (1 Ch. 26 3: ιωνας [B], ιωναθαν [L]).

6. A captain, temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 15), perhaps the one whose son Ishmael is mentioned in 2 Ch. 23 1.

7. EV JOHANAN, an Ephraimite (2 Ch. 28 12 ιωανου [B]).

8. One of the b'ne Bebai in list of those with foreign wives (*see* EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 28 = 1 Esd. 9 29, JOHANNES, RV JOANNES (ιωαννης [HA]).

9. b. KAREAH (*q.v.*), a captain, who revealed to Gedaliah Ishmael's conspiracy. He took a leading part in the attempt made to renew the Jewish commonwealth after the destruction of Jerusalem (2 K. 25 23, Jer. 40 8-16 ιωαναν [AQ *vv.* 8 13 16; A *v.* 15; N* *v.* 16], αυναν [N* *v.* 15], 41 11-16 ιωαναν [Q *vv.* 11 13 *f.* 16; AQ *vv.* 14 16 N* *v.* 14], ιαωνα [N*] ιαωαναν [N?] in *v.* 16; 42 1-8 ιωαναν [Au. 1; Q *vv.* 1 8], 43 2-5 ιωαναν [Q *vv.* 2 4 *f.*]). In Jer. 40 8, he is mentioned along with his brother JONATHAN (*q.v.*, no. 7).

10. b. JOSIAH (1 Ch. 3 15). 𝔊L reads ιωαχας, *i.e.*, יהואחז; probably this is right (see Hitz. *GVI* 246, and cp JEHOAHAZ).

11. b. Elioenai (?), a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 24 ιωαναμ [A]).

12. A name introduced into the list of high priests in 1 Ch. 6 9 *f.* [5 35 *f.*] (ιωανας [BA; B only in 6 9]). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iv.).

13, 14. A Benjamite (1 Ch. 12 4), and a Gadite (ib. *v.* 12, ιωαν [B]), two of David's warriors (DAVID, § 11).

15. A representative of the b'ne Azgad in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i. § 2, ii. § 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 12 = 1 Esd. 8 38, JOHANNES RV JOANNES (ιωανης [B] -ννης [A]).

JOHANNES (ιωαννης [A]), 1 Esd. 8 38 9 29. See JOHANAN, 8 15.

JOHN (ιωαννης [ANV, Ti. WH]; WH in Jn. 1 42 21 15 *ff.* ιωανης; for details, see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 1).

1. Father of Mattathias (1 Macc. 2 1). See MACCABEES i., § 3.

2. Surnamed Caddis or Gaddis, son of Mattathias (1 Macc. 2 2). See MACCABEES i., § 3.

3. Son of Acco, father of EUPOLEMUS [*q.v.*], 1 Macc. 8 17 2 Macc. 4 11.

4. Surnamed Hyrcanus; son of Simon (1 Macc. 13 53 etc.). See MACCABEES i., § 7.

5. An envoy from the Jews to Lysias (2 Macc. 11 17).

6. A member of the high-priestly family (Acts 4 6) otherwise unknown. D substitutes Jonathas, that is, Jonathan (on the form of the name see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 1) son of the high priest ANNAS, and himself high priest in 36-37 A.D.; he still held a prominent position in 50-52 A.D. and was assassinated at the instigation of Felix the Roman procurator (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5 3 xx. 8 5, *BJ* ii. 12 5 *f.* 13 3). Blass gives 'Jonathan' in the text of Acts 4 6, not only in his edition based upon D but also in the other edition which, according to him, was made by Luke. Thus his hypothesis (ACTS, 5 17) finds no confirmation here, for it cannot be supposed that Luke would of his own proper motion have substituted a false name for the true. Yet confusion of the names through the carelessness of copyists is hardly more probable. It remains for us to suppose that perhaps a John otherwise unknown to us was really intended; in this case the insertion of Jonathan in D rests, like so much else in this codex, on learned conjecture.

7. Surnamed MARK [*q.v.*].

8. Father of Simon Peter (Jn. 1 42 21 15-17 RV); AV Jona, Jonas. See BAR-JONA.

9. The 'divine', the description of the recipient of the Revelation in the title of the Apocalypse in EV, following TR, ἀποκαλυψις Ιωαννου του θεολογου. So 14, 91. Other slightly different short descriptions occur, as well as longer ones, *e.g.*, αποκ. ιω. του θεολογου και ευαγγελιστου (Q) and a very long eulogistic one in 7. 'The Divine,' lit. 'The Theologue,' intimates that John was specially devoted to the presentation of the Logos-doctrine. This form of the title (which is not accepted by modern editors) claims the same origin for the Apocalypse as for the Fourth Gospel, in opposition to the ancient theory of a second John (see APOCALYPSE, § 14; and on John 'the Elder,' JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE).

10 and 11. John the Baptist; and John the son of Zebedee; see below.

JOHN THE BAPTIST (ιωανης ο βαπτιστης [Ti. WH]). The forerunner of Jesus is only less interesting to biblical students than Jesus himself. Twice already his life and work have been referred to (ISRAEL, § 92; JESUS, § 6); it is our present object, to supplement these references by a more connected treatment without undue repetition.

1. His appearance. Long before the time of John the Baptist there was a great ascetic prophet who sought his inspiration in the desert, and cried 'Repent ye' with fearless impartiality before kings and common men. His life was a guiding star to many in the days of John—an age not unlike his own, when alien influences again threatened to extinguish

pure Hebrew religion. Not to speak of the ESSENES [*q.v.*], there was the hermit teacher of Josephus called Banus, who lived in the desert, covered himself with leaves, sustained life with fruits, and bathed frequently, by day and by night, in cold water for religious purity (Jos. *Vit.* § 2). The same historian also mentions 'John surnamed the Baptist,' who 'was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to justice towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism (βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι); for baptism (τὴν βάπτισιν) would be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not in order to expiate some sins, but for the purification of the body, provided that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness' (*Ant.* xviii. 5 2). That this is a complete statement, no one can believe. The hostility of Antipas, recorded by Josephus himself, is a proof that something more dangerous to established governments than plain moral exhortations had fallen from the lips of the desert preacher. What that was, may be learned from the synoptic gospels.

Shortly before the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus, Johanan (so let us call him) appeared in the wilderness of Judæa,[1] announcing in the old prophetic phraseology the approach of the Messianic judgment and the necessity of immediate turning to God. As he moved about, the number of his followers increased, and he led them to the Jordan (cp BETHABARA), there to give them as representatives of a regenerate people the final purification which attested the reality of their inward change.[2] It is said to have been the opinion of doctors of the law that the waters of the Jordan were not pure enough for sacred uses.[3] Johanan, however, was not to be damped by this; he was no formalist, or he would not have deserted Jerusalem, and called the Pharisees and the Sadducees 'broods of vipers.' At the same time it is worthy of remark that according to Jn. 1 28 3 23 Johanan had baptised converts at Bethany or Bethabara beyond Jordan—*i.e.*, probably, at Beth-nimrah, which is 13½ m. E. of Jordan—and at Ænon, 'near Salim' (to be emended 'Jerusalem')—*i.e.*, perhaps, 'Ain Kārim, which is a short distance W. of Jerusalem.[4]

2. Mode of life. As regards his mode of life, Johanan was an ascetic, but not such a one as the hermit Banus of whom Josephus tells us, nor yet a preacher of Essenism (as Gratz supposes). His object was not to make mere ascetics, but to prepare as many as possible for the Messianic judgment, in which only a 'remnant' would escape. His own asceticism was a consequence of his life in the desert; he was not primarily an ascetic but a prophet after the manner of Elijah. Hence 'locusts' (or rather 'caroh-beans')[5] and wild honey were his food, and a cloak of 'camel's hair'[6] with a broad leather waist-cloth was his dress.

[1] WH read in Mk. 1 4 ἐγένετο Ἰωάνης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσων; Ti. καὶ κηρύσσων; Treg. [rail κηρύσσων. RV renders Ti.'s text 'John came, who baptised in the wilderness and preached.' But surely the revised text is correct. ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ must go with ἐγένετο (see Mk. 933) which cannot mean 'came' (παρεγένετο), and the view that ὁ βαπτίζων is a synonym of ὁ βαπτιστής (Mk. 6 24 *f.* 8 28) is most improbable. The article slipped in through the influence of the familiar phrase ὁ βαπτιστής.

[2] No other exegesis seems reasonable; Jos., as we have seen, sanctions it. The true baptism is spiritual (Ps. 51 7[9]). But it needs an outward symbol, and Johanan, remembering Ezek. 36 25, and having prophetic authority, called those who would know themselves to be purified to baptism. 'It is no doubt true that baptism was regularly required of Gentile *proselytes* (see BAPTISM, § 1), but Johanan's baptism had no connection with *ceremonial* uncleanness.

[3] Neub. *Géogr.* 31.

[4] See BETHANY, 2; SALIM. Schick (*ZDPV* 22 81 *ff.* ['99]) actually thinks that the 'wilderness of Judæa' where Johanan preached was the traditional spot, near the hermit's fountain ('Ain el-Ḥabīs). He also accepts the traditional birthplace of the Baptist (*Mar zakaryā*).

[5] See HUSKS.

[6] Does 'camel's hair' mean the tough harsh cloth woven from the rough hair of the camel (cp Jerome)? Or does τρίχες, like (perhaps) שֵׂעָר in 2 K. 1 8, mean the skin with the hair? D in Mk. 1 6 reads ενδεδομενος δερρην καμηλου, 'clothed with camel's skin,' omitting the rest, which Jülicher and Nestle approve.

According to Lk., he adapted, not indeed his standard, but his practical requirements, to the different classes represented in the multitude before him. Certainly the meaning of the primitive tradition was not that anyone who liked might receive the symbolic rite; a course of teaching is presupposed (cp Lk. 3 7). False ideas had to be corrected. The true and the false children of Abraham had to be distinguished. The true Messianic doctrine had to be made plain. The relative imperfection of the highest spiritual gifts at present attainable had to be inculcated.

The relation of Johanan's ideas to those of his time is considered elsewhere (see ISRAEL, § 92, JESUS, § 6).

3. Relation to Jesus. What we have to do now is to grasp the peculiarity of this great teacher and his relation to Jesus. On both these subjects Jesus himself will enlighten us. But something we can gather from the recorded fragments of his sermons, which all may be, and of which the most important part must be, his own; something too from the scanty details of his history. 'Fragments' is the word which criticism entitles us to use. The sermon given in Mt. 3 7-12 is even more devoid of unity than the Sermon on the Mount. Let us pause a moment to see where we stand. Exhortation, if not also individual teaching, must, as we have seen, have preceded the symbolic act of plunging his converts individually into the stream of Jordan. But if Matthew is to be followed, the exhortations, which follow the record of the baptisms, were addressed to 'many of the Pharisees and Sadducees' (Mt. 3 7); this however, is impossible.

For these reasons *v.* 11 (except indeed καὶ πυρί) is out of harmony with *v.* 7. Verses 11 *f.*, must once have been independent; Mk. 1 7 *f.* evidently gives a more original form. Verses 8 *f.* are also not free from difficulty. Verse 9 must have come from another context (cp Jn. 8 38 *f.*); *vv.* 7 *b* 10 8 may have stood together as an address to Pharisees (cp Mt. 12 33 *f.*). The difficult καὶ πυρί in *v.* 11 (not in Mk. 1 8 Acts 1 5) is evidently due to the assimilation of *v.* 11 to *v.* 10 and *v.* 12 by the editor.[1] It was found in his text of Mt. by Lk. (3 16), but this only proves the antiquity of the alteration.

Artless simplicity, then, characterised Johanan's teaching. Jesus too was simple, but in another sense; he had a natural art in the expression of his thoughts. This simplicity corresponded to the fundamental note of Johanan's character; he was too untrained to see far into the complexities of character. He knew himself to be a 'voice' of God, and this was enough; but he did not know that to represent God fully a prophet must understand human nature. Easily therefore could Johanan rise above the fear of man. He does not hesitate to exasperate the Pharisees by his plain-speaking. Was he more reticent or respectful towards Antipas? We may well doubt this, That the tetrarch considered him a dangerous demagogue (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 2) was hardly the whole reason for Johanan's arrest and subsequent execution in the fortress of MACHÆRUS [*q.v.*]. There was probably some personal offence as well, though the story told in the primitive tradition (Mt. and Mk.)[2] is not free from chronological and other difficulties (see CHRONOLOGY, § 49; HERODIAN FAMILY, 2), and may be merely what a later generation (accustomed to think of Johanan as a second Elijah) substituted for history.

May we believe that Jesus of Nazareth was numbered among the disciples of Johanan? An affirmative answer has been given;[3] but it is as unlikely as the connected view that the baptisms of Johanan were private ceremonial lustrations (cp Mk. 7 1-8). Primitive tradition (Mt., Mk., Lk.) said that Jesus came to Johanan for baptism. Certainly this appears plausible; if Johanan

[1] See Bakhuyzen, *Toepassing van de conjecturaal-kritiek*, 119 *f.* ('80).

[2] Mt. 14 5 and Mk. 6 20 differ. The former passage states that Antipas would have put Johanan to death, were it not that Johanan was reverenced by the people as a prophet; the latter, that Antipas himself reverenced Johanan, and was unwilling to put him to death. Mt. seems to draw from two sources.

[3] Brandt, *Die Evang. Gesch.* 458 *f.*

was a true prophet, how could Jesus absent himself from the gathering of those who had turned to God and uho reverenced his messenger? That Jesus had seen and heard Johanan is probable from the clear impression which he had of the great prophet's character and from the prophet's message of inquiry to Jesus. That Jesus, however, whose views of truth were so much deeper than Johanan's, gained any fresh insight into the will of God from his 'forerunner,' is altogether incredible.

At any rate, Jesus saw in the Baptist a great character and an unrivalled prophet. We have gained much already by limiting our view to the best attested traditional statements; we may gain still more by steeping ourselves in those sayings of Jesus which bear the most distinct marks of genuineness. The highest authority shall tell us what Johanan was, and how he stood related to Jesus.

4. Jesus's references to him.

a. Mt. 11 2-6 Lk. 7 17 *ff.* 23. The authenticity of this saying of Jesus is proved by Lk's. failure to comprehend it (see NAIN). It is certain that Jesus claimed to be the forerunner of the kingdom of heaven; certain too that he rested his claim on such works as these—' the blind receive their sight, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the glad tidings brought to them,' and that he conceived it possible that moral marvels of this sort would not seem to all to be adequate credentials. Further, it is probable that the occasion assumed for the utterance of this speech is on the whole correct; the only strong doubt can be as to the words 'in prison' (Mt. 11 2), which imply a freedom of intercourse between Johanan and his disciples not likely to have been granted by the suspicious Antipas. If, however, we omit these words[1] (which are responsible for a good deal of erroneous speculation respecting the weakening effect of confinement upon the character), all is plain. The prophet Johanan (before his imprisonment) sends an embassy to one in whom he recognises a spiritual superior, and whose answer he will regard as final. He has heard of the wonderful works of Jesus, which mainly consist, as Jesus himself has said, in the conversion of sinners (Mt. 9 13), and asks, Does Jesus, on the ground of his unparalleled success in this holy work, claim to be the Messiah? The answer virtually is, 'I claim to be what I am; and what I am my works show.' Jesus is more anxious to 'do the works of God' than to receive any official title; he lays bare an infirmity of the time, from which even Johanan has not escaped.

The difficulty of the harmonistic point of view (which recognises all references to Johanan in our four Gospels as equally authoritative) comes out very clearly in the following passage from Bp. Ellicott:—'The exact purpose of this mission will perhaps remain to the end of time a subject of controversy, but it has ever been fairly, and, as it would seem, convincingly urged, that he whose eyes, scarce sixteen months before, had beheld the descending Spirit, whose ears had heard the voice of paternal love and benediction, and who **now** again had but recently been told of acts of omnipotent power, could himself have never really doubted the truth of his own declaration, that this was indeed "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world"' (*Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 3 183 *f.* ['62]). Bp. Ellicott agrees with Cyril of Alexandria that the nrimary object of Johanan's mission was fully to convince his disciples of the Messiahship of Jesus.

6. Mt. 11 7-10 Lk. 7 24-27. c. Mt. 12 39-42 Lk. 11 29-32. Among those who complied with the call of Johanan were both Pharisees (Mt. 37) and common people. The former were repelled by Johanan's teaching and by the want of a sign in corroboration of his statement that the Messiah was at hand; the latter recognised Johanan as a prophet. So 'all the people that heard him, and the tax-collectors, recognised Gods claims, being baptized with Johanan's baptism, whereas the Pharisees and men of the law frustrated the connsel of God concerning themselves, being not baptized by Johanan' (Lk. 7 29 *f.*). Jesus has a telling word for both classes. To the common people he says, 'Yea, verily; ye have been rewarded. The sight of Johanan was worth a journey. Not the reed-like Jonah, but the thunder-prophet Elijah was his symbol. Yea, he is the second Elijah, the messenger who is the Lord's pioneer' (Mal. 3 1 cp 45 [3 23]). To the Pharisees, 'Have ye, then, seen no sign? The fault is yours; the sign, the only permitted sign, has been given. For as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall also [Johanan] be to this generation' (Lk. 11 30, see below). 'The Ninevites will prove the guilt of this evil class—the Pharisees—for they turned to God at the preaching of Jonah, and surely a greater than Jonah is here. The queen of Sheba will prove the guilt of this evil class, for she came from afar to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and snrely a greater than Solomon is here.' (The reader will be on his guard; we have had to go behind the traditional text. But even the best of the current explanations of that text [see JONAH, § 8] is not perfectly satisfactory, and there is some probability that a testimony to John has been converted by the reporters of tradition into a testimony of Jesus to himself. That 'Jonah' and 'Joannes' or Johanan may be identical, is clear from Mt. 16 17 (see BAR-JONA; also JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 1).

The special advantages of this theory—which, except the interpretation of ιωνα in Mt. 12 39 Lk. 11 29 is due to Brandt, *Evang. Gesch.* 459, n. 2—are (1) that it accounts for the reference to the Queen of Sheba as well as to the Ninevites, (2) that it makes the 'sign' a ***new*** one, and (3) that it relieves Jesus from the appearance of self-laudation. The play upon the names יוחנא Johanna and יונה Jonah is in the familiar Hebrew style. Note also that 'Jonah' and 'Solomon' in ***(c)*** correspond to the 'reed' and 'those luxuriously clad' (cp Mt. **629**) in (*b*).

d. Mt. 11 11-15 Lk. 7 28 16 16. **A** still more decisive word on Johanan, spoken some time after his martyrdom. **A** prophet has hitherto been the highest style of man, and there has been no greater prophet than Johanan. Since his days, however, a change has taken place. The prophets and the law lead up to the second Elijah—Johanan; and in Johanan's person the old order of things passes away. Then comes a difficult saying—especially difficult in Mt.'s form. Already for some time the 'kingdom of heaven' has been the prize of spiritual athletes; the 'violent take it by force.'

But can Jesus have meant this? Surely not. Nor can he refer to blameworthy acts of zealots. The passage can be emended with certainty by the aid of Lk. Read, εὐαγγελίζεται for βιάζεται, and continue, καὶ πάντες εἰς αὐτὴν ἐλπίζουσιν (in Lk., καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐλπίζει). How the scribe's errors arose is obvious. The sense is, 'Every one hopes for a share in the Messianic blessings, but without having listened to John's call ***to*** repentance, no one will be admitted to it.'

Resch supposes that the original word was פרץ, but if so, βιασταί should correspond to פריצים, and ***so*** we arrive at the sense 'the law-breakers take it by force.' Marshall (*Crit. Rev.* 6 48 ['96]) accepts this (only Aramaizing the passage), hut is it at all likely that Jesus would have been understood to mean the publicans and harlots?

e. Mt. 11 18 *f.* Lk. 7 33 *f.* Johanan kept a perpetual fast (cp Mt. 9 14 Mk. 218); Jesusabstainedfrom fasting. It was said of Johanan that he had a δαιμόνιον (see DEMON), *i.e.*, that his inspiration was of questionable origin, that he was a false prophet.

f. Mt. 17 12 Mk. 9 13. After Jesus had definitely assumed the Messianic title, he threw a fresh light on the prophecy in Mal. 45 by explaining Elijah to be a symbolic term for Johanan. Nor need any wonder at the abrupt termination of the second Elijah's ministry. If the 'Son of man' must suffer many things, 'as it is written of him,' the forerunner could not hope for a better fate. But his work is not yet finished. Before the 'Son of man' comes again, 'Elijah verily will come, and will restore all things.' Which Elijah? Or shall it be a greater incarnation of zeal and spiritual energy than either the first or the second? Cp Rev. 113 (the 'two witnesses').

g. Mt. 21 31 *f.* (not in Mk. or Lk.). The Pharisees paid no heed to Johanan's insistence on righteousness of life, but the tax-collectors and harlots turned to God

[1] Why does not Johanan come himself? Because he bas **no** leisure to leave his sacred work. So apparently Schleiermacher and Bleek; on the other side, see Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 2 356, n. 3.

and will enter his kingdom (cp HARLOT). Cp Lk. 7 29 *f.* (quoted already).

It is plain that Jesus felt a greater sympathy with Johanan than with any other of his contemporaries. The probability is that the latter was much the older; it was therefore too much to expect that within the narrow limits allotted to the activity of each, Johanan should come over to the side of Jesus. For both, a martyr's death was indicated by circumstances. Though neither of them favoured the violent plans of zealots and revolutionists, secular rulers could not help suspecting them, and the spiritual rulers hated them for their hostility to formalism.[1] It was to each doubtless a comfort to know that the other existed and was doing the 'works of God.' Primitive tradition rightly accentuates the inferiority of Johanan to Jesus, and the later Johannine recast of tradition still further emphasises it. Between these two versions of tradition stands the beautiful narrative of Lk. 15-80, which honours the forerunner only less than the Saviour himself is honoured in the still more exquisite and infinitely suggestive story that follows it.

5. Comparison with Jesus.

The study of the non-primitive traditions of the life of Johanan belongs to another department (cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 17). We should do a great injustice to the idealising historian of the Fourth Gospel if we separated his statements respecting the forerunner from the rest of his gospel, and contrasted them with earlier traditions. An idealised picture may give much food for thought, and only the coldest of rationalists could disparage it; nor need we admit any idealisation in the words of Jn. 535 'He was a burning and a shining lamp.' See JESUS, § *27*.

We hear of disciples of John in Mt. 9 14 (Mk. 2 18 Lk. 5 33), 11 2 (Lk. 7 18 *f.*), 14 12 (Mk. 6 29), Jn. 3 25. They seem to have followed his strict mode of life, and to have been his faithful assistants, as Elisha was to Elijah. According to Jn. 325 RV, 'there arose a questioning on the part of John's disciples with a Jew about purifying'; but the statement is very obscure, and the text seems tu be in confusion.

6. Disciples of John.

Bentley proposed to emend 'with a Jew' (μετὰ Ἰουδαίου) into 'with [those] of Jesus' (μετὰ [τῶν] Ἰησοῦ). But 'of Jesus' may more easily he obtained from 'purification' ([καθαρ]ισμου). 'A Jew about purif [ ]' (ιουδαιου περι καθαρ) is perhaps a corruption of 'beyond the Jordan' (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου), words which intruded by accident from *v.* *26*. If so, we should read simply, There arose a dispute between John's disciple and those of 'Jesus.' (Transposition and corruption of letters go together.)

In Acts 18 25 19 2 *f.* we also appear to meet with disciples of John; but they are there represented as having become believers in Jesus the Messiah (note μαθηταί and πιστεύσαντες). One of them is the Alexandrian Jew Apollos, and one may assume that their presence at Eplesus was connected with the arrival of Apollos at the same city. We are not told that Apollos was rebaptized by Paul's companions; but we may infer this from the fact of the rebaptism of the other Johannine Christians (if we may call them so) related in Acts 19 5. What can have led Paul to ask the strange question, 'Did ye receive the holy spirit when ye believed?' which drew the not less strange answer, 'Nay, we did not even hear that there is a "holy spirit"'? That disciples of John knew nothing of the 'holy spirit,' in the strict sense of the word, is of course impossible (see Mt. 3 11). 'Holy spirit' (πνεῦμα ἅγιον) must here be used in a 'pregnant sense,' as in Jn. 7 39; it means the abiding presence of the Spirit, which was accompanied by special gifts for the individual, and the mediation of which was an apostolic privilege (Acts 8 14-16). It is difficult not to see here a disposition on the part of the author of Acts to magnify Paul at the expense of Apollos and his companions. The original report respecting Apollos which was used in Acts 18 24-28 may have been without the closing words of Acts 18 25 ('knowing only the baptism of John'). See APOLLOS. A reference to the later sect of disciples of John is quite out of place.

Cp Volter, 'Die Apokalypse des Zacharias,' *Th. T* 30 ['96], pp. 244 *ff.* T. K. C.

[1] A report appears to have been current that the Baptist had risen from the dead in the person of Jesus (Mt. 14 2 16 14). The people therefore were more struck by the resemblances of the two than by their differences.

JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE

CONTENTS

Instead of the form ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ WH everywhere, except in Acts 4 6 13 5 Rev. 22 8, give ΙΩΑΝΗΣ. Besides the MSS, especially B, WH rely on Christian inscriptions (App. 159; p. 166 in ed. of '96). As

1. Name.

against these, however, we can cite, at least, one inscription from Ḥarrān of 568 A.D. which has Ἰωάννης (Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* 2 3 [Asie Mineure, etc.], no. 2464).[1] The Hebrew name is יוֹחָנָן (see JOHANAN) or, as the case may be, יְהוֹחָנָן,—a spelling which makes no difference for the Greek transliteration. The LXX with literal fidelity, sometimes in all the MSS, sometimes in at least several good MSS, and rarely in L alone, gives *Ioavav (2* K. 2523; also 6 times in Ch., 8 times in Ezra-Neh., and 14 times in Jer. 40-43 (LXX 47-50).

As variants we find : in 2 K. *Iova* [B], *Iovav* [L]; in 1 Ch. 69*f.* Ιωανας [BA: *Ioavav* in 69 A is to he regarded as the accusative]; in 1 Ch.324 Ιωαναμ [A : cp Ναθαμ, Καιναμ, Lk. 331 37, etc., see Winer(8), § 527*g*], Ιωναν [L]; in 2 Ch. 2812 Ιωανας [B: or more probably Ιωανης; what we have is the gen. Ιωανου]; in 1 Ch. 1212 *Iovav* [A], *Ioav* [B : defective]; in Ezra 812 Neh. 618 Ιωναν [BL], in Ezra 106 *Iovav* [ℵc.a L]; in 1 Esd. 91 (=Ezra 106) Ιωνας [B]; in 1 Esd. 838 [41] (=Ezra 812) Ιωαννης [A], Ιωανης [B]. In Jer. in all 14 places, especially in A and *Q*, sometimes also in ℵ*, Ιωανναν, as also 47 [40] 15 *Ioavvas* [Q], 47 [40] 8 Ιωναν [B], 50 [43] 4 Ιωναν [ℵ*]. In 1 Ch. 263 alone *Ioavav* does not occur at all, but only *Iovav* [A] or Ιωνας [B]; in like manner in 1 Esd. 929 (=Ezra 1028) only Ιωαννης [HA], *Iovav* [L]. In 1 and 2 Macc. Ιωαννης is invariably found (not Ιωανης, as in B these two books are wanting).

In the NT *Ioavav* is found in Lk. 327. The same name (יוֹחָנָן), however, underlies not only the NT Ιωαν(ν)ης, hut certainly also the Ιωνας of Mt. 1617, since in Jn. 142 (or in another numeration 143), 2115-17 we find Ιωαν(ν)ης for the same person—the father of Simon Peter.

Of the various equivalents *Iwvav* comes nearest the most original form *(Ioavav)* so far as the consonants, Ιωανας so far as the vowels are concerned whilst the second ν has disappeared in the Græcising of the termination. The same thing has happened also in the forms Ιωνας and *Iova* in which, moreover, by the coalescence of the vowels the disbnction between this name and that of Ἰωνᾶς=יוֹנָה, Jonah, has disappeared. The variant Ἰωνάθας for Ἰωάν(ν)ης in D (Acts 46) is a transliteration of יוֹנָתָן: Josephus gives the same name as Ἰωνάθης *(Ant.* xiii. 12, and often; cp JOHN, 6, col. 2498. Ιωανης is in strict analogy aud the form is therefore possible.

Jōanēs is, however, but an artificial Graecism, and we have various indications that the Jews inclined to retain the doubled *n* in names derived from the root חנן. *So*, especially, in the feminine Ἄννα (1 S. 12 etc.), and also in the masculine Ἄννας (Lk. 32 Jn. 1813 24 Acts 46), for which Josephus gives *"Avavos*; also in the variants Ιωανναν and Ιωαννας in Jer. (the last also in TR of Lk. 327 and in the marginal reading of TR to Jn. 21 15-17); again, in the variant *Avvav* which 1 Ch. 1143 [ℵ] Jer. 42 [35] 4 [ℵ] and 1 Esd. 530 [A] (|| Ezra 246 Neh. 749) give for Ἀναν (חָנָן), and 1 Ch. 1914 [ℵL] 2*f.* [L] for *Avav* (חָנוּן); and, lastly, in the variant Ἀννων which B gives in 2 S. 101-4 for Ḥanun (Ανων, A, in *vv.* 3 *f.*). It is thus, to begin with, extremely improbable that the feminine Ιωαννα of Lk. 83 2410 ought to be written with a single ν as is done by WH, for the biblical חַנָּה is an abbreviation of this name (Dalman, *Gramm.* 142, n. 9). This consideration gives a corresponding probability to the spelling Ιωαννης, which is found also in Jos. *(Ant.* x. 94, § 168, and often).

Dalman (*l.c.*) conjectures even that יוֹחָנָן had already come to be pronounced Ἰωχαναν, *Johannan* (cp Jerome in *Jes.* 814 : *Joannan*). Of the shortened Aramaic form יוֹחָנָא adduced by Kautzsch (*Bibl.-aram. Gramm.* 10) Dalman tells us that it occurs only in the Babylonian Talmud.

A.—JOHN THE APOSTLE AND JOHN THE ELDER IN HISTORY AND IN LEGEND

2. John, son of Zebedee in NT. The call of the two sons of Zebedee to the discipleship is related in Mk. 119*f.* Mt. 421*f.* Lk. 510*f.* (GOSPELS, § 137 *a*); in the Fourth Gospel it is usually conjectured that John is meant by the unnamed companion of Andrew who from being a disciple of the Baptist joins the company of Jesus (135-40). In the Synoptics John (with his brother James) takes next to Peter the place of greatest prominence among the disciples.

These three alone are witnesses of the transfiguration of Jesus (Mk. 92 = Mt. 171 = Lk. 928). According to Mk. 537 = Lk. 851 at least, they alone were present at the raising of Jairus' daughter; according to Mk. 1433 = Mt. 2637, also, they alone were in close touch with Jesus at Gethsemane. It is only Mk. (1329 133) who tells us that these three were present along with Andrew at the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, and that it was they who, as they looked at Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, asked Jesus the question as to the time of the destruction of the temple. It is Lk. only (228) who relates that the arrangements for the Last Supper were entrusted to Peter and John. Mk. 1035-41 records that the two brothers asked of Jesus that they might sit, one on his right hand and the other on his left hand, in his glory. In Mt. 2020 this request is attributed to their mother, who is conjecturally identified with the Salome named in Mk. 1540 161 (see CLOPAS, § 2). *In* Mt. 2024, however, the indignation of the ten is against (περί) the two brothers; the mother would seem therefore to have been introduced by Mt. to exonerate them. According to Mk. 938 = Lk. *949* it is John who reports to Jesus the attempt of the disciples to forbid the man who was casting out devils in the name of Jesus without being a follower. With James, according to Lk. 954, John would fain have called down fire from heaven upon the Samaritan village which would not receive Jesus as he was journeying to Jerusalem.

Interpreters are very ready to bring into connection with the incident in Lk. 954, just referred to, the name 'Sons of thunder.' According to Mk. 317, this name had already been given to the two brothers on their call to the discipleship. In that case, however, the bestowal of the designation would have been anticipatory, just as Simon in like manner, according to Mk. 316, received the name of Peter at his call, although his confession at Cæsarea Philippi offers a more fitting occasion. Mt. (1618) alone, however, transfers it to this period, connecting it with an incident that is certainly unhistorical (GOSPELS, § 136). On the real obscurity of the designation of the sons of Zebedee see BOANERGES.

Of all the incidents in the Synoptic Gospels enumerated above, only the last three (brothers' request; man casting out devils; fire from heaven) can be regarded as throwing light on the character of John; and the third of these is recorded only by Lk., in whom some critics have been disposed to see a certain prejudice against the original apostles (GOSPELS, § 114). None of the three traits can be said, however, to be inconsistent with the most trustworthy of all the references to John which we possess. According to Gal. 29, John was one of the three 'pillars' of the church at Jerusalem, Peter and James the brother of Jesus being the other two. John must thus in any case be reckoned as supporting the Jewish-Christian view of things, although we have no means of knowing whether he was of the stricter school of James or of the milder one of Peter (see COUNCIL, § 3). According to Acts 31-11 he and Peter healed a lame man, according to 413 19 the same two made their defence before the synedrium, according to 814 they both went to Samaria to put the apostolic seal upon the mission work of Philip here. This last statement, however, as well as the healing of the lame man, is not without its difficulties (see ACTS, §§ 4, 16).

3. Sojourn in Ephesus. Since the time of Irenaens ecclesiastical tradition has been unanimous in holding that after Paul's departure from Asia Minor John the apostle took up his abode in Ephesus, where he held a leading position throughout the whole church of Asia Minor. Irenæus himself vouches for this in many places: ii. 333 [225];[1] iii. 12 [1] 34; v. 301 333*f.*; fragm. nos. 2 and 3; to be found also in Eus. *HE* iii. 233; v. 84-6; iv. 143-7; v. 2412-17 204-8. In the last-cited passage (the letter to Florinus) Irenaeus appeals expressly to the fact that in his youth (as παῖς; in his early youth, πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ, according to iii. 34) he had heard his teacher Polycarp in Smyrna tell much about the apostle John who in turn had been Polycarp's teacher. Besides Polycarp he names also Papias the companion (ἑταῖρος) of Polycarp as having been a hearer of the apostle.

[1] According to Blass (*Philol. of the Gospels,* 75-77) D gives to Ἰωαννης in Mt., Jn., and Mk. the same degree of preference which it accords to Ἰωανης in Lk. and Acts, although in D Mk. stands between Lk. and Acts. The exemplar he used for the writings of Lk. must therefore have been different from that which lay before him when he copied Mt., Jn. and Mk.

[1] The references to Irenaens in this article are in the first instance, to Harvey; those in square brackets are to Massuet, the edition current in Germany.

The same apostle is intended also by Polycrates of Ephesus when in his letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, about 196 A.D. (Eus. *HE* iii. 31₃ v. 24₃) he relates of John who lay on the bosom of the Lord, and wore the high-priestly *petalon*, that he was buried in Ephesus. Even Justin must have held the Ephesian John to be the apostle of that name if he assumed, or remembered, that the Apocalypse (which he ascribes to the apostle), must, on account of the authority over the churches of Asia Minor claimed by its author, have been written by a distinguished church-leader of that province. Yet the παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις (*Dial.* 81) with which he introduces the apostle John designates him merely as a Christian—the contrast being with a psalmist—and implies nothing as to the place of his residence.

4. Counter-evidence from Papias.

The testimony of, Papias (see GOSPELS, §§ 67 *ff.*), bishop of Hierapolis in Asia is, as we understand it, this : 'But as many things also as I once well learned from the mouths of the elders and well committed to memory I shall not hesitate to set down [or commit to writing] for thee, together with the interpretations [appropriate to them], guaranteeing their truth. For I took pleasure not, as the many do, in those who speak much, but in those that teach the things that are true; nor in those who bring to remembrance the foreign commandments, but in those who bring to remembrance the commandments that were given by the Lord to faith and have come to us from the truth itself. But if anywhere anyone also should come who had companied with the elders I ascertained [first of all] the sayings of the elders ['as to this' : not, 'to wit'] what Andrew or what Peter had said, or what Philip or what Thomas or James or what John or Matthew or any other of the disciples of the Lord [had said] and [secondly] what Aristion and John the Elder the disciples of the Lord say. For I supposed that the things [to be derived] from books were not of such profit to me as the things [derived] from the living and abiding utterance.'

(a) According to this declaration Papias himself had once spoken with the 'elders.' Otherwise the third sentence ('But if anywhere,' etc.) would only he an otiose repetition of the first; moreover the 'from the mouths of' (παρά) in the first sentence denotes direct intercourse. Besides speaking with them he spoke also with their disciples (or the disciples of others)—at a later period, of course, when he was separated by distance from the elders themselves.

(b) The elders may indeed be officials of the church; hut if they are, it is not in virtue of this attribute that they come into Papias's consideration; for their official position does not as such in any way qualify them to make valuable communications relating to events of the life of Jesus. For this function the persons best qualified would be apostles; but these are excluded. It would be arrogance on the part of Papias were he to undertake to guarantee the truth of any communications of theirs. It will be necessary, furthermore, to pay due attention to the distinction implied by Papias when he used 'he had said' (εἶπεν) in the one case and 'they say' (λέγουσιν) in the other. He means by it that of the nine persons named only the last two were still alive, the first seven, namely the apostles, were not, and this applies not merely to the time of his writing, but also to the time when he was collecting his notes (cp 'I ascertained'). Lastly, we have in Irenæus a very close analogy to guide us to what we ought here to understand by elders. Irenæus says (v. 33₃) : quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt qui Johannem discipulum domini viderunt;[1] v. 5₁ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθηταί;[2] v. 36₁ : presbyteri, apostolorum discipuli;[2] iv. 42₂ [27₁] even : quemadmodum audivi a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui apostolos viderant et ab his qui didicerant.[1] Thus 'elders' must be taken to mean persons of advanced age who may or may not have been elders of the church, but in no case were apostles, and who were a guarantee for correct tradition only in virtue of their years. Cp GOSPELS, § 71.

(c) From this it follows that the third sentence of the fragment under discussion must not be interpreted as if it meant 'I asked the companions of the elders as to the words of the elders, *to wit* what Andrew, etc., had said;' hut : 'I inquired of them about the sayings of the elders as to what Andrew, etc., had said.' Thus we have to distinguish four steps : the apostles, the elders, the companions of the elders, Papias.

(d) John the Elder is distinguished by Papias from John the Apostle, to whom, if we are to judge by the place assigned to him in the narrative, Papias cannot have attributed any special importance. It is difficult to understand how any person can be bold enough to deny this distinction. Some indeed who formerly did so are now in point of fact beginning to see how impossible it is, but as a consequence allow themselves to be led to a step which is just as audacious,—the deletion, namely, of the words 'or what John' (ἢ τί Ἰωάννης). So Haussleiter (*Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, '96, 465-468), on the ground of a casual conjecture of Renan's (*L'Antechrist*, 562); Zahn (*Forsch.* 6 145 *f.*) is almost inclined to agree. No plausible ground whatever can be alleged for such a step.

It is said that the three words destroy the symmetrical enumeration of the apostles in pairs. But there are only two pairs; at the beginning Andrew and Peter as being brothers, and at the end precisely John and Matthew, the 'what' (τί) being repeated before Ἰωάννης while it is omitted before Ἰάκωβος. Were this not so, James and John would, as being brothers, constitute a pair, and this would be again a reason why Ἰωάννης should not he regarded as breaking the symmetry. Over and above all this, however, it is by no means certain whether Papias intended to give the names in pairs at all.

(e) It is difficult to come to any satisfactory conclusion regarding this John the Elder. If 'elder' as applied to him has the same meaning as elsewhere, we should be compelled to say that he had enjoyed no personal acquaintance with Jesus; so also of Aristion, who stands in the same category with him; but this personal acquaintance is claimed for them by the added words 'the disciples of the Lord' (οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί). This expression has been used immediately before, in the stricter sense, of the apostles; in the case of Aristion and John the Elder it is clearly used in a somewhat wider meaning, yet by no means so widely as in Acts 9₁, where all Christians are so called; for in that case it would be quite superfluous here. A personal yet not long-continued acquaintance with Jesus, therefore, will be what is meant. Such acquaintance would seem to be excluded if Papias as late as 140 or 145-160 A.D. (at which date according to Harnack he wrote his book; cp § 48e) had spoken with both. This, however, he does not say; his expression may quite well be taken as referring to an earlier time. This is not precluded by the fact that he inquires of other men as to the utterances of these two also; this was only to be expected if he was no longer able to meet them personally at the later date even if he had heard them at the earlier.

It would effectually simplify matters if we might with Edwin Abbott (*Exp.* '95 1333'346; previously, Renan, *Antechr.* 345, n. 2) read 'the disciples of the Lord's disciples' (οἱ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν μαθηταί) or with Bacon (*JBL*, '98, 176-183), 'the disciples of these (οἱ τούτων μαθηταί) or if, as in GOSPELS, § 70(3), we were to delete οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί. Such a course, however, must he admitted to be bold. and it does not seem too difficult to suppose that Papias in his' youth had spoken with two personal disciples of Jesus and yet, even while they were still alive, had received further utterances of theirs from their disciples. By this supposition we avoid conflict with the statement of Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39₇) that Papias called himself a hearer

[1] 'As the elders recalled, who saw John the disciple of the Lord.'

[2] The elders who were disciples of the apostles.

[1] 'As I have heard from a certain elder who had heard it from those who had seen the apostles and from those who had learned from them'.—' Those who hadseen' and 'those who had learned denote the same persons.

of Aristion and John the Elder, although it is permissible to doubt whether Eusebius took this piece of information from any words of Papias other than those already quoted above (GOSPELS, § 70).

(*f*) On the other hand, owing to this difficulty it seems preferable to take the words ἅ τε Ἀριστίων . . . λέγουσιν as directly dependent on ἀνέκρινον, so that they do not mean 'I sought to learn of the disciples of the elders the words of the elders as to what Aristion and John the Elder said.' On this last construction we should have two intermediate links between these two men and Papias, as between the apostles and Papias. The other interpretation is therefore preferable: 'I sought to learn of the disciples of the elders the sayings of Aristion and of John the Elder which they had personally received from them.'

(*g*) At this point the assumption, that Papias in his youth knew the apostles also, as well as Aristion and John the Elder, becomes tempting. In that case, however, he would have referred expressly to them and not have spoken thus vaguely about 'elders.'

(*h*) In a MS of the *Chronicle* of George the Monk (= Georgios Hamartblos) iii. 1341 it is stated that 'John the apostle after he had written his gospel suffered martyrdom, for Papias in the second book of the λόγια κυριακά says that he was put to death by the Jews, thus plainly fulfilling along with his brother the prophecy of Christ regarding them and their own confession and common agreement concerning him.'' Mk. 10 38 *f.* is here intended; it is in fact cited immediately afterwards in the MS, which proceeds to state that Origen also in his commentary on Matthew says he has learned from the successors of the apostles that John had been a martyr. When this passage was first brought into notice by de Muralt in his edition of Georgios ('59, p. xvii *f.*) and afterwards more widely by Nolte (*Tüb. Quartalschr.*, '62, p. 466), critics were severely censured for accepting as true a statement coming from the ninth century while they rejected so many that came from the second. The statement in the Georgios Hamartblos MS, however, found some confirmation when the following words from an epitome, dating from the seventh or the eighth century and probably based on the *Chronicle* of Philip of Sidè (*circa* 430 A.D.), were published by de Boor (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, v. 2, '88, p. 170): 'Papias says in his second book that John the Divine [*i.e.*, the apostle] and his brother James were slain by the Jews' (Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν).

(*i*) It has been attempted in a great variety of ways to weaken the force of this passage.

Lightfoot (*Ess. on Supernat. Rel.* 211 *f.*) supposed that what Georgios actually wrote may have run in the original somewhat in this way: 'Papias says that John [was condemned by the Roman emperor (and sent) to Patmos, for bearing witness (to the truth) while James] was slain by the Jews.' Harnack (*Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* ii. [= *Chronologie*] 1 665-667) concurs: the words interpolated by Lightfoot must have been omitted by an oversight, and the mention in Georgios of the brother of John rightly suggested to some later copyist that something was missing, but he wrongly supplied the omission in the way we read in de Boor. Zahn (*Forsch.* 6 147-151), on the other hand points out that in Georgios the complete passage on John's martyrdom and on Papias occurs only in a single MS: in twenty-six others its place, from the words μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται,[1] is taken by the expression ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο. He regards it therefore as an interpolation. Whether written by Georgios or by an interpolator, however, the exact citation of the second Book of Papias shows that there was at least some warrant in Papias for the statement. So far as Origen is concerned, the passage, it is true, is incorrect. Origen (*tom. in Mt.* 16 6, ed. Delarue, 3 719 *f.*) does not say he has derived his information from the successors of the apostles, but only that "tradition teaches," and does not speak of the martyrdom of death hut only of that of banishment. What follows from this, however, is only that this excerptor of Origen has not read accurately, not that he on his own part cannot possibly have written anything about John's death by martyrdom. Zahn expressly concedes that the excerptors (or, if one made use of the other, the older excerptor) had found in Papias that John was put to death by the Jews; but maintains that Papias was here certainly referring to the Baptist. It must be admitted that Papias would not have used the expression 'the divine' (ὁ θεολόγος) here; according to Zahn it was not applied to the apostle earlier than the fourth century. On the other hand, it is hardly conceivable that in Papias the expression could have allowed a confusion of the Baptist with the apostle.

(*k*) A more serious question is this—whether Papias was speaking of John of Asia Minor or of John the apostle (if we assume the two to be distinct). Now, the tradition that John of Asia Minor did not suffer death by martyrdom becomes so firmly established soon after the time of Papias (§ 3) that it is difficult to believe Papias himself can have said the opposite. Moreover, in Ephesus the Jews could hardly have had the power and the courage to put to death a Christian bishop. It is quite another matter, however, if what Papias meant to say was that John the apostle, as distinct from the Ephesian John, was put to death by the Jews somewhere else—say, for example, in Palestine, where this would have been least difficult of accomplishment.

That the saying does not refer merely to John's brother James is made probable also by the vague expression 'by Jews (ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων). If James alone had been in question it would more naturally have run that he was put to death by Herod Agrippa, as of the Baptist it would have been said that Herod Antipas had caused him to be put to death. The vagueness is most easily accounted for if John met his death at the hands of other Jews who could not be further specified. Papias need not have meant, of course, that John's death happened at the same time with that of his brother James.

(*l*) It must be conceded that the unacquaintance shown by all church fathers down to the time of Philip of Sidè (or his excerptors) with the statement of Papias now in question is very remarkable. Eusebius, however, who had read Papias with great care, may easily have set it down among the 'things strange' (or 'paradoxical, παράδοξα) and 'partaking of the legendary' (μυθικώτερα) which according to *HE* iii. 39 8 11 he had often discovered in him.

According to Zahn, Eusebius would hardly have allowed it to escape him, as it was fitted to be of service to him in connection with his view that the Apocalypse was written not by John the apostle but by John the Elder. But Eusebius referred the Fourth Gospel and the First Johannine Epistle also to the Ephesian John, and thus the statement in question would have been a very two-edged one if he had employed it against the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse.

Irenaeus, moreover, and others were already so deeply imbued with the belief that the Ephesian John was the apostle that we may with most probability suppose them to have regarded as a mere oversight, and therefore to have passed over in silence, a contrary allegation in Papias whom they in other things valued highly.

For the same reason, we cannot follow Zahn in the further argument against the existence in Papias of the statement as to the death of the apostle—that as early as the second century the fables about the cup of poison and the bath of boiling oil (§ 8 *J*) had already heen invented in order to supply a fulfilment of the prophecy in Mk 10 38 *f.* These fables were current concerning the Ephesian John, whose peaceful death had long been accepted; it was therefore necessary that those martyrdoms by which Mk. 10 38 *f.* might seem to have been fulfilled should not be represented as martyrdoms to the death. Thus they could not in any way have heen rendered superfluous by the statement of Papias, at most, the rise of the legends might have been checked by it—only however, as has been shown, on the assumption, which will not work, that finding them in Papias led to the abandonment of the belief in the peaceful death of John the apostle who was identified with the Ephesian John.

(*m*) Lastly, the most serious difficulty of all is found in Jn. 21. Here in *v.* 23 it is presupposed that John, unlike Peter, is not to die a martyr's death. But again the question comes to be, which John is intended. If it be the case that the Ephesian John constituted the centre of the circle from which the Fourth Gospel emanated, it is only natural that in the appendix, chap. 21, his end should be referred to. What we have to ask here is merely how it could have come about that the apostle John should have been indicated in the Fourth Gospel as its guarantor. On this point see § 41.

The result obtained from Papias is strongly supported

[1] . . . μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται. Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη, πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμολογίαν περὶ τούτου καί συγκατάθεσιν.

by the fact that, apart from the writers named in § 3, no ecclesiastical writer of the second century betrays any knowledge of a residence of the apostle John in Ephesus. Ignatius in his epistle to the Romans (43) mentions the apostles who had for them a special importance, viz. Peter and Paul; in that to the Ephesians (122) he names only Paul, not John. Polycarp (32 9 1113) speaks to the Philippians only of Paul and the 'other apostles,' not of his teacher John. Justin and Hegesippus in like manner tell nothing about John. In the Muratorian fragment, lines 9-16, John is found in the company of his fellow-disciples (and bishops) in writing his gospel. He thus seems to be thought of as still living in Jerusalem. In Acts 20 29 *f.* those who were to come into the church of Ephesus after Paul's departure would assuredly not have been designated as evil wolves if the apostle John had been his successor there. The passage may with confidence be taken to be a ***vaticinium ex eventu***, and even were it not so, the author of Acts would, in his great regard for the original apostles, certainly have toned it down if he had known that one of them had succeeded Paul. Since the epistle to the Ephesians does not come from the pen of Paul, it is also important to notice that only Paul is mentioned while yet in 2 20 the apostles and prophets as a whole are designated as forming the foundation of the church. So also with the Pastoral Epistles, where Ephesus is touched on in 1 Tim. 1 3 2 Tim. 1 18, and with the epistles of Peter, of which the first is addressed to Asia Minor (1 1) and the second to the readers of the first (3 1). Special mention is due to the Gnostic Heracleon cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 9 71, p. 595). He says that Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others do not belong to the number of those who for their open profession of the Christian faith had suffered the martyr's death. The apostle John is not named here, and yet he would have been entitled to the first place in the list had Heracleon known the tradition as to his peaceful end.

5. Silence of all other ecclesiastical writers.

Identity of name has led to confusion in other well-known cases also, with the regular result—in accordance with the tendencies of that age—that a non-apostolic person, held in high esteem in some particular locality, came to be regarded as an apostle. The Philip who had four virgin daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy is expressly designated in Acts 21 8 *f.* as an evangelist and as one of the Seven (deacons) of Acts 6 5. Polycrates of Ephesus (*circa* 196 A.D.) holds him for the apostle of that name and states that he was buried in Hierapolis (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 31 3, v. 24 2). Clement of Alexandria falls into the same confusion (*Strom.* iii. 6 52, p. 535), only adding that Philip gave his daughters in marriage. Even Eusebius, who yet himself clears away the error of Irenæus that Papias had personally known John and other apostles (*HE* iii. 39 5-7), affirms in the very same chapter (§ 9) not only that this Philip was the apostle (so also iii. 31 2) but also, further, that Papias knew him personally (for another view see GOSPELS, § 72, n. 1). The elder whom in iv. 43 2 [27 1] Irenaeus has designated as a disciple of the disciples of the apostles (for the text, see § 4 6) he soon afterwards (iv. 49 1 [32 1]) calls a senior, apostolorum discipulus. The James who in Acts 15 13 takes part in the Council of Jerusalem he takes to be (iii. 12 18 [15]) the same as the son of Zebedee whose death has been already recorded in Acts 12 2. For further instances of the same sort, see § 49 *b.*

6. Similar confusions of persons.

In view of such gross carelessness on the part of the leading authorities for ecclesiastical tradition, the less hesitation need be felt in giving expression to the result which has been gained with ever-increasing security from the continued examination of their utterances.

7. Conclusion as to John of Asia Minor.

When set forth in 1840 by Lützelberger (*Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes*), and even at a later date by Keim and Scholten, it was treated as hypercriticism and was resisted even by such critics as Hilgenfeld and Krenkel (*Der Apostel Johannes*, '71, 133-178). It is now maintained by Bousset (see APOCALYPSE, § 15 *f.*, and cp Meyer's *Komm. zur Apocalypse*(5), '96, pp. 34-48) and by Harnack (*Gesch. der altchrist. Litt.* ii. [=*Chronologie*] 1 ['97] 659-662), who yet are *so* conservative as to attribute the contents of the Fourth Gospel, at least in part, to reports of an eye-witness, or even of the apostle John himself (§ 55 *b c*).

(*a*) There were two Johns—the apostle and the Elder. The name 'elder' attached to the person of the latter in a pre-eminent degree. In the circle of his adherents he was named 'the Elder,' κατ' ἐξοχήν, perhaps so much so that his proper name, John, was even found superfluous. He was a 'disciple of the Lord' (μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου) in the wider sense of the word (§ 4 *e*). It was he who, towards the end of the first century, acquired the leading position in Ephesus of which we read, and he it was that was heard by Polycarp, who spoke of him to the youthful Irenæus. In speaking of him Polycarp was wont to call him a 'disciple of the Lord.' This is the expression which is responsible for the misunderstanding of Irenaeus that he was an apostle.[1] This conjecture, however bold it may appear, is confirmed by the fact, also established by Zahn, that Irenæus regularly calls this John 'disciple of the Lord' while yet he always applies the word 'apostle' to Paul. Similarly Polycrates, the other chief witness for the Ephesian residence of the apostle John, designates the latter not as 'apostle' but only as 'witness and teacher' (μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος) (cp the passages of Eusebius cited in § 3).

Eusebius in his *Chronicle* (ad annum Ahrah. 2114; ed. Schane, ii. p. 162) still copied the error of Irenæus, that Papias had been a disciple of the apostle John. Had he not subsequently noticed it as he was composing his *Ecclesiastical History* and preserved for us the most important words of Papias, we should have been for ever condemned to remain under the dominion of this mistake.

(*b*) Eusebius, however, did not draw the further consequence which follows for Polycarp also, from his discovery of the error of Irenæus. Irenæus calls Papias the hearer of John and companion of Polycarp. Now, as he regards Polycarp also as a hearer of the apostle, it cannot be open to doubt that he regards the two as companions for the reason that both were hearers of one and the same master. What has now been ascertained as regards Papias will in that case hold good for Polycarp also; his master was not the apostle, as Eusebius still (*HE* iii. 36 1) assumes, but the Elder.

(*c*) Confusion was introduced into the question by Dionysius of Alexandria, who (in Eus. *HE* vii. 25 16) took the statement that two graves of 'John' at Ephesus were spoken of as basis for the conjecture that therefore two prominent men of the name of John had been contemporaries in that city (in reality of course there may very readily have been two places to which, according to different traditions, the grave of the one John was conjecturally assigned). By the one John he understood the apostle, by the other some John of Asia Minor. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39 5 *f.*) carried the hypothesis further, that this second John was John the Elder. The conservative theologians, also, are rightly agreed in pronouncing against the contemporary presence of two Johns in Ephesus, inasmuch as the contemporary activity of two men of such outstanding rank is nowhere affirmed, and indeed is excluded by the universal tradition of one Ephesian John. All the more remarkable is their error in declaring the one Ephesian John to have been the apostle, and in eliminating the Elder alike from the words of Papias and from history. Both Johns existed; but this established fact can be harmonised with the leading position of the one in Ephesus where he brooks no rival only on the hypothesis that the apostle carried

[1] How little need there is for scruple in attributing to Irenaeus a misunderstanding even of the words of Polycarp is taught by the following circumstance: the one detail which he gives as from the mouth of Polycarp about John (the encounter of John with Cerinthus, *see* § 8), Irenaeus on his own showing had not himself heard, but had come to know it indirectly.

on his labours, and closed his life, elsewhere. But in this case it is by no means difficult to suppose that he died a martyr's death. As regards most of the apostles, we know nothing either of their later activities, or of the manner in which they came by their death. The sooner the veneration of the church concentrated itself upon the John of Asia Minor, all the more readily could the son of Zebedee pass into oblivion.

8. Other later traditions. In proportion as this confusion gained currency does it become easy to understand how an abundance of tradition should gather around the name of John, by which essentially the John of Ephesus was understood.

(a) Irenæus is our earliest authority for the statement that John lived in Ephesus down to the reign of Trajan (§ 3). He further records (iii. 34 [3] *ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 28 6 = iv. 14 6) that John, when he went to take a bath in Ephesus, and saw Cerinthus within, rushed away from the room without bathing, uttering the words 'Let us flee, lest the room should indeed fall in, for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.' Clement of Alexandria (*Quis div. salv.* 42 959 *f.*; also *ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 23 5-19) is our authority for the pretty story that John had converted a certain youth, and, after he had relapsed and become a robber won him back by allowing himself to he made a captive by the robber-hand and thus coming into touch with him again. We owe to Jerome (on Gal. 6 10) the story that in advanced age John was still able once and again in the congregation to say, 'filioli, diligite alterutrum.'

(b) The most important of the remaining traditions are these: John remained a virgin till his death: when he intended marrying, or when his father wished him to marry, he was warned against it by a divine voice. He was compelled to drink a cup of poison, and was plunged into a cauldron of boiling oil, hut in both cases passed the ordeal unharmed. After one or other of these experiences he was banished in the reign of Domitian to the isle of Patmos; under Nerva he was allowed to return to Ephesus. A large number of miracles of most various kinds are ascribed to him. At last he caused a grave to he dug for himself, laid himself down in it and died. On the following day his body was no longer to be found.

9. Credibility of these traditions. Lipsius (*Apocr. Apostelgesch.* 1 348-542, '83, and elsewhere) refers all the traditions enumerated in § 8 *b* to a work that still survives in fragments (or catholic redactions),[1] the *Acta Johannis* which formed a part of the περίοδοι τῶν ἀποστόλων ('Wanderings of the apostles') ascribed to Leucius (Charinus), of Gnostic origin, and dating from somewhere between 160 and 170 A.D. Zahn, who in his edition of the *Acta Johannis* in 1880 had sought to establish the year 130 A.D. as its date, had already in his *Gesch. d. Kanons*, 2 856-865, '92, accepted the view of Lipsius as to the date, and after the publication of further portions of this text[2] has also conceded that it had its origin in the school of the Gnostic Valentinus (*Forsch.* 6 14-18, and already in *Neue kirchl. Ztschr.*, '99, pp. 191-218).

For the spirit in which this work is conceived we may perhaps point to the story to the effect that John once in an inn found his bed swarming with vermin. He ordered them out of the chamber for the night. To the great astonishment of his companions, who had ridiculed him, on the following morning they saw the whole hand of banished inmates waiting before the chamber door till John should allow them to return.

In the case of several of the other stories the manner of their origin is very transparent. Lifelong virginity is the ideal of manhood in the Apocalypse (Rev. 14 4), of which 'John' is the author. A martyrdom was foretold for him as well as for his brother James by Jesus according to Mk. 10 38 *f.* = Mt. 20 22 *f.* To the figurative 'baptism' of which Jesus here speaks the baptism in boiling oil corresponds in a literal sense as exactly as possible, just as the 'cup' corresponds to the draught of poison. Of John's drinking of that cup without harm tradition preserved a precedent in what was related of Justus Barsabbas, regarding whom Papias told a like story (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 39 9). The banishment to Patmos is open to very grave suspicion

1 In the ecclesiastical redaction, the miracle of the boiling oil was, according to Lipsius, transferred from Ephesus to Rome; that of the cup of poison, on the other hand, from Rome to Ephesus.

2 James, *Texts and Studies*, v. 1, '97, pp. 1-25; cp 144-154, as also *Acta apost. apocr.* ed. Lipsius et Bonnet, ii. 1, '98, pp. 160-216.

that it arose out of a misunderstanding of Rev. 1 9. The words 'I was on the isle of Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus' by no means necessarily imply a banishment; it is also possible that they may be intended to describe a voluntary journey either in flight after having freely declared the word of God and the testimony concerning Jesus, or for missionary purposes.

B.—AUTHORSHIP OF THE APOCALYPSE

10. Authorship of the whole. Coming now to the question whether the apostle John (or, on the other assumption, the Elder) was the author of all the five NT writings ascribed to John, as regards the Apocalypse we must in the first instance proceed on the assumption that the book is a unity.

(a) On this assumption the spirit of the entire book can be urged as an argument for the apostle's authorship: its eschatological contents, its Jewish-Christian character, its view of the Gentiles who are becoming Christians as proselytes who are being added to the twelve tribes of Israel (7 9-17) while yet the whole people of God continues to be represented as numbering twelve times twelve thousand (14 1), its violent irreconcilable hostility to the enemies in the outside world (11 18 14 8-11 16 6 18 6-8) as well as to the false teachers within the churches (2 6 14 *f.* 20-22). The fiery prophetic utterance which the writer employs need not surprise us even in advanced old age, in a man who, we are to suppose, had cherished thoughts like these all his life long. Nor need we wonder at his calling himself not an apostle but only a minister of Christ and a prophet (1 1 22 9); for an apocalypse, it is only these last two attributes that come into account.

(b) On the other hand, the reference to the sojourn in Patmos (1 9) must not be taken as positive evidence for the apostle's authorship (§ 9). The technical erudition manifested not only in an intimate acquaintance with the contents of the OT, but also in hold applications of these to new conditions, and in an arrangement of the entire apocalyptic material in a manner which may not indeed be exempt from criticism, but yet certainly is everywhere skilful, is not easily accounted for in the case of one who had formerly been a fisherman, and who in Acts 4 13 is described—and certainly correctly—as 'an unlearned and ignorant man' (ἄνθρωπος ἀγράμματος καὶ ἰδιώτης).

(c) But, above all, in the case of an eye-witness of the life of Jesus one would have expected a livelier image of the personality of Christ than the Apocalypse offers.

The Apocalypse designates Jesus on the one hand, it must he conceded, in the genuine manner of primitive Christianity, as the faithful witness (1 5 3 14), which, in accordance with 2 13 17 6, we may interpret as referring to his martyr-death (cp 3 21), although it also remains possible that the word denotes his witness to truth by oral revelation; it calls him the Holy and True (3 7 14 19 11); it alludes to his Judæan origin and Davidic descent (5 5 22 16); it claims for him that he has the Holy Spirit, only in the form that he possesses the seven spirits of God (3 1 5 6) into which the spirit of God is divided according to 1 4 4 5 5 6; and in 14 14 *f.* it represents him in his exalted state as an angel, not as any higher heing. On the other hand, it not only ascribes divine honours to him after his exaltation (1 5 5 8 14, etc.)—which need not surprise us;—not only praises him in a doxology which is comparable to those given to God (1 6 5 12 *f.* 7 10 12); it also assumes his pre-existence as a matter of course and in that pre-existence it gives him the predicate, A and Ω, which is given to God himself (22 13, cp 1 17 2 8 as also 1 8 21 6); indeed in the very same verse (3 14) in which it assignes to him the humblest attribute, it also gives him the highest—that of 'the beginning of the creation of God' (ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ). Even if this is to he taken passively, in the sense that he is the first creature created by God, it represents a high claim; hut it can also he meant in the active sense, thus designating him as a self-active principle in the creation of the world, as in 1 Cor. 8 6 Col. 1 16-18 Heb. 1 2 and elsewhere. The figures under which the author represents the appearance of Christ are partly taken from the OT (as 1 13-20), and partly dependent on NT theological theories (as 5 6). In order to realise how little the author was in possession of any concrete living image of the personality of Jesus we have only to look at any picture professedly based on 1 13-20 or try to visualise to our own imaginations what is described in 5 6 *f.* 6 1 *ff.*—how a

lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, comes and takes out of the hand of God a book and opens the seals thereof.

(d) Finally, the Apocalypse speaks (18 20) of the twelve apostles in a quite objective way, without any hint that the author himself is one of them, and in 21 14 it describes them as the foundations of the Church of the latter days in a way which does not speak for the modesty of the author if he himself was of their number.

(e) Most of these difficulties, however, disappear as soon as we think of the Elder, not of the apostle, as the author of the book; and the attitude of authority towards the churches of Asia Minor assumed in 2 5 also speaks for the former—always on the assumption that it was he, not the apostle, who held this position there,

11. Of parts.

If, however, it has to be conceded that the Apocalypse is not a unity—and it is hardly likely that it will long be possible to resist this conclusion—then the question alters itself to this; whether the apostle or the Elder was the last editor of the whole book or the original author of any portion of it. Here all that can be said is that the John of Asia Minor, by whom, as we have seen, it is easier to suppose the Elder than the apostle to be meant, comes into consideration first of all as possible author of the Epistles to the Seven Churches in 2 5 These, however, have only a loose connection with what properly forms the body of the book which contains the prophecies concerning the last times (4 1-22 5); it is only with 21 1-22 5 that they show observable contact in some isolated expressions. That they should have arisen separately is hardly likely, for in that case all the seven would not have been written—as we must nevertheless suppose them to have been—in one corpus, but each one would have been addressed to its proper destination. They become more intelligible when regarded as a preliminary writing prefixed to the rest of the hook after it had been completed, and designed to introduce to a particular circle of readers the more strictly apocalyptic book. If this be so, we do best in assigning them to the redactor of the whole; but in that case we must be all the more cautious how we attribute to him definite portions of the rest of the book—to attempt which, moreover, we have no means at our disposal. But, further, not even the Epistles to the Seven Churches can with certainty be ascribed to the Elder; they may have been written by another in his name.

12. Author of Apoc. also author of Gosp. and Epp.?

(a) General.

The one question left, if we take into account what is said under APOCALYPSE, is as to whether the author of the Apocalypse may be identical with the author of the Fourth Gospel and of the Johannine Epistles. The answer to this question becomes important in our investigation of the Apocalypse if the authorship of the Gospel and Epistles is more easily determined than that of the Apocalypse, and *vice versa.* A glance at the four possibilities here will be instructive. Apart from theologians who feel themselves bound to the strictest conservatism, B. Weiss stands alone in attributing the Gospel and the Epistles as well as the Apocalypse to the apostle; the Gospel and the Epistles, or at least the First Epistle, but not the Apocalypse, are attributed to the apostle by the 'mediating' school, as they formerly were by the rationalists; the Apocalypse, but not the Gospel and the Epistles, by the earlier representatives of the Tübingen school down to Hilgenfeld and Krenkel (*Der Apostel Johannes,* '71); by all the later critics not one of the Johannine writings is given *to* the apostle, the Apocalypse even having been already assigned to another author before its unity had been given up. We find a critic of so early a date as De Wette writing "In NT criticism nothing is more certain than that the apostle John, if he was author of the Gospel and the Epistles, did not write the Apocalypse, and conversely." The same thing had already been argued by Dionysius of Alexandria (*ap.* Eus. *HE* 7 25) in a manner that, when we consider his time, must be regarded as notably scientific. The authorship of the Apocalypse is in this case, however, prejudged to a certain extent only when the Gospel and the Epistles are attributed to the apostle, and conversely.

13. (b) Language.

The difference between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel so far as language and style are concerned can hardly be stated too strongly.

Grammatically, the Greek of the Gospel if not particularly good, is at least from the point of view of that period not open to positive objection; the Apocalypse on the other hand exhibits the most flagrant solecisms. For example, the apposition to any case whatever is given in the nominative[1] and there is no hesitation in adding the article to a verbal ford or in making a nominative dependent on the preposition ἀπό (ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, 1 4). The Gospel displays a Hebraizing character only in the syntax of its sentences (simple co-ordination), the Apocalypse to a very much greater extent. As for the vocabulary we single out only a few expressions: the Gospel has ψεύστης, the Apocalypse ψευδής; similarly the Gospel and Apocalypse have, respectively, ἴδε, ἰδού; κόσμος, οἰκουμένη; the Gospel has ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου or πονηρός for the devil, while from the detailed enumeration of all the predicates of the devil in Rev. 12 9, these two expressions are absent; the Gospel has πιστεύειν (almost 100 times) and ὁμολογεῖν, the Apocalypse ἔχειν τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. Equally worthy of notice is the absence in the Apocalypse of certain particles which are of very frequent occurrence in the Gospel: καθώς, μέν, μέντοι, πάντοτε, πώποτε ὡς in the temporal sense, ἵνα referring back to a demonstrative (as Jn. 15 12). Withal the difference between the spheres of thought in the two writings is vividly illustrated when it is noted how favourite ideas in the one are totally absent from the other—such ideas as 'Lord God Almighty' (κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ), or 'patience' (ὑπομονή) in the Gospel, φῶς in a secondary meaning, σκοτία, ζωὴ αἰώνιος, ῥήματα, θεᾶσθαι, μένειν ἔν τινι, ἀπόλλυσθαι (said of men) in the Apocalypse.

This observation, however, must be extended much more widely.

14. (c) Sphere of Thought.

Even where it cannot be traced in the mere vocabulary, the thought-substance in the two writings is in many ways fundamentally different.

(a) So, for example, in what is the main thing so far as the Apocalypse is concerned—the eschatology. It is only in isolated passages, and these moreover not free from the suspicion of interpolation, that the Gospel still shows the conception—so familiar to the Apocalypse as to the whole of primitive Christendom—of a general Judgment at the end of time, and a bodily resurrection (§ 286). On the other hand, special features of the Apocalypse, such as those of the detailed events before the end of the world and those of the millennium, are in the same degree foreign to the Gospel as is the doctrine of the return of Christ with a heavenly host for the destruction of his enemies in battle (19 11-21), and the presupposition that the state of blessedness will be established upon earth—if even upon a renewed earth (Rev. 20 4-6 21 1 10)—which is directly contradicted by Jn. 14 2 *f.*, where this state is to be looked for in heaven. The First Epistle comes a degree nearer to the expectations of primitive Christendom (§ 59); but the main idea of the Apocalypse, that a definite personality will come forward as Antichrist, is even there (1 Jn. 2 18 22 4 3) mentioned only for the purpose of saying that the prediction has been fulfilled by the rise of gnosticism, in other words the idea is gently set aside.

(b) The Universality of salvation is for the Gospel a matter of course (§ 27). In the Apocalypse, on the other hand, one can still clearly perceive how the Jewish people continues to be regarded as the chosen race, and the believing Gentiles are ranked with it, not on principle but only in consequence of their having acquitted themselves also as good Christians under persecution (7 14 *f.*, § 10*b*). 'Jew' in Rev. 2 9 3 9 is a name of honour, in the Gospel it carries some note of depreciation (§ 19).

(c) As regards the Person of Christ the metaphysical expressions cited in § 10*c* approximate the point of view of the Fourth Gospel; but this approximation is not

[1] *E.g.* 2 20 3 12 9 14 14 12. By this the Ἀντίπα of 2 13 instead of Ἀντίπας is shown to be the correct reading. Cp WH, App.

nearly so great as to amount to equivalence. The difference lies not merely, as might perhaps be suggested, in this—that the Gospel has to speak for the most part of Christ on the earth whereas the Apocalypse is speaking of him as exalted in heaven. Even as regards the pre-existence of which both speak it has to be remarked that the Apocalypse has here only adopted certain expressions without allowing them to have any very noticeable effect upon the general view of things, whilst the Gospel is completely dominated by the idea of the Logos.

Great importance has been attached to the fact that in Rev. 19 13 Christ is expressly called 'the word of God' (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ). Even if this fact is to be recognised we must not forget that it by no means necessarily involves full coincidence with the thought of the Gospel. Such coincidence would even in fact he very unlikely, since elsewhere in the Apocalypse we do not find the faintest trace of Alexandrian ideas. Here accordingly it might seem necessary to resort in the first instance to the explanation which we are constrained to reject in the case of the Gospel (§ 31)—namely that the expression 'the word of God' is taken from the OT or the Palestinian theology. Only, even where they were not prepared to give up the unity of the Apocalypse altogether scholars ought long ago to have perceived that 19 13 'and his name is called The Word of God' is a gloss. Immediately before we are told (19 12) that no one knoweth his name but he himself. How could the author proceed immediately to give his name? But nothing could have been more natural than that an old reader who believed himself to be in possession of the name (possibly from the Fourth Gospel) should have written the answer to the riddle on the margin; the next copyist took it for an integral part of the text that had been accidentally omitted and accordingly inserted it. Indeed, we must perhaps go even further. In 19 11 also we find a name of Christ: 'the Faithful and True,' in 19 16 another: 'King of kings and Lord of lords'; of this last we are expressly told that it was written upon his mantle and upon his thigh. This does not harmonise with *v.* 12 and must probably also be regarded as an interpolation.

(d) Among the various points of connection, therefore, which in spite of all differences we are able to trace between the Apocalypse and the Gospel the use of the name 'logos' cannot be reckoned as one. Nor do those which are left by any means amount to a proof of identity of authorship. In both writings Christ appears as the lamb; hut the Apocalypse invariably uses ἀρνίον, the Gospel invariably (except in 21 15) ἀμνός. In the New Jerusalem (Rev. 21 24 22 1 *f.* 5) bread, water, and light are mentioned as the highest blessings; in the Gospel (Jn. 6 48 4 14 8 12) Christ himself is represented as bread, water, and light; and so far as light is concerned Rev. 21 23 bas already led the way in this. Baur found himself able to speak of the Gospel as the spiritualised Apocalypse. Thoma could call it the Anti-Apocalypse (*ZWT* '77, pp. 289-341). By this is not meant that the two writings as regards their inner substance are actually very near one another; the long journey that has to be travelled in clearing up the lines of connection and effecting this spiritualisation of ideas shows only how far apart the two really are.

15. Conclusion. The attempt even to carry the Gospel and the Apocalypse back to one and the same circle or one and the same school, though suggested by the tradition which assigns them to one and the same author, is therefore a bold one. It will be much more correct to say that the anthor of the Gospel was acquainted with the Apocalypse and took help from it so far as was compatible with the fundamental differences in their points of view. On account of the dependence thus indicated it will be safe to assume that the Apocalypse was a valued book in the circles in which the author of the Gospel moved, and that he arose in that environment and atmosphere. So far therefore it is possible for criticism to recognise in a qualified way the justice of the tradition as to the origin of the two writings in a common source; but the complete difference in trend of thought must on no acount be lost sight of.

Of those who still maintain oneness of authorship for the two, the least favourable position is taken by those who hold them to have been written more *or* less contemporaneously: but hardly less favourable is that of those who, in order to be able to maintain the date 95-96 A.D., assigned by Irenæus to the Apocalypse, think of the Gospel as the earlier of the two. The only relatively conceivable hypothesis is that which postulates the other order and a transition from the ideas of the Apocalypse to those of the Gospel. As, however, it is impossible to assign the Apocalypse to any date earlier than 68, the Gospel must on the assumption of apostolic authorship belong to a period after the author's sixtieth year—a period within which the acquirement of unobjectionable Greek not to speak of so revolutionary a change in the whole world of ideas, even if conceivable in his earlier years, becomes a psychological impossibility.

C.—THE FOURTH GOSPEL

16. Method of enquiry. The question whether the Fourth Gospel was written by John the apostle, which we shall here, for convenience sake, in accordance with the accepted phraseology, call the question of its genuineness (although the apostle's authorship is claimed for it only by tradition), cannot be determined apart from the question of its historicity. It would be utterly unscientific to begin by confining ourselves to a proof that the tradition of the Johannine authorship was not open to fatal objection and then—supposing this to be made out—forthwith to claim for the contents of the Fourth Gospel a strictly historical character throughout without further question. Even defenders of the genuineness have conceded the possibility of more or less serious lapses of memory in the aged apostle (§ *55 d*). The question of the historicity, therefore, is ultimately the more important of the two, if we bear in mind what must be the final object of all enquiry into the gospels, namely the elucidation of the life of Jesus. As a matter of fact there have been scholars who have maintained that the Fourth Gospel was not the work of the apostle and yet is trustworthy throughout, or that it rests upon communications received from the apostle or some other eye-witness and therefore is partly trustworthy partly not (§ 55 *bc*). The question of historicity becomes, on any such hypotheses as these last, not merely an end in itself but also a means of determining the authorship. The same remark applies when the complete genuineness is under consideration. Unimportant deviations from historicity, on the view just mentioned, do not make belief in the genuineness impossible; but serious deviations do.

As regards the historicity, our most important line of research is that of comparison with the synoptists. In proportion as tradition concerning the authorship is uncertain, must we rely all the more upon this means of arriving at knowledge. Of course we must not begin by postulating for the synoptists the higher degree of historicity any more than by making a similar claim for the Fonrth Gospel. The immediate object of the comparison must be to ascertain what the differences are; if any of these are found to be irreconcilable, we shall then have to ask, in the first place, which of the two representations deserves the preference, and then, next, whether the less preferable can have come from an eye-witness. At the same time, it is obvious that the comparison must not in the main deal with details merely, for in every single detail some error may well be regarded as excusable; rather must it pass in review the plan and character of the two sets of writings viewed broadly and as a whole.

17. The Baptist. Such a comparison will, at the very outset, disclose a fundamental divergence in the picture presented of one of the most prominent subordinate figures in the gospel narrative. In the synoptists John the Baptist is a personality of real interest even quite apart from his relation to Jesus. Brief as are the synoptists' notices concerning John, they still contain a complete life-history full of dramatic crises. It is not his tragical death alone that compels the reader's sympathy; we are interested in him quite as much by reason of his uncertainty as to whether or not he ought tb recognise in Jesus the Messiah (Mt. 11 2 *f.*). See JOHN THE BAPTIST. That he was reluctant to baptise Jesus is plainly an addition of Mt.

(3 14 *f.*); Mk. and Lk. know nothing of it. According to Mk., John did not, even in the very act of baptising, receive any revelation of the exalted dignity of Jesus (GOSPELS, § **137***a*, end); and this is undoubtedly the true state of the case, for no one would have invented such a representation, if the descent of the Holy Spirit and the heavenly voice as described in Lk. and even in Mt. had been noticeable to every one.

In the Fourth Gospel, however, it is precisely the representation of Mt. that is fundamental ; in fact it is essentially heightened. From the very first John knows not only the high dignity of Jesus and his destiny to become the redeemer of the whole world (1 27 29), but even his pre-existence (1 15 30). The title of Messiah is implicitly offered to him, in order that he may refuse it in the most categorical manner (1 19-23 3 28). The effect is a diminution of John's personal significance to such an extent that the only function left him is that of bearing testimony to Jesus (1 6-8 15 23). Even his baptising work is felt to be important, not as being of value to those who sought baptism, but as being a means of making Jesus known (1 26 31). Of his preaching of repentance absolutely no mention at all is made. Yet in his baptism Jesus receives nothing which he did not previously possess; on the contrary, it is not related at all, and there is a good reason for the omission (§ 26). The descent of the Spirit is alone mentioned, yet not as a divine gift bestowed on Jesus but only as a token for the Baptist whereby he is able to recognise Jesus as the Messiah (1 32 *f.*). His question at a later date, whether Jesus really be the Messiah (Mt. 11 2 *f.*), is in the Fourth Gospel impossible. In short, in place of the personality—powerful, yet limited in its horizon and therefore exposed to tragic conflicts (and in all these respects a personality that cannot have been invented)—whom we have in the synoptists, we find in the Fourth Gospel nothing more than a subsidiary figure introduced to make known the majesty of Jesus—a figure endowed with supernatural knowledge indeed, but always monotonously the same and historically quite colourless.

Turning now to what we are told concerning Jesus himself. we are struck first by the difference between the synoptists and the Fourth Gospel as to the scene of Jesus' public activity. Whilst in the synoptists Jesus does not come to Judæa save for the Passover at which he suffered, in the Fourth Gospel Judæa is the scene of by far the greater part of his ministry. Into Galilee he makes only comparatively brief excursions (2 1-12 4 43-5 1 6 1-7 14). Indeed, according to 4 44, when fairly interpreted, Judæa, not Galilee, is represented as his home. If indeed, especially in view of Mt. 23 37 Lk. 13 34, it cannot be definitely said that the synoptists leave no room for earlier visits of Jesus to Jerusalem, what has just been stated seems to admit of the explanation that the Fourth Gospel is designed as a supplement to the synoptists. This view, however, cannot be carried out. To begin with, the Fourth Gospel does not confine itself to giving supplementary matter; it repeats synoptic narratives such as those of the Feeding of the Multitudes, the Walking on the Sea, and the Healing of the Nobleman's Son (another version of that of the servant [or son] of the centurion at Capernaum [§ 20 *c*]). Further, so long a sojourn of Jesus in Judæa as is depicted in the Fourth Gospel is in no way reconcilable with the representation of the synoptists, and still less is the representation that before his last passover Jesus had stayed in Jerusalem at least from the preceding winter onwards (10 22).

18. Scene of public life of Jesus.

No less divergent are the representations of the synoptists and the Fourth Gospel as to the order of the principal events in the public life of Jesus. The cleansing of the temple, which, according to the synoptists, was in his closing days, is placed in Jn. (2 13-22) at the beginning of his ministry. It is thus quite divested of the importance it has in the other account as bringing the hatred of the authorities to the explosive point; it has no outward consequences. Nor is the harmonistic expedient of any avail—that the cleansing happened twice and with quite opposite results on the two occasions. The conflict of Jesus with the Jews arises, it is true, in Jn. at the very beginning of his ministry; hut all attempts to lay hold of him prove failures, without any explanation being given beyond the very vague and general one that his hour was not yet come (7 30 44 8 20 59 10 39 12 36). The representation, however, that thus between Jesus and the Jews—*i.e.*, not only the ruling classes but also his ordinary Jewish audiences—a relation of complete antipathy subsisted from the outset, does not harmonise with what we gather from the synoptists. Jn. alludes to the hearers of Jesus as 'the Jews' (2 18 20 5 16 6 41 and often) as if Jesus were not himself one sprung from their midst; he speaks of feasts of the Jews (2 13 5 1 6 4 7 2 11 55); he represents Jesus as saying 'your law' (8 17 10 34, cp 15 25), as if Jesus had nothing to do with either feast or law; and as early as 1 11 the full condemnation of the entire people is already pronbunced, and so again 8 21 24 12 38-40. Nor is this cancelled, though it is repeatedly said that many believed in him; Jesus could not otherwise have found opportunity to carry on and develop his message.

19. Order of principal events in public life.

As regards Jesus' relations with his disciples, the confession of Peter (Jn. 6 68 *f.* Mk. 8 29) is wholly deprived of its importance as a new discovery and as an achievement if Jesus already at the calling of the first disciples (1 41 45 49) or even earlier still hy the Baptist himself (1 6-8 15 23 26 29-34) had been acknowledged as Son of God. Finally—to confine ourselves only to points of first importance—the Raising of Lazarus brings into the narrative of John, as compared with that of the synoptists, not only a wholly new event, but also a wholly new reason for the persecution of Jesus (11 45-53) which resulted in his death. In the synoptists the immediate cause of his arrest and condemnation was his triumphal entry into Jerusalem and his cleansing of the temple.

20. The Miracles.

(*a*) As compared with the miracle narratives of the synoptists, those of the Fourth Gospel are essentially enhanced. None of the sick mentioned by the synoptists as having been healed by Jesus is recorded to have lain under his infirmity for thirty-eight years (Jn. 5 5). The blind man who is healed has been blind from his birth (9 1). Jesus walks across the whole lake, not over a portion of it only (6 21). Lazarus is not raised on the day of his death, like the daughter of Jairus or the son of the widow of Nain, but after four days have elapsed.

This last point has a special significance. According to Jewish belief (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* and Wettstein [both on Jn. 11 39]) the soul of the departed lingers about the body for three days, ready to return into it if possible, on the fourth day it definitively takes its departure because it sees that the countenance has whollychanged. For the same reason the identification of the body of a person whom one has known in life is held to be possible only for the first three days; after that the change is too great to admit of it. A further testimony to the prevalence of this view coming from a time very near that of Jesus, but unknown to the scholars mentioned ahove, will be found in the ***Rest of the Words of Baruch***, 9.[1] This is also the reason why

[1] 9 7-13 : 'As Jeremiah was standing in the temple he became as one that gives up the ghost, Baruch and Abimelech (his companions) wept. . . and the people saw him lying dead. . . and wept bitterly. Thereupon they would have him buried, when, behold, a voice was heard, 'Bury not him who is yet alive, for his soul will again enter into his body. And . . . they remained near his hody for three days while they spake of this thing, and remained in uncertainty as to the hour at which be should arise. But after three days his soul came into his body and he lifted up his voice in the midst of them all and said 'Praise ye God,' etc. Thus the Greek text in Harris (*Rest of Words of Baruch*, '89). The Ethiopic text (Dillm. *Chrest. aeth.*, '66, German by Prætorius [*ZWT*, '72, pp. 230-247], and by König [*St. u. Kr.* '77, 318-338]) concludes more briefly : 'they remained about him for three days until his soul returned (or, should return) into his body. And a voice was heard in the midst of them all "Praise

Jesus on receiving word of the sickness of Lazarus does not hurry to his side at once but lingers for two whole days. Thus his love for Lazarus and the sisters of Lazarus is displayed not by the speed with which Jesus hastens to their relief, but contrariwise by the delay which gives room for the working of a special and seemingly impossible miracle.

(6) No satisfactory explanation can ever be given as to why the synoptists should have nothing to say concerning this greatest of all miracles (§ 37 *a*), or yet of that which is expressly described as the first of his miracles at Cana, or of the healing of the man born blind, or of the miracle at Bethesda. The presence of all the disciples is expressly mentioned, both at Bethany and at Cana. On the other hand it is quite easy to understand why many miracles related by the synoptists are absent from the Fourth Gospel. The latter offers only one example of each class of miracle; its aim is accordingly directed towards a careful selection. Healings of demoniacs, however, are wholly left out—in other words, precisely the kind of miracle which, according to GOSPELS (§ 144), could most confidently be ascribed to Jesus and which in point of fact are alone ascribed to him by criticism.

(c) The selection of miracles, notwithstanding the fact that Jesus is stated in 2 23 6 2 7 31 11 47 20 30 to have wrought very many miracles, becomes intelligible most easily if each of the miracles particularised be held to have a symbolical meaning. Such a meaning is expressly assigned to the raising of Lazarus (11 25 *f.*), to the healing of the man born blind (9 5 39), and to the feeding of the five thousand in the elucidation in 6 26 *f.* 30-63, where it is interpreted as having a veiled reference to the eucharist. With this clue it is no longer difficult to see that the miracle of walking upon the water which comes immediately afterwards is intended to signify that exaltation of Jesus above the limitations of space which is necessary in order to render possible the presence of his glorified body at every celebration of the eucharist. That the wine of Cana as compared with the water is intended to symbolise the superiority of the new religion over the old is equally plain. The thirty-eight years of the sick man at Bethesda show that he is an emblem of the Jewish people who had to wander for thirty-eight years in the wilderness (Dt. 2 14); the five porches can without difficulty be interpreted as meaning the five books of Moses. Cp § 35 *б-e*. Lastly, in the case of the nobleman (4 46-54) the symbolical meaning of the narrative becomes evident as soon as attention is directed to its divergences from the story of the centurion of Capernaum in Mt. (8 5-13) and Lk. (7 1-10), which by almost universal agreement lies at its foundation (see GOSPELS, § 17 *β*).

The centurion of the synoptists is a Gentile who excels, and puts to shame, the Jews by his faith. The nobleman of Jn, is in the service of Herod Antipas, and must therefore be regarded as a Jew, since the contrary is not stated. He also is distinguished by his faith, not, however, as being a heathen, but as being one who trusts the word of Jesus without looking for signs and wonders. At the outset, even he is reproached by Jesus as unable to believe without these. He has given no occasion for such a reproach. If, therefore, the reproach is not to be held to be unjust he must be taken as representing the Jewish people, who really deserve it. He clears himself, however, of the reproach. This being so, he represents, not the entire nation, but only those better members of the nation who intercede for the (spiritually) diseased portion of their people. In the days of the fourth evangelist, in which it was no longer possible with one's own eyes to see miracles wrought by Jesus, belief in the bare word of the Christian preacher came to be of the greatest importance, and an example of such belief is therefore here put forth. By the son of the centurion, then, we are to understand the spiritually and religiously diseased part of the nation. This is the reason why the sufferer is not as in Lk. called the servant (δοῦλος) of the intercessor, but his son—a point which had been left doubtful by the ambiguous expression (παῖς) of Mt.

(*d*) The individual miracles (2 11 4 54 6 2 14 9 16 12 18), and indeed the miracles of Jesus as a whole (2 23 3 2 7 31 11 47 12 37), are expressly spoken of as 'signs' (σημεῖα), though the Jesus of the synoptists is represented as having declined on principle to work 'signs' (GOSPELS, § 140 *f.*). In Jn. 2 18 6 30 Jesus is asked, as in Mk. 8 11 and parallels, to work miracles to attest his mission; in Jn., however, he does not decline as in the other case, but on the contrary promises (2 19) precisely the miracle of his resurrection. Belief that rests on mere miracles he often depreciates (4 48, etc.); but in 5 36 6 26 10 25 38 14 11 he actually attaches to them a decisive importance.

One of the most important differences between the synoptists and Jn. is that relating to the date of the crucifixion.

21. Date of Crucifixion.

(*a*) According to Mk. 14 12-16 Mt. 26 17-19 Lk. 22 7-15 the Last Supper of Jesus was the Jewish Passover meal which was partaken of on the evening of the 14th of Nisan. In strict Jewish reckoning this evening belongs to the 15th of Nisan with which the Feast of Unleavened Bread began. Since, however, the leaven was removed from Jewish houses during the day-time of the 14th of Nisan, we can easily understand how it is that Mk. 14 12 Mt. 26 17 (cp Lk. 22 17) have come to speak of the 14th Nisan as being the first of the days of unleavened bread. It is equally certain that, according to Jn., the Last Supper was on the 13th of Nisan (13 1 29 18 28 19 14 31). If the synoptists are to be brought into harmony with the Johannine reckoning, the day on which the paschal lamb was wont to be slaughtered (Mk. 14 12 Lk. 22 7) must have been the 13th, not the 14th of Nisan. If on the other hand Jn. is to be brought into harmony with the synoptists, then at the eating of the Paschal lamb the feast can not yet have begun (13 1 29) and 'to eat the passover' (18 28) must be taken as meaning the meals taken during the seven days to the exclusion of that at which the paschal lamb was eaten. The incredibly violent attempts that used to be made to bring about a reconciliation between the two representations no longer call for serious argument.

(6) Some notice, however, must be taken of two attempts still made by scholars of repute to maintain the Johannine reckoning while conceding its inconsistency with that of the synoptists.

According to B. Weiss and Beyschlag the date of the Last Supper was on the 13th of Nisan, but nevertheless it was held as a passover meal. It is argued that since the afternoon of the 14th of Nisan did not give time enough for the slaughter of the many lambs (in 65 A.D., according to Jos. *BJ* vi. 9 3, § 424, there were 256,500 of them), some portion of them were slaughtered on the afternoon of the 13th, and thus it was possible for Jesus to keep the passover a day before the regular time. This theory, however, about the slaughtering of the lambs is not only in flattest contradiction to the express words of Mk. 14 12 Lk. 22 7, according to which there was only one day on which the lambs were slaughtered, but also rests upon pure imagination. The slaughtering of the lambs was not the business of the priests; it was the duty of the representative of each passover-guild (Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 3 29, and *Decal.* 30, ap. Mangey, 2 169 and 206). Each such representative had thus only one lamb to slaughter, and all that the priests had to do was to receive the

ye God,"' etc. Jeremiah's return to life is, it will be seen, not directly stated here; the words 'Praise ye God,' etc., are not according to this account attributed to Jeremiah but to a 'voice.' It is not till § 19 that the Ethiopic text, in agreement with the Greek, names Jeremiah as the speaker. Which of the two texts is the more original it is not quite easy to determine, because the passage beginning with the words 'Praise ye God' is, or at least contains, a Christian interpolation, whilst the rest of the book, containing as it does no Christian ideas of any kind, but on the other hand laying stress on such Judaic conceptions as the removal of non-Jewish women, and that of the sacrifice at Jerusalem, must be held to be Jewish. Yet it will not be too bold to conjecture that the Ethiopic translator would hardly have passed over the bringing back to life of Jeremiah if he had found it in the text before him, and thus we may venture to hold that here, as in other places also (Harris, 29 *f.*), he represents the more original form. We find him, then, giving quite explicit expression to the belief that for the space of three days the return of the soul to the body was considered possible. But even the Greek text does not bear the interpretation that this limit can be exceeded. 'After three days' merely indicates the extreme limit within which the return to life could possibly be expected.

Those critics who do not regard the resurrection of Jesus as an actual fact cite 2 K. 20 5 Hos. 6 2 Jon. 2 1 [1 17] as explaining why the resurrection was assigned to precisely the third day after the death of Jesus. It is not impossible that these passages may have had their influence also on the Jewish belief with which we are now dealing.

biood in a howl and pour it out by the altar. Moreover, time enough was secured on 14th Nisan hy beginning the work of slaughtering, not towards sundown as Dt. 166 enjoined, hut in the afternoon—ahout 2 or 3 o'clock according to *Jubil.* 49 10 *f.* 19, Jos. *BJ* vi. 93, § 423, cp *Ant.* xiv. 43, § 65, or, according to later Jewish authorities, even so early as from 12.30 or 1.30. Apart from this, however, an anticipatory participation in the passover meal would have been a direct violation of the law according to which any one who was unable to take part in the feast on the appointed day was hidden postpone it till the following month (Nu. 9 10-13, cp 2 Ch. 30 1-22). So far, moreover, as Jesus is concerned, such an anticipation would he intelligible only on the assumption that he knew beforehand quite definitely that he would not live to see the legally appointed evening (cp *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1899, pp. 140-143).

(c) According to Spitta (*Urchristenthum* 1221-228) the passage of Mk. on which the reckoning of the synoptists is based (14 12-16) is a later interpolation. According to 14 2, he contends, it was the intention of the authorities that Jesus should he made away with *before* the feast. As we are not told that this scheme failed, Mk. must have followed the Johannine chronology. It is, however, quite sufficient that Mk., in fact, informs us that nevertheless Jesus was not put to death before the feast. This tells us really all that Spitta finds lacking. Nor is Spitta on better ground when he urges that Mk. 14 17 does not connect itself with *v.* 16—that Jesus could not come with the twelve if two of them had been sent on before to make ready the passover. As a matter of fact we cannot avoid supposing that the two had in the interval returned to report that the preparations had been made. Over and above this, Spitta has to assume that the interpolation in Mk. already lay before Mt. and Lk., and further that there must have dropped out from Jn. a leaf in which the Last Supper of Jesus was described in agreement with the synoptic account (§ 23 e), and, conversely, Spitta has to set down Jn. 6 51-59 as a later insertion. So many are the changes required in order to make his hypothesis work.

As the discrepant accounts do not admit of reconciliation, it remains that we should choose between them. Now, according to the synoptists the crucifixion occurred on the first day of the seven-days' feast, and this first day was in sanctity almost equal to a Sabbath.

22. Difficulties of synoptic chronology.

(a) A judicial process in solemn form involving a capital charge could not, according to the Mishna, be begun on a day before a Sabbath, and thus also could, not have been begun on the 14th of Nisan, for between the first and the second sitting, if a condemnation was to be arrived at, a night had to intervene. Any formal sentence of death, however, was beyond the competency of the synedrium, as the power of life and death lay in the hands of the Roman procurator. Brandt, one of the most acute and the most learned of the opponents of the synoptic (and the Johannine) chronology, who admits as historical nothing more than the bare fact that Jesus was crucified about the passover season, has conceded in his *Evangelische Geschichte* (pp. 55, 303, '93) that, legally considered, the proceedings before the synedrium would be unexceptionable if they were regarded merely as a preliminary enquiry to prepare the case for Pilate's hearing. And it must further be taken into account here how urgently time pressed. The project to make away with Jesus before the feast having failed, it was all the more necessary to get rid of him at the beginning of the feast before the people should have had time and opportunity to declare in his favour. Of Pilate one could rest assured that even on the feast-day he would not hesitate to repress any tumult. If he desecrated the day by an execution, the responsibility would not lie on the synedrium.

(b) That Simon of Cyrene came 'from the country' (ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, Mk. 15 21 Lk. 23 26) by no means implies that he had been working there. Many passover pilgrims, to the number of whom he would, as a Cyrenian, appear to have belonged, spent the night outside the city and simply came into it 'from the country.'

(c) The burial of Jesus would always have been more lawful on the 15th of Nisan than on the following Sabbath, which was held to be of superior sanctity; but in any case it was unavoidable, in accordance with Dt. 21 22 *f.*

(d) The prohibition against leaving the festal chamber on the night of the passover (Ex. 12 22) was, from all that we can gather (see Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 3 291 *f.*) no longer observed in Jesus' time. Very many pilgrims had their lodging during the feast outside the walls of Jerusalem. The prohibition in question therefore could no longer be enforced. With reference to certain other inconvenient passover precepts also the rabbins found a way of escape by deciding that they were enjoined only for the passover in Egypt, not for that in Palestine.

(e) That the women prepared ointments is stated only by Lk. (23 56); according to Mk. (16 1) they bought ointments only after the Sabbath was ended. Joseph, it is true, according to Mk. 15 46, bought a linen cloth. What we have to ask, however, in case such a purchase was forbidden by traditional prescription, is whether in the synoptic tradition recollection must on his account have gone wrong altogether as to the day of the death of Jesus, or whether it is not easier to suppose that a narrator who was no longer acquainted with the enactments of the law on the subject, fell into error on a single point—that of the purchase effected on a feast day.

(f) The question as regards the swords carried by the company who arrested Jesus is similar (Mk. 14 43 48 Mt. 26 47 55 Lk. 22 52). According to the Mishna (*Shabbāth* 6 24) it was unlawful to carry on the Sabbath day (and therefore, also, certainly, on the day of the passover) breastplate, helmet, greaves, sword, bow, shield (sling?) or lance. It is equally certain, however, that the exercise of police functions on Sabbath, especially among the crowds present at the passover, was not allowed to be suspended by any such prohibition. It is not said that no kind of weapon whatever was to be allowed. Here also, no doubt, Rabbinical casuistry was equal to the occasion. Is it then imperative that we should suppose the statement about the swords to be correct and therefore that about the day to be incorrect? Or is it not, in point of fact, quite easy to imagine that a narrator who was not accurately acquainted with the precepts of the Jewish law inadvertently gave to his true account of an armed company having been sent such a turn as implied that they were armed with swords?

(g) It is directly attested that the disciples of Jesus had swords among them (Mk. 14 47 Mt. 26 51 *f.* Lk. 22 49 *f.*). We may venture to suppose that they had provided themselves with these on the preceding days, already seeing cause to fear danger for Jesus and themselves. It was certainly not without reason that Jesus according to Mk. 11 19 Mt. 21 17 Lk. 21 37 passed his nights, not in the city, but (presumably) in various places outside its walls—for otherwise his betrayal by Judas would hardly have been necessary. There is nothing to surprise us if the disciples did not lay their swords aside on the day when the danger was greatest. After having learned in so many other points to claim emancipation from the law, they can hardly have felt themselves bound to follow it with slavish literality precisely on this particular occasion.

In the case of the Johannine date of the crucifixion we are in a position to give the unifying conception which underlies it. It is indicated in Jn. itself.

23. Explanation of the Johannine date.

(a) In 19 36 it is said that the reason why the bones were not broken was in order that a scripture might be fulfilled. The scripture in question (Ex. 12 46 Nu. 9 12) has reference to the paschal lamb. Jesus then is presented as the antitype to the paschal lamb in such a manner that this precept finds literal fulfilment in him.

(b) But not this precept only. According to 19 14 Jesus is at midday still before Pilate; his death thus takes place in the afternoon, exactly at the time when (see § 21 *b*) the paschal lambs were wont to he slaughtered. However tempting it may be to suppose that the discrepancy with Mk. 15 25 arises from a mere

oversight, the Γ of Mk., which denoted the third hour, being misread by Jn. for a *F* representing the number six, or conversely (GOSPELS, § 14 *a*), it loses, when taken in connection with the other divergences of Jn. from the synoptists, all its attractiveness.

(*c*) The anointing of Jesus happened, according to Jn. 12 1, six days before the passover, according to Mk. 14 1 = Mt. 26 2 at most two days before it. This discrepancy also is significant. According to Ex. 12 3 the paschal lamb must be chosen on the 10th of Nisan. The evening on which it is eaten belongs, according to Jewish reckoning, to the 15th of Nisan. The 10th of Nisan is thus the fifth day before the passover. Now, the turn of expression in Jn. 12 1 (EV, 'six days before the passover') is Roman: πρὸ ἓξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα according to the analogy of *ante diem tertium Calendas Maias.* The Latin phrase of course denotes the 29th of April, both the first and the last days being included according to the Roman mode of reckoning. Applying the same principle to Jn. 12 1 we find that the 10th of Nisan is indicated. Here again, accordingly, Jesus is seen to be the antitype of the paschal lamb. For Greek examples see Winer, § 61 5 end.

(*d*) The synoptists do not mention the lance-thrust, just as they pass over the omission to break the bones of the crucified Jesus. In Jn. (19 34 37) the lance thrust also is mentioned as a fulfilment of a scripture: 'they shall look on him whom they have pierced.' The meaning of the quotation is not at first sight plain, nor yet its connection with the statement that blood and water flowed from the wound. In spite of all efforts, no one has yet been able to show that blood and water actually do flow from a wound of this kind. But blood and water are mentioned together also in 1 Jn. 5 6, where it is said that Jesus Christ came by water and blood. By the water here, so far as the person of Jesus is concerned, we can hardly understand anything else than his baptism; by the blood the atoning blood which he shed on the cross. The sequel in *vv.* 7-9 shows, however, that what is being spoken of is not merely the experience of his own life, but also that which he brings to believers. In that case the water denotes their baptism, and the meaning of the blood is best found in Jn. 6 53-56. It is the eucharistic blood. Jesus comes (1 Jn. 5 6) by the two sacraments which signify, partly reception into the Christian church, partly the continual renewal of a Christian standing. Now, the reference to water does not come into connection with the idea of the paschal lamb; but that to blood does. The reference to water thus carries us beyond the suggestions connected with the paschal lamb, indeed, but only shows all the more clearly that the account of the history is here dominated throughout by ideas.

(*e*) That the Last Supper as related in the Fourth Gospel cannot have been a paschal meal is self-evident, and would not of itself give occasion to any doubts regarding Jn.'s chronology. Serious doubts, however, must arise when it is observed how the evangelist connects the interpretation of the Supper with his narrative of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (6 1-63) and thus makes it to have been given a year earlier than the date at which the event happened according to the synoptists.

How impossible this version of the facts is can best be seen from the attempts to render it harmless. Many deny that the eucharist is intended at all in chap. *6*; but in view of the words in *vv.* 51*c*-56, and of the allusion, otherwise quite pointless, to thirst as well as hunger in *v.* 35, such a denial is quite useless. Spitta, accordingly, would delete *vv.* 51-59 (§ 21 *c*); but *v.* 35, which he leaves untouched, raises its protest against such a critical proceeding. Arthur Wright (*A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek,* '96) assumes that Jesus instituted the ordinance of the Supper as early as the first passover of his ministry, at the second gave the exposition now found in Jn. *6*, and at the third and last only added perhaps the command to continue its celebration. This is logical enough, but so gratuitous as to require no refutation.

The next surprising thing in this connection is that Jn. reports absolutely nothing regarding the celebration at the last supper. Spitta supposes the dropping out of a leaf which contained the missing account so exactly—neither more nor less—that the hiatus arising from want of connection remained unperceived. Not only is this hypothesis very bold; it wholly fails to meet the case. One must go further, and confess that it is impossible to point to the place where the missing leaf ought to have come in. Jn. introduces in place of the celebration something quite new, namely the foot-washing. This is not accidental; it is a manifestation of love, and the action takes place in the course of the meal. The meal thus takes the character of a love-feast, an *agapé*, and thereby becomes an excellent substitute for the supper; in the primitive church, it is well known, agapé and Eucharist went together. When the matter is viewed in this light there is no further occasion to seek for a place in the gospel where the account of the institution of the Eucharist may originally have stood.

(*f*) Thus we may take as lying at the foundation of the whole representation in the Fourth Gospel the idea which is thrown out by Paul only casually (1 Cor. 5 7): 'as our passover Christ was sacrificed,' τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός. Jn. carries it out in all its details. The more completely the precepts relating to the paschal lamb could be shown to have been fulfilled in Jesus, the more perfectly could it be held to have been demonstrated that the religion which rested on the passover as its foundation had been, by the will of God, set aside and its place taken by another.

It may perhaps be matter of surprise that the 'pneumatic' evangelist should attach weight to so literal a fulfilment of the Old Testament. Yet this is what he does also elsewhere. From Ps. 22 19 we find that Mk. 15 24 Mt. 27 35 Lk. 23 34 have taken only the one detail that the soldiers divided the raiment of Jesus amongst themselves by lot. It is only Jn. (19 23 *f.*) who not only cites the passage *verbatim*, but also finds in the two members of the verse two separate facts,—viz., the dividing of the upper garment, and the casting of lots over the seamless undergarment. So also it is he who brings Ps. 69 22 into connection with the fact stated by the synoptists (Mk. 15 36 Mt. 27 48 Lk. 23 36) that they gave Jesus to drink on the cross, and who expressly signalises the act as a fulfilment of a scripture (19 28). It is he too (2 17) who quotes from the same Psalm—the 69th—a citation not found in any of the synoptists, claiming that it found its fulfilment in Jesus, and gives four other citations, also not met with in the synoptists—in each case, moreover, with Mt.'s formula, 'that it might be fulfilled,' etc., ἵνα πληρωθῇ κ.τ.λ. (12 38 13 18 15 25 17 12), as in 19 24 28. It is he, too, who (without having been preceded by the synoptists) sees a type of Christ in the Serpent in the wilderness (3 14), a type of the Eucharist in the manna (6 31 *f.* 49 *f.* 58), as also indeed he finds a type in Siloah (9 7), translating it by ἀπεσταλμένος (cp GOSPELS, §§ 48 56).

The position of the question, then, is this. In the case of the synoptists no one has ever yet been able to suggest any reason why they should have wished to change the date of the death of Jesus. The utmost that has been said has been this—that the disciples had no longer retained a precise recollection of the day. It is difficult to understand how any one who adopts such a view can possibly attach any credence whatever to anything the synoptists say. This view, so damaging to the synoptists, is not at all the result, as such a view ought to be, of careful examination of their work or of appreciative consideration of the position of the authorities on whom they relied—on whose memories nothing surely could have imprinted itself so indelibly as the events of those last days. It owes its origin simply and solely to preference for the Fourth Gospel. Only in one case would it be compulsory to adopt it—if the synoptic date were proved to be impossible. But this it is far from being; the difficulties on which emphasis is laid are in part only seeming, and in part admit of explanation by a very excusable error of tradition (§ 22). In the Fourth Gospel on the other hand it can be shown, point by point, that the representation of the history had to be given exactly as we find it there if it was to serve to set forth the given ideas. The sole question,

24. The synoptic and Johannine date confronted.

therefore is whether we shall make up our minds to recognise that this is what the Fourth Gospel does. This decision we must, however, make, unless the synoptic representation is to remain an insoluble riddle. Nor is such a decision, in view of the entire character of the Fourth Gospel, in the least difficult. Elsewhere also it devotes itself to the representation of ideas (see § 20 *c*), and as regards the date of the crucifixion the coincidences with the precepts regarding the paschal lamb are so strong that on the assumption of literal historicity the position of Hengstenberg is inevitable — that God, or Jesus, with conscious intention, so ordered the events as to make them literally correspond to those precepts.

25. Character of discourses of Jesus.

The difference in character between the synoptic and the Johannine discourses of Jesus can hardly be overstated.

(*a*) As regards style — the synoptists give short sayings, the Fourth Gospel long expositions. The Fourth Gospel has no parables — not even in chaps. 15 or 10. In 10 6 the saying of Jesus is called, not a 'parable' (παραβολή), but a 'proverb' (παροιμία : see PARABLE). This is very appropriate. That Jesus should be a 'door' is an idea that it is impossible to visualise. By it is expressed — not by means of an image drawn from life, but by means of an artificial thought-allegory — the conception that Jesus, or, more strictly speaking, faith in Jesus, is the only means whereby one can enter into the Church and so into blessedness. In the Fourth Gospel the discourses of Jesus are distinguished so little from those of the Baptist or from those of the evangelist himself that commentators on such a passage, for example, as 3 27-36 are utterly at variance on the question as to where the one ends and the other begins.

(*b*) In the synoptics the main subject of the discourses of Jesus is furnished by the question how the kingdom of God can be entered; in Jn., on the other hand, the leading theme is Jesus himself — his person and his dignity, on which in the synoptists he has extraordinarily little to say. Accordingly, in Jn., the expression 'kingdom of God' occurs only twice (3 3 5). In Mt. 11 25-30, it is true, it has been thought by scholars that we have one passage which partakes of the character of the Johannine discourses of Jesus, and thus guarantees the authenticity of these throughout. This, however, considering its isolated character, the passage in question could not be held to do, even if it really were Johannine in character. Moreover, such a character does not in point of fact belong to it, as becomes apparent as soon as the most ancient reading is taken into account.

All the church-fathers and heretics of the second century, of whose reading of this passage we have any knowledge at all hear witness wholly or in part to the following text: 'All thing; have been delivered to me by my father, and no one hath known (ἔγνω) the father but the son, nor the son but the father and he to whomsoever the son will reveal it.' Even Irenæus, who severely censures the sect of the Marcosians on account of this reading, himself adopts it twice or (according to the Syriac translation) thrice: we must therefore suppose that so it stood written in his bible.

According to the text just quoted the knowledge of the Father by the Son is not something which is spoken of in the present tense only, so that according to the Johannine manner of thinking it could be regarded as having existed from all eternity; it is something that, as the aorist indicates, came into being at a definite moment of time, and before this particular moment did not as yet exist. This moment of time is of course to he sought for within the period of the earthly life of Jesus. Further, in the true text the first place is not assigned to the knowledge of the Son by the Father which again in the Johannine theology could be regarded as existing from all eternity; the first in order is this — that Jesus has recognised the Father in God, on which follows the second that the Father has recognised the Son. Of course, however, this does not mean here that mysterious interpenetrative knowledge which dogmatic theology ascribes to the first person of the Trinity in relation to the second, what it means is simply this: 'No one except God has hitherto known that I am the Messiah; you all have not as yet perceived it.' The same thing is very fitly expressed in the parallel text Lk. 10 22, in the words 'No one knoweth [better: 'hath known'] who the Son is,' that is, that I am the Son. And the final clause in Mt. and Lk. fits the same sense admirably, 'and he to whom the Son will reveal it.' What the Son will reveal is, according to the true reading, not at all the essence of the Father, nor yet so to say his own essence, which might again bring us back to the Johannine theology, but simply the knowledge that he is the Messiah.

Peter's confession and the answer of Jesus to it (Mt. 16 16 *f.* and 18) do not come into conflict with this as one might he apt to suppose. Altogether unassisted and out of his own inner consciousness merely, Peter could never have reached the intuition that Jesus was the Messiah; some hints he must have received from Jesus himself. Or, since Jesus forbade his disciples to make known the confession of Peter, it is open to us to suppose that he uttered the words of Mt. 11 27 somewhat later and in presence of another audience to which Peter did not belong.

Taken in this sense the passage not only does not contain the Johannine Christology; it is simply a purely synoptist representation of the rise of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus: in the course of his earthly development he arrived at the knowledge that God is not the austere god of the Old Testament law but a father such as is presented to us in the prophets (Is. 63 16), the psalms (Ps. G86 103 13), and other later writings (Ecclus. 23 1 4 Wisd. 2 16 11 10 14 3 etc.). In his relation to the divine Father Jesus feels himself to be a son of God, — in the first instance in the Old Testament ethical sense, inasmuch as be submits his will in all things to that of the Father. But in this respect he found himself so isolated in the circle of his contemporaries that he saw himself to be called to the responsibility of leadership. Thus it was that he felt himself to be the son κατ' ἐξοχήν.

As for the text itself, no codex, however old and good, can be a sufficient witness against the extra-canonical reading, since even the oldest of them is some two centuries younger than it. The attempt has been made to discredit the reading as being a falsification of the Gnostics, who denied that under the Old Testament men had possessed any true knowledge of God. This is certainly the view of Irenæus. That very fact, however, serves to make it intelligible how churchmen should have altered the extra-canonical reading, as seeming to favour heresy, into the canonical, — an alteration which seemed to them in point of fact to have its full warrant in the Johannine parallels and particularly in 10 15. That orthodox persons deliberately altered the NT text is expressly attested by one of the most orthodox of them all — Epiphanius (*Ancoratus*, 31) — who tells us that, dreading a too human view of Jesus, they deleted Lk. 22 43 *f.* The converse possibility is all the more improbable in proportion as the uncanonical text is seen to befit the Jesus of the synoptists better and in proportion as it does not deny to the men of the Old Testament all knowledge of God as the Father. For it was not in their case that Jesus was at all concerned to deny such knowledge; it was in the case of his contemporaries that he did so; this was sufficient foundation for the unique claim he made.

Finally, we must point out that the opening words of Mt. 11 27 = Lk. 10 22 'All things . . . father' must not be explained according to Mt. 28 18. There stands expressly the word 'power.' In our present context however, *power* would be quite unsuitable, for we are concerhed only with the *knowledge* that God is a father. The yoke of Jesus in Mt. 11 29 *f.* is contrasted with the yoke of the Law, the yoke of the Pharisees (cp Mt. 23 4 and the expression *jugum legis* in the Apoc. Bar. 41 3); they are the 'wise and prudent' from whom according to 11 25 God has hidden what he has through Jesus revealed to infants namely, the fatherhood of God. Now the doctrine of the Phkisees is called 'tradition of the elders' (παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων) in Mk. 7 4 8 13 etc., and in this we have explained how anything that Jesus taught was said to be delivered to him. In this way vanishes the last appearance of there being in our passage Johannine ideas.

(*c*) The occasion which leads to the prolongation of the discourses of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is often some misunderstanding of his words on the part of the listeners. Such misunderstanding may sometimes seem intelligible in some degree — as for example when Jesus speaks of himself as the bread which came down from heaven (6 41 *f.*), or says that he will give them his flesh to eat (6 52), that Abraham had already seen him (8 56 *f.*), and the like. But it would be difficult to understand how Jesus by such disquisitions can have won over to himself the lowly ones among the people or comforted the weary and heavy-laden. This he did by preaching (according to the synoptics) that the divine compassion is great and that all that God demands is a pure heart, not by disquisitions of the kind referred to or metaphysical questions in a language that cannot be called popular. In other places the misunderstandings of the hearers are hardly comprehensible (see, for example, 8 19 22 27). It may, in fact, be almost generalised as a prevailing law for the Fourth Gospel that at the begin-

ning of a discourse or a portion of a discourse Jesus utters a saying meant to be taken in a spiritual sense but expressed in an intentionally ambiguous form which is understood by the hearers in the physical and so made unintelligible (*e.g.* 219 33 4 10 13 *f.* 32 7 33 *f.* 11 23 [§ 56 *b*] 36 [§ 26 *d*] 12 32 147). But it is not easy to suppose that this was invariably what actually happened.

(*d*) Nor is there any help in the conjecture that the Fourth Gospel reproduces the style of the discourses of Jesus as they were during the later period of his ministry, the synoptics that of his earlier ones. Not only does such a theory directly conflict with the actual text, where in Jn. we have characteristic discourses which are assigned to his earliest period and in the synoptic discourses equally characteristic belonging to his latest; the discrepancy in character between the two kinds of discourse is so great, that a transition from the one to the other by the same speaker is psychologically unthinkable. A consciousness of approaching departure may very well have influenced the tone and character of the discourses of the last days; but if that had led to *a* sudden communication of things never treated before, surely this would at least have been made in the hearing of the disciples alone, and not, as we are expressly told, in the Fourth Gospel, in the presence of the people.

(*e*) One of the most striking phenomena of the discourses of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is that their themes, which are few to begin with, are repeated on the most diverse occasions to the point of tedium. The monotony is probably felt by every reader. It is carried so far that a discourse which had been left unfinished on a certain occasion is continued on another to other hearers. In 7 21-24 Jesus justifies himself at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the autumn, for having healed on the Sabbath-day the sick man at the pool of Bethesda (59 16) more than half a year before, at a feast before the preceding passover (51 64). In 10 26-28 at the Feast of Dedication he continues the discourse about his sheep which he had begun at another time in 10 1-16.

The attempt has been made to account for such phenomena by supposing that the order of the several parts of the gospel had been lost by copyists, cp for example Bacon, *JBL*, '94, pp. 64-76, Strayer and Turner, *JTh. Studies*, 1900, pp. 137-140 and 141 *f.* Such attempts have) a certain justification when they seek to remove the difficulty that after the charge (14 31) 'Arise, let us go hence' Jesus utters the discourses that fill chaps. 15-17; but even here the attempts at rearrangement are by no means convincing.

Much more hopeless are such attempts elsewhere. It has been suggested that 7 15-24 should follow directly on 5 47. But at 5 47 the subject of the Sabbath has been dropped for some time; at 5 17 *f.* it is passed from with a clearly marked transition (' not only . . . but also'). Immediately after 516, therefore, would be the place for the passage from chap. 7, and the passage must be not 7 15-24 but only 7 19-24 (so Bertling, *St. Kr.* '80, pp. 351-353). Even, however, if a better order were obtained at one place by transpositions we should furthermore have to inquire how the original order came to be disturbed. If one could venture to suppose that a leaf which *accidentally* began and ended exactly with *a* complete sentence became detached from the papyrus roll to which it had been fastened and was then inserted at a wrong place, the hypothesis becomes of course impossible as soon as it is found necessary to apply it to a series of cases. To obtain *a* better order, however, 7 33 *f.*, *e.g.*, should be contiguous with 13 33 36, or 7 37 *f.* with 4 10 14 *f.*, or 8 12 with 1246, or 8 15 with 12 47, whilst the intervening verses 8 13 *f.* are the continuation of 5 31 *f.* These are but a few examples out of an almost endless mass. There hardly remains anything, therefore, but to attribute this state of things to a peculiarity in the author.

The representation of Jesus throughout the entire Fourth Gospel is in harmony with the utterances of the Johannine Christ regarding his heavenly origin (§ 25 *b*).

26. The figure of Jesus, apart from the Prologue.

(*a*) His baptism is not related (1 32 *f.*), because it seemed to interfere with his dignity; so also his temptation in the wilderness, his prayer in Gethsemane, and his forsaken cry on the cross are passed over in silence. The place of the prayer in Gethsamane is taken by the words spoken at a much earlier period (12 27), which, however, cannot be worse misinterpreted than they are when punctuated (as in Ti., Treg., and WH): 'Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour.' To the Johannine Christ the thought of asking the father for deliverance from death could never have suggested itself; his surrender of his life is in fact voluntary (10 17 *f.*). The meaning accordingly is: 'Shall I, peradventure, say: Father, save me from this hour?' It is only thus that the sequel comes in with any appropriateness: 'Nay, for this cause came I unto this hour, therefore will I rather say: Father, glorify thy name'—by this, that thou sufferest me to go to my death. Cp 18 11. Some trace of a weakness in the crucified one might perhaps be discerned in the words (19 28) 'I thirst'; but it is expressly observed that they were spoken only that a scripture might be fulfilled. His prayer at the grave of Lazarus is uttered, according to 1142, only on the people's account. He shows his omniscience in 148 2 24 *f.* 4 16-18 664 71 11 11-14 13 11 18. Jesus addresses to Philip the question, 'Whence shall we buy bread?' (6 5 *f.*) only to try him.

(*b*) His enemies cannot lay hands on him; as often as they set about his arrest (73044 82059 10 39 12 36) or seek to slay him (5 16-18 7 25 32 10 31, cp 7 19 8 37 40), the attempt fails. The expression (ἐκρύβη) which we read in 859 1236 must, in view of his dignity, be interpreted not as meaning that 'he hid himself,' but as meaning that he became invisible in a supernatural way (cp GOSPELS, § 56, n. 1). At his arrest the entire Roman cohort falls to the ground (186). Of his own initiative he gives himself up. Judas has no need to betray him with a kiss, and stands doing nothing. Of his own initiative, by dipping the sop and giving it to Judas, Jesus had already brought it about that Satan entered into Judas, and had charged him to hasten his work (13 26 *f.*). Jesus acknowledged to Pilate that he was King, not of the Jews, but of something higher, of Truth (1837). There is no need for Simon of Cyrene to carry the cross; Jesus carries it himself (19 17).

(*c*) Immediately after his resurrection Jesus will not allow Mary Magdalene to touch him (2017) as she and the other Mary touch his feet in Mt. 289; he does not taste food as in Lk. 24 42 *f.* (nor yet in Jn: 21 12 *f.*); on the contrary, he enters by closed doors (201926) and imparts the Holy Spirit (20 22), which according to Acts 2 1-13 was first poured out on the disciples at Pentecost. According to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus can impart the Holy Spirit because he and the Holy Spirit are one, because his second coming is identical with the coming of the Holy Spirit (§ 28 *a*), and because that coming became possible at the moment of Jesus' glorification (739). In short, to the Christ of the Fourth Gospel the saying of the Epistle to the Hebrews (5 8), that he learned obedience through the things that he suffered, has become inapplicable; so even that of the Epistle to the Philippians (2 7), that he emptied himself of the divine; what applies to him is the saying of the Epistle to the Colossians (2 9), that in him dwelt the whole fulness of the Godhead bodily.

(*d*) Over against this we find hardly any really human traits, and such as do manifest themselves are intended in another sense than at first sight appears.

What is principally relied on as evidence of truly human characteristics in the Johannine Christ is his weeping at the grave of Lazarus (1135). From the very fact that the Jews are said to have seen in his tears a proof of his love for Lazarus, the reader might have been led to conjecture that this is not the author's view of them, for the Jews are always represented as understanding Jesus wrongly (§25 *c*). The evangelist has taken further measures, however, to obviate any such misunderstanding. Even in *v.* 33 he tells us that Jesus was moved with indignation in the spirit because he saw Mary weeping and the Jews also weeping with her. And again in *v.* 38 Jesus is moved with indignation in himself at the words of the Jews, 'Could this man not have caused that Lazarus also should not die!' It is clear, then that the tears of Jesus as well as his anger were caused by the unbelief in his miraculous power.

We turn now to some leading points in the doctrine of Jesus as recorded in Jn., with a view to comparison with the synoptists. Salvation is spoken of as destined for all men (1016 11 52, cp 316, κόσμος). In the

synoptists this doctrine is brought into the mouth of Jesus only by later insertions (see GOSPELS, §§ 109 *a* 6, 112 6): it was a doctrine to the defence of which even Paul had to devote the whole of his converted life. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, it presents itself as a matter settled from the very beginning without possibility of dispute. Lk. had made use of the Samaritans in order to set forth the relations of Jesus with non-Jews, or, in other words (according to his view), with heathen (GOSPELS, § 109 *a*). Jn. not only does the like (4 1-42; in particular, 35-38 are not confined to Samaria); he goes farther, representing Greeks also as coming to Jesus (12 20-32). He does not state what passed at the interview, or what the result was; the narrative closes abruptly. This makes it all the more clear that the interview is simply to show that Greeks had so come; the passage thus may be regarded as pointing to the spread of the gospel among the Gentiles. The counterpart of this is that Jesus hardly at all comes into conflict with his opponents as regards the validity of the Mosaic law in any of its precepts. To him it is simply the law of the Jews (§ 19). All this shows to what a height the Johannine Christ has risen above those difficulties with which Jesus, Paul, and even the synoptists had still to contend.

27. The universality of salvation.

28. Eschatology.

(*a*) The Christ of the synoptists speaks of the final judgment as one completed act to take place at the end of the present dispensation; the Johannine Christ says (5 24): 'he that believeth . . . shall not come into judgment.' He regards the judgment, where he really speaks of it, as a process which is accomplished in the course of man's life on earth; he takes the word 'judgment' (κρίσις) in an etymological sense, according to which on the one hand it means a decision by which the individual makes his choice whether he is to choose Christ or turn away from him (3 19); on the other hand, as a separation between men who do the one thing and those who do the other (12 31; cp substantially, 1 11 *f.*). Whilst the Christ of the synoptists, moreover, announces in a quite literal sense his coming again with the clouds of heaven, the Johannine Christ identifies his second advent with the coming of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of believers (14 16-18 16 7 13).

(*b*) It must not be overlooked that alongside of this the synoptic view also is met with. Passages like 14 3 21 16 16-22 are capable of being so taken; and so also as regards the final judgment the synoptic representation is quite clearly expressed in 5 28 *f.*; only we must not regard such expressions as the decisive ones, since they can easily be merely the prolonged effect of the older view. So much is certain—that the spiritualised representation which is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel could not have been possible to the Jesus of the synoptists. So strong is the contradiction between the two that many find the only possible solution in the supposition that 5 28 *f.* is a gloss.

A like supposition can hardly be upheld with regard to those passages in which the second advent is described in synoptical terms. Here the only supposition open to us is that the evangelist has retained the old form of expression but imported a new meaning into it, and made the new meaning secure against misunderstanding by means of a variety of expressions in which he formulates his own view. As regards the resurrection of believers, we find it expressed in 5 (25 ?) 28 *f.* 6 3.96 406 446 54 *b* quite in the manner with which the synoptists have made us familiar. These passages, however, admit with particular facility the assumption that they are glosses. In their present connection they are in part superfluous, in part even disturbing to the sense, being attached to sentences that state the very opposite.

(*c*) Alongside of the second advent passages just referred to we find a spiritualised view, according to which resurrection is an event happening within the earthly life of the believer: 'he who believeth . . . hath already passed (μεταβέβηκεν) from death unto life' (5 24, cp 8 51 *f.*). The same view is met with also among the gnostics. In 2 Tim. 2 18 we find quoted as theirs the declaration that the resurrection is past already. By this they meant that the resurrection in the case of each individual is when by the revelation of which Christ is the means he reaches the intuition that his soul is of divine origin and his body only a prison of the soul, and when, in accordance with this, as a true gnostic, he despises what is earthly and cherishes the consciousness of his divine origin. Jn. has given no specially gnostic expression to his view of the resurrection, and in the other leading passage (11 25 *f.*) it is possible that there is nothing more than an expression of the doctrine of immortality: 'He that believeth on me, even though he die, shall yet live, and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die.' Only, in this utterance, the last words have already ceased to speak of the physical death which is the subject of the first. That any one would escape physical death the author could not possibly affirm. Nor would the proposition have had any interest for him. What is important for him is the conception of a life which begins already upon this earth and is endowed with such intensity that it cannot be interrupted by the circumstance of physical death. If he calls it 'eternal' he means by that word not merely its endless duration, but before and above all, its inextinguishable power even already upon earth. Its opposite is a condition of the soul which is also to be met with in the course of man's earthly life—that of spiritual death. This idea of life is quite remote from the sphere of thought of the Christ of the synoptists.

(*d*) The fact, however, that in order to set forth the Johannine idea of 'eternal life' the raising of Lazarus from a physical death is used, was fitted to conceal the novelty of the idea from theologians. In reality the raising of Lazarus is quite unsuited to express that idea. It is not Lazarus's faith on Jesus which gives him the inward strength to continue his life in fellowship with God and with Christ; on the contrary, for his resurrection one of the most stupendous of physical miracles is required; and this resurrection itself does not guarantee to him an endless continuance of his physical life, but sooner or later he must, it need hardly be said, die a second time without the prospect of a new miraculous raising by Jesus.

29. Dualism.

(*a*) The Christ of the synoptists has already placed Satan over against God; but in the Fourth Gospel this antithesis is made much sharper (8 44). Moreover, it is of much wider reach. Over against one another stand the things that are above and the things that are beneath (τὰ ἄνω and τὰ κάτω, 8 23), in other words, heaven and earth (γῆ, 3 31, or κόσμος 8 23 15 19 17 14 16). The same antithesis is denoted by that between light and darkness (1 5 3 19 *f.*), truth and error (14 17), life and death (6 51 53 *f.*). It subsists accordingly, not between two personalities merely, God and the devil, but between two worlds, the higher and the lower, and in the passages quoted it is conceived as absolute. It recurs again in the world of men as the antithesis between 'spirit' (πνεῦμα) and 'flesh' (σάρξ) (3 6). The important point to notice is that in a number of passages one class of men is regarded as belonging to the one order and the other class to the other, and a transition from the one to the other seems to be excluded. Chap. 3 6 has no meaning unless it is intended to convey that what is born of the flesh is and remains flesh, and what is born of the spirit is and remains spirit. In accordance with this view are the extraordinarily blunt sentences (8 43), 'Ye cannot hear my word' (because ye are of your father the devil); cp 3 27 6 44 65 12 37-40, as also 17 9: 'I pray not for the world.' If only such sentences as these were met with in the Fourth Gospel, it would be a gnostic book; for they embody the separation of mankind into two classes—the 'pneumatic' on the one hand, and the 'psychic' on the other—and the declaration, made only by the gnostics, that none but the pneumatic can attain to salvation. This view, had it gained the upper hand, would have been the death of the Christian church, for it excludes from her pale all the intellectually weak.

(*b*) In the Fourth Gospel it is not carried out with thoroughness. Side by side with it stand such utterances of a universal Christianity as (1 9) 'the light lighteth every man'; cp 1 7 3 15 *f.* or 1 29 633 12 47 3 17, according to which Christ's mission is to save the world, or 12 31 16 11, according to which he is to overcome Satan. It is nevertheless not conceivable that such universal ideas embody the original meaning of the Johannine doctrine of Jesus. For in that case it would he incomprehensible how Jn. should ever have attributed the opposite ideas also to Jesus. The actual state of the case can only be stated thus: the gnostic ideas were the starting-point, but were not held with rigorous strictness, and were allowed to become toned down by association with those of universal Christianity. This is shown often even by the very language employed; for example, in 15 19: 'because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.' If the disciples are not of the world then they are, according to the antithesis strictly taken, already of God and need not, nay, cannot, be chosen out of the world. If, however, they can, then in the second clause we find no longer the mutually exclusive antithesis between God and the world, but rather the idea of the world as denoting the sum-total of all humanity, and that a certain number out of the total are capable of arriving at eternal blessedness.

30. Sayings of Jesus regarding himself.

Jesus attributes to himself pre-existence in the most comprehensive manner (8 58): 'before Abraham came into being, I am.' The present tense expresses not only a priority to Abraham in time, but also the further idea that the condition of Jesus was at no time any other than it is at the moment of speaking—in other words, that he has existed from all eternity. Cp further, 17 5. In view of these utterances it is quite pointless to interpret the oneness with the Father which Jesus attributes to himself in 10 30 38 14 9-11 12 45 17 21 and often, as purely a moral oneness, that is to say as depending merely on the determination of Jesus to submit his own will entirely to the will of God. A pre-existent person has clearly come into being in a way which fundamentally distinguishes him from all merely human persons. The expression 'only begotten' (μονογενής) applies to him in the quite literal sense that he is the only Son of God, begotten by God, while all men have been created not begotten by him, and therefore it must be understood in this meaning, not in the weakened sense in which a son of a human father can be called 'only begotten' if he has no brother. Herein, further, lies the reason why Jn. never, like Jesus (*e.g.*, Mt. 5 9 45) and Paul (*e.g.*, Rom. 8 14), speaks of men as 'sons' (υἱοί), but always only as 'children' (τέκνα) of God, as in Rom. 8 16 *f.*, and knows of but one 'son' (υἱός) of God. 'Only begotten' (μονογενής) thus expresses more than 'own son' (ἴδιος υἱός) by which expression Paul (Rom. 8 32) distinguishes Jesus from all men, or 'the son of his love' (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ) (Col. 1 13), and more than the simple 'son' (υἱός) which the Epistle to the Hebrews applies, both with and without the article, to Jesus (1 2 8 etc.); for the Epistle to the Hebrews does not hesitate also at the same time to speak of men as 'sons' (υἱοί) of God (2 10 12 5-8). Jesus' oneness with God would remain firmly established in virtue of his mode of origin, quite apart from the question whether he realises this oneness in the moral sphere by any determination of his own. It accords moreover with this view of his origin, that in his person upon earth God can be seen (12 45 14 9). According to 3 13 he is even continually at the same time in heaven and on earth. It is in harmony too with the same view that the only demand made upon men is that they should believe in Jesus, and that it is declared that no man can come to the father but through him (14 6). The Christ of the synoptists never speaks thus of his own person; on the contrary, we find him declaring that blasphemy against himself can be forgiven (Mt. 12 31 *f.* Lk. 12 10; see GOSPELS, § 116*d*).

31. The Logos.

In the Prologue Jesus is identified with the Logos. (*a*) Formerly scholars used to be generally agreed that the Logos-idea had been taken over from Philo. It was not until the Tübingen school had begun to draw from this inferences unfavourable to the genuineness of the gospel that this concession was withdrawn. It is correct to say that in the OT we can observe some tendencies to ascribe to a second divine being side by side with the supreme God a certain independent existence. To the category indicated belong the angel of Yahwi: (Gen. 16 7-13 22 11-18 31 11-13 Ex. 3 2-6 14 *f.* Judg. 6 11-23 Zech. 1 11-13 3 1 *f.*), the spirit of God (Gen. 1 2 Is. 11 2 Joel 3 1 [2 28]), the face of God (Ex. 33 14 Dt. 4 37), the name of God (Ex. 23 21 Nu. 6 27 Ps. 54 3 Prov. 18 10 Is. 30 27), the glory (כבוד) of Yahwi: (Ex. 24 16 *f.* 1 K. 8 11), and the wisdom of God (Job 28 12-28; Prov. 8 22-31; Bar. 3 28-38; Ecclus. 1 1-10 24 1-12; Wisd. 7 22-8 5 9 4 9); also (but least of all) the very word of God (Gen. 1 3 6 etc., Ps. 33 6 Wisd. 18 15 *f.*). In the Targums the 'Word of God,' in particular (*memᵉra*), is often substituted where the original has Yahwè. All this, however, is very far indeed from sufficing really to explain the Logos-idea of the Fourth Gospel. Its foundation lies in the idea that God is unknown and must remain unknown if he is not revealed. The OT nowhere goes so far. The idea rests rather upon the dualism between God and matter which we find in Plato. The Stoics added to this the idea that the Logos, as having proceeded from God, while at the same time not in the fullest sense of the word a divine being, has for its function to exercise upon the world that operation of God which, strictly speaking, was impossible to God as the absolute good over against the world as the absolute evil. Philo appropriated this Stoical idea, and brought it into connection with some ideas of the OT. Thereby he gave it a development which, as an intermediate stage, prepared the way directly for the Fourth Gospel.

(*b*) If Philo had not existed, we should have been compelled to trace the Logos-idea of Jn. to the other sources we have named. In that case, however, we should have been constrained to ascribe to the evangelist a very large measure of independence. As, however, Philo was some twenty-five years older than Jesus, and his writings were already known to the author of Hebrews, if not even to Paul,[1] it is nothing less than wilful blindness to facts to deny the derivation of the Johannine Logos-idea from Philo, and to refuse to admit anything save an OT origin. Apart from this, the object in view—to avoid the necessity of deriving an idea of such importance in the NT from an extra-canonical source—is attained only if the OT Apocrypha are shut out as well as Philo; but these are precisely the writings that contain far more important and exact anticipations of the Logos-idea than any in the OT.

(*c*) A more serious consideration is demanded by the fact that in the Fourth Gospel the view of the universe from which the Logos-idea proceeds is not quite consistently carried out. According to that view God himself should never at all come into relations with the world without mediation of the Logos. Instead of this, we read for example in 3 16 that he loves the world; cp 6 40 16 27 17 6. This position, however, is nothing more than a mitigation of strict philosophical dualism such as is inevitable in thought that is based at one and the same time on the OT and on Christianity; but, had it been the starting-point, it would be impossible to see how the author could ever have come to think of a Logos as needful in order to mediate between God and the world.

(*d*) It is quite a mistake to argue that the Fourth Gospel cannot have drawn from Philo because it represents the Logos as having been made flesh (1 14). It is indeed true that the Philonic Logos can never be made flesh;

[1] Cp Vollmer, *Die alttestamentl. Citate bei Paulus*, 1895, pp. 83-98.

it is superfluous to ask whether it he a person at all, for it belongs to the essence of the Logos that at one and the same time as a power working on the world it possesses a distinct existence over against God and yet in accordance with its original meaning it remains an impersonal idea of God. When, however, the Logos-idea came to be brought into connection with Christianity it was inevitable that Jesus should be identified with the Logos; for in Christianity Jesus has the position of a revealer of God, the position which in Philo is assigned to the Logos. In this a quite fundamental modification of the Logos-idea is involved. But from this fact the proper conclusion is, not that the earlier form does not lie at the foundation of the later, but rather that there is all the less reason why we should not recognise the fact in proportion as the modification which Christianity has wrought upon the Logos-idea has been profound.

32. Purpose of prologue. One might suppose it .to be self-evident that the evangelist in his prologue had the intention of propounding the fundamental thoughts which he was about to develop in the subsequent course of his gospel. The view of Harnack (*Ztschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1892, pp. 189-231)—that the prologue is not the expression of the evangelist's own view hut is designed merely to produce a favourable prepossession on behalf of the hook in the niindsofeducated readers—is in itself remarkable enough. But, apart from this, Harnack, in working it out; has to interpret the Gospel itself, apart from the prologue, in a way which does not correspond with the facts. Thus, he maintains that Jesus is presented in the gospel as mainly ideally, not really pre-existent ; that in so far as he is presented as really pre-existent, it is on the ground not of his being son of God but of his being Messiah ; that Jesus is son of God only in the ethical, not in the metaphysical sense ; the figure of Jesus presented is an expresslyhuman one and shows at no point divine features inconsistent with this character (see, as against this, §§ 26 30). Further, he draws from the facts unsound conclusions.

Harnack rightly holds that where Jesus is represented as son of God he is not only one with God, but also subordinated to him (*e.g.*, 14 28), hut he infers from this that his sonship is to he understood in the ethical, not the metaphysical sense. To this it must he replied that even a son of God who from all eternity has been begotten in a supernatural wayremainsfrom the very nature of the case subordinate to the father. Precisely this generation before all time is held by Harnack it is true to he excluded by reason of the fact that it is the earthly Christ'who is called 'only begotten' (μονογενής) (1 14 18 3 16 18). It isself-evident, however, that this-title could not be withheld from the earthly Christ if it had belonged to him already before his earthly existence ; for the earthly Christ shows in the Fourth Gospel the same attributes of Godhead as we should ascribe to him in his pre-existent state (see § 26).

Nor is it any more to the point to say that the prologue, for its part, does not intend to describe theessence of Jesus in his pre-existence, because at its conclusion it makes the transition to something lower, namely, to the historical person of the 'only begotten' (μονογενής). It is only on the assumption of Harnack alluded to above that 'only begotten' (μονογενής) is something lower than 'word' (λόγος).[1] Lastly, it is in appearance merely that 1 14 'the Logos was made flesh' seems to have little importance for,the author since the thought never recurs, and that the prologue thus stands apart and aloof from the proper contents of the gospel itself. The entire gospel is nothing else but an elaboration of the thought, 'we saw his glory.' Thus the incarnation of the Logos must be one of its weightiest thoughts if we are not to deny the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ to the gospel altogether.

The only fact worth noting is that pointed ont by Harnack that apart from the prologue the word *logos* occurs in its quite usual sense, eight times of the speech of other speakers, nine times of an individual utterance of Jesus, eleven times of his preaching as a whole, in addition to the seven times where it is used in the expression 'word of God' (λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ) meaning the tidings of salvation. This also, however, admits of explanation. As soon as the narrative passes over from the pre-existent to the earthly life of Jesus the place of the title *logos* must be taken hy those designations (Jesus, ὁ Ἰησοῦς, and the like) which are fitted to express his human manifestation. In this part of the book, therefore, it can cause hut little confusion if the word *logos* is used in its ordinary meaning. We too are in the habit of continually using one and the same word, now in its ordinary and now in its technical sense, as soon as we are sure we shall be understood. In the Fourth Gospel no passage can be pointed to where uncertainty as to the sense in which *logos* is used is possible ; everywhere it is made clear by some addition such as 'this' word, 'my' word, 'his' word, or the like.

33. Divisions into triads. The perception that the prologue is deliberately intended as a preparation for the entire contents of the gospel has reached its ultimate logical result in the proposition that the entire gospel is a conception at the root of which lies neither history nor even tradition of another kind, hut solely the ideas of the prologue. Upon this proposition rests the brilliant analysis of the gospel by Baur, with which, significantly enough, theologians so strictly dogmatic as Luthardt and Hengstenberg find themselves in accord—these two, however, we must hasten to add, in the helief that the artificial arrangement which is rendered necessary by the carrying out of that central thought is at the same time in accordance with history,—God, or Christ, having so ordered the history that it should subserve the expression of those ideas. In setting forth these ideas the division into triads is used as a principal means. It manifests itself partly in single sentences such as 1 1 or 1 20 (GOSPELS, § 49), partly in the manner in which the various parts of the book are grouped as a whole. Alreadv. however, it has come to be very generally

[1] Still less would this he the case if in 1 18 'an only begotten God' (μονογενὴς θεός) were to be read, as in fact Harnack himself would read. The external testimony is indecisive as between this reading and 'the only begotten son' (ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός). On philological grounds the first reading would require at least to have the article prefixed, as indeed it has in extracts from Theodotus in Clem. Al. p. 968 in a statement about the Valentinians in ℵc and in the minuscule codex 33, further in many (though not in all) places in Clem. Al. (p. 695, ed. Potter), Orig. (4 89 438, ed. de la Rue), Dionys. Alex. (*qu* 10 *contra* Paul. *Samosat.* in *Bibliothecæ Bignianæ auctarium*, ed. Fronto Ducæus, I, Paris, 1624, p. 301), Didymus (*de trinit.* 1 26 25), Epiphan. (pp. 612 817 *f.* ed. Petav.), Gregor. Nyss. (*de trinit.*, end, ed. Morell, Paris, 1618, 2447, and in Migne's *Patrol. græca*, vol. 44. pp. 336 *a* 1045 *d*, vol. 45, pp. 469 *d* 493 *a* 540 *c* 5816 729 *d* 772 *c* 801 *a c* 841 *d*), Basil (*de spir. sancto*, § 15, p. 12, ed. Garner.), Cyril. Alex. (*comm.* in *Joh.*, pp. 104 *c* 107 *b*, ed. Aubert, Paris, 1638, cpp. 103 *c* in Pusey'sed.; *thesaur.* p. 137 6; dial. *quod unus*, p. 768 *e* ; adv. *Nestorium*, p. 90 *d*, b μονογενὴς θεὸς λόγος ; and in *Const. apost.* iii. 17 vii. 43 1 (in the latter place twice). Hort (*Two D.ss.*, '76)bas laid no weight upon this question ; nor yet has Harnack. It is nevertheless a very important one. Hort (p. 18) renders : 'An only-begotten who is God, even He who,' etc. ; Harnack (*Theol. Lt.-Ztg.*, '76, p. 545) has 'einen Gott hat Niemand je gesehen ; ein eingeborner Gott . . . hat Kunde gebracht.' It is not permissible, however, to supply the indefinite article to θεόν here (a god), if it is remembered how often elsewhere the word, in spite of the absence of the definite article, denotes the One God. It would in the present case he equivalent to denying altogether the author's possession of the Christian belief in God, if we held that he admitted even in thought the possibility of there being other gods, and that he placed them on a level with the true God with reference to their invisibility. But even apart from this, from a linguistic point of view also, the antithesis between θεός without qualification and μονογενὴς θεός is quite inappropriate and unintelligible. Instead of the θεός without qualification some more precise designation was needed. Such designation, however, is not met with anywhere in the Johannine writings.

The final determination lies in theconsideration that the thought of 'an only begotten God' (μονογενὴς θεός) is not Johannine, and that whether with or without the article. In 1 Jn. 5 20 we find 'the true God,' ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεός, as a designation of God (not of Christ ; the meaning is : being in his son Jesus Christ, we are in the True ; this [last] is the true God, etc.). To designate God, however, in contradistinction to this designation of Christ, 'the true God' (ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεός, 1 Jn. 5 20) would not he at all a good antithesis. Jn. 20 28 ought not to be referred to in this connection, for the reason that when Thomas there addresses Jesus with the possessive pronoun as '*My* Lord and *my* God' the expression says much less than it would without the pronoun. Thus the highest utterance regarding Jesus to which the Fourth Gospel anywhere rises is in 1 1c 'the word was God' (θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος). But this does not mean more than that the Logos was of divine essence; the passage, therefore, gives no warrant for designating Jesus as 'only begotten God' (μονογενὴς θεός), by which designation he would become a 'second God' (δεύτερος θεός) in the sense of the Alexandrian churchifathers.

acknowledged that it is impossible to explain in this way the arrangement of the entire gospel.

It may perhaps he enough to point out that **chaps.** 2-6 are arranged according to the following scheme :—chap. 2, two narratives (the miracle at Cana and the cleansing of the temple) ; 3 1-4 42, discourses of Jesus which serve to interpret these narratives; 4 43-5 16, two miracles of healing ; 5 17-47, a discourse of Jesus on the healing of the Jewish people ; 6 1-21, the feeding of the five thousand and the walking upon the water (on the connection see § 20 c) ; 6 22-71, the disconrse relative to this on Jesus as the bread of life. In 7 28-11 44 the arrangement is in two respects the opposite of this ; we have always one narrative, not two, and the interpretative discourse precedes instead of following. Thus 8 12-59 treats of Jesus as the light of the world, in chap. 9 the narrative of the healing of the man born blind follows ; 10 22-42 treats of Jesus as the life of the world (cp *v.* 28) ; in 11 1-44 the raising of Lazarus follows. If we could regard as well-founded Hausrath's conjecture (*NTliche Zeitgesch.* iii. 603 *f.* 2nd ed. iv. 424), that in the place where we now find the story of the woman taken in adultery there originally stood a miraculous narrative, similar to those in chaps. 9 and 11, to which 7 28-52 was the introductory interpretation, then we should have in chaps. 7-11 a triad of narratives associated with interpretative discourses. We cannot, however, he sure of this.

Moreover, it has to be pointed out that chaps. 17 1-27 10 1-21 do not admit of being taken up into this scheme, and that a similar method of grouping is still less applicable to the other parts of the gospel. The evangelist, therefore, has at many points heen working with material laid to his hand, and has utilised it to give expression to his ideas, but has not heen purely creative.

A perception of this fact leads to the question how far the material which lay before the evangelist goes back to authentic tradition. If one cannot claim this for the whole of the material (see §§ 35 37), the next ex-Dedienr is to search for details that are trustworthy.

34. Credibility of certain details.

(*a*) Sayings of Jesus such as those in 7 17 or 13 17 would cause no difficulty if we read them in the synoptic gospels. It does not necessarily follow from this, however, that they are authentic. They might also conceivably be summings up, by which the evangelist attributes to Jesus that which in reality is for himself the product of his own reflection absorbed in the contemplation of Jesus. In other passages an explanation of this kind is at once suggested by the Johannine phraseology. The Jesus of the synoptists, instead of 14 15 21 23 15 10, would be much more likely to have said ' if ye love me, keep Gods commandments,' or perhaps even ' if ye love the father, keep his commandments.' It might be regarded as a real word of Jesus when he is made to say (5 30) that he can do nothing of himself or (3 35 5 20) that he has nothing save what the father has first given or shown him. This, however, can equally well be merely an expression for the metaphysical oneness between God and the Logos, and indeed the expression 'show' points directly to this. It is very conceivable that in actual fact there arrived in the life of Jesus such a moment as that described in chap. 8, when he became convinced that Jerusalem had no response to make to his demand for faith. This same thought, however, is equally inevitable if the history of Jesus be conceived of purely in accordance with Johannine ideas, for it simply carries out what is said in 1 11, and Jerusalem is of course the central point at which it had to be decided whether Jesus was to find faith or not.

(*b*) The supposition that precise statements about some particular event having occurred or some particular discourse having been pronounced on a definite day (1 29 35 43 2 1 4 40 43 6 22 7 14 37 12 12) or even at a definite hour (1 39 4 6) could only have come from an eye-witness is very tempting. Many scholars, therefore, give precedence to such passages in their consideration, and then propose to extend to the whole gospel the conclusion based upon these—that it is an eye-witness who is speaking throughout. After what has heen said in preceding sections this is, however, indefensible. It has also to be observed, further, that the evangelist himself will sometimes be found in one place to contradict his own quite precise statements. According to 7 27 the people know whence Jesus is, according to 9 29 they do not. In 5 31 Jesus says that if he bear witness of himself his witness is not true ; in 8 14 he says the opposite. In 3 26 we read that all the people flocked to Jesus, in 3 32 that no one received his testimony. According to 3 22 26 4 1 Jesus baptizes; according to 4 2 only his disciples do so. In the instances just cited we learn something of the evangelist's method of composition. What would we expect of an ordinary author who wished to avoid saying anything out of place if, when he came to write (say) 4 2, he found that in 3 22 26 he had erroneously stated that Jesus himself had baptized? Unquestionably he would go back upon these passages and alter them. This is not what Jn. does. Thus he does not attach importance to the literal exactness of what he says. In order to be able to contrast Jesus and John and compare the waxing influence of the one with the waning influence of the other he thought it fitting in 3 22-26 to represent both as baptizing.

(c) In 1 29 35 *f.* the mention of a particular day is coupled with the statement that the Baptist declared Jesus to be the Lamb of God that bears the sin of the world, in 1 35-42 it is coupled further with the three other statements that Andrew and another unnamed person had transferred themselves from the discipleship of John to become disciples of Jesus, that Simon was led by Andrew to Jesus, and that he forthwith received from Jesus the name of Peter. All four statements are irreconcilable with what we read in the synoptists (J 2, Mk. 1 16-20). It cannot, therefore, be said to be too bold a conjecture if we suppose that these precise statements of day and hour were for the evangelist only a mode of representation, adopted in order to break up a narrative or discourse into connected parts, the individual parts being attached to different points of time (so, especially, 1 29 35 43 2 1 6 22 12 12 13 9). The sixth hour in 4 6 has perhaps a symbolical meaning (GOSPELS, § 54 y). The statement that at the time of the feeding of the five thousand the passover was at hand (6 4) was necessary in order to call attention to the fact that the interpretation of the eucharist was to be connected with this narrative. The view, therefore, that this verse is a gloss is just as mistaken as the other view that it contains an authentic statement of historical fact.

(*d*) How little importance the evangelist attaches to details of the sort is shown for example also in such a matter as this, that in 6 15 Jesus again goes up into the mountain which he has not left since 6 3 (the first verse corresponds to the beginning of Mt.'s second narrative of feeding, the second to the close of his first [15 29 14 23 = Mk. 6 46]), or this, that at the close of a discourse which, according to 6 24 *f.*, was begun by the seashore (perhaps in Capernaum) and not interrupted, we are told in 6 59 that it was spoken in the synagogue at Capernaum.

Even if such detailed statements as we have had under consideration fail us on examination. it is vet held to be possible to discover true historical data in other portions, which, as compared with the synoptists, are either new or (even) deliberately at variance with the synoptical account.

35. 'Johannine' tradition.

(*a*) The attempt to do so may well be made, for the entire contents of the gospel do not admit of being derived from ideas alone. In that case, however, we must be specially on our guard against the error of supposing that a tradition, because different from that of the synoptists, is *eo ipso* historical. The true use of a recourse to Johannine tradition lies rather in this, that it may enable us to see how in the course of oral transmission the mistaken statements found in the Fourth Gospel could have arisen.

(*b*) Should, for example—to take the most pregnant instance—the evangelist have freely invented the whole narrative of the raising of Lazarus in order to give expression to his idea of the life-giving power of Jesus, he is by no means open indeed to the charge of unveracity in the moral sense of the expression (for his right to use an allegorical method of expressing his thoughts cannot be gainsaid when we remember the character of

his writing), but certainly his procedure in this direction cannot but seem very bold. The difficulties which this view might suggest are almost completely obviated if we suppose that the story of Lazarus had taken shape in successive stages so that the evangelist himself had only a few touches left to add.

Bruno Bauer long ago perceived that the story is a development of the parable of Lazarus in Lk. 16 19-31. Following this clue we can imagine that some preacher, after relating that parable, in order to open it up to his hearers, may have added the remark: 'This Lazarus actually did rise from the dead' (cp GOSPELS, § 109 *f*). A hearer of this sermon—so let us further suppose—gave the notes of it in a shorter form to a third person, who gathered from it as a statement of historical fact that Lazarus had risen. Cp LAZARUS. And so in further transmission piece after piece might be added to the narrative, until at last but little remained for the evangelist to do. Cp GOSPELS, § 59.

(*c*) In somewhat similar fashion we picture to ourselves the rise of the story of the sick man of Bethesda. Some preacher or other likened the Jewish people to a man who had been sick for thirty-eight years (the duration of the wandering in the wilderness, Dt. 2 14). The house in which he lay, he might add had five 'porches'—the five books of Moses—but healing, never; theless, he was not able to find. As often as the water which possessed the healing virtue began to move, there was no one by to help him to go down to it, till Jesus came and asked : 'Wilt thou be made whole?'

(*d*) If, further, a preacher was discoursing upon a healing of the blind recorded in the synoptists, and interpreted the blind as representing the Jewish nation, it could easily occur to him to say : this blind man was blind from his birth. In this very manner the discourse of Stephen in Acts7 seeks to show that the Jewish nation from the first had misknown the will of God. A slightly inattentive hearer might readily infer from such a mode of speaking that Jesus had on some occasion literally healed a man born blind. Now, in Mk. 8 23-25 we have a narrative which tells us how a blind man was made to see by Jesus not all at once, but gradually. In expounding this, a preacher might easily say : those who are spiritually blind come only gradually to a recognition of Jesus their healer. This thought finds its expression in Jn. 9 17 31-33 38 in this form : he who has been made whole in the first instance takes Jesus merely for a prophet and a good man sent from God, and only in the end does he reach the intuition that be is the Son of Man. A further point of connection with the narrative of Mk. 8 23-25 is to be found in the fact that in Jn. 9 6 Jesus makes use of saliva. All that is new is found in the use made of the saliva, and in the washing in the pool of Siloam.

(*e*) The synoptics supply us with no parallel that can be immediately taken as foundation for the narrative of the marriage at Cana. If, however, the view set forth under GOSPELS (§ 142) be upheld, that synoptical miracles can sometimes have originated in parables misunderstood, the same can, without any difficulty whatever, be also maintained here. The time of the Messiah's coming resembles a wedding (Mk. 2 19 Jn. 3 29 Rev. 19 7). At such a time there is no fasting; the Messiah brings wine instead of water (Mk. 14 25). By the wine was understood the new religion which he substituted for the old. Already in Mk. 2 22 we find it likened to new wine. Here, again, Philo (*Leg. Alleg.* 3 26 ; ed. Mangey, 1 103) presents himself most appropriately. The Logos which appears under the form of Melchizedek brings wine instead of water, and gives drink to souls so that a divine intoxication befalls them. By the mother of Jesus, on this interpretation, we may understand (in accordance with Rev. 12 1-5) the community of the people of God. It recognises that in the old religion it finds no wine; that is to say, that it fails in spiritual power, and, if unable itself to remedy matters, it knows at least thus much, that in such a situation it must turn to Jesus.

(*f*) Let us take one other example—that of the foot-washing. In Lk. 22 26 *f.* we read that Jesus immediately after the last supper said to his disciples, 'I am among you as he that serves.' This a preacher could very easily amplify to some such effect as this : "Yes, Jesus did actually wait upon his disciples; instead of remaining at table as would have befitted his exalted dignity he arose and washed their feet.' The expression in such a case was meant figuratively; but the figure was particularly apt because the washing of the feet is the lowliest service. This made it all the more fitted to edify, and made it all the more easy to believe as a literal fact when someone thought he was to understand it so.

(g) In other cases the author must be assigned a larger share in the construction of his narratives (cp, *e.g.*, § 20 *c*, end). It must not be forgotten, however, that even in the cases discussed in the preceding paragraphs the author of the gospel, even when a narrative of the kind had reached him in almost a finished state, always gave it its last touches and adapted it so as to subserve the expression of his thought. It will never be possible to learn with absolute certainty how far he treated materials presented to him with freedom, and how far he himself framed narratives or portions of narratives in, order to give his thoughts pictorial expression. The interpretation attempted above must, however, in any case, be welcomed, if the desire is felt to avoid imputing to the author any larger degree of arbitrariness in free invention than is absolutely necessary. Do what we will it will never be possible to say these narratives were to the author not vehicles for conveying spiritual truth but unadulterated histories ; indeed, how far he himself may have regarded them as narratives of actual occurrences remains one of the most difficult of questions, in fact, strictly speaking, insoluble.

(*h*) There remain some Johannine narratives for which we cannot indicate any basis in the synoptics. The Nathanael incident (1 45-51), that of Nicodemus (3 1-21), of the Samaritan woman (4 1-42), of the Greeks at the feast (12 20 *f.*), of the beloved disciple and Jesus' mother at the cross (19 26 *f.*), of the beloved disciple and Peter at the grave (20 2-10), not to mention less important points, are by many regarded as historical.

After so many things peculiar to the Fourth Gospel have been found to be untrustworthy, however, one should really hesitate to maintain the narratives just enumerated, all the more when they fall in with a tendency that could easily have led to their rise. Now the story about the Greeks not only contains no concrete touches, but also serves a purpose that can be recognised with great clearness. Such a purpose can be recognised also in the story of the Samaritan woman in as far as the Samaritans represent the Gentiles (§ 27). In concreteness, on the other hand, the story of the Samaritan woman is as far from being lacking as, for example, that of the raising of Lazarus. It would be a great mistake, however, to see in that a guarantee of historicity. A painter who sets himself to give expression to an idea by depicting an event is not blamed but praised when his lively imagination lays on the colours as strongly as possible. A writer who does the same will be praised in like manner ; but his narrative will not on that account be regarded as historical. Nicodemus is a representative of a very large class of men. They are interested in Jesus ; but their belief in him rests mainly on his wonderful works; for the deeper things he has to offer they have very little understanding. The preference given to the beloved disciple over Peter at the grave corresponds exactly with the tendency that finds further expression in 21 15-23 (§ 40). Jesus' committing to him the care of his mother serves the same purpose. The attempt to identify Nathanael with one of the twelve disciples is hardly likely to succeed. It has even been thought to find in him a veiled representation of the apostle Paul.[1] In that case proof that he is not historical would be needless. However that may be (see NATHANAEL), it is further to be considered that the story of Nathanael is connected with an account of the call of the first disciples which cannot be harmonised with that of the synoptists (§ 34 *c*); and for all the narratives mentioned above it is necessary to bear in mind the significance of the silence of the synoptists. That silence will occupy our attention in a two-fold respect (§§ 36-37).

The evangelist's acquaintance with the synoptists, here presupposed, needs no proof here. Illustrative instances are given in § 34 *a*, *d*, and in abundance in GOSPELS, §§ 20, 32, 36, 44.[2] It is also conceded on all hands. even by the most conservative theologians, who further declare that John's intention was to supplement the synoptists. It will be enough here to say in a single word how impossible it is to take the matter the other way. A story like that of the sick man at Bethesda, or that of the man born blind, or that of Lazarus, going so far beyond the synoptists in respect of the greatness of the miracle involved, those writers could by no possibility have passed over; just as little could they have passed over such an incident as that of the foot-washing, the theme of which is actually touched on in Lk. 22 27 (§ 35 [*f*]), or the scene at the cross between the'

36. Dependence on the synoptists.

[1] The arguments that can be adduced in support of this are the following : Like Nathanael Paul refuses to believe in Jesus till he is convinced miraculously. Paul was an Israelite in the fullest sense (Gal. 1 13 *f.*). He disclaims guile, for example, in 2 Cor. 12 16-18 and in 1 Thess. 2 3 even with the word δόλος itself. He was marked out to be an apostle from the mother's womb (Gal. 1 15). The name Nathanael (='God has given') is explained as the counterpart of Saul (='asked').

[2] *See*, further, especially, Holtzmann, *Ztschr. f. miss. Theol.*, '69, pp. 62-85, 155-178, 446-456 ; Weizsäcker, *Untersuch. über die Evang. Gesch.*, '64, pp. 278-284 ; Thoma, *Genesis des Joh.-Evang.*, '82 ; Jacobsen. *Untersuch. über das Joh.-Evang.*, '84 ; Wernle, *Synoptische Frage*, '99, pp. 234-248 and 253-256.

beloved disciple and the mother of Jesus, or that at the grave between the beloved disciple and Peter and between Jesus and Mary Magdalene. That Jesus, too, from the very outset had been recognised as the Messiah would have been exactly what, in their veneration for Jesus, they would have wished to be able to say. The first step in this direction is, in fact, taken by Mt. himself, when he makes Jesus appear as the Messiah even before the confession of Peter (GOSPELS, § 145 *h*).

The considerations just mentioned, however, carry us still further.

37. Comparison with synoptics summed up.

(a) We shall be safe in asserting not only that the synoptists cannot have been acquainted with the Fourth Gospel, but also that they were not aware of the existence of other sources, written or oral, containing all these divergences from their own account which are exhibited in this gospel.

In the case of the Lazarus-narrative, to confine ourselves here to a single instance, among the explanations of the silence of the synoptists which have been boldly offered are the following: that among the multitude of the other raisings from the dead they could easily have forgotten this one, or that they were not acute enough to perceive its outstanding importance in its bearing upon the life of Jesus, that they felt themselves wanting in the delicacy and keenness of feeling that were required for the right telling of it or that they felt themselves insufficiently informed on the details, that they kept silence out of regard to the still surviving relatives of Lazarus, that, as having happened before the arrival of the Galilaean pilgrims to the feast, or as having already become in Jerusalem so well known as no longer to be talked about, they had never heard of it, that their plan of writing, apart from the events of the week of the crucifixion, allowed them to include only Galilaean incidents, or even that in view of a later gospel to be written by another evangelist (John) they confined themselves to these. A glance at this series of explanations is sufficient to show how hopeless is the task of those who seek to establish the superiority of the Johannine gospel to those of the synoptists in historical accuracy.

(6) In all points, then, which in substance are common to all the four gospels, the synoptists everywhere excel in simplicity, naturalness, intelligibility. Although one might be tempted to give the preference to the fourth as regards the scene of the activity of Jesus, one is precluded from doing so as soon as it is perceived how by the action of Jesus in Jerusalem the conflict with the Jewish authorities is brought on at a much earlier period than is historically conceivable. Although, as regards the miracle-narratives, one might say on the authority of 20 30 *f.* that Jn. seeks only to supplement those given by the synoptists, it must still be conceded that the relations of Jesus with the demoniacally-possessed—relations nowhere touched on in Jn.—are yet, historically, the best-attested of all, and enable us best to conceive how actual wonders of healing sick persons might be wrought by Jesus. Beyond all doubt, the character in which the Johannine miracles are brought forward—as signs (§ 20 *d*)—would render quite impossible, if the miracles were historical, the rise of a tradition that Jesus had expressly refused to work any signs, and that he had forbidden the miracles he actually wrought to be made known (GOSPELS, §§ 140 *a*, 141, 133 *d*). Had Jesus really possessed that exalted consciousness of his pre-existence and divine dignity which is attributed to him in the Fourth Gospel, the declaration that blasphemy against him was capable of forgiveness (Mt. 12 31 *f.* Lk. 12 10) could never have been attributed to him.

(c) As regards Jesus' discourses, nothing is more natural than that their popular character, often taking concrete shape in the form of parables, should have won for him the love of the people; on the other hand, the constant repetition of metaphysical propositions concerning his own person, of imperious demands for the faith of his hearers could never have done so, and in point of fact, according to the Fourth Gospel, they actually had the opposite effect, so that one is really at a loss to understand how, in spite of it all, so many should have turned to him—which nevertheless is certainly historically true, as the triumphal entry into Jerusalem proves. If Jesus had actually proclaimed the universality of salvation as we find it in Jn. 3 16 *f.* 10 16, it would be an insoluble mystery how any could be regarded as disciples of his who affirmed they had been forbidden by Jesus to go in the way of the Gentiles or enter a city of the Samaritans (Mt. 10 5), and who persisted in raising such formidable opposition to the mission of Paul to the Gentiles. If Jesus expressed himself in such highly spiritualised terms as we have seen (§ 28 *a c*) regarding the final judgment, his own second coming, and the resurrection of his followers, we should be irresistibly forced to treat as grave errors those reports by the synoptists according to which he predicted all these things in their literal sense. So far as the date of the crucifixion is concerned, Jn. by reason of the inherent probability of his date seems to come into consideration as a witness of equal or even higher authority than the synoptists; yet even here the date he gives is explicable only as a deliberate divergence from that of the synoptists, not conversely.

But we have said enough and more than enough. A book which begins by declaring Jesus to be the *logos* of God and ends by representing a cohort of Roman soldiers as falling to the ground at the majesty of his appearance (18 6), and by representing 100 pounds of ointment as having been used at his embalming (19 39), ought by these facts alone to be spared such a misunderstanding of its true character, as would be implied in supposing that it meant to be a historical work.

38. Geographical and historical correctness.

If Ænon, Salim (3 23), Sychar (4 5), Bethesda (5 2), Bethany beyond Jordan (1 28), etc., have never yet been satisfactorily identified (see special articles), the fact ought not to be urged as necessarily proving defective information on the part of the author. Neither ought exception to be taken to the name Gabbatha (19 13). The evangelist, too, has unquestionably given correctly (18 1) the name of the *náḥal* between Jerusalem and the Mt. of Olives ('brook Kidron'; χείμαρρος τοῦ Κεδρών) in spite of his copyists and the whole body of approved modern editors (see KIDRON). The forty and six years of 2 20 rest upon sound reckoning inasmuch as the building was begun by Herod the Great in 20-19 B.C. There are therefore nineteen years before and twenty-seven years after the beginning of our era. The passover at which Jesus is represented to have uttered the words in question will be, if the forty-sixth year was not yet ended, that of 27 A.D.; if it was ended, which suits the expression better, that of 28 A.D., and Jesus' death, since in the Fourth Gospel two passovers follow (6 4 12 1), at passover in 30 A.D.—a date by many supposed to be correct. Also the statement that during forty-six years the building continued in process can be justified.[1] All this, however, weighs but little against the serious mistake by which in 11 49 18 13 Caiaphas is called the 'high-priest of that year' (GOSPELS, § 132). This of itself betrays unfamiliarity on the part of the evangelist with the conditions subsisting in Palestine in the time of Jesus (cp § 53; also GOSPELS, § 46).

Notwithstanding this, the writer may still have been a Jew. He alone makes use of the Aramaic names

39. Nationality of the evangelist.

Μεσσίας, Γαββαθα, etc., and rightly explains Σιλωαμ (a distortion of the Heb. שִׁילוֹחַ) as meaning ἀπεσταλμένος. However small the weight he attaches to the Mosaic law on its enacting side, and however depreciatory the words he attributes to Jesus in this regard (§ 19), all the more noteworthy is the deference with which he regards it as a book of prophecy. It is in this aspect that he says of it (10 35) that the scripture cannot be broken; on this view of it depends his citation of predictions and types—even of such as he did not find in the synoptists (§ 23 [*f*])—and his declara-

[1] Cp the passages in Jos. collected by E. A. Abbott (*Class. Rev.*, '94, pp. 89-93), who, however, prefers to explain them of the temple of Zerubbabel.

tion (539) that the scriptures testify of Jesus whilst the Jews diligently search them (ἐρευνᾶτε is indicative) in the belief that in them, if understood in the Jewish way, eternal life is to be found. From the historical point of view, he recognises also that salvation comes from the Jews (4 22). In this attitude—partly of acceptance, partly of rejection—towards the OT, the evangelist occupies much the same position as that of Paul or of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. A born Gentile would not easily have attached so great a value to the prophetic significance of the OT. This consideration, taken in combination with the author's defective acquaintance with the conditions in Palestine in the time of Jesus, points to the conclusion that he was by birth a Jew of the Dispersion or the son of Christian parents who had been Jews of the Dispersion.

Before passing on to the direct utterances of the author regarding himself, it will be necessary to take account of chap. 21.

40. Chap. 21. As 20 30 *f.* constitutes a formal and solemn conclusion, 21 is beyond question a later appendix. We may go on to add that it does not come from the same author with the rest of the book.

The appearance of the risen Jesus is the third (21 14) only if that to Mary Magdalene (20 11-17) is not included in the reckoning; but originally it was certainly meant to be included, the number three playing a great part in the Fourth Gospel. Further, the narrative of 21 1-14 is governed by the intention *to* do justice to what is said in Mt. and Mk., according to which the appearances of the risen Jesus were in Galilee. The writer of chap. *20* on the other hand is plainly, with deliberate purpose, following Lk., who restricts those appearances to Jerusalem. The phraseology indeed shows dependence on that of chaps. 1-20 at many points (as, for example, by οὖν and the asyndeta); but it shows divergences also, such as ὑπάγειν with the infinitive and ἔρχεσθαι σύν instead of ἀκολουθεῖν and other alternative synonyms (*v.* 3); πρωΐα instead of πρωΐ (*v.* 4); παιδία for τεκνία (*v. 5*); ἰσχύειν for δύνασθαι (*v.* 6); ἐξετάζειν for ἐρωτᾶν (*v.* 12); ἐγερθείς for ἀναστάς (*v.* 14); φέρειν for ἄγειν (*v.* IS), and the like. Peter appears in the character of a fisherman, as iii the synoptists; in 1 35 40 he is a disciple of John. Among the seven disciples who are present (*v.* 2) are numbered 'the (sons) of Zebedee'—an expression that never occurs elsewhere in the gospel. The parousia of Jesus is expected in *v.* 22 in *a* literal sense (as against § 28 *a*). That Nathanael belonged to Cana (21 2) is certainly the result of a false combination of 1 46 and 2 1. The purpose of the second half of the chapter is to bring the dignity of Peter into somewhat greater prominence than it had received in the gospel. The unnamed disciple indeed is always placed even higher than he; but the purpose of rehabilitating Peter is plain. This circumstance also makes against the identity of the author of this chapter with the author of the rest of the book.

The second half of the chapter has, however, a second main purpose—that, namely, of accrediting the gospel by *v.* 24 *f.* This cannot be an independent appendix to *vv.* 1-23, else these verses, until they had received this addition, would have been without any proper close. Now the testimony is given by more than one person, and must, in the eyes of the critic, for that very reason lose the importance which in the intention of its writer it is designed to have. A witness whose testimony in turn requires to be attested cannot be regarded as a very authoritative person.' The fact is here betrayed that doubt has been thrown on his testimony. The same thing is betrayed also in the Muratorian fragment (*l.* 14 *f.*), where it is said that, after consultation on the part of John with his fellow-disciples and bishops, and after a three days' fast together, it was revealed to Andrew that John should write the whole 'recognoscentibus cunctis suo nomine.'

Chap. 21 24 *f.* points back (*a*) to 19 35. The elaborate investigations that have been made on the question

41. Testimony of author of 1-20 regarding himself. whether any one can designate himself by ἐκεῖνος ('that') are not only indecisive as regards any secure grammatical result; they do not touch the kernel of the question at all.

Once it has been said, 'he who saw has testified and his testimony is true,' there is nothing surprising when the sequel runs 'and that one knows that he sprakstrue' even when in all these words the author is meaning himself. The question that ought to have been discussed is not as *to* whether the author could (or would) intend *to* denote himself or another by ἐκεῖνος, but as *to* the person whom he intended by 'he who saw' (ὁ ἑωρακώς). If he meant himself, then the present tense would have been more appropriate than the perfect 'has testified' (μεμαρτύρηκε), in the sense, 'I who saw it now bear witness to it hereby, that I write it.' Yet also the perfect is defensible in the meaning 'he (*i.e.*, I) has testified it, and with this you must rest satisfied.' It would have been appropriate also *to* say 'he who witnesses has seen' (ὁ μαρτυρῶν ἑώρακεν); but this was not necessary in order to express the meaning that the writer was an eye-witness. The 'knows' (οἶδεν) seems *to* indicate that the author really wishes to be regarded as an eye-witness, otherwise the preferable phrase would be 'and that man *assures* that he speaks true. At the same time, such a mode of expression would he too tautological or even *too* obviously a weakening when coming immediately after the words 'and his testimony is true.'

Thus we obtain nothing from this central passage except this, that we must leave quite, undecided the question whether the writer is intending to present himself or some other person as the eye-witness. Indeed, this very vagueness seems to be intentional on the author's part. We must seek to arrive at a definite conclusion by some other road. Here is one. For every one who grants that at the spear-thrust blood certainly but not water could have flowed from the pierced side, it is also firmly established that no eye-witness could actually have seen the circumstance attested. If, therefore, the author's intention is to point to himself as such a witness, he presents himself in a much less favourable light than if he were merely reproducing information derived from another which he had received in good faith. He is therefore spared a reproach if he is supposed to be reproducing. Such a reproach need not in itself hinder us from supposing him to present himself as an eye-witness; in view of the mysteriously allusive character of the entire book absolute freedom must be allowed the writer in this matter, especially as we are dealing with a point the central importance of which, in the eyes of its author, is evident from the very circumstance of his offering a special attestation of it at all.

(*b*) But the supposed other testimony to himself—the designation of the unnamed disciple as the disciple whom Jesus loved (13 23 19 26 20 2; cp 21 7 20 24)—speaks quite decisively against the view that it was written by the person who is intended by that expression. One can hardly understand how it is possible to have sympathy for a writer who claims for himself such a degree of superiority as is implied in this designation. The designation is quite intelligible on the other hand when coming from the pen of one of his admirers. Our research then has brought us thus far at least that there are great disadvantages in regarding the apostle as the author of the gospel. On the other hand, so far as it has gone, it has given us no assurance as to whether the actual writer intends to inform us regarding the beloved disciple and the eye-witness as if he were a third person, or whether he does not desire to produce the appearance that he himself is the person.

(*c*) Should this last be the actual fact, no charge of moral obliquity is involved, such as might seem to be implied if the principles of modern law as *to* intellectual and literary property were *to* be invoked. Classical antiquity furnishes us with a great number of examples of cases in which a pupil published his works not in his own name but in that of his master, and the neo-Pythagorean Iamblichus (*circa* 300 A.D.), to cite a single instance, expressly commends the Pythagoreans—of whose writings some sixty are still known which were falsely attributed to Pythagoras and other ancient masters of that school—in that, renouncing the desire for personal fame, they were willing that all the praise of their work should go to their master. The presbyter of Asia Minor who in the second century had composed the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* in Paul's name, when he was challenged for this explained that his motive was his regard for Paul (*idse amore Pauli fecisse*); and Tertullian's remark (*de Bapt.* 17) implies depreciation indeed yet no moral censure: 'quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans'—the reason he gives for the deposition of the author being his contradiction of 1 Cor. 14 34 in having introduced Thecla as teaching and baptizing.

(*d*) A definite reason, however, for assuming the same thing for the Fourth Gospel would be found only if 21 24 *f.*

1 Although the phrase in 3 Jn. 12 is almost identical it is there not open *to* criticism.

had come from the author of the rest of the book. As we have not to suppose this, it remains open to suggest that the author of the appendix by this addition intended to go yet one step further than the author of chaps. 1-20 himself had gone. At the same time the vagueness with which the author has expressed himself in 1935 is worthy of remark. It can very well be due to the purpose of saying what was capable of more than one 'meaning, so that one reader might believe that the author was speaking of the eye-witness as a third person, whilst another might believe he had himself in his mind.

The fact that the name of the beloved disciple and eye-witness is not mentioned anywhere throughout the entire gospel is, on the other hand, not decisive. The suppression of his name would he just as natural as a consequence of the delicacy due to his person if the author, distinct from him, introduced him as a mysterious magnitude, as it would have been if he himself had written the book.

42. External evidences for genuineness.

The external evidences for the Fourth Gospel constitute that portion of the field in which conservative theology has hitherto believed itself to have gained its securest successes. It has deemed it practicable to preclude all discussion of internal reasons against the genuineness merely by showing how early an attestation the gospel received, Careful examination shows how mistaken this belief is. As, however, a full discussion of the leading passages would carry us too far into detail, we must content ourselves here with merely giving results, on all points upon which some measure of agreement has been attained.

We must make a strict distinction between testimonies expressly favourable to the apostolic authorship and those which only vouch for the existence of the Fourth Gospel without conveying any judgment as to its authorship. The only authors belonging to the first category (apostolic authorship) down to the end of the second century (in the third century this view becomes a matter of course) are Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria (who, moreover, appeals to *οἱ ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβύτεροι*), Tertullian, Theophilus *ad Autolycum*, and the Muratorian fragment (which still, however, deems it necessary to give a circumstantial justification for its recognition of the gospel; see § 40). Earlier than any of these church fathers, namely about 170 A.D., we must place the expresssion of Claudius Apollinaris in the *Chronicon Paschale*, *στασιάζειν δοκεῖ τὰ εὐαγγέλια* ('the gospels seem to contradict one another'; the reference is to the date of the crucifixion; see § 54 *b*). Here, although the name of John is not mentioned, we may presume that there is implied a recognition of the Fourth Gospel as being on a level with the synoptics with which it is not in agreement about the date in question, and thus as being genuine.

43. Accepted, but author not named.

Coming now to testimonies to recognition of the gospel, though the author is not named, we find the Fourth Gospel taken into account in Tatian's *Diatessaron* (roughly, between 160 and 180 A.D.) as on a level with the synoptists. Yet this very attempt to bring together all the four gospels into a single whole even of itself shows to how small an extent each individual gospel was regarded by this author as authoritative. So also when gnostics make use of the Fourth Gospel. Moreover, it cannot be asserted of Valentinus himself (who flourished from 135 to 160) that he does so, but only of his school (so Irenæus, iii. 11 10 [7]). In the *Philosophoumena* the citation-formula is often '[he] says' (*φησί*; so, *e.g.*, 6 34 *f.* 7 25 *f.* alongside 5 16 6 29 8 9); but it has been shown that this expression has the collective meaning and has no different force from '[they] say' (*φασί*).[1] Athenagoras, the epistle to the church of Lugdunum (ap. Eus. *HE* v. 1 15) (both about 178), the epistle to Diognetus (later), go, in like manner, no further. In 2 Pet. 1 14 Jn. 21 is already presupposed; but 2 Pet. cannot be dated earlier than the close of the second century, since it already reckons the Pauline Epistles as part of holy scripture (3 15 *f.*), and has no testimony to its own existence earlier than in the third century.

44. For existence, without further judgment.

As for evidence to the existence of Jn., without any further judgment being pronounced, mere quotations froni the Fourth Gospel are enough, if the passages are such as cannot possibly have been derived from some other source. But the two cases, in which the book is cited as an authoritative writing, as in § 43, and in which it is not cited as such, are very different. In the latter case, it is not only possible but probable that the author making the quotation did not regard the book as authoritative. The ecclesiastical writers incorporate in their writings passages from a multitude of works which never gained ecclesiastical recognition. Thus, even those works which ultimately did gain this recognition need not necessarily have already been in enjoyment of it at the time at which they were used by the writers in question.

This remark applies, according to a now fairly general consensus of opinion, to the case of Justin (*circa* 152). Alongside of more than one hundred quotations from the synoptists, he has only three which offer points of contact with the Fourth Gospel (for the actual words, see GOSPELS, §§ 101-104). But in no case is the verbal coincidence with it so exact as to exclude the possibility of their having emanated from another source, which, if we choose, we may suppose to have been accessible to the evangelist also. Yet, even apart from this, we cannot fail to recognise that the Fourth Gospel was by no means on the same plane with the synoptics in Justin's eyes, and that his employment of it is not only more sparing hut also more circumspect. This is all the more remarkable since Justin certainly champions one of its leading conceptions (the Logos-idea), lays great weight upon the 'Memorabilia of the Apostles,' and expressly designates the Apocalypse as a work of theapostle (*Dial.* 81, *Apol.* 1 66 *f.* etc.).

So also with the *Acta Johannis* referable to Leucius (§ 8 *f.*), Corssen[1] sought to show that the *Acta* did not make use of the Fourth Gospel, but that, on the contrary, the gospel made use of the *Acta* or at least was acquainted with the traditions contained in it; and Hilgenfeld[2] inclines substantially to the same view even after James[3] had published new fragments and sought to prove from these the acquaintance of the author of the *Acta* with the Fourth Gospel, Even if we grant this, Corssen still will be right in his assertion that the *Acta* diverge from the Fourth Gospel in the freest and most far-reaching manner, and thus by no means give it a position of authority.

Here also belong the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (end of 2nd cent.), and Celsus (*circa* 178).

Most of the early Christian writings which were held to bear testimony to the Fourth Gospel—and of these precisely the oldest and therefore most important—in reality do not justify the claim based upon them.

45. Mere agreements, not implying dependence.

(*a*) They show manifold agreements with Jn.; but these consist only of single, more or less characteristic words or formulas, or other coincidences which might equally well have passed into currency by the channel of oral tradition. The great number of such agreements does in very deed prove that the Johannine formulas and catch-words were very widely diffused, and that the Johannine ideas had been, so to speak, for decennia in the air. We run great danger of allowing ourselves to be misled if, however, merely because it so happens that such phrases and turns of expression first became known and familiar to ourselves through the Fourth Gospel, we were at once to conclude that the writers in question can have taken them froni that source alone. The true state of the case may very easily be quite the opposite; the words and phrases circulated orally; as they circulated they received an ever more pregnant, pointed, memorable form, and the writer of the Fourth Gospel, not as the first but as the last in the series of transmitters, set them down in a form and in a connection which excelled

1 Cp *Tüb. Theol. Jahrb.*, 1853, pp. 148-151; *JBL*, 1892, pp. 133-159; Bentley on Hor. *Sat.* i. 4 78 *f.*

1 *Monarchianische Prologe zu den 4 Evangelien* (= *Texte u. Untersuch.* xv. 1), 117-134.

2 *ZWT*, 1900, pp. 1-61.

3 *Texts and Studies*, v. 1, '97, 1-25, cp 144-154 and ix.-xxviii.; cp *Acta apost. apocr.* edd. Lipsius et Bonnet, II. 1, '98, pp. 160-216.

that of the others, and thus his work came to appear as if it were the source of the others.

(6) To the class of early Christian writings here referred to belong the two epistles of Clement of Rome (the first probably 93-97 A.D., perhaps not till 112-117, at the latest 120-125; the second, roughly, 160-180), the Epistle of Barnabas (130 or 131; see ACTS, § 16), the Shepherd of Hermas (about 140), the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (between 130 and 160), the Apology of Aristides (probably under Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D.), as also the so-called Oxyrhynchus Logia, the Coptic Gospel-fragment discussed by Jacobi (GOSPELS, § 156, *a* and *b*), and the Gospel of Peter (see PETER).

(c) Also the seven epistles of Ignatius. The question as to the genuineness of these need not be gone into here since even Harnack (*op. cit.*, p. 396, n. 3) does not regard it as probable that Ignatius had read the Johannine writings even though, in itself considered, the thing seems to him very easily possible.

(d) A single word of comment is required only in connection with the saying of the elders cited in Iren. v. 36 1: 'it was on this account that the Lord declared, "In my Father's (domains) are many places of abode"' (διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου μονὰς εἶναι πολλάς). Even if we abstain from remarking that here the saying is quoted in proof of the doctrine that in the state of blessedness there will be various degrees, it has at any rate to be observed that it by no means coincides verbally so closely with Jn. 14 2 as necessarily to be a quotation. But what is chiefly to be noted is that in its substance it is so well adapted as a 'winged word' to pass from mouth to mouth that we cannot refrain from thinking Harnack far too precipitate in basing upon this word alone (no other can be pointed to) the proof, regarded by him as secure, that these elders were acquainted with the Fourth Gospel (see § 48 [*f*]). As to who these elders were, see *ibidem.*

46. Denials of genuineness.

How doubtful was the recognition of the Fourth Gospel is shown with most clearness by the fact that within the church an entire school could regard it as not genuine and even attribute it to Cerinthus. Two theologians in so many other respects so divergent in their views as Zahn and Harnack are agreed that the 'Alogi,' who assigned the work to Cerinthus from 160 or 170 onwards are identical with the unnamed gainsayers of the genuineness who are mentioned in Iren. iii. 11 12 [9], and that in other respects their standpoint was a correct churchly and catholic one. On the similar attitude of Gaius of Rome as late as the beginning of the third century see GOSPELS, § 82, last footnote.

47. Polycarp as indirect witness.

For those who hold 1 Jn. to be later than Jn. an evidence of the existence of the gospel is found wherever the existence of the epistle can be shown. This appears to be the case in the Epistle of Polycarp (7 1): 'For every one who does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an antichrist' (πᾶς γάρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν). This has points of contact with 1 Jn. 4 2 *f.*, as also with 2 Jn. 7; in neither case, however, is the verbal coincidence so close that the passage can be regarded as an actual quotation. Immediately after the words quoted Polycarp adds two parallel sentences of his own. Here again, moreover, the expression partakes so largely of the nature of a 'winged word' that there is no necessity for regarding it as having been taken from a written source at all, not to speak of the Johannine epistles. It is certainly very significant that Eusebius notes indeed of the Epistle of Polycarp that it contains quotations from the First Epistle of Peter, but makes no similar statement regarding the Johannine epistles. This makes it all the more strange that Harnack (*op. cit.* 658), relying upon the fact we have mentioned, makes the claim that thereby the existence of the epistle can be securely established. He even goes so far as to say 'securely even for the close of the reign of Trajan.' In fact he assigns the epistle of Polycarp approximately to the year 115 A.D. Even should the seven Ignatian Epistles be genuine and of this date, it would by no means be thereby proved that the Epistle of Polycarp must have been written so early. According to a very probable reckoning Polycarp died on 23rd Feb. 155. Moreover the meagre, mainly ethical, character of the contents of the Epistle of Polycarp is so little in harmony with the central thought of the Ignatian Epistles—directed as these are to the glorification of martyrdom and of the episcopate, as also to the elaboration of christological ideas—that the separation of those parts of the Epistle of Polycarp in which the Ignatian epistles are recommended (chaps. 9 13 along with a few other sentences) —a separation which has been proposed from the most various quarters—seems to be in the highest degree plausible.

48. Papias as witness.

Here also Papias stands on the same level with Polycarp. (*a*) According to Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39 17) Papias 'made use of testimonies from the First Epistle of John, and likewise from that of Peter' (κέχρηται δ' αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως). We know what 'made use of testimonies' (κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις) in Eusebius means. He uses the same expression in iv. 14 9 with reference to Polycarp's quotations from 1 Pet. In the Epistle of Polycarp we can control the statement by observing that the name of Peter is not mentioned there. We have therefore no ground for supposing that Papias used the name of John either. Moreover, we can hardly set aside the doubt whether in Papias we have to do with real quotations at all and not rather again with 'winged words,' such as have been spoken of in §§ 45*d* 46, which prove nothing so far as the present question is concerned. Cp GOSPELS, § 72, n. 2.

Even assuming, however, that they prove Papias's acquaintance with 1 Jn., we must all the more on that account take exception to the proposition of Harnack (*op. cit.* 658), that 'Papias's acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel must be clear to every one who looks upon 1 Jn. and the gospel as a unity.' Such a statement would be justified only if the two writings in question had constituted a single book. The theory, however, that the epistle was written at the same time as the gospel and was incorporated with it as an appendix, has long since been abandoned. If the two existed only in a separate state, acquaintance with the one is no proof at all of acquaintance with the other.

(6) We have, moreover, the strongest evidence to show that Papias never wrote in his work anything with reference to the Fourth Gospel.

Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3 3) pledges himself in his history to mention without fail which of the disputed biblical writings the ecclesiastical authors of each period had made use of and what they said about the acknowledged writings and all that they said about those which were not such (for the original text, see GOSPELS, § 66). As regards the acknowledged writings—among which he reckoned the Fourth Gospel—he dispenses himself accordingly merely from the duty of collecting the quotations from them, not from that of collecting the sayings of the church fathers concerning them. This programme he has carried out with great care. In Papias, whom he read with special attention, he did not find any saying of the kind indicated either regarding Lk. or regarding Jn. But as Papias did make such a statement regarding Mt. and Mk., and as he made use of the gospels as well as of oral communications for the preparation of his work, it would be exceedingly remarkable if he had made use of Lk. and Jn. and yet nowhere expressed himself regarding their character (cp GOSPELS, §§ 67, 74, 82 [1]).

(*c*) The case would be different, it is true, if a Latin prologue in Wordsworth, *NT Latine*, 1 491, were correct:

Evangelium Johannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Johanne adhuc in corpore constituto; sicut Papias nomine, Hierapolitanus, discipulus Johannis carus, in exotericis, id est in extremis quinqoe libris retulit.

We may rest assured, however, that this mention of Papias proceeds upon an error; for otherwise Eusebius would certainly have told us of it.

Moreover there would still remain the question whether by the John whom he would thus have designated as the writer of the

gospel we should understand John the apostle, which for the writer of the prologue was a matter of course, or the John of Asia Minor—in that case certainly John the Elder.

(d) A similar question must be raised in connection with the statements of Armenian writers to the effect that Papias was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel.

In what Conybeare cites in *The Guardian* of 18th July 1894 (p. 1123), Papias is expressing himself regarding the nature of the aloe; but that he is here dealing with the aloe met with in Jn. 19 39 does not appear from the words of the Armenian writer.

(e) Even if all that has been alleged as to Papias's acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel were indisputable, his testimony would not carry us beyond what has already been long known and recognised from other sources. According to a fragment published by De Boor (§ 4*h*), the work of Papias contained the statement that the individuals who had been raised from the dead by Christ survived till the reign of Hadrian (ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων, *l.c.* 170). As there is no reason why the attribution of this statement to Papias should be disputed, Papias must have written it not earlier than between 140-160 (Harnack, *op. cit.* 357). At that date, however, the Fourth Gospel was known to other writers also, and Papias's acquaintance with it would add nothing to what we previously knew.

(f) The case would be otherwise only if Harnack were right in what he says about the 'elders' of Irenaeus (*op. cit.* 333-340).

Harnack (1) asserts that Irenreus had not personally heard the elders whose sayings he quotes, and (2) conjectures that Irenaus had taken all of these sayings from the writing of Papias. The first assertion has a certain probability by reason of the vagueness with which Irenæus speaks of those 'elders'; the conjecture, on the other hand, is mere hypothesis. The sole passage which we can control even speaks to the contrary effect. In v. 33 3 5 Irenæus first introduces the saying about the great grape-cluster of the blessed days to come in the following terms: 'quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt qui Joannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibns illis docebat dominus et dicebat.' After telling what they had said, he proceeds, 'these things, moreover, Papias also, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, a man of the older time, testifies in writing in the fourth of his hooks' (ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονὼς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίων). Harnack is of opinion that the καί here and the ἐπι- in ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ 'certainly ought not to be pressed'; but it is not permissible, in favour of an hypothesis, to ignore the force of these words which plainly distinguish the written communication of Papias from an oral communication that had reached Irenaus. Harnack, however, pursues this forbidden path still further, and asserts that Irenaus had taken the formulæ which he uses in citing the elders *verbatim* from the work of Papias. By this means Harnack arrives at the result that these elders had already presented themselves to the mind of Papias as invested with those dignified attitudes of venerable antiquity which they undoubtedly had to judge by his language, for Irenaeus. According to this, we should have to carry their date as far back before 140-160, the time at which Papias lived, as we should have to carry them back, according to the text of Irenaus, before 185, the approximate date of Irenæus's work.

This supposition, however, of a borrowing by Irenaens from Papias *verbatim* is a mere hypothesis: and yet this supposition, and its application to the presumed quotation from Jn. 14 2 (§ 45 *d*), is, along with what has been adduced (§ 47) from Polycarp, the sole basis on which Harnack rests his proposition (*op. cit.* 680) 'that the gospel was not written later than *circa* 110, is an assured historical truth.'

49. Estimate of evidence.

(a) If we were dealing with a book attribnted to an undistinguished man, such as, for example, the epistle of Jude, it could not be held to be very surprising that proofs of acquaintance with it do not emerge until some considerable time after its production. The case is very different, however, with a gospel written by an eye-witness. Papias noticed defects in the gospel of Mk.; the third evangelist noticed them in the writings of all his predecessors (cp GOSPELS, §§ 65, 153). The writing of an eye-witness would immediately on its publication have been received with the keenest interest, however violently it may have conflicted with the gospels hitherto known. It would at least by these contradictions have attracted attention and necessarily have given occasion to such remarks as that 'the gospels seem to contradict one another' of Claudius Apollinaris (στασιάζειν δοκεῖ τὰ εὐαγγέλια) (§ 42 and 546). No mention of the Fourth Gospel which we can recognise as such carries us back further than to 140 A.D. As late as 152 (*Acad.* 1st Feb. 1896, p. 98), Justin, who nevertheless lays so great value upon the 'Memorabilia of the Apostles,' regards Jn.—if indeed he knows it at all—with distrust and appropriates from it but a very few sayings. Therefore, notwithstanding the fact that conservative theology still cherishes the belief that the external evidence supplies the best possible guarantee for the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel, we find ourselves compelled not only to recognise the jnstice of the remark of Reuss that 'the incredible trouble which has been taken to collect external evidences only serves to show that there are really none of the sort which were really wanted,' but also to set it up even as a fundamental principle of criticism that the production of the Fourth Gospel must be assigned to the shortest possible date before the time at which traces of acquaintance with it begin to appear. Distinct declarations as to its genuineness begin certainly not earlier than about 170 A.D. (§ 42).

(6) Furthermore, it is not usually remembered bow small is the value which all such testimonies possess.

According to Irenreus (ii. 33 3 [22 5]) 'the gospel and all the elders personally acquainted with John in Asia' bore witness that Jesus, at the time of his teaching, was more than forty years old—and this as a tradition from John, some of them also giving it as a tradition from other apostles. This can rest only on Jn. 8 57. It is irreconcilable with Lk. 3 23. In iii. 3 2 [3], Irenreus asserts that Clement of Rome had enjoyed personal intercourse with the apostles, although he might have learned from Clement's own (first) epistle (44 2 3) that the opposite was the case. In iii. 11 11 [8] Irenaeus, too, finds the rationale for the 'four' gospels in the fact that there are four quarters of the globe and four winds (πνεύματα); since, further, the church extends over all the world, while its 'pillars and grounds' and spirit of life (πνεῦμα ζωῆς) are the gospel, it is fitting that she should have four pillars, breathing out (πνέοντας) immortality on every side, and vivifying men afresh. Such is the sort of verbal trifling with which he favours his readers in place of history. The Muratorian fragment calls the hook of Acts 'Acta omnium apostolornm,' and John, in respect of his seven epistles (Rev. 2 *f.*), the 'predecessor Pauli' (*ll.* 34, 48). Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 5 43, p. 761 *f.*) quotes the apostle Paul as saying: 'Take also the Greek hooks, read the Sibyl as she reveals one God and the future; and, taking Hystaspes, read and ye will find the son of God much more clearly described.' In *Strom.* v. 14 104, p. 711, Clement cites with entire belief the hook of Zoroaster, in which, after his resurrection from the dead, he reports what he had learned in the underworld from the gods. Justin (*Apol.* i. 35 48) is able to tell his readers that the *Acta Pilati* contained the partition of the garment of Jesus, his healings, and his raisings of the dead. Tertullian (*Apol.* 21) adds to these the eclipse of the sun, the watch at the grave, the resurrection, the forty days in Galilee, and the ascension, and closes with these words: 'ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, *et* ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tum Tiberio nuntiavit.' Compare § 6.

It is surely unnecessary to multiply examples. When the church fathers bring before us such Statements as these, no one believes them; but when they 'attest' the genuineness of a book of the Bible, then the Conservative theologians regard the fact as enough to silence all criticism. This cannot go on for ever. Instead of the constantly repeated formula that an ancient writing is 'attested' as *early* as by (let us say) Irenæus, Tertullian, or Clement of Alexandria, there will have to be substituted the much more modest statement that its existence (not genuineness) is attested only *as late* as by the writers named, and even this only if the quotations are undeniable or the title expressly mentioned.

If no trace of the Fourth Gospel can be found earlier than 140 A.D., there cannot be the slightest difficulty in doing justice to its relations with Gnosticism.

50. Gnosticism and the Fourth Gospel.

According to Hegesippns (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 32 7 *f.*) profound peace reigned in the entire church till the reign of Trajan; but after the sacred choir of the apostles had died out and the race of the immediate hearers of Christ had passed away, the godless corruption began through the deception of false teachers who now with unabashed countenance dared

to set up against the preaching of truth the doctrines of gnosis falsely so called. There is no reason for disputing the date here given. A personal disciple of Jesus certainly can hardly have survived to see it. But the gospel shows clearly how profoundly the gnostic ideas had influenced its author. Neither is the position of the case as if he had started from the churchly point of view and then found himself on the road to the gnostic; on the contrary, we find him on the return path from gnosticism to the churchly view, Cp § 29 *b*. In addition to what is said there, attention may be called to the high value Jn. places on knowledge (17 3).

It might at first appear as if Jn. were not yet in open antagonism against gnosis and thus that gnosticism has not yet attained any great development. If, however, we view the matter so, we shall mistake the task which was set before him. The first epistle gave room for direct polemic against gnosis, and he uses his opportunity in the most distinct manner. Rut when a gospel had to he written, polemic methods could be employed only under some disguise. Nevertheless they are recognisnhle enough. Against the gnostic division between pneumatic and psychical persons are levelled such sentences as 3 16 *f.*; so also against the dualism between God and the world; against the one-sided emphasis laid by gnosticism on the importance of knowledge is directed the insistence upon faith; and against the docetic view that Christ was man only in appearance stress is laid (1 14) on the doctrine that the Logos was made flesh and that his glory conld he beheld. Indeed, the great importance given in 19 35 to the attestation of the flowing of water and blood from the wounded side appears—although the water and blood have also a symbolical meaning (§ 23 *d*)—at the same time and indeed primarily to have its reason in the desire to combat the view that Jesus did not suffer really but only seemingly.

All that must be conceded is that no traces can as yet be found in the Fourth Gospel of the great and elaborated systems such as were developed by Valentinns and others after 140 A.D. The ideas of light, and the like, out of which those later gnostics formed their pairs and their ogdoads of æons are still touched upon in the gospel only comparatively lightly. Ch. 844 does not speak of the father of the devil, but only says, by a somewhat lax construction, that the devil is a liar and the father of (the) lie (Winer[8], § 18, n. 30; 22 9 *d*).

51. Relation to Montanism.

With Montanism the case is otherwise. The Fourth Gospel shows an indubitable contact with it in the idea of the Paraclete. Here, however, the prioritymust be assigned to the gospel, since Montanism, according to one ancient source, first came to manifestation about 156 or 157, according to the other even as late as 172 (cp Harnack, *op. cit.* 363-379). In actuality the idea of the paraclete is fnrther developed in Montanism than in the Fourth Gospel. In the latter the ruling conception is that Jesus is identical with the Paraclete, that is to say that his second coming consists in nothing other than the coming of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of believers (§ 26 *c*). In Montanism, on the other hand, a sharp distinction is drawn between the age of Christ and the age of the Holy Spirit, and a much higher value is given to the latter.

52. 5 43 as a guide to date.

If on independent grounds some period shortly before 140 A.D. can he set down as the approximate date of the production of the gospel, then new importance attaches to one particular passage upon which, apart from this, we could not venture to base any hypothesis as to date. In 543 Jesus says: 'I am come in the name of my father and ye receive me not; if another will come in his own name, him ye will receive.' This prophecy of another Messiah was fulfilled when in 132 A.D. Barchochba arose and incited the Jews to the great revolt which in 135 ended in the complete extinction of the Jewish state. It is very tempting to think that 543 contains an allusion to this. At all events, as compared with this supposition the hypothesis of Rousset (*Antichr.*, 1895, 108) has no superior claims—that by the pseudo-Messiah here predicted the Antichrist is meant, and this because 'thus almost all the church fathers interpret, and in this region these are the authorities from whom we have to learn.' Bousset, in conformity with this interpretation, supposes that such apocalyptic ideas had great importance for the evangelist, notwithstanding the fact that his entire book shows no trace of this, hut rather the opposite (§ 28). Compare further, § 65, end.

53. Place of Composition.

Asia Minor is almost universally regarded as the Fourth Gospel's place of origin. It is on this assumption that we can most easily explain how the Gospel could be ascribed to the John living there, to whom the Apocalypse, or at least the seven epistles therein contained, are assigned with still greater probability. Alexandrian as well as gnostic ideas can without difficulty be traced in those regions. It has even been attempted to account for the mistake by which Caiaphas is called 'high priest for that year' (§ 38) by the fact that in Asia there was a high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) for the whole province who changed from year to year (Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* 5 318; ET *Provinces*, 1 345). It must, however, be affirmed once for all that these proofs have no decisive value; but neither does the question as to place of origin possess any fundamental importance.

Very important inferences, however, can be drawn from the paschal controversies of the second century.[1]

54. The Paschal Controversy.

(*a*) In Asia Minor the celebration was always held on the 14th of Nisan by those who afterwards were called Quartodecimans; elsewhere it was celebrated on the first Sunday after the Spring equinox. The difference of usage first came to light on the occasion of a visit of Polycarp of Smyrna to Rome during the bishopric of Anicetus (therefore in 154 A.D.). On that occasion Polycarp, according to the report of Irenæus (fragm. 3, cp Eus. *HE* v. 24 16), appealed on behalf of the Asiatic celebration to the authority of John the disciple of the Lord, and of the other apostles. Similarly, in the third stage of the controversy, Polycrates of Ephesus in his letter to the Roman bishop Victor about 196 A.D. (*ibid.* v. 24 2-8) made a like appeal to the authority of Philip, John, Polycarp, Melito. and a large number of famous names. Of the reasons for this usage we become apprised in the second stage of the controversy, about 170 A.D., in which its supporters came into conflict not with Rome but with men in Asia Minor itself.

(*b*) In order to escape the conclusion that the John appealed to by the Quartodecimans could not have been the writer of the Gospel, some theologians assert that the men of Asia Minor, and John among them, had observed the 14th of Nisan in commemoration of the death of Jesus. This would fit in with the Fourth Gospel admirably, only it is opposed to the express statements of Hippolytus and Apollinaris (*Chron. Pasch.*, ed. Paris, p. 6 *a* 6 *d*; ed. Dindorf, pp. 12 *f.* and 14), according to whom the commemoration intended was that of the institution of the Lord's Supper by Jesus. That this was only the opinion of a minority cannot be maintained.

(c) Others sought to attain the same result by supposing that the Quartodecimans without any reference at all to events in the life of Jesus had simply, in accordance with the Jewish calendar, observed the day upon which the Jewish passover fell. Such a mechanical conformity with the Jewish law, and such a degree of indifference towards reminiscences of occurrences in the life of Jesus, would be very remarkable if observable in any Christians, and most of all if observable in one who had actually been an eye-witness of the last days of Jesus. It is, however, expressly set aside by the statement of Apollinaris (*l.c.*) that the Quartodecimans claimed Mt. as on their side,—on the point, namely, that Jesus had eaten the paschal lamb with his disciples on 14th Nisan and had suffered on the 15th. Apollinaris infers from this that in their view the gospels seem to be at variance

[1] The most thorough discussions are those of Hilgenfeld, *Der Paschastreit*, 1860, and of Schürer, *De controversiis paschalibus*, Leipsic, 1869; in German in *Ztschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*, 1870, pp. 182-284.

as to this (§ 42). He himself is on the side of the Fourth Gospel, and thus, as he himself admits no variance, interprets the First Gospel wrongly in the actual sense of the Fourth; the Quartodecimans, however, appealed not simply to the Jewish calendar but also to Mt., and that too to Mt. properly understood.

(d) A last resort remains,—that of Schurer, who thinks they did this only in a late stage of the controversy. This also, however, is very improbable. We shall do well to attribute to them at least enough continuity of view for them to be always aware what it was that they were maintaining.

(e) In this failure, then, of all the suggested views we have no alternative left but to acknowledge that the John to whose authority the Quartodecimans appeal cannot have been the author of the gospel. If then this John of Asia Minor was the Elder, the apostle's authorship of the gospel remains, so far as the paschal controversy is concerned, a possibility. The assumption, then, must be that the gospel was written by the apostle, though at the same time he was not head of the church at Ephesus. This assumption, however, is one that has been resorted to by but few, for the tradition says only of the Ephesian John that he wrote the gospel.

After what has been said, only a very brief recapitulation as regards the 'genuineness' will be required.

55. Conclusion as to author. *(a)* Even when the Apocalypse has been assigned to another writer, the apostolic authorship of the gospel remains impossible, and that not merely from the consideration that it cannot be the son of Zebedee who has introduced himself as writer in so remarkable a fashion (§ 41), but also from the consideration that it cannot be an eye-witness of the facts of the life of Jesus who has presented, as against the synoptists, an account *so* much less credible. nor an original apostle who has shown himself so easily accessible to Alexandrian and Gnostic ideas, nor a contemporary of Jesus who survived so late into the second century and yet was capable of composing so profound a work. On this ground are excluded not only the son of Zebedee but also every non-apostolic eye-witness, including even John the Elder, although the last-named seems to be recommended by the Asian tradition so far as this does not make for the apostle.

(6) Harnack, who holds the Elder to he the author—with incorporationalso ofreminiscences of the son of Zebedee in his work, so that the gospel might appropriately enough be called 'Gospel of John the Elder according to John the son of Zehedee' (εὐαγγέλιον Ἰωάννου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζεβεδαίου)—is compelled not only to place the date at a much earlier period than is justified by the evidence (§ 48 [*f*], hut also, notwithstanding this, to understand by a 'disciple of the Lord' (which the Elder was) one who perhaps had seen Jesus only once in earliest childhood without really entering into personal relations with him; and all this over and above the further necessity for imputing so many incredibilities to the author, if the credibility of the synoptists is not to he reduced to zero. Further, Harnack's hypothesis mnst he characterised as incapable of being discussed *so* long as the continuation of his work gives him no occasion to state quite frankly whether he regards as historical such statements for example as those regarding the foot-washing, the spear-thrust, the falling to the ground of the Roman cohort in Gethsemane, and the 100 pounds of ointment at the embalming of Jesus.[1]

(c) The same remark holdsgoodas regards Bousset who (*Apocalypse* in Meyer's *Kommentar*, 5th ed. 1896, p. 33-51) maintains that the Ephesian John, that is to say, the Elder, in his youth belonged to the train of Jesus at such times as Jesus was in Jerusalem, and that from his mouth one of his scholars has given us, so far as the activity of Jesus in Jerusalem is concerned, 'an account that, as compared with the synoptists, is independent and in many points to he preferred.'

(d) To what degree the thesis of the authorship of the gospel by a son of Zehedee (or indeed any eye-witness) can be maintained only at the cost of the very credibility which yet it is proposed to support by this assumption, is well seen in what B. Weiss has to say regarding the discourses of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel.' He grants that the misunderstandings of these discourses by the hearers are 'often in reality nierely attempts on the part of, the evangelist to account for the continuance of the discussion, that the evangelist 'is well aware that he is not giving his readers the discourses and conversations with literal accuracy,' that 'not only the original words, hut also the concrete historical context of the words of Jesus are often obliterated, the evangelist concerning himself only for the enduring significance of these and their value for edification in the sense of his own conception of the person of Christ,' that even in the narrative parts 'the connections in detail have often disappeared, the historical colouring has been lost and the representation of occurrences has been manipulated in accordance with the meaning which they had acquired to the mind of this narrator.' No 'critic,' however severe, could express himself much more unfavourably with regard to the Fourth Gospel than this defender of its genuineness has done.

(e) As compared with such a line of defence, there is a positive relief from an intolerable burden as soon as the student has made up his mind to give up any such theory as that of the 'genuineness' of the gospel, as also of its authenticity in the sense of its being the work of an eye-witness who meant to record actual history. Whoever shrinks from the surrender can, in spite of all the veneration for the book which constrains him to take this course, have little joy in his choice. Instead of being able to profit by the elucidations regarding the nature and the history of Jesus promised him by the 'genuineness' theory, he finds himself at every turn laid under the necessity of meeting objections on the score of historicity, and if he has laboriously succeeded (he thinks) in silencing these, others and yet others arise tenfold increased, and in his refutation of these, even when he carries it through—and that too even, it may be, with a tone of great assurance—he yet cannot in conscientious self-examination feel any true confidence in his work.

(f) With the other view the case is quite different. We have to deal with a writer from whom we neither can demand strict historical accuracy, nor have any occasion to do so. Just in proportion as this is frankly recognised, however, we find in him a great and eminent soul, a man in whom all the ruling tendencies of his time meet and are brought together to a common focus. A philosophical book, indeed, would not have been difficult for him to write, yet would have received but little attention; for all that at that time was recognised as divine was held to be seen in the person of Jesus. Thus the task this man deemed to be laid upon him by the nature of the circumstances was that of giving expression to his deep ideas in the form of a life of Jesus. We become aware that this implied many restrictions upon his freedom, and one is astonished all the more at the ease of movement with which he has carried out his work. In short, one discerns in the gospel the ripest fruit of primitive Christianity—the ripest, if also at the same time the furthest removed from the original form. We shall return to a consideration of this subject with somewhat greater detail (§ 62) after we have glanced at the First Epistle which in this respect is closely related to the gospel.

Before proceeding to this, however, a word must be given to the 'partition'-hypotheses.

56. Partition-hypotheses. *(a)* We have postponed notice of them until now because to have brought them up at an earlier point would have tended only to obscure the issues. A whole series of earlier 'partition'-hypotheses have shared the common fate of being withdrawn by their own promulgators. Least hopeful of all is a hypothesis of interpolations. Not that the existence of interpolations in Jn. is impossible; on the contrary, it is affirmed even by the most outspoken critical theologians (§ 28 6). But if it is proposed

1 As we write we take from his *Wesen des Christenthums*, 1900, p. 13 (ET *What* is Christianity? 1900) the following: 'The Fourth Gospel which does not come from the apostle John, and does not profess to do so, cannot be used as a historical source in the ordinary [*i.e.*, customary] sense of those words. The author acted with autocratic freedom, transposed events and placed them in an' unwonted light, composed discourses at his own will and 'illustrated lofty thoughts by imagined situations. Hence his work though not wholly wanting in the elements of a genuine if hardly recognisahle tradition, can hardly at any point he taken into account as a source for the history of Jesus., it is but little that we can take over from him and even that only with circumspection.'

1 *Lehrb. der Einleitung in das NT*, § 51 7.

to eliminate every difficult passage as having been interpolated, very little indeed of the gospel will be left at the end of the process. Theoretically, the case is somewhat better with a 'sources'-hypothesis. which should maintain that the last author did not introduce mere interpolations into the exemplar before him without touching the text itself, that he dealt with it very much as the synoptists dealt with their sources. Even so, however, no great advantage is gained.

(*b*) To mention only the latest advocate of a hypothesis of this sort, Wendt[1] holds *most* of the miracle narratives, and some of the elaborations of the discourses as well as of the occasions assigned to them, to be additions of the last author. The main point, however, is that his fundamental principle—in itself worthy of all acceptance—is that passages are to be held *to* be later insertions, not on account of their contents, but only when they break the connection. There is much reason to fear, however, that distrust of the authenticity of the substance often causes an interruption of the connection to be imagined where in reality there is none. Many passages of the same sort as others which give Wendt occasion for the separating process, are left by him untouched, when the result would not be removal of some piece held to be open to exception in respect of its contents; the ground for exception which he actually takes, on the other hand, is often altogether non-existent.

Thus, for example, it ought not by any means to be regarded as betokening a broken connection when (11 16), at the words of Jesus, 'Let us go unto him [Lazarus],' Thomas says to his fellow-disciples: 'Let us also go that we may die with him.' That the sequence of these sentences does not demand the interpretation that Thomas wishes to die with Lazarus is self-evident, for Thomas is speaking to his fellow-disciples about a word of Jesus in which he had implicitly said that he was going to his death. It is therefore not permissible to conclude that, in the source, *v.* 16 followed immediately upon *v.* 10, and that accordingly the announcement of the raising of Lazarus contained in *vv.* 11-15 is an addition by the evangelist. Moreover, *v.* 16 in strictness fits on to *v.* 10 no better than it does to *v.* 15. In *v.* 40 where Jesus says to Martha, 'Said I not unto thee that if thou wouldest believe thou shouldest see the glory of God?' Wendt with justice finds a reference back to *vv.* 23 25 *f.*, but considers that they rest upon a misinterpretation of these verses which speak not of a bodily resurrection, but of the imparting by Jesus of an inward eternal life even here in this temporal sphere. This is essentially correct; but it presents only one side of the matter. The word is purposely ambiguous (§ 25 *c*), and in its literal sense is fulfilled by the raising of Lazarus, which nevertheless is itself only a figure for the impartation of that inward eternal life. Wendt proceeds therefore upon a misapprehension of the distinctive character of the Fourth Gospel when he comes to the conclusion that in the source all that was related was this:—Jesus heard of the sickness of Lazarus, but, although no delay in his journey occurred did not arrive until after his death; on his arrival he comforted Martha by pointing to that inward eternal life which can be lived in the temporal, went with her to the grave, and wept there. What availed Martha this pointing to the inward eternal life when her brother had just quitted this temporal, and what point has it in presence of the assurance of Jesus (*v.* 23), 'thy brother shall rise again'? It cannot be a continuation of this assurance,—neither if with Martha we understand *v.* 23 to refer to the last day, nor if we interpret it in a spiritual sense; for resurrection and continuance in life are different things. That it was, on the other hand, anything higher than what is said in *v.* 23 is excluded by the simple fact that after the apparent death of Lazarus it was not practicable.

(*c*) Wendt attributes his assumed source to the apostle John. The eye-witness Peter, on whose communications in Wendt's view the gospel of Mk. rests, knows that on his last evening Jesus held the sacrament of the Supper with his disciples; John the eye-witness that he washed his disciples' feet. Peter the eyewitness knows concerning Jesus that he expected the Final Judgment on a definite day at the end of the present world, John the eye-witness knows that he spoke the words contained in 11 25 *f.* and 5 24, and proves by this that the representations which agree with the report of Peter (*e.g.*, 5 28 *f.* and the closing words of 6 39 40 44 54 12 48) were added by the evangelist in contradiction of the source written by the eye-witness John. The eye-witness Peter transmits an account according to which Jesus had not any consciousness of his pre-existence, the eye-witness John knows that he spoke the words, 'Before Abraham came into being, I am,' 'glorify me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was' (8 58 17 5), and he wrote the prologue with exception of the verses (6-8 15) about the Baptist.

(*d*) As for the miracle-narratives, according to Wendt Jesus, *e.g.*, did not heal the man born blind but only beheld him and took him as text of his discourse on the healing of the spiritual blindness of the world; in the case of the sick man at Bethesda Jesus in healing him laid his hand upon him somewhat in the manner indicated in Mk. 7 33 8 23-25, so that the action could be regarded by the Jews as a violation of the Sabbath-law.

(*e*) What has been said may perhaps suffice to show how little fitted is this latest attempt at separation of sources—however superior to kindred efforts of the same sort—to supply 'a really satisfactory solution of . . . the Johannine problem.' Its indications of difficulties in the connection are valuable; but these will have *to* be explained by the writer's carelessness about the matter (as has been done in § 34 *b*, *c*). In the end we shall have to concur in the judgment of Strauss, that the Fourth Gospel is like the seamless coat; not to be divided but to be taken as it is.

D.—FIRST EPISTLE

57. Polemic against false teachers.

What distinguishes the First Epistle from the gospel most obviously is its express polemic against false teachers. These, to speak generally, are gnostics; this appears (2 4) in the expression 'he that saith, I know him (ὁ λέγων ὅτι ἔγνωκα αὐτόν)' as also in that *terminus technicus* of gnosis 'seed' (σπέρμα: 3 9), which signifies the individual seed-grains of divine origin scattered throughout the world of matter, to wit the souls of gnostic persons, and in the declaration of these persons that they have no sin (1 8 10). More precisely, the false teachers disclose themselves to be docetics. Their assertion (2 22) that Jesus is not the Messiah finds its explanation in 4 2 *f.* (cp 2 Jn. 7), according to which they deny that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, and in 5 6 ('this is he that came by water and blood'). While holding this teaching they give themselves over to libertinism, according to 2 4 15 *f.* 3 4 10 5 17, which passages must certainly be taken as referring to them. The case is not met by supposing the reference to be to Cerinthus, the oldest of the gnostics, who with all his gnosticism was still a Jewish Christian; later forms must be intended even although we are not in a position to state more precisely what they were. The purpose of the epistle, then, is to combat this tendency with as much directness (2 26 3 7) as it is combated indirectly in the gospel (§ 50). The writing can be called a letter only in a remote sense (cp EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 9). The writer addresses his readers as little children, or beloved, or brethren; but in these expressions he is addressing all Christendom.

58. Contact with gnosis.

In all his controversy with gnosis the author is at the same time strongly influenced by its ideas. Like that of the gospel, his thought is dominated by the great antithesis between God and the world (2 16 4 5 *f.*), or God and the devil (3 8 10 4 4), or truth and falsehood (2 21 4 6); in analogy with Jn. 3 6 8 43, etc., in 1 Jn. 5 19 also we find the mutually exclusive alternatives that one must either be of God or of the world which 'lieth in the wicked [one]' (ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται). The claim to know, or to have known, all things is made by the writer for himself and for his readers (2 13 *f.* 20 *f.* 27 4 7) as positively as any gnostic could make it; the expression 'seed' (σπέρμα) be applies in similar manner to himself and to them, and asserts sinlessness for both (3 9 6 5 18).

59. Author different from author of Jn.

In the ideas just indicated, as well as in respect of language, the agreement with the gospel seems so strong that the identity of authorship of both writings is often regarded as self-evident. Holtzmann, however (*Einl. in's NT*), enumerates fifteen German theologians by whom it is denied, and he him-

[1] *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1900, and previously in *Die Lehre Jesu*, 1, 1886, pp. 215-342.

self has'elaborated the same view with the utmost care in *Jahrbb. f. prot. Theol.* 1881, 690-712; 1882, 128-152, 316-342, 460-485.

To begin with the vocabulary: ἀγγελία, ἐπαγγελία, διάνοια, παρουσία, ἐλπίς, ἀνομία, etc., are found only in the epistle, not in the gospel. Moreover, a somehat different field of thought is disclosed by the use of ἱλασμός (2 2 4 10) and also of χρῖσμα (2 20 27) which characterises the epistle. On the whole it is seen that the thoughts of the epistle in **many** ways follow the ordinary lines, above which the gospel has risen to purely spiritual conceptions. The second coming of Christ is still spoken of in 1 Jn. 2 28 as a visible individual occurrence in time. the resurrection is **(32)** looked for simply after death; the' final judgment is relegated to a particular day (4 17). The more spiritual apprehension is not wholly wanting (see 3 14 24 5 11-13); but it is not prominent. In 2 1 Christ appears as the Paraclete, which finds an analogy in the gospel only in the expression another Paraclete' (14 16), spoken of the Holy Spirit. Redemption is wrought by Christ by means of his death (1 7 2 2 4 10),—a conception which in the gospel finds its parallel only in 1 29 36 and perhaps 11 50-52 17 19 whilst everywhere else in the gospel his redeeming activity is for the most part sought in his message (19-13 8 12 17 4-8), to which, in the epistle, allusion is made only in 4 9.

Above all, in the epistle Christ is represented much less than he is in the gospel as intervening between God and men. The conception, based on the Logos-idea that it is Christ alone, not God, who can come into direct relation with the world, is absent. In the gospel the relation of God to Christ is like that of Christ to believers (10 14 *f.* 14 20 15 9 *f.*); God gives salvation to him, he imparts it to them (17 8 etc.; the only exceptions are 3 16 6 40 14 21-23 16 26 *f.* 17 6 23). Christ alone is the way to God (14 6 10 7 9 15 5), while in the epistle (3 21) we can have boldness directly toward God; in the gospel it is Christ who is the light (14 8 12), in the epistle it is God (1 5); in the one it is Christ who is the law-giver (13 34 15 12), in the other it is God (3 23); in the one it is Christ who is the hearer of prayer (14 13 *f.*, cp 15 16 16 23 *f.* 26), in the other it is God (3 22 5 14 *f.*). These divergences are explained much more easily on the assumption that the two writings come from different writers though belonging to one and the same school of thought.

60. Priority in time.

Which of the two writings was the earlier cannot be decided on general grounds. In itself considered. the more ordinary and commonplace way of looking at things may very well be regarded as the earlier. the more spiritualised as the later; indeed on this supposition the growth of one and the same author out of the one into the other would become in some measure intelligible. We could, however, equally well imagine that the gospel bad come into existence first, and that later when, from the novelty of its ideas, it met with but little approval and much opposition, another hand belonging to the same circle as the evangelist had made the attempt to give currency to the newer ideas with closer adherence to the current theological conceptions. The undertaking in this case would be analogous to the conjectured attempt mentioned in § 28, by means of later interpolations of passages implying a resurrection at a definite point in time, to avert the objections likely to be raised by the more spiritualised statement of the resurrection-idea. In imputing some such intention to the writer it is by no means necessary to assume that he set about his task merely by way of accommodation, at a sacrifice of his own convictions. It is precisely when we distinguish the author of the epistle from the author of the gospel that it becomes possible for us to suppose that in it he was giving expression solely to his own personal view.

A date later than that of the gospel **is very** strongly suggested by the only passage which directly indicates any time relation **at** all, namely 2 12-14. The three things of which the writer here begins by saying, 'I write them unto you,' he repeats with the words, 'I have written unto you.' Here he seems to be referring to the gospel. If in doing so he identifies himself with the author of the gospel, **we** must not judge of the fact otherwise than we do when we find the evangelist writing in the name of the apostle; fiction of this kind was regarded as perfectly permissible (§ 41 *c*). **As** to the bearing of this question of date upon the question of attestation, see § 47. External evidence does not forbid the supposition that the first epistle was written after the gospel (and that in turn after 132), provided that the epistle was written not later than about 140.

What the author seeks to establish against the false teachers is, viewed in one aspect, the creed of the church.

61. Character of polemic of epistle.

Everyone who does not hold it passes with him for Antichrist. On this he is decided, — indeed, stern. Only, as a gnostic he is far too much imbued with **a** feeling of the necessity for working on the convictions of his readers to be able to avoid attempting to make plain from the evidence of the facts themselves the truth of his theses. This, however, he does not by any means attempt in the form of proofs properly *so* called; rather docs he express his conviction in a simple propositional manner, in the confident. expectation that it will make an impression by its own inherent force. **As** compared with the other NT writers who engage in polemic against false teachers, and especially the authors of the Pastoral Epistles, the Epistle of Jude, and the second Epistle of Peter—nor even to the exclusion of Paul—he must be credited with a high degree of moderation in his polemic, and avoidance of personalities in speaking of his opponents. Moreover, alongside of the church creed on which he lays weight, he also elaborates a practical Christianity. But here we reach a point at which the gospel and the epistle can be considered together.

62. Permanent value of gospel and epistle.

If the worth of the Fourth Gospel does not lie in the accuracy of its separate details regarding the life of Jesus, nor yet in the character of the total picture it presents, it is the more to be found in the ideas by which in common with the epistle it is dominated.

(*a*) Both writings rendered an extraordinary service to their time by absorbing into Christianity, as they did, every element in the great spiritual tendencies of the age that was capable of being assimilated, and thus disarming their possible antagonism. While the oldest Christianity might seem to be a religion for the uncultured merely, the Johannine theology made it possible for educated persons also to attach themselves to it without renouncing the rest of their spiritual heritage. If the Jesus of literal history might seem to an educated Gentile merely as an individual member of the despised Jewish race, the impression must necessarily have been very different when, as now, he was presented as the Logos of God, as the world-principle which had existed long before Judaism came into being, and even upon earth was far exalted above everything Jewish. If Paul with deliberate intention had proclaimed the Gospel to be to the Gentiles foolishness (1 Cor. 1 23), the Johannine theology took account of the strivings of Gnosticism after knowledge and brought this into its own service. That between God and the world there is fixed **a** great gulf which strictly speaking cannot be bridged over, it frankly recognised, in order in the next place to provide a bridge in the Logos-idea—itself borrowed from the Greek philosophy—and, in doing so, at the same time to avoid the separation (so dangerous to the existence of the Christian Church) of mankind into two eternally distinct classes. It also even prepared the way for Montanism, at least in so far as it recognised the coming of the Holy Spirit to mankind as the greatest thing of all.

(*b*) Of supreme value, not only for that age but for all time, is the full assurance of its faith in the truth of Christianity (4 14 8 31 *f.* 51 16 33 1 Jn. 5 4). The idea of God is apprehended with **a** depth that is nowhere approached elsewhere in the NT. A philosopher may dispute the propositions both that God is spirit and that God is love (Jn. 4 21-24 1 Jn. 4 8 16), but he cannot surpass them in simplicity of scientific expression. The first basis of the religious life, the feeling of dependence, cannot be expressed with greater depth than in the gospel (3 27), the essence of sin with greater depth than

in 1 Jn. 1 8_{10} 2 9, prayer with greater depth than when it is represented as an asking in the name of Jesus (15 16),—which again in turn cannot be better expounded than it is in 1 Jn. 5 14 as an asking according to God's will. All objections based upon pernicious results which might be supposed to follow from the prominence given to knowledge are disarmed at the outset by the declaration, 1 Jn. 2 3, that the verification of knowledge lies in the keeping of the commandments of God. Truth is not only seen; it is done (Jn. 3 21 1 Jn. 16); and this doing of the truth is again made equivalent to the doing of righteousness (1 Jn. *2* 29). Any one-sidedness of mere intellectualism is guarded against from the outset by the depth of the mysticism which comes to its fairest expression in the Johannine theology (14 23 15 4-7 17 23), without, however, leading to any vague idea that man must be absorbed in the divine essence. If we discern in Christ not only the historical individual but also at the same time that summing-up of all that is divine which the author of the gospel saw in his individuality, in a word, the ideal of a child of God, then, in spite of all that criticism has to say in the exercise of its own proper functions, we can still echo with full conviction the words in which the author has expressed his unique appreciation of Jesus, as in 15 5 **146** 3 36 or 6 68 *f.*

(c) The spiritualisation of the concrete conceptions of primitive Christianity has led to ideas such as it would be impossible to express in a more modern way. The person who finds himself no longer able to believe that the redemptive significance of Jesus lies only in the fact of his death finds the opposite view—according to which his work of redemption was achieved by his message and only confirmed by his death—already laid down for him in the prologue to the gospel 1 9-13 and also in 8 12 17 4-8, etc.

So far as this is concerned, the gospel, in virtue, so to say, of the principle that extremes meet, even comes round again to the original historical point of view such as we find it in the synoptists. Paul had transferred the redeeming significance of Jesus from his life to his death. But at the same time he had also thought of him as pre-existent. When John developed this latter thought into the Logos-idea he was compelled by the nature of it to place the redeeming work wrought by Jesus not any longer in his death, which for the Logos would only mean a return to his previous condition, and thus have **value** only for himself and not for mankind; he had therefore to seek it in the revealing work of Jesus, and this work Jesus could perform upon earth only by declaration of his peculiar message.

Any one who finds himself unable to accept the dogma of the Trinity here finds that which can justify him in his attitude in the declaration (739) that the Holy Spirit had no existence before the exaltation of Christ, being in fact according to 2 Cor. 317 identical with the exalted Christ (§ *26* c). Any one who finds himself unable to believe that Jesus needed to legitimise his claims by means of miracle has only to take his stand on 20 29, 'Blessed are they who have not seen and yet have believed.' Any one who finds himself no longer able to think of the second coming of Christ as destined to happen in bodily form finds opened for him in 14 16-18 the way by which he may think of it as spiritual. Any one who finds himself unable to think of a bodily resurrection and a final judgment once for all on the last day has only to take his stand on 11 26 5 24. Any one who finds himself unable to regard the value of the sacrament of the Eucharist as an absolute one has on his side the express utterance of Jesus (663): 'it is the spirit that maketh alive; the flesh profiteth nothing,'—a principle which Paul in 2 Cor. *36* had made use of with reference to the OT religion, but not as yet with reference to any of the positive institutions of Christianity. Indeed this fundamental principle, taken along with 13 15 and 3 $34b$, is in itself a sufficient counteractive against any one-sided or exaggerated exaltation of the figure of Christ as pourtrayed in John. On the other hand, the Johannine theology can claim the most unreserved and absolute acceptance for the highest which it has to offer, the place which it assigns to love. This is the central idea of the first epistle (2 7 *f.* 3 23 47-21), and equally central is the saying in the gospel in 1 334J 15 12. It has indeed been the achievement of Christ to bring this new commandment of love into the world and to give the world his own example in this (13 15)—even if the foot-washing never occurred in a literal sense.

E.—SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES

63. Address. The 'elect lady' (ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία) in 2 Jn. 1 is, especially in view of *v.* 13 and of the change between 'thy children' and 'thee' in 4 *f.*, a church. It is designated as 'lady' perhaps because (Eph. 5 31 *f.*) of the marriage relation with Christ the 'lord' (κύριος); the predicate 'elect together' (συνεκλεκτή), only with the substantive 'church' (ἐκκλησία) understood, is applied also to the church in Babylon in 1 Pet. 5 13. This interpretation of 'lady' (κυρία) becomes quite obvious if 3 Jn. 9 refers back to the second letter, which is not improbable. Now, in 2 Jn. 13 the church addressed is greeted by a sister church. This sister church is, we may be sure, that to which the writer belongs. The church addressed need not, however, on this account be also an individual church; there is a possibility that any church whatever may be intended. In this case the second epistle, though individual in form, will be in reality as catholic as the first.

The case of the third epistle is different. Gaius is an individual, and neither can Diotrephes and Demetrius (*vv.* 9 12) be divested of their individual character. One Gains is named in Acts 1929, a second in **204,** a third in 1 Cor. 1 14 Rom. 1623. The last-named has affinity with the Gaius of this epistle in so far as hospitality is predicated of both. That the two are identical there is nothing further to show. We may perhaps rather assume the name to have been chosen in order to recall the other hospitable Gaius.

If we direct our attention to what is most distinctively peculiar to the two epistles we shall have to say that **64. Purpose.** their purpose, first and foremost, had reference to church-polity. The new thing in the second epistle is not a theoretical refutation of false teachers but the exhortation (*V.* 10 *f.*) not to receive such persons under one's roof and not even to salute them. Although this does not refer to the case of persons living in the same place, bnt only to that of passing travellers, it in any case represents an effectual step in the direction of the exclusion from church fellowship of these adversaries who in *v.* 9 are designated as 'progressives' (ὁ προάγων), in *V.* 7 as docetics.

The stringency with which this is demanded seems to find its explanation in 3 Jn. 9 *f.*, according to which Diotrephes, an opponent of the writer, refuses to receive not only his letters but also the brethren who adhere to him, and expels from his own community those members who are willing to receive these brethren. At the same time it is perfectly plain that the cause of this reciprocal excommunication is in the third epistle different from what it is in the second. In the third there is no word of false doctrine; hut great emphasis is laid upon the personal ambition of the adversary and upon the claim on the part of the writer to unconditional authority. The fact that travelling brethren are spoken of in both letters ought not to be allowed to disguise this difference. Now the directly expressed purpose of the third epistle is that Gaius should give a friendly reception to the adherents of the writer on their travels. As Demetrius is mentioned immediately before the close of the epistle, and a good testimony is expressly given with regard to him, he has been regarded as the bearer of the epistle, which thus was at the same time a letter of introduction (cp Rom. 16 1 *f.*). The interesting hypothesis, as to an important turning-point in the history of the most ancient form of ecclesiastical organisation, which Harnack (*Texte u. Untersuch.* 15 3, '97) has connected with the third epistle, will on account of its wide scope he most conveniently considered under MINISTRY (*q.v.*).

In this place, on the other hand, a word is still demanded by the second purpose which, over and above that of church-polity, underlies at least the second epistle. This epistle combines with its polemic against false teachers a recommendation of the ideas of the gospel and of the first epistle, and in this respect stands on the same level with the first epistle itself, whether it be that the second epistle is later than the first and

the gospel, or whether it be that it preceded them. If the second epistle preceded, the second (and also the third epistle, in case it was contemporary with the second) would be a first attempt at giving literary currency to those ideas under the name of a known church authority; the gospel would then exemplify a further step in that it claimed to be by a still higher authority, namely the son of Zebedee.

65. Authors, and dates.

In the second epistle the coincidence in language with the gospel and the first epistle is fairly strong; in the third it is confined to a few expressions in *vv.* 3 *f.* 6 11 *f.* The contents fall in profundity far behind both the larger writings. For-neither of the two smaller writings can we assert more than that they move in the same spiritual sphere with the larger.

In both the author calls himself 'the Elder' (ὁ πρεσβύτερος). By this expression the authorship of an apostle is as good as excluded, unless it so happened that within the circle of his followers he had borne this name as one of special distinction. This, however, according to § 7 *a*, holds good rather of John the Elder, who is distinct from the apostle. 'The Elder seems to many to be expressly shown by the designation to have been the author. He was, however, a chief authority with Papias, and Papias was strongly inclined to chiliasm; but of chiliasm we find no trace in the epistles before us. 'The Elder' might indeed be the designation of a person quite unknown to us, if only it was understood in the circle of the recipients who was meant by it. If, however, we are right in holding that at least the second epistle is for the entire church, then the designation of the writer will also be intended for it, in other words it will denote the famous Elder—not indeed in the sense of his being the actual author, but in that of his being the author in whose name it was to run.

That both epistles are from the same hand need not he doubted, yet neither is it absolutely certain. If we must suppose from the outset, on account of the other Johannine writings, that there was a whole group of men who laboured in one and the same spirit, then there can always have been two different members of the group to whom we are indebted for these two writings which do not absolutely coincide either in language or in intention. The reference back from 3 Jn. 9 to the second epistle is by no means a conclusive proof of unity of authorship, nor yet are the limited number of expressions in which both agree, such as 'walking in truth' (περιπατεῖν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ), 2 Jn. 4 3 Jn. 3 *f.*, or 'love and truth' in 2 Jn. 3 3 Jn. 1.

It will be seen from what has already been said how difficult it is to say almost anything as to the date of composition. The answer to the question depends on the hypotheses adopted as to purpose and author. The external attestation for the second epistle and still more for the third is much weaker than for the first. Even though this is intelligible enough in view of their brevity and of their designation of their author as Elder, it yet permits any view which may he required by the hypotheses mentioned above, especially the view which relegates them to a, date appreciably later than the first. Lüdemann (*JPT*, 1879, pp. 565-576) has even sought to establish a probability that the two minor epistles. which he assigns to a date earlier than that of the first epistle or of the gospel, presuppose the work of Papias and subserve the intention of substituting a different picture of John for that drawn by Papias.

We may conclude, then, by pointing out briefly that the first half of the second century suits all the references to the conditions of a later time (less precisely determinable) which we have found in the second and third epistles and in the gospel. In the second and third epistles the most important trace of this kind is the excommunication of one another by Christians and the rise of a hierarchy. In the gospel we have, corresponding to this, on the one band, the idea of the unity of the church (here expressed quite ideally, without any hierarchical flavour: 10 16 17 11 12-23 etc.), on the other hand, the expulsion of Christians from the synagogue, which Barcochba carried out. The assigning of this in 9 22 to the lifetime of Jesus is certainly not historical (see GOSPELS, § 136). It is significant that 16 2 announces it for a future time. The same period fits also the tendency to detach the responsiblity for the condemnation of Jesus as much as possible from the Roman government and to roll it on to the Jews, a tendency even more marked in Jn. 18 26-19 16 than in the synoptics (cp GOSPELS, § 108). Jesus acknowledges himself not as Messiah of the Jews, but as King of Truth; politically, therefore—this is the political aspect of the narrative—Christianity is not dangerous.

66. Literature.

Of conservative works on the Johannine question that of Luthardt (*Der joh. Urspr. des 4. Ev.*, '74; ET by C. R. Gregory, *St. John the author of the Fourth Gospel*, '75, with copious bibliography) deserves special mention; of 'mediating' works, that of Beyschlag (*Die Joh. Frage*, '76, previously in *St. Kr.* '74 *f.*). The most important critical works are: Bretschneider, *Probabilia*, '20; Baur, *Tübinger theolog. Jahrbb.* '44, 1-191, 397-475, 615-700 and *Die kanonischen Evangelien*, '47; Hilgenfeld, *Das Ev. u. die Briefe Johannis*, '49, and *Die Evangelien*, '54; Scholten, *Het Evangelië naar Johannes*, '64, Germ. transl. 67; Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, i. '67, 103-172; Thoma, *Genesis des Joh.-Ev.*, '82; Jacohsen, *Untersuchungen über das Joh.-Ev*, '84; Oscar Holtzmann, *Joh.-Evang.*, '87. Baldensperger, *Prolog des 4. Evang.*, '98 (regards polemic and apologetic against the sect of the Disciples of John as the aim of almost the whole gospel). Too late to be used in the above article appeared Kreyenhuhl, *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit*, i. (1900). The Johannine question enters here quite a new stage. Kreyenbiihl regards the Fourth Gospel as a Gnostic work, and seeks to ascribe it to Menander of Antioch, a pupil of Simon Magus.

[The English literature on the subject in mainly 'conservative'; see, especially, Sanday, *Authorship and Hist. Char. of Fourth Gosp.* ('72); *The Gospels in the Second Cent.* ('76); Salmon, *Hist. Introd. to NT* ('85); Watkins, *Mod. Crit. considered in Rel. to* Fourth *Gospel* ('90); Gloag, *Introd. to Joh. Writings* ('91); Lightfoot, *Essays on the Work entitled 'Supernatural Religion'* (orig. in *Cont. Rev.* '74-'77) and 'on the Internal Evidence for the Authenticity. and Genuineness of St. John's Gospel' in the *Expositor* (Jan. Feh. 1889); T. B. Strong, art; 'John' in Hastings, *DB*, 2; Reynolds, art. 'John, Gospel of, *ib.*; Salmond, 'John, Epistles of,' *ib.*; also the comm. of Westcott, 'Gosp. of St. John,' in *Speaker's Commentary*, and *Epp. of St. John*, 3rd ed. ('85) and Hummer, *St. John's Gospel and Epistles* ('96). The critical view is represented by J. J. Tayler, *An Attempt to Ascertain the Character of the* Fourth *Gospel, especially in its relation to the first three* ('67); by the anonymous author of *Supernatural Religion: an Enquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation* (vol. ii., '74); by E. A. Ahhott, art. 'Gospels' in *Ency. Brit.* ('79'; see also GOSPELS, above, §§ 8-107); and by B. W. Bacon, *Introd. to NT* (1900), pp. 230-279.]

P. W. S.

SOME PASSAGES REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING ARTICLE

Mt. 11 25-30	§ 25 *b*	2527
Mt. 16 16 *f.*	§ 25 *b*	2528
Mt. 21 17	§ 22 *g*	2524
Mk. 11 19	§ 22 *g*	2524
Mk. 14 12-16	§ 21 *c*	2523
Mk. 14 17	§ 21 *c*	2523
Mk. 14 43 47	§ 22 *f*	2524
Mk. 15 25	§ 23 *b*	2524
Mk. 15 46	§ 22 *e*	2524
Lk. 16 19-31	§ 35 *b*	2539
Lk. 21 37	§ 22 *g*	2524
Lk. 22 26 *f.*	§ 35 *f*	2539 *f.*
Lk. 22 43 *f.*	§ 25 *b*	2528
Jn. 1 1	§ 31 *f*	2534 *f.*
Jn. 1 18	n. 1	2535
Jn. 1 14	§ 31 *d* 32	2534
Jn. 1 14	§ 50	2551
Jn. 1 45-51	§ 35 *h*	2540
Jn. 2 1-11	§ 35e	2539
Jn. 2 20	§ 38	2542
Jn. 3 1-21	§ 35h	2540
Jn. 3 3 5	§ 25 *b*	2527
Jn. 3 6	§ 29 *a*	2532
Jn. 3 16 *f.*	§ 50	2551
Jn. 3 16	§ 31 *c*	2534
Jn. 4 2	§ 34 *b*	2538
Jn. 4 21-24	§ 62 *b*	2558
Jn. 4 46-54	§ 20 *c*	2521
Jn. 5 1-16	§ 35 *c*	2539
Jn. 5 1-16	§ 56 *d*	2556
Jn. 5 24	§ 28 *a*	2531
Jn. 5 28 *f.*	§ 28 *b*	2531
Jn. 5 43	§ 52	2551
Jn. 6 1-63	§ 23	2525
Jn. 6 4	§ 34 *c*	2538
Jn. 6 39 *ff.*	§ 28 *b*	2531
Jn. 6 39 *ff.*	§ 56 *c*	2555
Jn. 6 41 *f.*	§ 25 *c*	2528
Jn. 6 51-59	§ 21 *c*	2523
Jn. 6 52	§ 25 *c*	2528
Jn. 6 68 *f.*	§ 19	2520
Jn. 7 39	§ 26 *c*	2530
Jn. 7 39	§ 62 *c*	2559
Jn. 8 44	§ 50	2551
Jn. 8 56 *f.*	§ 25 *c*	2528
Jn. 8 58	§ 30	2533
Jn. 9 1-41	§ 35 *d*	2539
Jn. 9 1-41	§ 56 *d*	2556
Jn. 10 6	§ 25 *a*	2527
Jn. 10 15	§ 25 *b*	2528
Jn. 10 30 38	§ 30	2533
Jn. 11 1-44	§ 20 *a*	2520
Jn. 11 1-44	§ 35 *b*	2538
Jn. 11 1-44	§ 37 *a*	2541
Jn. 11 1-44	§ 56 *b*	2555
Jn. 11 25 *f.*	§ 28 *c*	2532
Jn. 11 25 *f.*	§ 56 *b*	2555
Jn. 11 33 35 38	§ 26 *d*	2530
Jn. 11 39	§ 20 *a*	2520
Jn. 11 42	§ 26 *a*	2530
Jn. 11 49	§ 38	2542
Jn. 12 1	§ 23 *c*	2525
Jn. 12 20-32	§ 27	2531
Jn. 12 27	§ 26 *a*	2529
Jn. 13 1, 29	§ 21 *a*	2522
Jn. 13 1-17	§ 35 f	2539
Jn. 13 23	§ 41 *b*	2544
Jn. 14 2	§ 45 *d*	2547
Jn. 16 16-22	§ 28 *b*	2531
Jn. 18 1	§ 38	2542
Jn. 18 13	§ 38	2542
Jn. 18 28	§ 21 *a*	2522
Jn. 19 14	§ 23 *b*	2524
Jn. 19 23 *f.*	§ 23 *f*	2526
Jn. 19 26	§ 41 *b*	2544
Jn. 19 24 28	§ 23	2526
Jn. 19 28	§ 26 *a*	2530
Jn. 19 34-37	§ 23 *d*	2525
Jn. 19 35	§ 41 *a b*	2545
Jn. 19 35	§ 50	2551
Jn. 19 36	§ 23 *a*	2524
Jn. 21	§ 40	2543
Jn. 21 24 *f.*	§ 41	2543
1 Cor. 5 7	§ 23 *f*	2526
2 Cor. 3 17	§ 62 *c*	2559
2 Tim. 2 18	§ 28 *c*	2531
1 Jn. 2 12-14	§ 60	2557
1 Jn. 2 22	§ 57	2556
1 Jn. 3 9	§ 57	2556
1 Jn. 4 2 *f.*	§ 47	2547
1 Jn. 5 6	§ 23 *d*	2525
2 Jn. 1	§ 63	2560
3 Jn. 9	§ 63	2560
2 Pet. 1 14	§ 43	2545
Rev. 19 13	§ 14 *c*	2517

JOIADA (יוֹיָדָע, 'Yah knows'; an abbreviation of יְהוֹיָדָע: see JEHOIADA).

1 (AV JEHOIADA) b. Paseah, in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*; EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 [1 (a)]), Neh. 3 6 (ιοειαα [B], υιοι εδα [ℵ], ιοειδα [A], ιωδαε [L]).

2. Son of Eliashib the high priest, in pedigree of Jaddua (EZRA ii., § 6 9; contemporary with Nehemiah: Neh. 12 10 *f.* (ιωδα [B and in *v.* 11 ℵ*], ιωδαε [ℵ], ιωαδα [A], ιωιαδα [L]), 22 (ιωαδα [Bℵ*A]), 13 28 (ιωαδα [BN], ιωιαδα [AL]).

JOIAKIM (יוֹיָקִים, cp JEHOIAKIM), ben Jeshua; high priest; Neh. 12 10 12 26 (ιωακειμ [BKAL]).

JOIARIB (יוֹיָרִיב; ιωρειβ [Bℵc.a vid.], ιωιαρ[ε]ιβ [Aℵc.a mg. sup. L], ιωρειμ [K]).

1. Neh. 11 10 (ιωριβ [A]) 12 6 (Bℵ*A om.) 12 19 (Bℵ*A om. ιωαριβ [ℵc.a mg. inf.]). See JEHOIARIB.

2. A Judahite, temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 11 5, ιωρειμ [ℵ*]).

JOKDEAM (יָקְדְעָם, ιαρεικαμ [B], ιεκδααμ [A], ιεκν. [L]), in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned with Juttah and Jezreel (Josh. 15 56†). The name is probably a corruption of JORKEAM, a clan-name or place-name in 1 Ch. 2 44, belonging to the SW. of Hebron, and to be identified with REKEM. The place intended by Jorkeam and Rekem is probably the Judahite CARMEL (כרמל), and the common original of all these forms is probably Jerahmeel (ירחמאל). The Jerahmeelites did not confine themselves to the Negeb. See JERAHMEEL, § 4. T. K. C.

JOKIM (יוֹקִים, § 31), a descendant of SHELAH (1 Ch. 4 22). The name might conceivably be mis-spelt for JEHOIAKIM (so 𝔊BAL, ιωακειμ); but cp JASHUBI-LEHEM.

JOKMEAM (יָקְמְעָם as if = 'let the [divine] Kinsman arise'; rather, perhaps, יָקְמְעָם, 'the Kinsman (?) takes vengeance,' cp 𝔊), a 'Levitical' city in Ephraim (1 Ch. 6 68 [53], ικααμ [B], ιεκμααν [A], -μ [L]), mentioned with Shechem, Gezer, and Beth-horon. In the parallel list of Levitical cities in Josh. 21, KIBZAIM is the name given (*v.* 22, καβσαειμ [A], om. B, καβσεμ [L]). This form, however, seems to be an old corruption of Jokmeam (קבצים from קמעם[י]). Jokmeam is also mentioned in 1 K. 4 12 (λουκαμ [B; ל precedes], εκ μααν [A], ουκαμ [L]), but the reading rendered 'as far as beyond Jokmeam' (so RV, and similarly the Geneva Bible, but AV, by a printer's error, substitutes Jokneam) is probably corrupt; substitute 'as far as the ford of Meholah' (עד מעבר מחולה). See ZARETHAN. T. K. C.

JOKNEAM (יָקְנְעָם, rather יָקְנְעָם, 'Jikneam,' as if 'the (divine) Kinsman (?) makes, or acquires'; We. *Heid.*(2) 4, compares εκνιβαλος, the name of a king of Tyre, Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 21; ιεκναμ [AL]).[1]

1. A town of Zebulun (Josh. 19 11, ιεκμαν [B]), reckoned by P as Levitical (Josh. 21 34, μααν [B], εκναμ [A]). It was also a royal city of the Canaanites (12 22, ιεκομ [B], -μμαμ [L], ιεκοναμ [A]); Thotmes III. claims to have taken it in his victorious campaign against the 'upper Rutennu' (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 393). The city was situated in the Carmel district (12 22), to the E. of *a* torrent-valley (נַחַל; 19 11). We may probably identify it with the CYAMON [*q.v.*] of Judith 7 3, and both with the *Tell Ḳaimūn*, on the E. side of the Wādy el-Milh, at its mouth as it enters the plain of Esdraelon, to which Eusebius and Jerome refer as καμμωνα, *Cimona* (see CAMON). 'The position is conspicuous and important, commanding the main pass from the western portion of Esdraelon to the more southern plain' (Rob.). On 'Jokneam' in 1 K. 4 12, AV, see JOKMEAM.

2. The Jokneam referred to above is called by way of distinction 'Jokneam in Carmel' (Josh. 12 22). It follows that another Jokneam must have existed elsewhere. Probably it lay in the hill country of Judah, JOKDEAM (*q.v.*) in Josh. 15 56 (ιεκναμ [L]) being wrong in the third letter.

1 On the forms cp Rob. *BR*, 4 115.

JOKSHAN (יָקְשָׁן; ιεζαν, BD and in 1 Ch. L; in Gen. 25 2 A (see Swete); in *v.* 3 AbD (ιεζαν [A*]); ιεκcαν [A in 1 Ch.], ιεκταν [E and L in Gen.]), a son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25 2 *f.* [J], 1 Ch. 1 32).

Interpreted of a tribe *Yāḳiš* in Yemen by Arabian genealogists (see Osiander, *ZDMG* 10 31). Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 453) compares names like *Waḳaša* in S. Arabia. Tuch's identification with Joktan (Gen. 10 26) is attractive, but the change of ט into ש is hard to explain. F. B.

JOKTAN (יָקְטָן; ιεκταν [AEL] = יָקְטָן), younger son of Eber, and father of thirteen sons or peoples,—Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal or Ebal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab (Gen. 10 25-30 = 1 Ch. 1 19-23). Probably there were originally only twelve in the list (cp Israel, Ishmael, and see GENEALOGIES i., col. 1661, n. 2).[1]

Joktan is the assumed ancestor of the older Arabian tribes as distinguished from those later tribes which were more closely related by origin and perhaps by language to the Israelites. The Arab genealogists identify the name with that of Ḳaḥṭān, an ancient southern Arabian tribe well known to themselves (see GENEALOGIES i., § 2). But this identification has no historical value. The name Joktan may indeed be simply an artificial name, devised for the younger son of Eber. When we look at the names of the Joktanites, we notice that two of them (Sheba and Havilah) occur in the list of Cushites. This simply arises from the fact that the names of the Cushites and the Joktanites come from different documents (P and J respectively), reflecting, perhaps, different political circumstances and tribal relations. It is difficult to explain all the Joktanite names. The very first (ALMODAD) is among the most obscure; the name seems Sabæan. The limits of the Joktanites (Gen. 10 30) are also matter for discussion (see MESHA, SEPHAR).

JOKTHEEL (יָקְתְאֵל; for attempted explanations see Wetzstein in Del. *Jesaia*(3), 703; Olsh. *LB* 624).

1. A city in the lowland of Judah, mentioned between Mizpeh and Lachish, Josh. 15 38; either miswritten for Elteḳeh, or a corruption of Jerahmeel from which indeed Elteḳeh may also come (cp ιακαρεηλ [B], but AL ιεχθαηλ). Cp JEKUTHIEL.

2. The name given by AMAZIAH (*q.v.*) to a place in Edom called 'the Cliff' (הַסֶּלַע) which he had captured, 2 K. 14 7 (καθοηλ [BL], ιεκθοηλ [A]); it is the rock, or cliff, of Kadesh-barnea' which is meant. Halévy seeks to illustrate it by 2 Ch. 25 14, where Amaziah is accused of having bowed down before the gods of Edom, and extracts from it the meaning 'Yaḳt is God' (*Études dédiées à M. le Dr. Leemans*, 134). No such Edomite deity as Yakt is, however, known. The name is corrupt. 'Joktheel' should probably be 'Jerahmeel'; for the battle was in the valley called *hammelaḥ*, or rather Jerahmeel (see SALT, VALLEY OF). On the 'ragged spur of the north-easterly mountain-range' from underneath which the fountain of Kadesh issues, there must have been a fort. This fort Amaziah captured and named Jerahmeel, because of the 'crowning mercy' which he had received. It is true, the place is commonly (see *e.g.* Kittel, *Hist.* 2 289), identified with Petra; but this must be an error, as Ki. in his commentary has shown: See SELA. T. K. C.

JONA (ιωανου [WH], -ννου [Ti.]), Jn. 1 42; RV 'John.' See JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 1, and cp BAR-JONA.

JONADAB (יוֹנָדָב, §§ 27 44 46; ιωναδαβ [BℵAQL], abbrev. from יְהוֹנָדָב 'Yahwè is munificent,' cp Nedabiah, Abinadab, Amminadab).

1. Son of Shammah and nephew of David, who displayed his 'subtlety' in advising his cousin Amnon how to entrap his half-sister Tamar; 2 S. 13 3 *ff.* (in *v.* 5 MT gives 'Jehonadab'; ιωναδαβ [Ba(vid.)b], -αμ [B*b *v.* 3, B *v.* 5], in *vv.* 3 5, ιωναθαν [L]). See JONATHAN (4).

2. Son of Rechab and presumed author of the rules which bound the Rechabites, Jer. 35 6 8 *ff.* (ιωναδαν [ℵ] in *v.* 8; ιωναδ [Q*] in *v.* 16). 'Jonadab' in MT only in *vv.* 6 10 19; elsewhere 'Jehonadab.' It is usual to

1 𝔊 as represented by some MSS restored the normal number by leaving out Obal in Gen. and Jerah in Ch. The former omission has some plausibility (see EBAL, 2).

identify this Jonadab with 3. The true 'father' of the Rechabites, however, was of older date. See RECHABITES.

3. EV JEHONADAB, b. Rechab, an abettor of Jehu in his 'zeal for Yahwè,' 2 K. 10 15 23. The clasping of hands in *v.* 15 implies partnership in the measures which followed (see HAND, *b*), though there are difficulties in the narrative. See JEHU; ISRAEL, § 31; RECHABITES.

4. The name of Saul's second son, according to 𝔊[B], 1 S. 31 2 (see ABINADAB). There is a similar confusion in 𝔊's title of Ps. 71 [𝔊 70] (ιωναδαβ [Bℵ] αμιναδαμ [R]). See JONATHAN, 1.

JONAH (יוֹנָה, § 68, 'dove'; originally, according to Robertson Smith [*J. Phil.*, 9 85], connected with totemism; but many such names in modern Syria, at all events, are certainly due to fancy, and early corruption from יהונתן is possible; ΙωΝΑ [BAL], [in the title] ΙωΝΑC).

1. A prophet, son of Amittai,[1] of GATH-HEPHER (*q.v.*), who prophesied the deliverance of Israel from the Syrian oppression (2 K. 14 25). The reference to Jonah in Tob. 14 4 8 (BA, followed by EV) is probably due to a scribe's error; ℵ reads Ναουμ (Nahum) in *v.* 4. When we compare 2 K. 13 4 *f.* it seems probable that Jonah delivered his prophecy in the time of Jehoahaz, the father of Jeroboam II. (Klost.). Jonah seems to have spoken of a deliverer who would bring the Israelites out of the grasp of Aram (𝔊[L] καὶ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτούς), *so* that they would dwell in their tents as beforetime. The 'deliverer' is not the Assyrian king Rammān-nirari III. (Duncker; Whitehouse in *COT* 2 324; Wi. *GI* 1 154)—though as a matter of history the victory of that king over Syria must have been a great relief to Israel—but Jeroboam II. There is no probability that the Deuteronomistic writers of 2 K. 13 4-6, 14 25-27 knew anything of Rammān-nirari; but it is beyond doubt that they wished to do honour to Jeroboam. Cp Stade *ZATW*, '85, p. 296. Hitzig and Renan think that the prophecy of Jonah is still extant in Is. 15 *f.*, but this is most improbable. See also JONAH [BOOK]. **T. K. C.**

2. Mt. 16 17. See BAR-JONA.

JONAH [BOOK]. It is by a strange inconsistency that the Book of Jonah ranks among the records of the Twelve Prophets, for the only oracle of Jonah which it professes to give is comprised in five words (Jon. 3 4, Heb.). Obviously it must be compared, not with the accompanying prophetic books, but with narratives of episodes in the lives of prophets, such as are found in 1 K. 17-19, 2 K. 4-6, and Is. 7 1-16, 20 36-39. The narratives referred to are based on traditional material, sometimes oral, sometimes written. Can we hope to find such in the Book of Jonah? Unfortunately we cannot. The leading fact of the story—the journey of an Israelite prophet to Nineveh—is so surprising that only on good pre-exilic testimony could we be excused for receiving it. Such testimony, however, is wanting. No part of the book is pre-exilic; indeed, except in glosses and in the psalm ascribed to Jonah there is no trace of more than one hand.[2]

1. Post-exilic.

1 Winckler AOF 2 262 has suggested that the words 'ben Amittai' in 2 K. are an interpolation from Jon. 1 1; but the double description is unobjectionable (see 1 K. 19 16).

2 Linguistic and other arguments have convinced an American Rabbi that the original Book of Jonah, which he thinks that he has disengaged from the additional matter, was much shorter than the present one, and that it may have been of the age of Jeremiah (Kohler, *Theol. Rev.* '79, pp. 139-144). His method, however, is arbitrary, and linguistically there is no distinction between the original Book and the inserted matter. W. Böhme also denies the unity of authorship (*ZATW* 7 224-284 ['87]). He presents us with two distinct works on the story of Jonah, which have been combined by an editor; he further recognises the hands of a supplementer and of a glossator. Böhme's argument is much more elaborate than Kohler's, but is hypercritical. He greatly exaggerates the critical importance of the inconsistencies, which permit us to speak of glosses, but not of composite authorship (so Kue., *Einl.*, 2426, § 86). For an earlier attempt

1. It is certain that, though the diction of Jonah is purer than that of Esther, Chronicles, and Daniel, it has some striking Aramaisms and other late words or forms. Pusey, it is true, has endeavoured to refute this argument; but his opposition to the criticism of the other OT books prevents him from forming a just idea of the phases of linguistic development. The phase of Hebrew which meets us in the book of Jonah is not that of the eighth century' (König)—not that of Amos and Hosea. One need not lay any stress on סְפִינָה, which, though more Aramaic than Hebrew, might perhaps have been used by the non-maritime Israelites before the Exile;[1] but such words and forms as these are conclusive as *to* the post-exilic date of the Book;—שָׁתַק (1 12); קְרִיאָה (3 2); טַעַם (3 7); עָמַל, 'to labour' (4 10); רִבּוֹ (4 11); מִנָּה (2 1 4 6 *ff.*); בְּשֶׁלְּמִי (1 7); בְּשֶׁלִּי (1 12); שֶׁבִּן (4 10). יתעשת (1 6) and חרישית (4 8) are designedly omitted.[2]

2. The writer's conception of pre-exilic prophecy is opposed to the facts of prophecy gathered from the works of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. He imagines that revelations were, to prophets of the eighth century, as objective, as external, as they were to Zechariah. Doubtless it suited his purpose (which we shall study presently) to represent Jonah as seeking to evade his mission; but he could not have done this had he lived in the age of Amos and Hosea. (The story of the disobedient prophet in 1 K. 13 is also too peculiar to be pre-exilic.) He assumes too that Jonah would have been surprised at the non-fulfilment of a prediction—a surprise which there is no reason to suppose such a result would have awakened in Hosea, though certainly that prophet would have been very much surprised at the conversion of the arrogant Assyrians.

3. The writer's explicitly universalistic conception of religion and morality (cp 4 11 with Ps. 36 6 [7] *b*) is not in harmony with the prophecy of the eighth century.

4. His imitativeness is equally striking; cp *e.g.*, 3 9 with Joel 2 14; 4 2 with Joel 2 13 and Ex. 34 6; and the story of Jonah under the *ḳīḳāyōn* (see below, § 5) with that of Elijah under the broom-plant in the desert (1 K. 19 4 *ff.*).

[illegible] Th[illegible] mention of Nineveh as a city of the past (ונינוה היתה, 3 3) wit[illegible] details implying that the readers did not kn[illegible]w much ab[illegible]t it, is significant.

[illegible] Note als[illegible] tl[illegible] pa[illegible]er [illegible] i[illegible]p[illegible]r[illegible]iliti[illegible]s of [illegible] story. A prophet of t[illegible] ti[illegible] of Je[illegible]a[illegible]az b[illegible] hes [illegible]i[illegible]self from Ya[illegible] land in order to divest himself of his prophetic character (contrast A[illegible]. In order to go to Tarshish he [illegible] d[illegible], not to Tyre, but to the comparatively unimportant seaport of [illegible]oppa. He is swallowed up by a great 'fish,' and remains three days in the fish's belly. [illegible]e comes out alive (we are not told the place of his lar[illegible]ing), [illegible] among t[illegible] fierce Ninevites [illegible] c[illegible]p[illegible]nion or [illegible]nt[illegible], believing that he will [illegible]a[illegible] more influ[illegible] [illegible] them than their o[illegible] prophets and teachers. We [illegible] not informed what the offence of t[illegible] Ni[illegible]it[illegible] w[illegible] nur[illegible] to th[illegible] king. T[illegible] assures us, however, that [illegible]ing and p[illegible]opl[illegible] turned to [illegible] (contrast N[illegible]h. 3 1 4), and so [illegible]caped the threatened destruction. Last, [illegible] least, [illegible]e hav[illegible] [illegible] singular episode of the plant which 'came up i[illegible] a [illegible]ht an[illegible] [illegible]ish[illegible] in a night' (lit. 'son of a night').

2. Class of Literature.

Th[illegible] B[illegible] [illegible]f [illegible] tl[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]st [illegible] to what cl[illegible] of lit[illegible] it [illegible]elong[illegible] Ot[illegible] it is a Midrash,—*i.e.*, 'an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story.'[3] Tobit and Susanna are universally admitted to be such Midrashim; Jonah should be added to the list. As such it is not deprived of value for historical purposes. For, as Kuenen long ago pointed out,[4] the Books of Jonah and Ruth are records of a current of thought among the Jews opposed to that identified with the name of Ezra. That great reformer, and the men of his school, based their system on the recognition of a real and permanent difference between Israel and the heathen, and even psalmists of the post-exilic period spoke sometimes as if the 'nations' were necessarily wicked because non-Israelites. Against this the author of Jonah enters a protest. The scene of the prophet under the *ḳīḳāyōn* is specially introduced to check Jewish

(by Nachtigall) to dissect the Book of Jonah see Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek*, 9 2, 221-273; Bertholdt *'Einl.* 2407-2412; and cp Kleinert (*Comm.* 19), who is willing to admit that a later writer (*temp.* Ezekiel) may have based his account on two distinct traditional narratives.

1 SS read סְפִינוֹת for שְׂכִיּוֹת in Is. 2 16; but this is hardly the best critical emendation.

2 Both words are plainly corrupt. Read for the former יתחשב [or יחשב], and for the latter בְּצֵחַר ('it came to pass at dawn, when the sun rose').

3 Dr. *Introd.* 497; cp We. *Prol.*(4) 227 *f.* (chap. 6, end).

4 *Rel. Isr.* 2 243 *f.*; *Ond.*(1) 2 412.

arrogance, and the whole course of the previous story leads to a fairer view of 'the nations.' Indeed, the writer partly explains the non-fulfilment of prophecies against the heathen (which doubtless puzzled some of his contemporaries) by the readiness of the heathen to repent. One might even infer from the story that he placed the heathen morally and religiously above his own people. Jonah begins by stifling the voice of conscience, and afterwards both expects and desires Nineveh's destruction. No epilogue tells us of any change in the prophet's feelings towards the heathen.[1] The Phœnician mariners, on the other hand, fear the great God of the Hebrews (Jon. 1 9 *f.*), and the people of Nineveh at once repent on hearing the prophetic announcements (Jon. 3 6-9). We are reminded of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, and of a more ancient and venerable story (the Good Samaritan).

This theory has excellent points ; but it does not do justice to the entire problem. If the hero of the story is merely a type of the too exclusive contemporaries of the writer, why is he called Jonah? why is he made a prophet? and why is he swallowed-up by a fish? These questions are to a large extent answered by the symbolic theory.

3. Problems of the book.

1. The hero of the story is called Jonah, not primarily because an early narrative mentions a person of this name, but because a custom was springing up of calling Israel, symbolically, a dove. The earliest trace of this is in Ps. 68 13 [14], where the people of Israel, delivered by its God from the powerful kings of Caanan, and enriched with their spoil, is called a dove[2] 'whose wings [God] will cover with silver and her feathers with gold.'[3] Elsewhere the faithful community personified wishes for itself the wings of a dove, not for their beauty, but for their swiftness and for the unerring instinct which leads the doves to their retreats (Ps. 55 6-8 [7-9]).

2. Jonah is made a prophet, because Israel was called upon to prophesy.[4] The Prophecy of Restoration said that all Zion's children would be Yahwè's disciples—*i.e.* prophets (Is. 54 13 ; cp 50 4)—and that the duty of the prophetic 'Servant of Yahwè' was to make known the true religion to the nations (Is. 42 4 49 6), for which purpose he was specially endowed (Is. 40 3 · cp 50 4). It is true, there was a historical Jonah who prophesied, and who: by an interesting coincidence, is called 'Yahwè's servant (עַבְדּוֹ, 2 K. 14 25 ; cp Jon. 1 9 𝔊, δοῦλος κυρίου ἐγώ εἰμι) ; but this was not the fundamental point with the late narrator, whose mind was absorbed in symbolism. It is also to be observed that, according to II. Isaiah, the 'servant of Yahwè' would not 'draw back' from his work (Is. 50 5). The psalmists, too, bring Israel's deliverance into connection with the spread of true religion (see Ps. 22 26 [27] *f.* 96-100), and one of them makes the true Israelite promise to speak of God's precepts (like Jonah) before kings (Ps. 119 46).

3. Jonah is swallowed up by the sea because this was a common poetical phrase for the danger of destruction which repeatedly beset Israel (see Is. 43 2, Ps. 18 15 [16] 32 6 42 7 [8] 66 12 69 1 [2] *f.* 74 [15] *f.* 124 4 *f.* Lam. 3 54). And the purpose of the whole story, according to the symbolic theory, is, that Israel, called to preach to the nations (a touching antedating of II. Isaiah's revelation), evaded its duty, that God punished Israel by exile, but turned the punishment to Israel's good, and that Israel afterwards took up its neglected duty, but in an unloving spirit which grieved its patient teacher, the all-merciful God of the whole human race.

The theory here described is a great advance upon the preceding one, and much credit is due to Kleinert (1868) and J. S. Bloch (1876) for applying the key of symbolism to the narrative more fully than any previous writers. But the hesitation of critics to adopt it indicates that there is some serious defect in it. Where it fails is

4. The great fish.

in its treatment of the story of the great fish. It is a mistake to say that 'Jonah's adventure in the sea is but a very subordinate feature' (Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, 2 209). On the contrary, it is the turning point of the whole narrative ; Yahwè 'prepared' the great fish to be an instrument not only of preservation but also of moral discipline to the disobedient prophet. We must therefore supplement the key of symbolism by that of mythology.

The earlier critics (*e.g.*, Eichhorn) were not wrong in seeking for parallels where they could at the time most easily be found, viz. in Greek mythology. That Andromeda was in peril from a sea-monster on the rocks of Joppa, gives, however, no real help ; the myth may rather be regarded as an ætiological one for Joppa (JOPPA, § 3); and only very moderate requirements can be satisfied with the parallel of the story of Hesione. F. C. Baur went to the right quarter when he took a hint from Bērōssus (Oannes) ; but Jonah neither was, according to the story nor could conceivably have been, represented as a fish-god, which is also an objection to Trumbull's original use of DAGON [*q.v.*] and Oannes in *JBL* 11 ('92), Pt. 1. Quite recently Ball (*PSBA*), König (Hastings' *DB* 2 747*b*), and some less accredited writers, have supposed a connection between the mention of the 'great fish' and the fact that the Assyrian ideogram for Nineveh implies the explanation 'fish-dwelling (Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 57 ; but cp Hommel, *PSBA*, '99, 'Assyriological Notes,' § 42).

Apart from other objections, however, (1) there is no trace of the writer of Jonah having been a man of learning, and (2) criticism should group, not isolate, narratives, phrases, or other data which may refer to folklore. We have many references to the dragon-myth in the OT, and it is quite easy to regard the 'great fish' as a degenerate dragon ; whereas fish-myths are, naturally enough, unrepresented. König even illustrates the sojourn of Jonah in 'the belly of the fish' by the descent of the 'dove' Semiramis from the 'fish-woman' Atargatis or Derceto.

That critics should look everywhere except in the right place for the origin of the Jonah story is one of the many proofs that the reproaches addressed to us by Winckler are not wholly unjustified.

Tylor saw much more clearly than most contemporary critics when he pointed out that the widely-spread nature-myth of the dragon lies at the root of the apologue of Jonah.[1] But it was left for the present writer, in 1877, to combine the theory of Bloch with that of Tylor, and to show how indispensable each was to a due comprehension of the narrative. In details both theories admitted of improvement, by the help partly of biblical exegesis, partly of Assyriology. The writer also pointed out that the myth of the dragon or sea-monster is preserved, not only in the story of Jonah, but also in fragmentary allusions to Rahab, the leviathan, and the *tannin* in the Books of Job and the Second Isaiah (cp DRAGON). The only error (an error into which G. A. Smith seems to have fallen in *Twelve Prophets*, 2 524) was in not distinguishing sufficiently between the dragon of the subterranean and the dragon of the heavenly ocean. It is the dragon of the subterranean ocean which (at Yahwè's command —for he has been subjugated by Yahwè) swallowed up Jonah ; or, to pass from the myth to its application, it is the all-absorbing empire of Babylon which swallowed up Israel — not, however, to destroy it, but to preserve it and to give it room for repentance.

The present writer also indicated the link between the story of Jonah and the original myth.

That link is to be found in Jer. 51 34 44,—'Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon has eaten and discomfited me (*i.e.*, Israel); he has set me as an empty vessel, he has swallowed me up as the Dragon[2] (כַּתַּנִּין), he has filled his belly with my dainties ; he has cast me out.' 'And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and bring forth that which he has swallowed out of his mouth.' Of course, it is only a shrivelled-up myth that we have before us. Bel, who in the Babylonian story is the opponent of the dragon, has now become identified with that monster, and (as the destroying dragon) is for a time successful. Bel, or the dragon, has in fact, as we have seen already, become a symbol of the Babylonian

1 The omission of an epilogue was every way advisable. (1) If Jonah was symbolical, it remained to be seen whether those who were symbolised would amend their ways or not. (2) Epilogues are apt to weaken the effect of a work of art (as in the case of Job).

2 Symbolical designations of peoples are in the manner of this psalmist (see Ps. 68 30 [31]).

3 Point יְחֻפָּה, and for בִּירַקְרַק חָרוּץ read simply בְּחָרוּץ (Che. *Ps.* (2)).

4 In later times Jonah or 'Dove' became a standing title for Israel. Both 𝔊 and Tg. recognise the people or the congregation in the יונת of Ps. 56 1. Cp Talm. Bab. *Gittīn*, 45*a*, etc., and the Midrash on Cant. 2 14 4 1 ; also the *Piūṭīm* in the Jewish Passover Service, based on the midrashic explanation of the Song of Songs (especially the first, *Festival Prayers*, de Sola's ed., 1 97).

1 *Primitive Culture*, 1 306 ; cp *Early Hist. of Mankind*, 336 *f.* ; Waitz, *Anthrop.*, 6 670 ; de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, 2 390.

2 Or 'as a dragon.' Mythical dragons (plur.) are referred to in Ps. 74 13*b* Job 9 13 : 'helpers of Rahab.' The singular, however, is more obvious. כְּרֵשׂ, 'belly' occurs only in Jer. 51 34; cp *karšāšu*, 'her (Tiāmat's) belly,' in the account of the fight between Tiāmat and Marduk (Del. *Weltschöpf.* 44 106).

empire and of its head Nebuchadrezzar, who thought to bring Israel under his own power, but whom Jeremiah (27 6) distinctly calls Yahwè's 'servant' (*i.e.*, commissioned agent). For another instance of a story ultimately based on mythology, we may venture to refer to ESTHER (*q.v.*).

It is strange that Simpson (*The Jonah Legend*, '99), though he refers once to the Babylonian Tiāmat legend, should so completely miss its significance as to make the stretching out of the slain monster's skin support his theory that the story of Jonah sprang out of a ceremony which was acted at a rite of initiation (perhaps into a priesthood). Criticism and archæology seem here to be parted.

5. The plant. The story of the wonderful plant, which contrasts with Elijahs perfectly natural desert plant in 1 K. 19 4, has quite a different origin, being obviously the product of the fancy of an individual. The name קִיקָיוֹן is probably connected with the Assyr. *kukkânitum* (√כקן); this designates some garden-plant, the precise nature of which is unknown (for another such Assyr. plant-name in Hebrew see HABAKKUK). If the mention of the 'booth' (4 5) belongs (as it probably does) to the original narrative, we can hardly help agreeing with Tristram that some kind of gourd is meant, gourds being commonly used for shading arbours. If, however, the narrator mentioned only the plant, we may not unreasonably fix upon the *Ricinus communis*, L. (see GOURD). In either case, the growth of the plant has been supernaturally fostered.

We may compare the plant with the carob-tree (see HUSKS) which bore no fruit for seventy years as a sign to Honi Hame'agel that he had really slept seventy years, and which so proved to him the credibility of Ps. 126 1 (see Talm. Bab. *Ta'ănīth*, 23 *a*).

On the other hand, folklore is certainly present in the story of the voyage.

Jonah, revealed by the lot as the guilty cause of the ship's danger, and thereupon thrown into the sea, is the counterpart of Mittavindaka, the son of a merchant of Benares, who is put out of the ship in which he has embarked as the spoiler of its luck, but not so roughly as Jonah.[1] He answers equally to the merchant in the Roman folk-tale of the Pot of Rue,[2] and the same traditional idea is at any rate presupposed in the classical passages (*e.g.*, Horat. *Od.* 3 26-30) quoted by Kalisch (*Bib. St.* 2 162, n. *d*). Primitive superstition has also supplied a detail to chap. 3. The Persians are said to have made their horses and draught-beasts join with them in the rites of mourning for Masistius (Herod. 9 24). But the Assyrians in Jonah go beyond the Persians; they make their animals abstain from food like themselves to propitiate Yahwè. This may imply the Jewish idea of the depravation of animal nature (Gen. 6 1 *f.*; cp Is. 11 6-8). For this Whitley Stokes has produced a parallel in mediæval Irish literature.[3]

Into the question of editorial alterations we cannot enter at length. The attempt of Bohme to distinguish four strata in the Book of Jonah has been already referred to (col. 2561, n. 2); it carries us beyond the evidence. But a few minor interpolations or insertions may safely be allowed, in addition to the great one in 2 1-9.

6. State of the text. That chap. 4 has been touched by scribes or editors is obvious (see especially Wi. *AOF* 2 264 *f.*).[4] It is not impossible that the detail of the booth (*v.* 5) is an addition, and that it is connected with an alteration in the prophetic announcement of Jonah (so K. Kohler). According to the MT of 3 4 Jonah 'cried and said Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.' 𝔊, however, gives three days instead of forty as the interval allowed, and though this reading may conceivably be an error produced by the mention of 'three days' journey' in *v.* 3, it is also possible that it may be correct. The story is constructed for effect, and the wonder of the repentance of the heathen Ninevites would be still greater if only three days were allowed as an interval than if there were forty.[5]

[1] 'Jona c. 1 u. Jāk. 43 9,' by E. Hardy (*ZDMG* 50 153). In the Buddhist story it was not a storm, but another unknown power which hindered the progress of the ship. The guilt of Mittavindaka was caused by his disobedience to his mother. In almost the same words as those of Jon. 1 8, the mariners obeyed the law of self-preservation. Mittavindaka was put out upon a raft, and the ship pursued its course.

[2] See Miss Busk's *Folklore of Rome*, 57-62. In this case the hero of the story is not actually thrown overboard.

[3] *Lebar Brecc* 259, cited in *Acad.*, 15th Aug. '96, p. 155.

[4] The compound divine name Yahwè Elohim (4 6) is due to an editor. His object was to show that the Yahwè who prepared the 'gourd' was the Elohim who prepared the worm (4 7). It is true, this was very unnecessary with the clear statement of 1 10. Cp Gen. 2 4-3 as we now have it.

[5] Kohler, *Theol. Rev.*, '79, pp. 140 143.

A later editor, however, might prefer forty days, and alter the text accordingly, at the same time introducing the booth (see BOOTH) as a shelter for Jonah for the remainder of his time. This suggestion will seem to most not very probable. It was at any rate an editor that inserted the psalm in chap. 2, which is largely composed of reminiscences of the canonical psalms (31 42 88 107 115 *f.* 120 142). It is, if faithfully interpreted, not more connected with the story of the prophet Jonah than the psalm of Hannah is with that of Hannah; for it describes how pious Israel, when in danger of extinction, struggled with its despondency. Not improbably the editor found a connection, apart from the purely external one, in the phraseology of *v.* 2*b* ('out of the belly of Shĕōl,' etc.). He may also have known that the Jonah of the book was, like JOB (*q.v.*), a מָשָׁל or similitude.[1]

7. Other problems. Three questions now occur. (1) Why was the book placed in the 'Twelve' (δωδεκαπρόφητον)? (2) Was it previously an independent literary work? and (3) What is its date? A brief answer must suffice. (1) The probability is that the closing words, assigned to God himself, brought the book into the prophetic canon. (2) Budde (*ZATW* 12 40-43, ['92]) conjectures that the Book of Jonah was originally a part of the Midrash (RV 'commentary') of the Book of Kings, on which Chronicles is based (2 Ch. 24 27). The introductory 'And it came to pass' (וַיְהִי), and the absence of the descriptive statement 'who was of Gath-hepher' (*v.* 1), appeared at first sight to favour this. But the difficulty of imagining a reference to Assyria and still more to the destruction of Nineveh, has been well pointed out by Winckler (*AOF* 2 261), who would prefer to give the Book of Jonah a place in that Midrash where the reign of Manasseh was treated. The Midrashic narrative of Jonah explained, according to Wi., why the prophecy of Nahum was not strictly fulfilled. Wi. also thinks that the Jonah of the apologue is not the Jonah of Gath-hepher (see JONAH i. n.). (Cp Smend, *A T Rel.-gesch.* 409; Konig, *Einl.* § 77, p. 379.) (3) The book is apparently referred to in Tobit (14 4 8; but see JONAH, 1), and earlier still its existence is presupposed by the mention of the Twelve Prophets in Ecclus. 49 10 (see the Hebrew text). The considerations mentioned above justify us in assigning the narrative, without the psalm, to the half-century which followed the arrival of Ezra. The psalm, however, was probably written much later—as late perhaps as the תְּפִלָּה ('prayer') in the appendix to Ecclesiasticus (51 1-12). If so, it is an interesting fact that the symbolic interpretation of the book should have held its ground so long.

Of later references to the book three have a special claim to be mentioned, viz., two passages in the Talm. and one in the NT.

8. Late references. In *Ta'ănīth*, 15*a*, we are told that, in times of drought, it was usual for one of the leaders of the congregation to expound the teaching of Jonah, and in *Meg.* 10*a*, that Jonah was used as a lesson for the Day of Atonement (a usage which still obtains in the liturgy of the ...).[2] The ... of the doctrine of repentance naturally sent Jewish teachers in search of illustrations to the Book of Jonah (see Brüll, *Jahrbb. f. jüd. Gesch. u. Lit.* 3 158). The third passage is Mt. 12 39-41, which occurs again in a simpler and more probable form[3] in Lk. 11 29 *f.* 32. 'The sign of the prophet Jonah' means the striking fact that an Israelitish prophet proclaimed the purpose of God in a heathen city, and Jesus' statement is that the men of Nineveh will 'rise up' as witnesses (cp ἀναστάντες μάρτυρες, Ps. 35 11, 𝔊) against his own 'generation' and prove them guilty (κατακρινοῦσιν looks like an inaccurate rendering of the Aramaic equivalent of יַרְשִׁיעוּ; cp Is. 54 17, where 'condemn' is an impossible rendering). What the Ninevites testify is that they had not been repelled by the foreign garb and manners of Jonah but had believed him and turned to God. The divine Judge will then condemn the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus because they

[1] So *OPs.* 127.

[2] Jonah himself too is treated in this liturgy with a view to edification. His prayer 'out of the belly of the fish' makes him an example of faith (*Festival Prayers*, de Sola, 5 168).

[3] It may be regarded as critically certain that Mt. 12 40 is a later insertion. It is the explanatory comment of an editor who required a 'sign of Jonah' more marvellous, more overwhelming, than that which Jesus actually offered. The true 'sign of Jonah' must have been one which the Ninevites at once recognised. Cp Sanday, *Bampton Lect.* on *Inspiration*, 419 *ff.* 435; G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* 2 507 *ff.*

did not repent at a still greater 'sign'—the appearance among them of a more exalted personage than Jonah. It may he safely assumed that by the time of Jesus the symbolic character of Jonah had been as completely forgotten as that of the good Samaritan must have been by those who first pointed out the traditional site of the 'inn' of Lk. 10 34.[1]

The post-biblical legends respecting Jonah are uninteresting (see ps.-Epiphanius, *De Vit. Proph.* 16, and cp Kalisch, Bib. *St.* 2 287-290). It was, however, an appropriate fancy to place the tomb of Jonah on the hill called the 'mound of repentance,' from which, the Moslems believe, Jonah delivered addresses to the people of Nineveh, to the E. of the probable site of that city. Nor must we omit to notice that Jonah and a fantastic monster (not a whale) occur several times in early Christian paintings in the catacombs at Rome.

9. Literature, etc.

For a full conspectus of works on Jonah see Kalisch, Bib. *St.* 2, 'The Book of Jonah; '78; Chapman, 'Jonah,' Smith's *DB*(2); or König, Jonah, Hastings' *DB*, vol. 2. Pusey's comm.' should he read on the conservative side—a side which is now seldom represented. Konig, *Einl.*, § 77, is of use for the linguistic argument, and his article, just referred to, comprises a rich collection of facts, though condensation would greatly have improved it. G. A. Smith, on the other hand (*Twelve* Prophets, 2 493 *ff.*) gives much in a small compass, and is very judicious. On 𝔊's text see Vollers, *ZATW* 3 219 *ff.* 4 1 *ff.* Kleinert's contribution to Lange's *Bibelwerk* ('Obadiah,' 'Jonah,' etc., '68) has an interesting introduction. J. S. Bloch, *St. z. Gesch. der Sammlung* der *Alt. Heb. Lit.*, '75, and Che. 'Jonah, A Study in Jewish Folklore and Religion,' in Th. *Rev.*, 211-219 ('77), are referred to above. C. H. H. Wright, *Biblical Studies*, '86 argues very ably for the symbolic apart from the mythical thbory. Nowack, Die *kl. Proph.*, '97, gives a thorough exegesis, hut is most unsatisfactory in his treatment of the affinities of the story (175). Winckler *AOF* 2 260 *ff.* (critically helpful, see above). On the plant called *ḳîḳāyōn* see Tristram in Smith, *DB*, and cp GOURD. T. K. C.

JONAN, RV **Jonam** (ιωναμ [Ti. WH]), a name in the genealogy of Jesus; Lk. 3 30. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

JONAS (1) (ιωνα [B]) 1 Esd. 9 1 RV = Ezra 10 6, JOHANAN, 2.

2. (ιωανας [B], ιωνας [A]), 1 Esd. 9 23 = Ezra 10 23. See ELIEZER, 8.

3. (ιωνα [Ti. WH]), Mt. 12 39, RV JONAH, *q.v.*

4. (ιωαννου [Ti.], -ανου [WH]) Jn. 21 15-17, RV John. See BARJONA, SIMON PETER, JOHN [SON OF ZEBEDEE].

JONATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן and in 7, 8, 12-15, 17 יוֹנָתָן; 'Yahwè gives,' § 27; ιωναθαν, ιωναθας).

1. Eldest son of Saul, with whom he fell on Gilboa; according to tradition, David's sworn brother, 1 S. 14 6 and often; 2 S. 1 12 17 23 25 *f.* 44 1 Ch. 8 33 *f.* 9 40 [-μ, K] (in a genealogy of BENJAMIN [*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β]; see *JQR* 11 110-113). There is a possibility that Jonathan and Abinadab, or Jonadab (see JONADAB, 3), are really the same person, 'Jonathan' and 'Jonadab' being liable to confusion (cp Marq. *Fund.* 25). Cp, however, MALCHISHUA. For the romantic story of Jonathan, see DAVID, SAUL; and on 2 S. 1 23 *ff.* see JASHER, ROOK OF. See also MEPHIBOSHETH.[2]

2. b. Gershom b. Moses,[3] head of the priesthood at Dan (Judg. 18 30 -μ [B]); Dan was one of the places (Abel being the other) proverbially renowned for the retention of old customs (2 S. 20 18, 𝔊), and that the priests of Dan traced their descent from Moses is a fact of great interest. For Mosaic priestly families see GERSHOM, ELEAZAR, MUSHI.

3. b. Abiathar, mentioned along with Ahimaaz b. Zadok as David's messenger and spy during his contests with Absalom (2 S. 15 27 36 17 17 20). He was the person who announced to Adonijah and Joab the tidings that Solomon had been anointed (1 K. 1 42 *ff.*, MT יוֹנָתָן; ιωναθαν [A] in *v.* 42).

4. b. Shimei, the brother of David who slew Goliath (2 S. 21 21 = 1 Ch. 20 7). He is apparently the same as Jonadab (1). See GOLIATH.

5. b. Shage, the HARARITE [*q.v.*], is enumerated among David's thirty in 1 Ch. 11 34 (יוֹנָתָן). In 2 S. 23 32 the name of Jonathan, without a patronymic, is immediately followed by that of Shammah the Hararite. But as 'Shammah the Hararite' has already been enumerated (2 S. 23 11: see SHAMMAH), there can be little doubt (1) that in S. immediately after Jonathan's name the word בֶּן ought (with L) to be restored from Ch.; (2) that in Ch. שַׁמָּה ought (with L. σαμαια) to be read for שָׁגֵה (Ba. for the common שָׁגֵי, σαγη [A], σωλα [B𝔎]). Thus in both places 'Jonathan the son of Shammah the Hararite' ought to be read. Marquart (*Fund.* 20 *f.*) goes further in reading אלא in place of שמה (𝔊 [σ]ωλα = אלא). Jonathan was the brother of Shammah in 2 S. 23 11.

6. A scribe, temp. Zedekiah (Jer. 37 [𝔊, 44] 15 20 38 26, -μ [B everywhere]).

7. b. Kareah, a Judahite captain (Jer. 40 8, 𝔊 om. with some Heb. MSS).

8. b. Jada, the father of Peleth and Zaza (1 Ch. 2 32 *f.*).

9. AV JEHONATHAN, b. UZZIAH, one of David's overseers (1 Ch. 27 25).

10. The kinsman (דּוֹד) of David, a counsellor (1 Ch. 27 32). He is possibly to he identified with 4.

11. EV JEHONATHAN, a Levite, temp. Jehosbaphat (2 Ch. 17 8).

12. Father of Ebed (2), Ezra 8 6 = 1 Esd. 8 32.

13. b. Asahel, one of Ezra's opponents (cp Kosters, *Het Herstel*, 119 *f.*) in the putting down of the foreign marriages, Ezra 10 15 = 1 Esd. 9 14.

14. b. Joiada and father of Jaddua (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*), Neh. 12 11 (ιωναθα [𝔎c.a]). See JOHANAN (2).

Two priests, temp. Joiakim (EZRA ii., 55 6 *b*, 11), viz:—(15) Head of the Family of Malluchi, Neh. 12 14 (om B𝔎*A). (16) EV JEHONATHAN, head of the family of Shemaiah (Neh. 12 18; om. B𝔎*A).

17. Father of Zechariah, a priest in the procession at the dedication of wall (see EZRA ii. § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 35 (ιωναθαν [B𝔎*]).

18. The Maccabee, son of Mattathias (1 Macc. 2 5, ιωναθης [𝔎*] 9 19 etc., ιωναθης [A 10 59, 2 Macc. 8 22 (A)], ιναθαν [V* 13 7]) see MACCABEES i., § 5. In 1 Macc. 2 5 he is surnamed APPHUS (σαπφους [𝔎V], σαφφους [A], *apphus* [Vg.], ܣܦܘܣ [Syr.])—*i.e.*, חַפּוּשׁ, 'dissimulator.'

19. Son of Ahsalom, sent by Simon the Maccahee to seize Joppa (1 Macc. 13 11); he is perhaps the hrother of the Mattathias in 11 70.

20. The priest by whom the prayer was led when the first sacrifice was offered up after the return from the Exile (2 Macc 1 23, ιωναθος [Va]). See NAPHTHAR.

21. A member of the high-priestly family who sat in judgment on Peter and John (Acts 4 6). So D and other ancient authorities (see Blass, and cp Nestle, *Einführung*, 285). Cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 4 3 5 3, *BJ* ii. 12 5 *f.* and see ANNAS. Most MSS, however, have 'John' (so RV). See JOHN, 6.

JONATHAS, RV **Jathan** (ιαθαν [BA], ναθαν [𝔎]), brother of the Ananias, Tobit's kinsman, whose son the archangel Raphael, when in disguise, claims to be (Tob. 5 13).

JONATH-ELEM-RECHOKIM, UPON (עַל־יוֹנַת אֵלֶם רְחֹקִים; ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μεμακρυμμένου [B𝔎RT]; 'Of the congregation of Israel which is like a mute dove' [Tg.], ὑπὲρ περιστερᾶς ἀλάλου μακρυσμῶν [Aq.], ὑπὲρ τῆς περ. ὑπὲρ τοῦ φύλου αὐτοῦ ἀπωσμένου [Sym. ap. Eus.; hut see Field]; ὑπὲρ τῆς περιστερᾶς? [Theod.]; ὑ. τ. α. τῆς μογιλάλου κεκρυμμένων [ed. quintal; 'pro columha muta, eo quod procul ahierit David,' etc. [J]).

A phrase in the heading of Ps. 56, still defended by König,[1] but most probably corrupt. Emending as in analogous cases we may read: 'for the Sabbath'; 'for the sacrifices.'

על־יונת, AV 'upon Jonatb,' is probably a corruption of עַל־[הַ]שַּׁבָּת ('for the Sabbath'), or more strictly of the intermediate reading על־נגינות (EV 'upon Neginoth'; cp Ps. 54 *f.*); and אלם רחקים (RV Elem-rehokim), of אֶל־הַזְּבָחִים ('for the sacrifices'). That למנצח (EV 'for the chief musician') also = לזבחים, is no objection to this theory; in the headings, as elsewhere, dittography comes into play. The favourite modern view, however, is that אלם should be pointed אֵלִם (so Bochart), and the phrase explained 'to the tune of "The dove of distant terebinths."' Jewish tradition (see 𝔊, Tg.; cp JONAH ii. § 3, 1) took the 'dove' to he the Jewish people. ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων in 𝔊 is

[1] 'A place where an affair happened which *perhaps* never did happen' (Hasselquist, *Voyages* and *Travels*, 126 [1766]).

[2] On Wi.'s view of Jonathan, see SAUL.

[3] The MT inserts an נ over the name to suggest that Jonathan was a descendant of the idolatrous king Manasseh. See T. Bab., *Bābā bathrā*, 109 *b*; on 𝔊 see Moore's note.

[1] ... would explain, 'Columba (silentii =) silens peregrinorum inter et propter peregrinos' (Hastings' *DB* 2 747 *b*).

difficult. Bä. refers to Lev. 18_{21}, where 'the name of thy God' becomes in 𝔊 τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον; Neuhauer, more plausibly, thinks that 𝔊 read אולם, 'porch': cp 2 Ch.158, 'the porch of Yahwb.' More probably 𝔊 read לְאֹם, 'people,' and took it for an explanation of יוֹנַת. Cp, however, Staerk, *ZATW* 12 136['92].

T. K. C.

JOPPA (יָפוֹ or יָפוֹא; ιοππη [BAL; Ti. WH; Jos. ιοπη]; Phœn. יפי; Egypt. *Iapu* [Maspero], *Yepu* [WMM]; Am. Tab. ***Ya-a-pu,*** *Ya-pu;* Ass. *Yappû, Yapu*). The name and site of Joppa have never changed.

The biblical passages are :

Josh. 19 46 [AV JAPHO], 2 Ch. 2_{16} [15] Jon. 1 3 [ιππην ℵ*]; Ezra 37; JOPPE **AV,** 1 Esd. 555; 1 Macc. 10_{75}*f.* [ιωππη, V *v.* 75 and Va in *v.* 76] 116 [ιωππη Va] 1233 13_{11} **14 5** [ιππον ℵ*] 34 15 28 35 2 Macc. 421 [ιππην AI 12 37 [ιοππ(ε)ιται A, -ηται V in *v.* 3, V* in *v.* 7, 'men of Joppa'], Acts 9 36 38 42 *f.* **10** 5 8 23 32 11 5 13†.

There is no reference to Joppa in any early biblical writing; but we know (*Am. Tab.* 214 32 *f.*; cp **178** 20) that

1. Earlier history. an Egyptian officer guarded 'the gate of Gaza and the gate of Joppa' for Amen-hotep IV. The place occurs in the list of cities in Syria and Palestine conquered by Thotmes III. (*RP*(2) 547, no. 62), and in the papyrus Anastasi I., where its gardens with their blooming date-palms are specially mentioned.[1] The ruse, exactly like that of Ali Baba in the Thousand and One Nights, by which an Egyptian officer was said to have taken Joppa, forms the theme of an Egyptian folk-story.[2] It is no sport of the fancy, however, when Sennacherib tells us that he besieged and took Joppa, then a part of the dominion of Ashkelon (*KB* 2 93). The notice is important. It is the only hint we have of the political connection of Joppa during any part of the pre-exilic period of the history of Israel. We may assume that throughout that period it was either Philistine or Phœnician. The circumstance that Joppa is nowhere mentioned in the pre-exilic biblical writings where the Philistines are referred to seems to justify us in supposing that during the flourishing period of the Phœnician cities its political connection was Phœnician, not Philistine.[3] That it was ever in Israelitish hands, is not suggested even by P (Josh. 19 46); it was Jonathan, or rather Simon the Maccabee, who first incorporated Joppa into the Jewish territory. In the meantime, however, had the Israelites no access to the *sea* by Joppa? Did not Jonah, son of Amittai, go down to Joppa and find a ship going to Tarshish (Jon. 1_{3})? The reason why pre-exilic Israelites did not 'go down' to Joppa (cp JONAH, BOOK OF) is that there was Philistine territory to be traversed before getting to Joppa. In post-exilic times, however, we do hear of timber being brought to Jerusalem from the Lebanon by ships which discharged their cargo at Joppa (Ezra 3_{7}), and accordingly the Chronicler (2 Ch. 2_{16} [15]) changes the indefinite expression (1 K. 5_{9} [23]), 'to the place that thou shalt appoint me,' into 'to Joppa.'[4] What the place referred to indefinitely by the older writer was, is uncertain; it may have been DOR [*q.v.*].

In 148 B.C. Joppa was captured by Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Macc. 1076). To keep a coast-town like

2. Later History. this, however, was difficult, owing to the mixed character of the population, and Jonathan's brother Simon had to recapture it about six years later (12_{33}*f.*). It was felt to be an important event, for never before had the Jews possessed a harbour on the Great Sea. 'And together with all his (other) glory,' says the historian (1 Macc. 14_{5}), 'he took Joppa for a haven, and made it an entrance for the isles of the sea,'—*i.e.*, he opened the door for commerce, and perhaps (as G. A. Smith thinks[5]) for the propagation of the Jewish religion. Simon himself took a pride in his achievement, for be caused ships to be represented on the family monument at Modin (13_{29}*f.*).

For other references to Joppa, see 2 Macc. 12 3-7 1 Macc. 13_{11}. Pompey, after capturing Jerusalem (63 B.C.), refortified Joppa, and annexed it to the province of Syria (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4 4). Sixteen years later it was restored to Hyrcanus (*ib.* xiv. 10 6); next, it was united to the kingdom of Herod the Great (*ib.* xv. 7 3), upon whose death it passed to Archelaus (*ib.* xvii. 11 4). On the deposition of Archelaus (6 A.D.) it was annexed, with the rest of Palestine, to the Roman province of Syria.

Joppa is mentioned several times in the Acts of the Apostles (9 36-43, see DORCAS; 10 5 23 11 5, see CORNELIUS). No better place could be imagined for the vision assigned by the historian, rightly or wrongly, to Peter, which showed that Jews and Gentiles alike were admissible into the fold of Christ. The city, now fanatically Jewish, suffered terribly during the Roman war. It was surprised by Cestius Gallus, who massacred 8400 of its inhabitants (*BJ* ii. 18 10). Somewhat later, it was repaired by enemies of the Romans, and became a nest of pirates. Vespasian quickly took action, and captured and destroyed the city. The people had fled to their ships, but a 'black north wind' (μελαμβόρειον; cp WIND) arose, and the ships were dashed to pieces on the rocks (*ib.* iii. 9 2-4).

Later Joppa rose from its ashes. In the fourth century it became the seat of a bishopric. During the Crusades it was taken and retaken by Franks and Saracens, and fell into a state of ruin. According to Badeker (*Pal.*(3), 8) the construction of the stone quay dates from the end of the seventeenth century. That may be; but Hasselquist, in 1751, found that it had lately been rebuilt by an Armenian from Constantinople, who also 'erected some stone houses and magazines on the shore.[1] These, he adds, 'give the place an appearance from the seaside, much preferable to the miserable prospect it formerly afforded.' In 1799 it was taken by the French under Kleber. It had already been surrounded by walls.[2] Fortifications were erected by the English, and afterwards extended by the Turks. Under the name of *Yâfâ* (Jaffa) it is now an important town, partly from its trade, but still more from the large number of pilgrims passing through every year to Jerusalem; the population is estimated (1897) at over 35,000.

Joppa is built on a rocky eminence 116 feet high, and its name probably means 'the conspicuous'[3] (cp

3. Situation, etc. JAPHIA); on such a level beach the smallest eminence is noticeable. It is only with qualifications that Jaffa can be called a seaport. Josephus (*BJ* iii. 9 3) remarks that 'by nature Joppa is harbourless, for it ends in a rough beach, straight for the most part, but the two extremities nearly converge, and here there are steep crags and rocks that jut out into the sea.' In fact, the harbour is formed by a ridge of low and partly sunken rocks which run out at a sharp angle towards the NW. from the S. end of the town. Boats can enter it either by rounding the point or by a narrow break in the ledge, and even this by no means pleasurable entrance is often impossible, 'the haven being (with some winds) more dangerous than the open sea.' So Josephus truly states, adding that on the rocks of which he has spoken 'the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound are still shown, attesting the antiquity of that mythus.' Pliny also states that 'in front of the city lies a rock upon which they point out the vestiges of the chains by which Andromeda was bound' (*HN* 5 14); the skeleton of some marine monster was also shown (see JONAH ii., § 4). Certainly it is probable that the dangerous character of the haven of Joppa was accounted for in olden times by the presence of a dragon, just as a tawny fountain near Joppa was thought to derive its hue from the blood of the monster slain by Perseus.[4] The sea seemed more alive near Joppa than elsewhere (cp Jos. *BJ l.c.*), and the living power in certain waters was frequently held to be derived from serpents or dragons. Some may have said

1 Chabas, *Voyage d'un Egyptien*, 250 *f.*; Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 558.
2 Maspero *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 149-160.
3 So Budde *Urgesch.* 336, n. 2.
4 So RV, Ezra and Chronicles; also Kau. *HS.* AV, less correctly, renders 'to the sea of Joppa.'
5 *HG* 137.

1 *Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (1766), 116 118.
2 These have since been razed.
3 'Beauty' is not equally plausible (cp JAPHETH).
4 WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 174.

that the dragon was actually slain, others that he was merely confined below the sea (cp DRAGON, § 4).

Jaffa is beautiful when viewed from the sea, beautiful also in its surroundings. The orange gardens are modern; but fruit has always been grown in abundance on this rich soil. All the Jaffa fruit has a high reputation, and, as agriculture and viticulture spread, other parts of SW. Palestine will vie with Jaffa. Antiquities are wanting. Dean Stanley's defence of the supposed house of Simon the Tanner *(Sinai and Pal.*, 277 *f.)* is at least eloquent and chivalrous. T. K. C.

JORAH (יוֹרָה; Fürst, 'harvest-born,' cp יוֹרֶה, 'early (*i.e.*, autumn) rain'; but see below; ΟΥΡΑ [B], ΙΩΡΑ [A], -ΡΗΕ [L]), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9, § 8c), Ezra 2 18 = Neh. 7 24 (HARIPH) = 1 Esd. 5 16 (AZEPHURITH, RV ARSIPHURITH).

'Harvest-born' (cp חֹרֶף, 'autumn') for Jorah and Hariph is certainly wrong. The forms are parallel to Haroeh and Hareph in 1 Ch. 2 51 *f.*, both of which (like REAIAH and possibly ELIHOREPH) come from Jerahme'el. In *αρσειφουρειθ* [B] of 1 Esd. 5 16 (see HARIPH) *αρσ(ε)ιφ* = Hariph, and *ουρ(ε)ιθ* probably = Hurith, a variant to Hariph. See, however, Gnthe (on Ezra-Neh.); E. Meyer, *Entst.* 144. T. K. C.

JORAI (יוֹרַי), a Gadite; 1 Ch. 5 13 (ΙΩΡΕΕ [B], ΙΩΡΕC [A], ΙΩΑΡΕΙΜ [L]). 'Jorai' occurs among other corruptions of tribal names. See JORAH.

JORAM (יוֹרָם, shortened from JEHORAM, *q.v.* Pinches and Hommel, however, compare Ai-rammu, an Edomite royal name read by Schrader and Bezold Malik-rammu [*Taylor Cyl.* 2 54], *Ai* being viewed by them as = *Ya*; cp Del. *Par.* 163 *f.* It is a question whether all these three names have not arisen out of Jerahme'el).

1. **Son of Ahab; see JEHORAM, 1.**
2. **Son of Jehoshaphat; see JEHORAM, 2.**
3. **A Levite, 1 Ch. 26 25 (יֹרָם, *ιωραμ* [BAL]).**
4. **A doubtful reading in 2 S. 8 10; see HADORAM, TOI.**
5. **One of the 'captains of thousands' in 1 Esd. 1 9 (*ιωραμ* [BA], *ιωζαβαδ* [L]), corresponding to JOZABAD (*q.v.*, 5), 'chief of the Levites,' in 2 Ch. 35 9.** T. K. C.

JORDAN (יַרְדֵּן, for יָרְדֵּן [Olsh. § 215 *c*], ΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC [𝔊; also *-αννης*, *-ανος*], -ΗC -ΟC [Jos.]), the chief river of Palestine. (See maps to GILEAD and EPHRAIM.)

The name was felt by the Hebrews to be an appellative; hence in prose it almost always has the article.

1. Name. It is most probably of Semitic origin (though Wi. dissents), and may be connected with Syr. *yardā* 'a lake,' Ar. *warada* 'to go down to water' (of cattle), *wird^un* 'watering-place'; and hence we may explain ירדן as 'watering-place,' 'ford.'[1] *Ιαρδανος* was a river in Crete (Hom. *Il.* 7 136, *Od.* 3 292).

See further Ew. *Hist.* 1 245 267; Wi. *AT Unters.* 186, *AOF* 422. Of the two traditional explanations, one—that from יָרַד, 'to descend' (cp *OS* 169 81 203 98)—has found much acceptance, but we should expect rather the 'swift' or 'sinuous' stream to he the title of the Jordan. The other, from יְאֹר and דָּן, as if ירדן = יאורדן meant either 'river of Dan' or 'the river which has two sources, Jor and Dan' (Jer. on Mt. 16 13; cp DAN ii., § 2), needs no refutation, though it is perhaps implied by 𝔊's *ιορδανης*. By a coincidence the current Arabic name of the Jordan (*eš-Šerī'a*) means 'the wateringplace,' or 'the ford' (another *Šerī'a*, from which the Jordan is sometimes distinguished by the addition of *el-Kebīra* 'the great,' is the Yarmûk, see § 6). The name *al-'Urdunn*, however, is also known (see Kampffmeyer, *ZDPV*, '92, p. 27).

1. We now understand how P can use the expression יַרְדֵּן יְרֵחוֹ, 'the Jordan of Jericho'[2] (Nu. 22 1 26 3 34 15

2. References. Josh. 13 32, etc.), apparently with a reminiscence of its original use as an appellative ('ford'). Probably the famous fords immediately opposite Tell es-Sulṭān are meant. In adopting the expression once, and once only, the Chronicler (1 Ch. 6 63 [78]) is conscious that it needs a paraphrase; he therefore adds 'on the E. of Jordan.'

2. Another expression which may now become plainer is כִּכַּר הַיַּרְדֵּן, EV 'the plain (lit. circle) of Jordan,' Gen. 13 10 *f.* (see LOT), 1 K. 7 46 (see ADAM, ZARETHAN), 2 Ch. 4 17, or simply הַכִּכָּר, EV 'the plain' (Gen. 13 12 19 17 25 28 *f.* Dt. 34 3 2 S. 18 23), to which corresponds the phrase *ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* in the LXX and in Mt. 3 5 Lk. 3 3. The Hebrew phrase means, according to Buhl *(Pal.* 112), 'the middle and broader part of the Jordan valley from the S. end of the Dead Sea to about the Wādy 'Ajlūn' (see GILEAD). This view is based on a comparison of Dt. 34 3 ('the circle, even the Plain of Jericho [the city of palm-trees], as far as Zoar') with 2 S. 18 23, 1 K. 7 46. In Dt. 34 3, however, the phrase 'the Circle' (הכִּכָּר; cp PLAIN, 4) certainly appears to have a narrower reference, and the words הככר in 2 S. 18 23 and בככר הירדן in 1 K. 7 46 are with good reason suspected of corruption (see MAHANAIM, TEBAH). The primary meaning of the phrase 'the Circle of Jordan' was probably the district between Jericho and ZOAR [*q.v.*]. This suits not only Dt. 34 3 but also Mt. 3 5, where the phrase 'all the region round about Jordan' (*πᾶσα ἡ περίχ. τ. Ἰορδ.*) seems to mean 'the country near Jericho and the Jordan.'[1]

3. In Job 40 23 'Jordan' has been thought to be used as an appellative. Most critics (*e.g.*, Dillmann, Davidson, Duhm) render, 'He is careless though a Jordan break forth upon his mouth,' explaining 'a Jordan' to mean 'a violent outbreak of water.' Considering that the context points to the Nile, this is hard doctrine, and if 'Jordan' were used as an appellative, it should mean 'ford.' Hence Ley and Budde propose to omit ירדן as a gloss, and Winckler emends it into יְאֹר 'Nile' (but whence comes דן?). Certainly the Nile, not the Jordan, is to he expected, and perhaps we should read thus, יִבְטַח כִּי יַעֲבֹר גִּיחוֹן, 'he is careless though GIHON (*i.e.*, the Nile, ‖ נָהָר, *i.e.*, the Euphrates) overflow'; for *v.* 24 see *Crit. Bib.*).

4. In Ps. 42 6 (7) 'from the land of Jordan and the Hermonites' is commonly thought to mean 'the neighbourhood of Dan (Tell el-Ḳāḍī) or Cæsarea Philippi (Bāniās), where the Jordan rises from the roots of Hermon' (Kirkpatrick). This view of the text places *v.* 6 (7) in a very pleasing light, and adds a fresh and interesting association to the picturesque scenery of the Upper Jordan; but it is of very doubtful accuracy. See HERMONITES, MIZAR.

5. On Jer. 12 5 'the swelling' (AV RV^mg., Ew.); or 'the pride (RV) of Jordan,' see § 6 and cp FOREST, 3 (*c*).

6. Josh. 3 15. Whether the passage of the Jordan was represented in the earlier form of the tradition as having occurred opposite Jericho, or at a point farther N., such as the ford *ed-Dāmieh* (some 16 m. above the ford near Jericho), need not be discussed again (see JERICHO, § 4, 1). The latter view fits in better with the story of Jacob's migration as it now stands (Gen. 32 *f.*) and with the direction given to Moses in Dt. 11 29 *f.* (see GERIZIM, § 1 *f.*). Still, whichever theory we adopt, it remains true that, if the reported passage of the Israelites occurred 'at harvest-time,' it must have synchronised with the overflow of the Jordan. The circumstance that this river overflows the narrow strip of vegetation on each side of its channel at harvest time (*i.e.*, at the latter end of March, cp 1 Ch. 12 15, Ecclus. 24 26), is recalled to the mind of the reader that he may duly estimate the marvel which tradition has reported.[2]

7. Passing over the references in the lives of GIDEON, DAVID (cp FORD), ELIJAH, and ELISHA, we pause at

[1] Since the above was written, the author has found that this explanation was first proposed by Seyhold, *MDPV*, '96, p. 10 *f.* 261.

[2] AV gives 'Jordan by (also, near) Jericho'; RV 'the Jordan at Jericho' (cp 𝔊 *κατὰ Ιερειχω*). Kautzsch (*HS*) supplies 'gegenüber' (opposite). But in *Gramm.* 125 h he recognises chat the genitive (ירחו) is added to indicate a particular part of the Jordan. Dillmann paraphrases, 'that part of the Jordan which touches the domain of Jericho.'

[1] See Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* 1 494 (ET 2 231 *f.*). In Lk. 3 3, however a wider reference is possible.

[2] On the legendary character of the narrative cp Wi., *Gesch.* 2 106 *f.*

the deeply interesting scene of the baptisms of John in Jordan. It was to the reed-covered banks of this river that the one religious teacher of his time whom none, as Jesus implies (Mt. 11 7), Could compare to a reed, summoned his penitents. To a modern observer, indeed, the scenery of the Jordan near Jericho seems the most appropriate that could have been chosen for those solemn events.

At the same time we must not he too sure that Jesus' baptism occurred there. That John baptized at the great ford near Jericho, is likely enough. But that he also baptized at Beth-nimrah (the probable original of the readings 'Bethany' and 'Bethahara' in Jn. 1 28 ; see BETHANY, § 2), and 'at Ænon, near Salim' (Jn. 3 23, see SALIM), are facts by no means difficult to accept, considering that the new Elijah must have travelled about like the old. And we may reasonably suppose that the scene of Jesus' baptism was in some district more convenient than that of Jericho for Galilæan pilgrims.

Without such inquiries as these, a critical geography of Palestine is impossible; but the historical interest of the Jordan (in spite of the want of great events in political history connected with it) is not seriously affected by them. To us, as well as to Elisha, the Jordan is far more than 'Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus,' more even than 'the great river, the river Euphrates.' T. K. C.

3. Physical features. The physical interest of the Jordan is hardly inferior to the historical. It has been well said, 'There may be something on the surface of another planet to match the Jordan Valley: there is nothing on this. No other part of our earth, uncovered by water, sinks to 300 ft. below the level of the ocean. But here we have a rift more than 160 m. long, and from 2 to 15 broad, which falls from the sea-level to as deep as 1292 ft. below it at the coast of the Dead Sea, while the bottom of the latter is 1300 feet deeper still.'[1] It was supposed by Burckhardt that the waters of the Jordan originally flowed down the whole course of the depression from the Lebanon to the Gulf of 'Aḳaba. This view, however, has been rejected by Lartet and disproved by Prof. Hull (see *PEFQ*, '86, pp. 145 *ff.*).

'I am disposed to think,' says this eminent geologist, 'that the fracture of the Jordan-Arabah valley and the elevation of the tableland of Edom and Moab on the E. were all the outcome of simultaneous operations and due to similar causes, namely, the tangential pressure of the earth's crust due to contraction—the contraction being in its turn due to the secular cooling of the crust.' 'As the land area was gradually rising out of the sea [at the close of the Eocene period], the table-lands of Judæa and Arabia were more and more elevated, while the crust fell in along the western side of the Jordan-Arabah fault; and this seems to have been accompanied by much crumpling and fissuring of the strata.'[2] From this time the basin of the Dead Sea must have been a salt lake, the level of which, however must have varied greatly at different times. In evidence of this we find a succession of terraces of Dead Sea deposits extending around the basin of the sea and far up the Jordan valley.[3] The present level of the waters of the Dead Sea having been reached at the close of the Miocene or the commencement of the Pliocene period, no material change can have occurred in the course of the Jordan during historical times. Cp DEAD SEA, § 2.

4. Upper Jordan. The valley of the Jordan may be naturally divided into three parts: (*a*) the Upper Jordan from the Ḥāṣbānī to Lake Ḥūleh; (*b*) from Lake Hūleh to the Sea of Galilee; and (c) from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea.

(*a*) The reputed sources of great rivers in antiquity were often not the real ones. Though supposed to take its rise at Tell-el-Ḳāḍī[4] (see DAN) and Bāniās[5] (see CÆSAREA, § 7), the highest perennial source of the Jordan is in the bottom of a valley at the W. base of Hermon. a short distance from the small town of Ḥaṣbēyā (2295 ft.) and 12 m. N. of Tell-el-Ḳāḍī.

The fountain is in a pool at the foot of a basalt cliff; the stream from it, called *Ḥaṣbānī*, flows through a narrow glen into the plain, and falls into the main stream about a mile S. of the junction of the Leddān and Bāniāsi. The relative size of the three streams Robinson thus estimates—'That from Bāniās is twice as large as the Ḥaṣbāni; while the Leddān . . . is twice if not three times the size of that from Bāniās' (*BR* 3395).

The river then flows southward through the marshy plain for 6 m., and then into Lake Hūleh.

Besides the streams mentioned a considerable stream comes down from the plain of Ijon, W. of the Ḥaṣbāni; and two large fountains (called *Balāt*, and *Mellāha*), burst forth from the base of the mountain-chain of Naphtali. The Birket er-Rām (*i.e.*, the ancient Phiala), which Josephus (*BJ* iii. 10 7) asserts[1] to be the source of the Jordan, is at the bottom of a deep basin resembling an extinct crater. According to local tradition, it occupies the site of a village which was submerged to punish the inhabitants for their inhospitality to travellers (cp SODOM AND GOMORRAH). With regard to the morass above Lake Ḥūleh it is enough to refer to J. Macgregor's entertaining narrative, *Rob Roy on the Jordan*. That the Lake is not the Mē-Merom (Josh. 11 5 7), as used to he supposed, may he taken as almost certain (see *ZDPV* 9 252 348 *f.*; and cp MEROM, WATERS OF).

5. Middle Jordan. (*b*) On issuing from Lake Ḥūleh the river flows in a moderate current for about 2 m. On passing through *Jisr Benāt Ya'ḳūb* ('bridge of Jacob's daughters,' see § 7), however, the banks suddenly contract and become steep. The river now dashes along over a rocky bed in sheets of foam. Here and there the retreating banks have a little green meadow, with its fringe of oleanders (a characteristic plant) all wet and glistening with spray. Thus it rushes on, in its serpentine course, till, breaking from its rocky barriers, it enters the rich plain of Baṭīḥa, where on the left bank stand the ruins of Bethsaida [BETHSAIDA]. The river now expands, averaging some 20 yards in width. Across its channel here and there extend bars of sand, at which it is easily forded. At length the turbid stream reaches the still bosom of the Sea of Galilee, where, for a considerable distance, it is still visible. This gave rise to the Jewish legend (*Ber. rabba*, 4) that its waters and those of the lake do not intermingle. The fall of the river between Jisr Benāt Ja'ḳūb and the lake (a distance of only 7 m.) is not less than 689 feet. The total length of the section between the two lakes is about 11 m. as the crow flies.

6. Lower Jordan. (*c*) The Jordan between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea flows through a deep depression (65 m. long) called in Arabic the *Ghōr* (*i.e.*, 'bottom, depth, cavity, valley'), the ARABAH [*q.v.*], of the Hebrew Bible and the **αὐλών** of Greek writers (*e.g.*, Diod. Sic. ii. 48 9). The Ghōr is 3 m. wide at its northern end, but gradually expands till it attains a width of upwards of 12 m. at Jericho. Down this broad valley the Jordan has worked out for itself a bed about 20 ft. deeper at the northern end, and 200 ft. towards the Dead Sea; this bed varies from a quarter of a mile to two miles in breadth, and is known as the Zōr. Along its banks is that jungle of semi-tropical trees known in the O T as the 'Pride of Jordan.' The Ghōr itself is to a large extent of exuberant fertility.

On the E. side, N. of the *Zerḳā* (see JABBOK), where streams abound, the productivity is great, and the traces of ancient canals S. of that river show that the land was in ancient times well cultivated. And why should not the desert once more 'blossom as the rose'? A number of the affluents of the Jordan would lend themselves admirably to the purposes of irrigation.[2] It is only at the southern end of the Ghōr, for a few miles N. of the Dead Sea, that the soil is really sterile, being covered with a white nitrous crust, like hoar frost, through which not a blade of grass can possibly spring.

The Jordan issues from the Sea of Galilee, close to the hills on the western side of the plain, sweeping round the little peninsula. The fall of the river is at first 40 ft. per m.; but on entering the plain of Beisān it becomes only 10 or 12 ft. per m.; and farther S. only 4 or 5 ft. A short distance down are the remains

1 GASm. *HG* 468.
2 *PEFM* 'Geology,' 108 *f.*
3 Dawson, *Egypt and Syria* 106.
4 The source at Dan is mentioned by Jos. (*Ant.* v. 3 1, viii. 8 4) as being that of the Little Jordan, ἐλάσσονος Ἰορδάνου, τοῦ μικροῦ Ἰορδάνου.
5 For the source of the Jordan at Bāniās, cp Jos. *Ant.* xv 10 3, *BJ* i. 21 3, iii. 10 7.

1 The statement is quite groundless.
2 See GASm. *HG* 483. 'The Jordan itself runs in too deep a channel to be easily useful for irrigation.' But cp Merrill, *PEFQ*, '79, p. 140.

of a Roman bridge, whose fallen arches obstruct the stream, and make it dash through in sheets of foam. Below this, says Molyneux, who surveyed the Jordan in a boat in **1847**, are several weirs, constructed of rough stones, and intended to raise the water, and turn it into canals, so as to irrigate the neighbouring plain. Five miles from the lake the Jordan receives its largest tributary, the *Šerīʿat el-Menāḍireh*[1] (the *Hieromices* of Pliny, the *Yarmūk* of the Talmud), which drains a large section of Bashan and Gilead. This stream is 130 ft. wide at its mouth. Two miles farther is the quaint structure (Saracenic, according to Porter) of the 'bridge of el-Mujāmiʿa. Here Molyneux found the river upwards of 100 ft. broad and **4** to 6 ft. deep.

As described by Porter, the ravine now inclines eastward to the centre of the plain, and its banks contract. Its sides are bare and white, and the chalky strata are deeply furrowed. The margin of the river has still its beautiful fringe of foliage, and the little islets which occur here and there are covered with shrubbery. Fifteen miles S. of the bridge the Wady Yâbis (see JABESH-GILEAD) falls in from the E. A short distance above it a barren sandy island divides the channel, and with its bars on each side forms a ford; on the western bank, in a well-watered neighbourhood, the site of SUCCOTH [*q.v.*] has been placed.

About 9 m. lower down, and about half-way between the lakes, the JABBOK [*q.v.*], the only other considerable tributary, falls into the Jordan, coming down through a deep wild glen in the mountains of Gilead. After this the jungle of cane, willow, and tamarisk along the banks grows denser, and the plain above more dreary and desolate.

As the river approaches the Dead Sea, the mountain ranges on each side rise to a greater height, and become more rugged and desolate. The glen winds like a serpent through the centre, between two tiers of banks. The bottom is smooth, and sprinkled on the outside with stunted shrubs. The river winds in endless coils along the bottom, now touching one side and now another, with its beautiful border of green foliage, looking all the greener from contrast with the desert above. The banks are of soft clay, in places 10 ft. high; the stream varies from 80 to 150 ft. in breadth, and from 5 to 12 in depth. Near its month the current becomes more sluggish and the stream expands. Where the Wādy Hešbān falls in, Lynch[2] in **1848** found the river **150** ft. wide and 11 deep, 'the current four knots.' Farther down the banks are low and sedgy; the width gradually increases to 180 yards at its mouth: but the depth is only **3** ft. Lynch adds that the extraordinary fall in the Jordan is accounted for by its tortuous course. 'In a space of 60 m. of latitude, and **4** or 5 m. of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 m. . . . We have plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great many of lesser magnitude.'

7. Affluents and fords.

The four main affluents are the Yarmūk and the Jabbok on the E., and on the W. the Jālūd passing Beisān, and the Fāriʿa rising not far from Shechem. The supply of these and other perennial streams, however, scarcely balances the loss from evaporation of the river. It is difficult to compute the total number of the fords. According to *PEFM* 2 79 225 385 3 170 there are 50 fords in the 42 m. of stream above *Jisr Damieh*, and only 5 in the 25 m. below. Some of them have been historically important, *e.g.*, 'Abāra near Beisān (according to Conder, the Bethabara of Origen), Dāmieh on the road from Shechem to Gilead, and the ford of el-Ḥajla (see below). The bridge called *Jisr Benāt Yaʿkūb* may also be mentioned (see § 5); it was long the leading pass from Western Palestine to Damascus.[3] It is first referred to in 1450 A.D., but as early as the Crusades a 'Ford of Jacob' (*Vadum Jacob*, Will. Tyr. *Hist.* 18 13) is mentioned. The bridge was probably built during the fifteenth century, when the caravan road was constructed from Damascus to Egypt. At Makhāḍet el-Hajjla, opposite the Roman Jericho, the annual bathing of the pilgrims takes place (see BETH-HOGLAH and cp Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 314 *ff.*). There are two fords, one above and one below the bathing-place. They are much deeper than those higher up, and when the river is swollen they become impassable. On the bridges, see Merrill, *PEFQ*, '79, p. 138 *f.*

8. Climate.

The Jordan valley is a tropical oasis sunk in the temperate zone. It is possible to pass in the depth of winter from sleet and cold winds at Jerusalem to a delightful summer atmosphere (60°-80° Fahrenheit) at Jericho. In summer the heat is equatorial. The climate of the shores of the Sea of Galilee, though enervating, is less trying; Josephus's panegyric of the natural products of Gennesaret is well known (see GALILEE i., § 4, end).

Josephus, however, does not mention the graceful papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*) which flourishes, not only in the marshes of the Ḥūleh, but also on the W. shore of the Sea of Galilee. Here too we find the *nabk* or *dōm* tree (*Zisyphus spina christi*), a tropical tree, which abounds all along the lower course of the Jordan. Below the Sea of Galilee indigo is grown, and many trees unknown elsewhere in Palestine crowd the river-banks. In the five oases of the Dead Sea region many products of the tropic zone, including the *zakkūm*, or false balm of Gilead (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), the gorgeous scarlet *Loranthus*, the henna (see CAMPHIRE), and the *Salvadora persica* abound. Balsam (see BALSAM, § 2) has long since disappeared; but in the crusading age sugar was still grown at Jericho. On the 'rose of Jericho' (*Anastatica*) see Tristram, *NHB* 477. The plane does not grow any longer at Jericho, but is found at Masada.

To boat voyagers the jungle of the Jordan affords a delightful spectacle of luxuriant vegetation (see FOREST, and cp Lynch, *Narrative*, 211-215), varied not seldom by tokens of the presence of wild animals.

'At one place,' says Lynch, 'we saw the fresh track of a tiger on the low clayey margin (of Jordan), where he had come to drink. At another time a wild boar started with a savage grunt and dashed into the thicket; but for some moments we traced his pathway by the shaking cane and the crashing sound of breaking branches.' Evidently however, it was a cheetah, not a tiger, that the voyager observed. The jackal, fox, hyæna, boar, ibex, leopard, and cheetah (the two latter both probably called נָמֵר, see LEOPARD) may in fact easily be met with in the Jordan Valley.

How wonderful, too, is the bird-life of the Jordan Valley! One often notices there Indian, and still oftener Ethiopian species. The butterflies, too, which hover over the flowers in winter are, like the flowers themselves, many of them of Nubian and Abyssinian types. What a garden all this favoured land must have been not merely in the time of Jesus but in the more remote age when the Yahwist (J) wrote the eulogistic description in Gen. **13** 10 !

Literature. See *Survey of Western* **Palestine,** 'Flora and Fauna' (Tristram '89), Molyneux, ***Narrative and Official Reports*** ('47); Lyhch, ***Narrative of the U.S. Expedition*** ('49): J., Macgregor, ***Rob Roy on the Jordan*** ('70); Neuhauer, *Géogr.* 29-31; Warren in Hastings' *DB* ii.; works of Robinson, Porter, Tristram, G. A. Smith. § 1 *f.* T. K. C.

JORIBAS (ιωριβος [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 44 = Ezra 8 16 JARIB, 2. RV has **Joribus** (so EV in 1 Esd. 9 19 = Ezra 10 18 JARIB, 3).

JORIM (ιωρειμ [Ti. WH]), a name in the genealogy of Jesus, Lk. 3 29. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

JORKOAM, or rather, as in RV, JORKEAM (יָרְקְעָם), grandson of SHEMA (*q.v.*), one of the sons of Hebron (1 Ch. 2 44, in 6 MT [וְ]רֶקֶם, see REKEM, 3). The readings of 𝔊 (ιακλαν, ιεκ. [B], ιερκααν [A], ιερεκαμ [L] suggest that this is the same name as that which MT of Josh. 15 56 (cp 𝔊[B]) gives as JOKDEAM (*q.v.*). There is no satisfactory explanation of Jorkeam ('pallor populi,' Ges. *Thes.*, may serve as a warning to etymologists); and the name is most probably a corruption of ירחמאל (see JERAHMEEL, § 4). T. K. C.

JOSABAD. 1. 1 Ch. 12 4 (יוֹזָבָד) AV. See JOZABAD, 1.

2. 1 Esd. 8 63 (ἰωσαβδος [A]). See JOZABAD, 6.

3. 1 Esd. 9 29 (ὠζαβαδος [A]). See ZABBAI, 1.

[1] 'Its name is derived from the Bedawin tribe called el-Menāḍireh—*Šarīʿa* being the Arabic word for ford or watering-place, etc.—who graze their flocks in its valley and cultivate its slopes' (Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 8).

[2] Lieutenant Lynch made an adventurous boat-voyage in 1848 to survey the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea.

[3] Robinson, *BR* 2 441; GASm. *HG* 427 429. The origin of the name is unknown (but see Ritter, *Pal. u. Syr.* 269 *f.*). Not far off is a khan now named after the pit of Joseph.

JOSAPHAT (ιωcαφατ [Ti.WH]), Mt. 1 8, RV JEHOSHAPHAT [*q.v.*].

JOSAPHIAS (ιωcαφιαc [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 36 = Ezra 8 10, JOSIPHIAH.

JOSE (ιhcoy [Ti.WH]), Lk. 3 29, AV, RV JESUS, 8. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

JOSECH (ιωcηχ [Ti.WH]), Lk. 3 26 RV, the reading to he preferred to AV. JOSEPH (*q.v.*). See GENEALOGIES ii., § *3f.*

JOSEDECH (יְהוֹצָדָק), Hag. 1 1 (etc.); AV, RV JEHOZADAK ; **Josedec** (ιωcεδεκ), 1 Esd. 55 (=Ezra 3 2), etc., AV ; RV JOSEDEK. See JEHOZADAK.

JOSEPH [TRIBE] (יוֹסֵף ; on name see next article, § 1), one of the constituent parts of Israel in its wide sense.

1. Earliest trace of name. If Joseph was really called a tribe (Nu. 13 11,† P ; מַטֶּה),[1] he differed considerably from the rest of the tribes. He ranked not only with Gad and Zebulun, but also with Jacob and the other ancestral heroes of Israel ; indeed he even stands apart from them. As a legendary hero, mainly, he is considered in the next article. Here Joseph is dealt with as a community.

With regard to the name something must be said on the theory of a connection with the place-name *Y-ša-p-'a-ra*,[2] no. 78 in Thotmes III.'s *Rṭnu* list. The question is, Can the interpretation of this as a transcription of יספאל, *first* brought prominently forward by Edward Meyer in 1886 (*ZATW* 6 1 *ff.* ; cp 8 41 *ff.*) and by Groff (*Rev. Égypt.* 4 98 150 *f.*),[3] be regarded as made out? That *'a-ra* may be אל is admitted : it is a regular and recurrent equation (*e.g.*, no. 110 ; *Bai-ti-ša-'-ra*). The difficulty, as Meyer admitted, is in the sibilant.

Egyptian š usually represents שׁ (*e.g.*, no. 38 ; *Ša-na-ma* = Shunem). The Semitic name would therefore be ישפאל rather than יספאל. Noldeke, accordingly, has suggested (*ZATW* 8 45 n. 3 ['88]) that the Hebrew name to be compared is rather Ishpah (ישפה, 1 Ch. 8 16) which occurs in a genealogy of Benjamin.[4]

There has been a temptation to save the original hypothesis by adopting some conjectural explanation implying differences of pronunciation.[5]

W. Max Muller[6] thinks it certain that the *Rṭnu* list embodies names which the scribe had before him in cuneiform, and suggests that although he accommodated his transcription to Canaanite pronunciation where the word or its etymology was known to him, elsewhere he wrote *s* for שׁ and *š* for ס, following (probably) a northern (Mesopotamian) usage. The name we are considering might, on this theory, have been written in the source employed approximately *Ya-a-si-pi-i-li.*

Notwithstanding the prevailing tendency in the contrary direction[7] it seems for the present more prudent to abstain from making any use of the Meyer-Groff hypothesis.[1]

The next question is, To what sections of the community was the name Joseph applied, and when? That it included Ephraim and Manasseh is clear.

2. Application. P tells us that 'the children of Joseph were two tribes (מטות), Manasseh and Ephraim' (Josh. 14 4) ; and a gloss (see below) says the same in 17 17. That this was not merely a late notion is shown by its being assumed in the genealogies of J and E. The case of Benjamin is more ambiguous. P excludes Benjamin formally : the children of Benjamin settled between the children of Judah and the children of Joseph (Josh. 18 11), with which agrees the southern border assigned to the 'sons of Joseph' (16 1-3 P), which is repeated (with modifications) as the northern border of Benjamin (18 12 *f.*, P). That Benjamin was sometimes, however, definitely included in Joseph there can be no doubt (see BENJAMIN, § 1) ; and that some of the ambiguous cases also may have been meant to include it is possible.

In Josh. 24 32 we should probably (Kue., Di.) read not 'sons of Joseph" (MT) but, with 𝔊, 'Joseph' [Bab (mg.) AL],—*i.e.*, the hero himself. In Josh. 17 14-18 'house of Joseph' (read *so* also in *v.* 14, with Di.) is not improbably correctly interpreted by the interpolated gloss in *v.* 17 (om. 𝔊BA) of Ephraim and Manasseh. On the other hand, in Judg. 1 22 *f.* 35 there can be little doubt that 'house of Joseph' includes Benjamin, as it certainly does in 2 S. 19 20 [21] ; and here perhaps would belong the 'Blessing of Jacob' if we should adopt the restoration of Gen. 49 22 proposed by Cheyne (*PSBA* 21 242 ['99]) :—

'Ephraim is an ornament for Joseph,
Manasseh a bracelet for Israel' ;

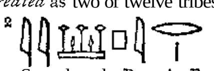
for in *v.* 26 Joseph seems to be less than Israel—*i.e.*, probably, N. Israel.

It was natural, however, that Joseph should give its name to the whole of the N. kingdom, as England often does to Great Britain : in Amos 5 6 'house of Joseph' is the N. kingdom, and so in 6 6 'Joseph.' Perhaps 1 K. 11 28 is similar.

In Josh. 18 5 'house of Joseph' and 'Judah' seem between them to represent the whole of western Palestine. Similarly, in Ob. 18 'house of Joseph' is parallel to 'house of Jacob,' and in Zech. 10 6 to 'house of Judah' ; compare Ps. 78 67, where Joseph = Ephraim—*i e.*, Israel. In the other passages in the Psalms the text has been questioned.[2] 'Remnant of Joseph' (שארית יוסף) in Amos 5 15 (on the late date of which see Nowack, *ad loc.*) reminds one of the still later idea of a Messiah ben Joseph alongside of the Messiah ben David (see EPHRAIM § 10, end, and reff. there).

There is clearly a tendency to apply the name Joseph to the whole of the northern kingdom. Winckler goes further. He holds (GZ 2 67-77) that Joseph is not really a tribal name at all, in which capacity Joseph is represented by his son Ephraim. Joseph is a genealogical creation, a personification of the northern kingdom, and therefore older than 'Israel,' the personification of David's kingdom of 'the twelve tribes' (p. 68).[3] How-

[1] The late passage where the word tribe is applied to Joseph is evidently out of order. There can be little doubt that the clue is to be found in the name Joseph in *v.* 7. 'Igal, son of Joseph' (יגאל בן יוסף) should be 'Iga . . . Of the sons of Joseph' (ינא . . . לבני יוסף ; cp the suggestions of Di. *ad loc.*) ; *v.* 7 *f.* perhaps represents a MS which gave the tribes in the order Zebulun, Issachar, Joseph,—*i.e.*, Ephraim and Manasseh,—Benjamin ; whilst *v.* 10 *f.* represents a MS that gave them in the order Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph—*i.e.*, Manasseh, Ephraim. It is not unlikely therefore that 'tribe of Joseph' ought to be 'sons of Joseph.' In Dt. 27 12, however, Joseph and Levi are *treated* as two of twelve tribes. See later.

[2] 

[3] See also de Rougé *Rev. archéol.*, nouv. sér., 4 355-372 ('61). Valdemar Schmidt, *Assyriens og Aegyptens gamle Historie*, 2 535 ('77), rejects without discussion any connection with the patriarch Joseph.

[4] On the view of Petrie, who adheres to שׁ, see next article, § 1.

[5] Such as that at the time of Thotmes III. the name was pronounced with שׁ and that the ס of the Hebrew יוסף is due to a later peculiarity of Ephraimite pronunciation aided perhaps by the explanation from יסף, אסף (see next article, § 1). See, however, SHIBBOLETH.

[6] *OLZ* 2 397 ['99].

[7] Driver, for example, passes over the phonetic difficulty (Hastings, *DB* 2 526*b*).

[1] This is probably now the attitude of Meyer himself (*ZATW* 8 45 n. 3 ['88] ; cp also W. E. Crum in Hastings, *DB* 1 665*a*), who mentions with approval Noldeke's remark that there is a further difficulty in the [probable] fact that יוסף would be pronounced *Yausif* with *au* for *o*. WMM, however, cites against this (in a private letter) the Canaanitish gloss *Ya s/z ini* in the Amarna letters. He winds up his recent discussion of the question (*l.c.*) by saying that the equation *y-ša-p-'a-ra* = יוספאל is not proved, but 'probable.' He now says 'possible,' describing as better Winckler's identification with the old Canaanite name Ya-šu-ub-ilu (see next art., § 1), which Winckler writes with 6 (Wi. *GI* 268 n. 3).

[2] 'Three times in the Psalms (post-exilic) we apparently find Joseph as a designation of the entire people of Israel, side by side with Jacob or Israel. It is highly probable, however, that all these passages (Pss. 77 15 [16] 80 1 [2] 81 4 [5] *f.*) are corrupt. Beyond the shadow of a doubt this is the case with Ps. 81 4 [5] *f.*, where MT gives the resolved form יהום. None of the examples of such forms adduced by the grammarians will hear examination (Che. *JBL* 18 210 *f.* ['99]). In Ps. *l.c.*, ביהוסף is preceded by a warning Pasek; most probably the right reading is בְּיַד ׳ מֹשֶׁה׳ (Cheyne, MS note).

[3] Like Jacob, Joseph has also a mythological significance. As hero of Shechem he is the Baal-berith of the northern confederation, and represents the sun-god to whom the moon and the

ever that may be, there is certainly a tendency to equate Joseph and the Ephraimite kingdom. The case of Benjamin, however, requires special study (cp BENJAMIN, MANASSEH). Whatever may be the real facts of the earlier history of that tribe,[1] it appears that in later times it seemed unnatural to regard it as forming part of the same whole as Ephraim and Manasseh.

If, as is frequently supposed, Joseph was an old name for all the clans that settled in EPHRAIM [*q.v.*, i., § 1], this will account for its not being mentioned in the 'Song of Deborah': it is represented by its constituent parts. It seems not improbable that Joseph and Ephraim are simply two names, older and younger, tribal and geographical (see EPHRAIM, § 1), for the same thing (cp also RACHEL).

We have suggested that Ephraim was a younger name than Joseph; but only as the name of a people.

3. Other points. As a geographical name it may have been much older. The question arises accordingly, Were there Israelites in Ephraim before Joseph settled there? We are hardly entitled to find a hint of a theory that this was so in the story of the sons of Leah[2] dwelling by Shechem (Gen. 37 14*b*, J) or tending their flocks in the plain of Dothan (*v.* 176, E) before Joseph joined them; this may as easily belong to the Joseph-tule. There is more chance of there being a legendary trace of such a theory in the story of Gen. 34 (see DINAH, SIMEON, LEVI, EPHRAIM, § 7 n.; cp Wi. *GI* 2 85).

Nor would it be safe to interpret of the tribe what we are told in J of Joseph's having an Egyptian wife.[3] In this respect Joseph stands with Jacob and the other heroes of legend, in whose case also the name of the wife is given. This is so even if we should incline to follow Marquart in finding traces of Egyptian names in Josephite clans. The point that the names of Joseph's sons are bestowed not by his wife, as is the custom in the patriarch stories of J and E, but by himself (Gen. 41 51 *f.*, E), may be taken direct from the source that both E and J used (see next article, § 4).

On the notions about the mutual relations as to dignity and status of Reuben, Joseph, and Judah (2 S. 19 43 [44]: with Thenius, read בכור for בדור, with 𝔊^BAL; and 1 Ch. 5 1 *f.*) see REUBEN. H. W. H.

JOSEPH [in **OT**] (יוֹסֵף, §§ 53, *79*, 84, 'he [*i.e.*, the tribal god] increases,' cp the fuller form יוֹסִפְיָה, ΙΩϹΗΦ passim).

1\. Son of Jacob and Rachel and brother of Benjamin (Gen. 30 22-24), the eponym of the tribe of Joseph

1. Name. (=Manasseh and Ephraim). Tradition connected the name variously with the 'removing' (אָסַף) of Rachel's childlessness (*so* E; cp Abiasaph, Eliasaph, Asaph), and with her longing for the 'addition' (יֹסֵף 'let him add') of another son (so J).[4] If 'Joseph' contains an utterance respecting God, the latter explanation approaches the truth. The multiplication will refer to all the blessings poetically described in Gen. 49 25. Names like Joseph, however, are generally shortened from theophoric names. The analogy of Ishmael and Jerahmeel suggests that 'Joseph'

eleven stars how down. On Winckler's explanation (from the calendar) of the two sons and the advancement of the younger, see MANASSEH.

[1] For a brilliant discussion of the whole question see Winckler *GI* ii. (*passim*), where it is argued that Saul, a Gileadite, made himself ruler of Benjamin, which he transformed into a state representing roughly what was later the Ephraimite kingdom (but stretching southwards beyond Ephraim). Cp SAUL, JUDAH, and nrticles referred to there.

[2] The mention of the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah as heing not with the sons of Leah (?), but with Joseph, seems to he due to a late hand (Gen. 372). The *Test. xii. Patr.* makes Gad in particular take great blame to himself for ill will to Joseph.

[3] For Winckler's mythological explanation, see *GI* 2 *72*.

[4] Cp Milki-ašapa (Melki-āsaph?) and Baal-iašupu (Baal-yāsaph?), the one, the name of a king of Gebal, in the time of Esar-haddon and Ašur-bāni-pal (*KB* 2 149 241); the other, of an Arvadite prince, in the time of Ašur-bāni-pal (*KB* 2 173).

was originally Josiph-el (cp Josiphiah). There is a Palestinian place-name in the Karnak list of Thotmes III. (16th cent. B.C.) which in Hebrew letters might stand as ישפאל (popularly, Joseph-el), and which, if rightly so read (see JOSEPH i., § 1), may have been first of all a clan-name (see *RP*(2) 4 48). Pinches too has discovered on a very ancient Babylonian contract-tablet the personal name Yasup-ilu (rather Yašup-ilu), which has some resemblance to Joseph-el.[1]

As to Joseph-el, a final decision seems far off. See JOSEPH i. § 1, and note that Flinders Petrie reads Yeshephar, and identifies the place with es-Sawāfir, SE. of Ashdod (see SAPHIR), while Tomkins (*Life of Joseph*, 98) identifies Joseph-el with Yasuf, in a wady E. of Kefr Hārith and Nehi Nūn (see TIMNATH-SERAH). All most uncertain.

On the ethnic use of the name which in pre-exilic prose means the same as 'Ephraim' in prophetic language—*i.e.*, the tribes of N. Israel[2] (*2 S.* 19 20 [21]; 1 K. 11 28), see **JOSEPH** i., § *2*.

In Jos. *c. Ap.* 132 (290) Chaeremon, an Egyptian Greek writer, is said to have spoken of Joseph under the name Πετεσηφ, and it is plausible to hold that Manĕtho simply distorts the name 'Joseph' when he speaks (Jos. *c. Ap.* 126 [238]) of the leader of the lepers (see § 11) as Οσαρσηφος or Οσαρσιφ.[3] The name Osarsiph is properly a divine name (=Osar-sapi); it denotes Osiris as god of the underworld.[4] It is possible to interpret Peteseph 'he whom the god Seph has given,' and to suppose another distortion of Joseph. Still it is very possible that Πετεσηφ may be a mere clerical error for Πετεφρης, the Græcised form of the name of Joseph's father-in-law.

The traditional story of Joseph in Genesis (we omit the meagre post-exilic abstract of P) presents a very

2. Traditions. different aspect from that of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The hero is no doubt idealised; but the details of his life are such as, in a more recent biography, we might accept as to some extent an approach to truth; even in such a point as the age of Joseph at his death (Gen. 50 26) the biographer does not overstep the bounds of possibility. How Joseph came to be regarded as the 'son' of Jacob, and how it was that the stream of tradition flowed so much more abundantly for biographers of Joseph than for those of the first three patriarchs, we must consider later (§ 4).

It is evident, however, that, though more credible in its details, the story of Joseph cannot be accepted as genuinely historical, since it comes to us in two forms which do not altogether agree, and neither of the two narratives can be presumed to be on the whole earlier than the ninth or eighth century B.C. It was the life of the founder of his people that the Israelite writer or writers called E had to relate; how could we expect even a moderate degree of what moderns are pleased to call historical impartiality? It would be hardly less absurd to expect a narrative of well-sifted facts from the Judahite writer or writers known as J. The working of popular prejudices, and the plastic influence of the popular imagination, which delights to find anticipations of later historical facts, can readily be discerned, and who that has any sympathy with antique modes of thought could desire it to be otherwise?

In fitting the Joseph-traditions into the general narrative, it was necessary to give some idea of the relative

3. J and E. ages of Joseph and his brethren. Two different views were taken.

It follows from E's account of the births that Joseph was horn not long after the sons of Leah, and at most only twelve years after Reuben (Gen. 31 17 47). The fragments of J in Gen. 30, however, leave it open to us to suppose that the interval between

[1] Cp Sayce, *Pnt. Pal.*, Pref.; Hommel, ***ANT*** 96. Elsewhere (*op. cit.* 112) Hommel compares the name Yašup-ilu with the S. Arabian name Yašûpu (from Yašupu-ilu), which he explains (p. 84) as 'He (God) regards.'

[2] Cp Staerk, *Studien zur Rel.- u. Spr.-geschichte*, etc., 1 87 *ff.*

[3] As if Joseph were a syncretistic name 'Yahwè-Seph.'

[4] Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (2), 561; Tomkins, *Acad.*, Sept. 1, 1883.

the births of Joseph and Zebulun was longer than the fragments of E would incline us to suppose. At any rate, the extracts from the Joseph-section of J represent Joseph as born to Jacob in his old age (37 3 44 20). The notice that he was seventeen years old when he was sold into Egypt (37 2) comes from P, and is due to learned but not authoritative calculation.

This difference of view helps to explain the first chapter in Joseph's composite biography. The two narrators agree that Joseph's brethren conspired together to kill him; but the reason for this step given by E (37 26 5-11) is the more intelligible the older we suppose Joseph to be. J simply states that the brethren of Joseph hated him because of the partiality for him shown by his father Israel, who had provided him with a 'long tunic with sleeves' (see TUNIC), such as befitted one born to greatness and not to hard toil (37 3, J). Thus the mischief is traced in J to an act of Jacob; but in E we find it accounted for by an act of Joseph, viz., his communication of ominous dreams. In neither case is the act blameworthy according to the writer; it conduces to the accomplishment of Yahwè's great purpose, which is the exaltation of Joseph for the good of his whole family and for that of the country where the Israelites are to sojourn.

The other differences between the two narratives in chap. 37 need not long detain us. That according to J Joseph is *sent* from Jacob's abode to Shechem is merely a consequence' of the statement in Gen. 35 16 21 (J) that Jacob had settled in the neighbourhood of Ephrath (or perhaps Beeroth; see EPHRATH); 'the vale of Hebron' (חברון) 37 14, should be 'the vale (or plain) of Beeroth.' Of course, E's account is the more accurate; but J does not alter the tradition that the brothers were at DOTHAN [*q.v.*], N. of Shechem, on the caravan-route from Gilead to Egypt, when they got rid of their ambitious brother. Nor is the discrepancy between J and E as to the ethnic designation of the merchants who convey Joseph to Egypt (Ishmaelites from Gilead, J; Midianites, E) as important as two other differences: (1) that the spokesman of Joseph's brethren and the averter of Joseph's death is Reuben in E, but Judah in J;[2] and (2) that, according to E, Joseph was stolen (by the Midianites) out of the waterless cistern into which he had been cast, whilst, according to J, he was sold to the merchants (Ishmaelites) by his brethren. The difference as to the spokesman is of interest as suggesting the N. Israelitish origin of the story as given by E; J's version is, in its present form, not less distinctly of southern origin. The difference as to how the passing caravan obtained Joseph shows the superior skill of E as a narrator. It was important, he considered, to show that Joseph was not rightfully used as a slave.

Chap. 39 is mostly due to J.

Joseph is sold as a slave to an Egyptian,[3] who perceives his worth and places him over his household; but his master's wife casts her eyes upon the young man, and makes proposals from which he can escape only by flight. Falsely accused to his master, he is cast into prison. Yahwè, however, gives him favour with the governor, who in his turn sets Joseph over his house.

This plain story, however, is complicated by being interwoven with passages from E. According to these, Joseph was bought by a *sārīs* (see EUNUCH) named Potiphar, the captain of Pharaoh's bodyguard, 'who entrusted him with the care of all that he had. A subsequent passage of E refers to Joseph as being in the prison, not for any real or supposed offence, but to attend on two high officers of the Pharaoh who had been confined for some fault in the prison in Potiphar's house.

Chaps. 40-42 are mainly from E. The chief butler and the chief baker in their imprisonment have strange dreams which only Joseph can interpret. Two years later the Pharaoh himself has dreams which, by divine favour, Joseph succeeds in explaining. (Dreams are frequently introduced by E, though it happens that a belief in the significance of dreams was particularly characteristic of Egypt.)[1] Seven years of great plenty are at hand, which will be followed by seven years of famine. Joseph counsels that during the years of abundance a fifth part of the grain should be exacted from the agriculturists and laid up in storehouses. The Pharaoh perceives that a divine spirit is in Joseph, makes him high steward and grand vizier,[2] and, among other honours, introduces him by marriage into a grand sacerdotal family. Joseph also receives an Egyptian name (41 45, J), and we shall see later (§ 11) that the three Egyptian names in 41 45 have an important bearing on criticism. To the two sons of Joseph, however, born before the famine, pure Hebrew names are given (Gen. 41 50-52).

Soon the evil years arrive. Joseph's counsel has been carried out, and the Egyptians come to the Semitic grand vizier to buy grain, till their money is exhausted (41 56 47 15, J). By a clever contrivance (the narrative is J's) Joseph obtains for the Pharaoh the proprietorship of the whole land of Egypt, except that which belongs to the priests. Of this, more hereafter (see § 10). Suffice it to remark that though the story in 47 13-26[3] can be fitted fairly well into the general narrative (by making it the sequel of the description in 41 55 *f.*), it shows a new side to Joseph's character which is not altogether pleasing,[4] and contrasts with the spirit of the fine passage, 'God sent me before you to preserve life' (45 5 8, E).

Now comes the true turning-point in Joseph's life. His honours were not for himself alone; they were to prepare the way for the friendly reception of his entire family in Egypt. Driven by hunger, all Joseph's brethren except Benjamin come to Egypt to buy corn, and do obeisance to the grand vizier (42 5-7; E, but J at end of *v.* 7).

Joseph recognizes them, and remembers the dreams of his youth. He affects to regard them as spies. To prove the truth of their story, they must fetch their youngest brother to see him, Simeon remaining in bonds as surety with Joseph. They return home sadly, admitting the justice of their fate (*v.* 21), and with additional anxiety because the corn and the purchase-money were both, unaccountably, in their sacks. They bring the had news to their father, who querulously answers, 'Joseph is no more: Simeon is no more: it is I (not you) who suffer from these things' (42 36, E). Reuben, however, who has already deserved well by admonishing his brethren (42 22, E), pledges his word that he will bring Benjamin hack in safety (*v.* 37, E).

It is only from a few interwoven passages in chap. 42 that we gather that J also gave a version of the same events. Nothing was said in this of the captivity of Simeon, for, at the beginning of the next long passage from J (43 1-13), it is implied that the only fresh trouble of which Jacob is aware is the necessity for parting with his darling Benjamin.

From 42 38-44 all but a few lines from E referring to Simeon belongs to J, whose dramatic presentation of facts attracted the editor. In a family council respecting the famine, Judah (as before) becomes the spokesman of the brothers. Like Reuben at an earlier point in E's account he pledges his word to his father Israel for the safety of Benjamin (43 8). Jacob gives way with an effort, and Benjamin accompanies the others to Egypt.

They bring double money, and a present for the grand vizier, who, frugally as he lived in general (see 43 16), ordered them to

1 Cp C. Niehuhr, *Gesch. der Ebr. Zeit.* 1 159.

2 In 37 21 [J] 'Reuben' should of course he 'Judah.' The alteration was made by the editor. See *Oxf. Hex.* 2 59.

3 The words 'Potiphar, a *sārīs* of Pharaoh, captain of the bodyguard' (39 1) are a harmonistic insertion of R.

1 Cp especially the story of the Possessed Princess of Bakhtan Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Ég. anc.* 209-224; cp *RP* 4 53-60; Brugsch, *Gesch. Äg.* 627-641; Erman, *ZÄ*, '83, pp. 54-60).

2 Gen. 41 40 (E) should certainly run, 'Thou shalt he over my house, and unto thee shall all my people hearken' (וְעָלֶיךָ יַקְשִׁיב כָּל־עַמִּי).

3 On the analysis of the section see Holzinger, 251 *f.*, who finds traces of both J and E, and holds that the passage has also received later interpolations.

4 It may of course be replied that Joseph felt as a Hebrew, and expended all his generosity on his brethren.

be received hospitably. So three tables are placed, one for Joseph, one for his brethren, and one for his Egyptian guests, who must not eat with Hebrews (*v.* 32). Joseph lavishes attentions on Benjamin, his mother's son. Then he deliberately subjects his brethren to a fresh trial, though it is as much as he can do to restrain his emotion. To some extent indeed he has prepared them for it. For the mysterious return of the corn msney on their former visit, which so much perplexed and affrighted them, was due to an order of Joseph. Once more the astute Hebrew vizier causes the money to be replaced in the sacks, and in Benjamin's sack he has his own silver divining-cup[1] deposited; by this means he seeks to awaken their consciousness of guilt (44 1 *f.*, J). Then he sends after them, and on their return accuses them by his steward of theft. The riddle has now become harder than ever. Not many hours ago they had been assured by the steward that the money restored on the former occasion was a gift; indeed, even now no difficulty arises out of the replaced money, but only out of the cup. Judah the chief of the brothers, makes no attempt at justification: 'God,' he says 'has found out the guilt of thy servants';[2] but he tells Joseph how their father's life is bound up with Benjamin's, and how certainly he will die if his child does not return, and offers himself as a bondsman in place of Benjamin.

The recognition scene (45 1-15), to which E is a large contributor, need not be repeated here. Jacob is invited to come with his family and his flocks and herds to the province of GOSHEN [*q.v.*]. His sons, including Simeon and Benjamin, return to Canaan with rich presents, and Israel (J) at once resolves to accept the invitation. E, however, gives us a remarkable detail which is passed over by J. The road from S. Palestine to Egypt started from Beersheba, so closely connected with memories of Isaac. There, E tells us, Jacob offered sacrifices, not to Isaac himself,[3] but to 'the God (elōhīm) of his father Isaac' (46 1). For the present nothing more is drawn from this writer.

Naturally enough, it is J who tells that Judah was sent on in advance to give Joseph notice of the approach of his father. The Hebrew text of Gen. 46 28 is not, as it stands, quite intelligible; but with the help of 𝔊 we can with some probability restore the text thus: 'And he sent Judah before him to Joseph to the land of Jarmuth.'[4] Jarmuth (see § 11) is mentioned repeatedly in the Amarna letters; it was apparently a district in Lower Egypt, either in the Fayyūm or more probably in the E. part of the Delta, in the neighbourhood of Goshen. Here Judah found the grand vizier, who lost no time in preparing his chariot and going up to meet his father. The meeting is described in few but appropriate words (46 29 *f.*, J), such as that colourless writer P could never have found. If we may give way to the spell of the narrator, and treat the events narrated as historical, we may suppose the meeting to have taken place near one of the Egyptian fortresses on the border of the desert.[1] After this, according to J, the whole party went up to the court, and Jacob and five of his brethren were presented to the Pharaoh[2] (Gen. 47 2-4, J). A remarkable honour, for we have just been told (46 34) that 'every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.'[3] The Priestly Writer, generally so concise, even gives us a conversation held by Jacob with the Pharaoh (Gen. 46 7-10). The patriarch speaks in the tone of Ps. 90 10 [11],[4] and as Jacob goes out, like a superior being, he blesses the Egyptian king.

Both J and E described the last meeting of Joseph and his father. It was specially important to record the blessing of Joseph's two sons (48 8-19, JE) and the oath exacted by Jacob from Joseph (cp STAFF) that he would bury him, not in Egypt, but in the grave which he (Jacob) had digged for himself in the land of Canaan[5] (50 5). Jacob on his side promised that Joseph should return to Canaan and occupy the finely-situated hill of SHECHEM (48 22, E). Upon Jacob's death his son performed all the requisite funeral rites (see ABEL-MIZRAIM), both Egyptian and Hebrew, and then returned with his brethren, whom he continued to treat magnanimously till he died at the ideal age of 110 (see § 10).

We have seen that the pre-exilic story of Joseph is made up of portions of two distinct biographies which have been skilfnlly welded together by a redactor. This is a fact of much importance. Since there are two records, and these (as will appear) are equally accurate in their Egyptian colouring, we may assume that there was a still earlier document from which both J and E drew.

4. Common source.

It may be asked, Can we fix the dates of J and E, looking simply at their respective lives of Joseph? (By J and E we mean here members of the schools of writing denoted respectively by the letters J and E.) We may presume that J (or better J_2) lived after the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.), for otherwise, being a Judahite writer, he would not have felt free to treat so elaborately a northern legend aiming at the glorification of Joseph. For the date of E (or E_2) we have perhaps a clue in the name Asenath, and at any rate in the name Potiphera in 41 45. Though a name of the type Potiphera has been shown to occnr close upon the Hyksos period,[6] the name referred to (Petu-baal, 'gift of Baal') is only half Egyptian, and the type first becomes frequently represented in the 26th dynasty.[7] The name Asenath may also be explained as a specimen of a late type of name. It is generally held to be a Hebraised form of Egyptian *ns-nt*—*i.e.*, 'belonging to [the Saite goddess] Neith'—and if so may indicate that the editor lived in, or shortly before, the period of the 26th or Saite dynasty.[8] The name, however, is not doubly attested like that of Potiphera (cp 'Potiphar,' 37 36, E), and may not be the form which E_2 wrote. Let us not neglect to be

1 Apparently J does not conceive divination to be inconsistent with the worship of Yahwè. נִחֵשׁ, 'to divine,' is used again by J in Gen. 30 27 (a speech of Laban). See DIVINATION, § 3 [3].

2 We are not to compare Ps. 90 8 [9]. The early sin against Joseph presses on Judah's conscience.

3 In 31 53 we may perhaps trace the earlier form of the tradition, according to which the hero Isaac was himself worshipped (cp Holzinger, *ad loc.*). In 46 1 E carefully adjusts the tradition to later religious ideas.

4 MT has וְאֶת־יְהוּדָה שָׁלַח לְפָנָיו אֶל־יוֹסֵף לְהוֹרֹת לְפָנָיו גֹּשְׁנָה; but, as Lagarde, Kautzsch, Socin, and Ball have seen, לְהוֹרֹת לְפָנָיו, 'to point out before him,' cannot be correct. Ball ('96) would read לְהִקָּרֹת לְפָנָיו (𝔊 συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ); but the sentence does not tell us whom Judah was to meet, nor does גֹּשְׁנָה, 'to Goshen,' follow naturally. Lagarde (*GGN*, '90, p. 119) and, independently, the present writer (in '80) thought that instead of להרות לפניו 𝔊 read להרו (?)פלין or the like—*i.e.*, 'to Heroopolis.' Heroopolis, as Naville has shown, is PITHOM [*q.v.*]; 'Heroo' may perhaps come from the Egyptian *ar* (=ηρ) 'storehouse' (*Store city of Pithom*, 7). Lagarde accepts this as the true reading; but too hastily. 𝔊's version needs a more thorough inspection. It runs thus in A, τὸν δὲ Ἰούδαν ἀπέστειλεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἰωσηφ συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσση. What is εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσση? It represents גשנה in MT. גשן, however, is nowhere else rendered γῆ Ῥαμ. In spite of Naville's plausible theory (*Goshen*, 17) that γῆ Ῥαμ. may mean a larger district than Goshen, the present writer holds that 𝔊 must have read something rather different from MT, viz., להרו לירמת. Here לירמת is to be taken as a correction of להרו (a miswritten fragment), the right reading and the wrong being preserved, as often, side by side. 𝔊, however, supposed להרו to mean 'to Ero'—*i.e.*, 'to Heroopolis'—and לירמת to be miswritten for לרעמסס—*i.e.*, 'to (the land of) Rameses.' The true reading of *v.* 28 probably is וְאֶת־יְהוּדָה שָׁלַח לְפָנָיו אֶל־יוֹסֵף אַרְצָה יַרְמוּת. לפניו גשנה is a gloss (𝔊D omits εἰς γῆν Ῥ. both in 46 28 and in 47 11). ויבאו (or ויבא) and גשן at the end of *v.* 28 and in *v.* 29 are also insertions. In 47 11 'the land of Rameses' should be 'the land of Jarmuth.'

1 So Tomkins, *Life of Joseph*, 75.

2 On Gen. 47 5 *f.*, where the text of 𝔊 is clearly preferable, see We. *CH* 53, and cp Bacon, *Gen.* 212; Ball, *Gen.* 104 *f.*

3 Herdsmen are caricatured on the monuments as ugly and deformed. A reference to Gen. 12 10-20 does not lighten the inconsistency, for that narrative has reached its present form by a misunderstanding (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).

4 Lady Duff Gordon (*Letters from Egypt*) thinks that Gen. 47 9 is just the hollow speech that a Fellah would make to-day to a Pasha. The remark does not at all hit the intention of P.

5 Not necessarily MACHPELAH [*q.v.*]; 47 30 seems to have been touched by R, to harmonise it with P (49 29-32).

6 See Brugsch, *Gesch.* 197, cp 239; and especially Tomkins, *Acad.*, 31st Jan. 1891; *Life of Joseph*, 183.

7 Steindorff, *ZÄ* 30 41 *f.* ('89), 33 50-52 ('92); cp Lag. *Mitt.* 3 226-229 and 282-286; Brugsch, *Deutsche Rundschau*, '90, p. 245; Cornill, *Einl.*(3) 41.

8 So Steindorff, *l.c.* Names of this type occur now and then earlier, and are frequent in the 21st (Theban) dynasty.

warned by the wrongly read 'Egyptian' names, Ano in 𝔊, 1 K. 12 24e (Swete), and Tahpenes in MT of 1 K. 11 19 (see HADAD).

If so, we have nothing to depend upon but the name Potiphera, and this is a very weak basis for a theory. There were learned scribes before as well as after the exile, and such an one may possibly have changed the original name given to Joseph's father-in-law by E_2 into a name of the type which in his own time was more fashionable in Egypt; or perhaps the text may have become indistinct, and the scribe may have corrected the older name in accordance with the fashion of the time.

Next, assuming (as we must) that J and E drew from an earlier Hebrew story, can we form an opinion as to its probable period? This Hebrew story was certainly no mere romance, the scene of which was laid in Egypt. The Egyptian colouring is too profuse, and the details too peculiar, to be altogether ascribed to a Hebrew narrator. We can imagine that a romantic story of the Egyptian sojourn of a Joseph who was merely the eponym of the Hebrew tribe of that name would have presented some Egyptian features. Such a story, however, being mainly a reflection of the fortunes of a tribe, could not have been so deeply infused with Egyptian elements as the existing Joseph-story. It is therefore a reasonable conjecture that that earlier Hebrew story of which we have spoken was based on a still more ancient Hebrew narrative which had no elements of tribal legend and related entirely to an individual, and that those elements in our existing Joseph-story which are most undeniably personal, and by which this story contrasts most strongly with the unhistorical tribal legends of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were present in a purer and of course a more complete form in that ancient Hebrew narrative.

To what extent this most ancient Hebrew tale may have suffered alteration in the course of centuries, it is impossible to say. We may conjecture, however, that it was really based upon facts which, however idealised, were yet truly historical, that it was written not many generations after the events to which it referred, and even that it was derived directly or indirectly from an Egyptian source. The number of Semites in the eastern provinces of Egypt was so large that this Egyptian origin is far from being an extravagant hypothesis. The upper limit of the period within which the Hebrew stories, which seem to have preceded J and E, have to be placed, depends on the date or dates of the events recorded idealistically by the earliest of them.'

5. Egyptian parallels.

Let us first consider some of the most remarkable phenomena in the Joseph-story (completeness cannot be aimed at) in connection with Egyptian parallels.

a. The close parallelism between Gen. 39 7-20 and the Egyptian tale of Two Brothers has often been remarked., The Egyptian tale is extant in a copy which belonged to Seti II. (19th dynasty), and was probably written early in the 18th dynasty. That such a story could have arisen only in Egypt, it would be too much to assert; in fact, similar stories have been found in perfectly unrelated literatures.[2] Still, considering that the scene of the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife is laid in Egypt, and that the rest of the story of Joseph in Egypt is strongly Egyptian in colouring, it is most plausible to hold that Gen. 39 7-20 is based upon a parallel Egyptian story, though hardly upon the tale of the Two Brothers, for that has to do with peasant life. Such a borrowing would certainly be less surprising than the undoubted fact that in early Christian times an Egyptian monk named Visa, in writing the life of his father Shniidi, twice imitates the story of the Two Brothers in some one of its forms.

b. The rise of Joseph the ,Hebrew from low estate to the second position in the kingdom has many parallels. Semitic slaves were common at all times in the Nile Valley.[1] Often, for their capacity and fidelity, they were raised to high positions, and became naturalised Egyptians. Meri-Rēʿ, the armour-bearer of Thotmes III., and his brother the priest User-Min, were the sons of an Amorite. We do not hear that they had been slaves; but there is nothing to prohibit the idea; and the chief point to notice in the rise of Joseph is not his having been a slave but his Hebrew origin. So, too, under the Pharaoh Merenptah the office of 'first speaker of His Majesty' was held by a Canaanite named Ben Mat'ana, and in the Amarna Tablets we meet with two Egyptian officials who appear from their names Dudu (דוד) and Yanhamu (ינעם) to be of Semitic origin.

c. That the honours conferred upon Joseph (Gen. 41 42 *f.*) are such as a newly appointed vizier might well have received, is undeniable. The royal 'seal-bearer' was the chief government official; he was the deputy of the Pharaoh.[2] The 'garments of linen' (plural), if the story is of Egyptian origin, cannot be right; the first narrator may have referred to the royal apron-garment (the so-called *shendi-t*) which was worn by others as well as by the king under the Middle and the New Empires.[3] 'Garments of byssus' (שֵׁשׁ, see LINEN, 7) were not exceptional enough; all Egyptians of rank had to wear them. The 'golden collar' was a highly prized Egyptian decoration; Ahmes, the conqueror of Avaris, won it seven times by special acts of valour.[4]

In the Louvre there is a stele on which the investiture of a grandee with a golden collar is represented to the life. Seti I. presides over the ceremony, and while he makes a speech two officers put a magnificent collar round the neck of Ḥor-ḥem, who lifts his arms in token of joy (De Rougé, *Notice sommaire*, 49; cp Pierret, *RP* 2 105 *f.*). See also Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 426.

6. Joseph's viziership.

Still we cannot lay too much stress' even upon this decoration; at any Eastern court such an honour would have been prized (cp Dan. 5 7 29 and see NECKLACE). What the meaning of 'he made him ride in the second chariot that he had' (Gen. 41 43) can be, no one has explained.

The text has been injured; we may with some probability restore בְּמֶרְכֶּבֶת הַמַּרְנְשָׁקִים, 'in a chariot drawn by choice young steeds.' To both words in this phrase there may have been corresponding Egyptian terms; to the first there certainly was (*ma-ra-ka-bu-ti*); hut both were originally Semitic (see CHARIOT, § 1, and cp HORSE, § 1 [5]).

It is more important, however, to note the titles of Joseph's office. 'They cried before him, Abrech' (Gen. 41 43, J). 'He has made me an *ab* to Pharaoh, and *adon* of all his house' (45 8, J). Abrech, if the reading is correct, is possibly the Ass. *abarakku*, a title of a very high dignitary, which like so many other Asiatic words may have passed into Egypt (see ABRECH). More probably, however, the first three letters represent an Egyptian title—viz., friend (חבר)—and in 45 8 'an *ab* to Pharaoh' should probably be 'a friend of Pharaoh.' Brugsch, it is true, points out that the Egyptian *ab* meant a person who gave orders in the name of the Pharaoh.[5] A lower dignitary would be called *adon*, though Brugscb has once found the the title of 'an *adon* over the whole land' (in connection with the early life of Ḥaremḥib, afterwards king).[6] In any case, however, we could not press this. *Adon*, if not also *ab*, is possibly a Semitic loan-word. *Ādōn* is the natural Hebrew word

1 See, *e.g.*, Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 249-251; E. Meyer, *GA* 1285; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 209. For translations, see Renouf, *RP* 2 137 *ff.*; Maspero, *Contes de l'Égypte anc.* 3-32; Flinders Petrie, *Anc. Eg. Tales*, 2 36 *ff.*, cp Erman, 378 *f.*

2 See A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2 303-308.

1 Ebers, *Aegypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, 294; Erman, 105, 517.

2 Flinders Petrie, *Tell Nebesheh*, 16; *Ten Years' Digging*, 66; Ebers Smith's *DB*(2) 1797; Tomkins, *Life of Joseph*, 47.

3 Erma;, *Anc. Eg.* 62, 206, 210.

4 Renouf, *RP* 6 7-10; Petrie, *Hist.* 2 21-23.

5 *Gesch. Aeg.* 207, 248, 592.

6 *Gesch. Aeg.* 252.

for 'lord'; so also, according to the lexicons, is *āb* for 'vizier.'[1]

For the extent of Joseph's newly given authority we may refer to the descriptions of the two Egyptian feudal lords, Ptaḥ-ḥotep and Reḫmerē'.

'If Reḫmerē' does not, like Ptaḥ-hotep, bear the title of royal prince, he was perhaps of even higher rank, since he is called 'the double of the Pharaoh,' animated by his spirit, taking his place in his absence, governing all Egypt like him, addressed by the same titles, and saluted like him by the courtiers. We must not be surprised, therefore, at the royal title given to Ptaḥ-ḥotep; the prefect of the capital was next to the king the first person in the kingdom.'[2]

Not less remarkable is the abject servility of the letters addressed to Dudu, a high officer of Amen-hotcp IV., by Aziri, prefect of the land of the Amorites; it is not easy to decide which is greater, 'the king, my lord,' or 'my lord, my father.'[3] Aziri even refers to the king and the grandees collectively as 'my gods' (*ilāniya*). Does not this remind us of Gen. 41 40, 'Only in the throne will I be greater than thou'?[4]

d. With the viziership Joseph combined the office of director of the granaries (Gen. 41 48 *f.*). This was

7. Granaries. usually distinct. It was held, *e.g.*, by Beka (19th or 20th dynasty), whose sepulchral stele is now preserved at Turin.[5] Kings' sons did not disdain to hold it.[6] We know, however, that Reḫmerē' (see *c*), who was a vizier, was superintendent of the storehouses, which from time to time he had inspected. This constant supervision is insisted upon by the real or imaginary princely sage, Ptah-hotep, in his famous collection of precepts. *So*, too, a chief overseer of the granaries, named Am-n-teh, tells us that he never took rest from his responsibilities. Such at least was the ideal. The magazines had to be carefully guarded and replenished, for on this the life of thousands might depend.' This duty, according to Gen. 41 48 *f.*, Joseph, as an ideal vizier, discharged in person. The scene of Joseph's brethren presenting themselves at the granaries may be illustrated by a wall-painting in the tomb of Reḫmerē' already referred to.[8]

We now come to the seven years of famine (Gen. 41 54 *ff.*). Famines were sometimes confined to Egypt.

8. Famine. On one such occasion, as the decree of Canopus mentions, the reigning Ptolemy imported grain from Syria and Phcenicia. The story of Joseph, however, refers to one which extended to all the neighbouring lands, natives of which came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn (Gen. 41 57). It used to be thought that a pictorial record of this event was still extant. On the N. wall of the tomb of prince Chnemhotep on the steep height of Beni Ḥasan can still be seen depicted the meeting of thirty-seven Asiatics with the Egyptian. prince-governor. It is not, however, a famine but trade that brings them to Egypt, and they are nomads from Arabia, headed by their prince Abesha (see ABISHAI, n. 2), bringing stibium or eye-paint (see PAINT).[9]

In another of the Beni-Ḥasan caves is the tomb of Ameni, one of the feudal princes of the Middle Empire. This magnate is made to relate the chief events of his life, and speaks thus in the conclusion.

'(When) there became years of famine . . . I made to live its inhabitants, making its provision; not became a hungry man in it. . . . When thereafter great rises of the Nile took place, producing wheat and barley . . . not did I exact the arrears of the farm.'[1] A similar statement is made by a governor named Baba in his sepulchral inscriptions at el-Kāb (end of 17th dyn.); Baba speaks of 'a famine lasting many years,' and Brugsch has recorded his conviction[2] that the inscription refers to the identical famine of the Joseph-story. Baba at el-Kāb was under the native king Sāknūnri III., while Joseph lived and worked, as Brugsch thinks, under one of the Hyksos kings. Of a third famine which has been brought into connection with Joseph it is enough to say that the style of the monument proves it to be not earlier than the Ptolemies. See Wiedemann, *Gesch. des Alt. Aegyptens*, 68.

We now pass on to the policy of Joseph (Gen. 47 13-26, composite). The statements in *vv.* 20-26 have some

9. Joseph's policy. affinity to those of Herodotus (2 109) and Diodorus (1 73), and the probability is that all these stories are the attempts of later generations to account for the fact that the Egyptians handed over a fixed proportion of the harvest to the king. Erman writes thus :—

'Whatever the details may have been, we may accept as a general fact that Ta'a and A'ḥmose exterminated the old nobility very much as the Mamluks were exterminated by Mehemed Ali and as the latter obtained the greater part of all the property in the kingdom by the confiscation of the estates of the Mamlnks, so the former absorbed the property of the small princedoms. Thus arose those abnormal agrarian conditions found in later Egypt, by which all property, with the exception of the priests' fields, belonged to the Pharaoh, and was rented from the crown by a payment of 20 per cent. In Gen. 47 these conditions are declared to be due to the clever policy of Joseph.'[3]

The narrator in Gen. 47 is certainly accurate in one part of his statement. The land of the priests was exenipt from taxation; no 'inspector of the palace' could enter the sacred domains.[4] We do not hear, however, that the priests received special 'portions' of provisions. from the king; this statement is not confirmed.

One small point alone remains — the age ascribed to Joseph at his death. 'Joseph died, being 110 years

10. Joseph's age. old' (Gen. 50 26, J). No Hebrew tale-writer would have written thus. To reach the age of 110 years was every good Egyptian's prayer; it was the favour desired by the high priest Bak-en-Honsu (19th dynasty) when he was *86* years of age.[5] Ptah-hotep, whose collection of maxims has been called (with doubtful justice) the most ancient of books, says that his virtue has brought him to this advanced age, which few were privileged to exceed,[6] and a strange reminiscence of this Egyptian belief meets us in the life of another Joseph (see JOSEPH iii., § 10).

What historical elements are there in the Joseph story? We are prepared by the preceding inquiry to

11. Historical elements. find that there are some, and it will be best to go at once into the heart of the question. Let us notice, then, (1) that several names possibly of Egyptian origin occur in the families of Moses and Aaron and of Joseph. The name of Moses may possibly be analogous to Ramessu, 'child of Ra (RE')'; the son of Eleazar, commonly called PHINEHAS (*q.v.*), and a son of Eli bear, according to the prevalent opinion, the same well-known Egyptian name, of which HOPHNI (*q.v.*) may be a corrupt variation. Eleazar's father, PUTIEL (*q.v.*), and the Korahite clan called Osir (MT ASSIR) also have been thought to bear, the one a partly disfigured, the other a still completely Egyptian name. HUR, too, the companion of Moses and Aaron, may also possibly be added to the list. The present writer probably stands nearly alone in looking elsewhere for the true explanations of these names. But with such an eminent

1 But this is extremely doubtful. In Is. 96 [5] and 22 21 we should almost certainly read אביר (strong one, protector). See *Crit. Bib.*

2 Virey, *RP*(2) 3 4; cp 4 3.

3 *Am. Tab.* 44 *f.*

4 Flinders Petrie (*Tell Nebesheh*, 16; *Ten Years' Digging*, 66) suggests a further comparison with the 'chief of the chancellors,' or 'royal seal-bearer,' who stood at the head of the bureaucracy under the Hyksos kings. We must not, however, base an argument upon this for placing Joseph in the Hyksos period, for the officials at that period were not Semites but chosen from among the native Egyptians.

5 Chabas, *TSBA* 5 459-465.

6 Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 286.

7 Virey, *RP*(2) 3 7 *f.* (see n. 2, p. 7).

8 *RP*(2) 3 10.

9 See *Beni-Hasan* (*Archæol. Survey of Egypt*), Part I., p. 69, and cp EGYPT, § 50; MUSIC, § 8. The tombs are of the 12th dynasty.

1 *Ib.* 27.

2 *Gesch. Aeg.* 245 *ff.*; cp Tomkins, *Joseph*, 56.

3 *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 103.

4 Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II.* ('92), 8.

5 De Horrack, *RP* 12 118 122.

6 *RP*(2) 3 34. Cp also Flinders Petrie, *Anc. Eg. Tales*, 1 25.

authority as W. Max Muller on the other side, he will not be so discourteous as to call the above explanations impossible. Certainly, if correct, they tend to justify the theory that the tribe of Joseph and some part of the tribe of Levi once sojourned in Egypt. Whether the story of the selling of Joseph for a slave may be best regarded as an antedating of the reported subsequent oppression, or as a feature of a once extant biography of a Hebrew vizier, is an open question. It should be noticed that from *Am. Tab.* 55 115 it appears that the sons and daughters of the Syrians were sometimes sent to Jarimuta to be sold for corn.' Not only Joseph, but in an earlier form of the story also Simeon and Benjamin seem to have been represented as sold into slavery in Egypt, and it has been already noted as perhaps significant that the name of a traditional grandson of Joseph means 'sold' (see EPHRAIM i., § 1; cp, however, MACHIR).

Passing now to Joseph himself, we find that in Manĕtho's story of the expulsion of the 'lepers' (Jos. c. *Ap.* 1 28), the leader of the 'lepers' is said to be a priest of Heliopolis named Osarsiph (see § 1). The kernel of this story, according to E. Meyer (*GA* 1 270) and Marquart (*Chronolog. Unters.*), is the virtually monotheistic reform of Aḫu-n-aten (Amen-hotep IV.). A similar story is given by Chæremon (Jos. c. *Ap.* 1 32), who gives the names of the leaders of the 'unclean' as Tisithen and Peteseph. The latter name, in one way or another, may fairly be brought into connection with Joseph (see § 1), and it should be added that Chaeremon too connects the story with Amenophis (Amen-hotep).

It becomes natural, therefore, to look for light to the Amarna tablets which are concerned with the period of Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV.; and we are not disappointed. We find there an important Egyptian functionary, whose name is apparently Semitic, Yanhamu (*i.e.*, according to Marq. ינעם). He is a *rabiṣu* or 'general (?)' who has the control of the magazines of grain in the land of Jarimuta (see § 3), and superintends the affairs of the Egyptian dominion in Palestine.

When the Syrian chieftains and governors have a request to make of the Egyptian king they often add that he need only ask Yanḫamu, who knows the circumstances well. When Rib-Addi of Gebal has grievances against Abd-Aširti of Amurru, he refers them to Yanḫamu (as one of three, 84 34 *f.*), and he asks the king to say to Yanḫamu, 'Behold, Rib-Addi is in thy power, and anything which happens to him touches thee' (61 40-42). Another time Rib-Addi asks the king to bid Yanḫamu take the field at once with troops (75 59-64 87 173).

These are by no means all the references. Notice too that Yabitiri, commandant of Gaza and Joppa, speaks of having been brought by Yanḫamu to the Egyptian court while still small (214 24-26). Yabitiri seems to have been a countryman of Yanḫamu; but his name, which looks Egyptian (Ra-hotep?), may have been given to him in Egypt.

The latter circumstance is interesting because Joseph too is said to have received an Egyptian name in Egypt; Marquart thinks (677) that the name intended is Zaphtan (צפתן), and that תן represents Aten, the name of the god of the solar disk, worshipped by Aḫu-n-*aten*. This is not the present writer's view (see ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH); but the theory from which it springs seems to him likely to be correct. Joseph (whose Egyptian name was perhaps Pa-'anḫ, or Pi-anḫi,[2] indicating that 'life'—'*anḫ*—centred in the bearer of the name) is probably an imaginative version of some Semitic courtier of the reforming king Amen-hotep IV. The untranslatable passage in Gen. 41 43, אברך ונתון אתו, should perhaps be read חֲבַר כּוּאֶתֹן, 'friend of Khu-en-aten' (Che. *OLZ*, April 1900; cp § 4), and the name of Joseph's wife may perhaps have been 'Ans-nes-aten (so Marq. 677). A daughter of Aḫu-n-aten, who had this name, was married to Tut-'anḫ-Amun, the next king but one after Khu-en-aten. 'Potiphera,' too, should probably be corrected into Meri-Rē'; this was the name of the high priest of Aten at the king's new capital of Aḫt-aten (el-Amarna). We have also found reason to suspect the occurrence of another ancient Egyptian name in Genesis, viz., Jarimuta (in Gen. 46 28, see § 3). Marquart's theory that Jarimuta was in the province now called the Fayyiim—a natural depression in the Libyan hills, far more fertile anciently even than it is now—seems not quite so natural as the view which places it nearer to Palestine, in the East of the Delta.[1]

Some such conjectnres as the above seem forced upon us in the light of Egyptian history. As to the names, we must not expect too great exactness. W. Max Miiller (*OLZ*, Oct. 1900) objects to כ as the representative of Kh. But the confusion of כ and ח is too common in Hebrew to surprise us. The אתו after נתון is but a scribe's second attempt to write Aten. As to the impoliteness of choosing the name Aḫu-n-aten, the objection would have more force if an Egyptian story were in question

The ordinary view that Joseph, if historical, is to be placed in the Hyksos period, is acquiesced in by Fliuders Petrie. Ebers, however, who is in agreement with Lepsius, says, 'In the whole section there is nothing which does not exactly fit a Pharaonic court in the best periods of the kingdom, while there is much which can never be reconciled with a Hyksos court, however much Egyptianised.'[2] A later date, too, makes it easier to believe in the existence of a true tradition as the kernel of the story. Following Marquart, whose brilliant research[3] has poured a flood of light on the Joseph-story, the present writer places the great Hebrew vizier now called Joseph in the reign of Khu-en-aten or Amen-hotep IV.

We may now perhaps venture on the statement that there are five distinct elements in our present Joseph-story :—(1) the transformed tradition of a sojourn of the tribe of Joseph in Egypt; (2) the tradition, true in essentials, of a Hebrew vizier under Khu-en-aten; (3) the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, etc. (an imaginative appendage); (4) the narrative (not historical) connecting the changed agrarian law of Egypt with Khu-en-aten's vizier; (5) the narrative (also unhistorical) of the sojourn of the other 'sons' of Israel in Egypt. All these have been skilfully woven together by several Hebrew writers. There is something more, however, to be mentioned—it is the ideality of the whole narrative. None of the Old Testament biographies attracts such universal admiration as the story of Joseph.

See, in addition to the hooks cited already, F. Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*(6), 1896, tom. ii. (for archaeology), and the vastly superior article of Driver, in Hastings' *DB* 2 767-775, the archaeological exactness of which is not less than its careful treatment of the Hebrew text. What has been omitted here for want of space will be found in this very useful article. That there is room for considerable difference of opinion on the difficult textual and historical questions involved will be readily imagined. T. K. C.

2. In MT, father of IGAL (Nu. 13 7 [P]); but the real name seems to have dropped out: see JOSEPH i., § 1 n.

3. One of the b'ne Asaph (1 Ch. 25 2 9).

4. One of the b'ne Bani in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end) Ezra 10 42 = 1 Esd. 9 34, JOSEPHUS (φοσηπος [B], ιωσηφος [A]).

5. A priest, head of the b'ne Shebaniah, temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., §§ 6*b* 11), Neh. 12 14 [om. Bℵ*A].

6. h. Zacharias, a Jewish officer defeated by GORGIAS (1 Macc. 5 56 *ff.*).

7. The Maccabee (2 Macc. 8 22 10 19 ιωσηπον [A], -φον [V], an ancient false reading for ιωαννην); see MACCABEES i., § 2, *ad fin.*

8. Ancestor of Judith (Jud. 8 1).

[1] This is Marquart's pertinent observation (678).

[2] Pianhi was a priestly name; it was current in the family of the priest-king Ḥri-ḥor.

[1] It depends on the reading and translation of an imperfect passage of one of the Amarna tablets (101 46). To place Jarimuta so far away as the Syrian Laodicea (Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt* 186) is hardly desirable. The view that it is in the Nile delta is due to the sagacity of C. Niehuhr (*MVG* 1 208-212 ['96]).

[2] *Aegypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, 295.

[3] *Chronologische Untersuchungen* (1900), reprinted from the seventh supplementary volume of *Philologus*, 637-720.

JOSEPH [in NT]

JOSEPH [in NT] (ιωcηφ [Ti. WH]). **1. Joseph of Arimathæa.** The passages relative to this Joseph should first be compared.

1. Description. As to his description. Matthew says (27 57), 'a rich man of (ἀπό, belonging to) Arimathæa, named Joseph, who himself had become a disciple of Jesus (ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ Ιησου).' Mark (15 43), 'Joseph of Arimathæa (ὁ ἀπὸ 'Ap.), a noble councillor (εὐσχήμων βουλευτής), who also himself was expecting the kingdom of God.' Luke (23 50), 'a man named Joseph, who was a councillor (βουλευτὴς ὑπάρχων), a good and righteous man (he bad not given his vote—οὐκ ἦν συνκατατιθέμενος—for their counsel and deed) of Arimathæa a city of the Jews, who was expecting the kingdom of God.' John (19 38), 'Joseph of Arimathæa (ὁ ἀπὸ 'Ap.), being a disciple of Jesus, but a secret one for fear of the Jews.' The Petrine Gospel (3), 'Joseph the friend of Pilate and of the Lord.' Tradition therefore is not entirely unanimous as to the description of Joseph.

In some respects the simplest accounts in our Gospels are those of Mt. and Jn. Both agree that Joseph belonged to the wider circle of Jesus' disciples, and Peter probably means the same thing by the peculiar phrase quoted above; and neither Mt. nor Jn. is aware that he belonged to any Jewish council. Mt. indeed says that he was a rich man, whilst Jn. is silent on this point; but the fact that, according to Jn., Joseph in the first instance undertook the whole of the arrangements for burial, and was afraid of the consequences to himself if he avowed his 'discipleship, proves that Jn., too, must have regarded Joseph as a rich man. The account in Jn. 19 41 *f.*, however, presents one apparent discrepancy from that in Mt. 27 60. Apparent we call it, because it only rests on an inference; but that inference is certainly a very natural one. It appears from Jn. 19 41 *f.* that the body of Jesus was laid in the sepulchre adjoining the place of crucifixion only because it was 'nigh at hand'; that Joseph happened to be the owner, would he so remarkable a coincidence that the evangelist would surely have stated it. It is true, Mk. and Lk., as well as Jn., are silent as to Joseph's proprietorship of the tomb; but the presumption is that Joseph, who was evidently, according *to* them, a man of social standing, and would therefore certainly have prepared his own 'long home,' is to be supposed to have taken the body of Jesus to his own new tomb, which was somewhere near Jerusalem.

2. Discipleship. Is there also a discrepancy between Mk. (and Lk.) and Mt. as regards Joseph's discipleship? According to B. Weiss (*Das Leben Jesu*, 2 592; *Das Matthäusevang.* 574) there is. Mk. 15 43 accurately, though indirectly, states that hitherto Joseph, who was a councillor, had kept aloof from the circle of the adherents of Jesus, whereas Mt. 27 57 expressly affirms that he had become a disciple. Weiss also thinks that Mt.'s description of Joseph as a rich man was due to his desire for a fresh fulfilment of prophecy (Is. 53 9). Here, however, there appear to be several misunderstandings. (1) Joseph was of course not a close 'adherent' of Jesus; but he belonged to that wider circle of disciples which Mt., though less distinctly than Mk. and Lk., presupposes (see Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* 2 222 *f.*). (2) Joseph was scarcely a 'councillor' in the sense supposed by Weiss. (3) Neither Mt. nor any other early Christian writer thought of Is. 53 9 as a prediction of Christ's burial.

3. Historicity. Let us pause here and ask if thus far the accounts are historical. The statements that the person who arranged for the burial of the body of Jesus was a member of the wider circle of disciples, a rich man of Arimathaea (see below, § 5), named Joseph, and that the tomb in which he placed the body of Jesus was his own, is questioned by few critics. These were points which tradition was not likely to have invented. The notion of Strauss that the story of the tomb was suggested by Is. 53 9 is refuted by the circumstance that none of the Gospels, nor any subsequent work of the early Christian period, refers to that passage, the obscurity of which evidently caused great difficulty to the ancient translators.[1] We may at any rate accept as a historical certainty the ἐτάφη ('he was buried') of 1 Cor. 15 4.

4. Meaning of 'councillor.' We now pass on to the statement of Mk. and Lk. that Joseph was a 'councillor.' If by 'councillor' they both mean 'member of the Sanhedrin," we are involved in hopeless perplexity. That Joseph was not deficient in courage. is shown by his application to Pilate, for the notion–of *Evang. Pet.* 3 that he was a friend of Pilate is clearly a late fancy. If a member of the Sanhedrin, he must have attended on such an important occasion as the trial of Jesus, and must have spoken for him, and have transmitted the knowledge of this fact and of much more important facts to subsequent generations of Christians. The inevitable inference from Mk. 14 64, however, is that no member of the council was absent, and certainly no one can say that the evangelical tradition of the trial of Jesus has the appearance of exactness. Does it not seem to follow from this that Mk. did not, any more than Mt., suppose Joseph to have belonged to the Sanhedrin —in short, that Lk. must have misunderstood the meaning of βουλευτής? No one can say that the epithet εὐσχήμων—*i.e.*, 'noble'[2]—as applied to a member of the Sanhedrin, is at all natural. If, however, we interpret εὐσχ. βουλευτής from a Greek or a Roman point of view, it becomes equivalent to 'a man of high social rank' (=a noble senator), and is quite in place in a work intended mainly for Gentile Christians. Lk. and Jn., however, may easily have misunderstood it.[3] John shows special thoughtfulness in dealing with it. He considered, apparently, that he had before him a twofold tradition. According to one version, Joseph of Arimathaea, a rich disciple of Jesus, paid his Master's body the last sad honours; according to another, it was a councillor named Joseph of Arimathæa who did this. He therefore combined the two traditions, only substituting 'Nicodemus' for 'Joseph' as the name of the councillor, for which he had prepared the way by the statement respecting a speech of Nicodemus in the council apparently suggested by the parenthetical remark about Joseph in Lk. 23 51. See NICODEMUS.

5. Arimathæa. Opinions differ (see Keim, *Jesus von Naz.* 3 513 *f.*) as to the place intended by Arimathaea. Most probably it is the Ramathaim mentioned in 1 Macc. 11 34 beside Lydda. See OS 225 12 (αρμαθεμ σειφα) and RAMAH, 2. From the fact that Joseph possessed a rock-tomb near Jerusalem, we may assume that he had taken up his abode at any rate for a time in the Holy City, and the fact that nothing is heard of him afterwards justifies the supposition that he may afterwards have left Palestine; possibly he was a merchant. It is a weakness, however, in our position, that we are compelled to speculate.

6. Joseph's deed. As to the deed of Joseph. As far as regards the entombment itself, not much need be added to what has incidentally been said already. The simplest statement is that of Mt.; it is difficult to think that the earliest tradition referred to Joseph's purchase of 'linen' (ἀγοράσας σινδόνα; see LINEN) for the purpose of enwrapping the body. The mention of a garden in Jn. 19 41 may also be mere amplification; the Petrine Gospel (24) says that Joseph's 'own tomb' was called 'Joseph's garden'—apparently the name of a well-known locality in the time of the writer.[4] The story of Joseph's interview with Pilate is given very simply by Mt., Lk., and Jn. Mk., in his graphic way, lays stress on the 'cour-

1 On the text see *SBOT*, 'Isa.' Heb., 150, and cp 201, Addenda: cp also Marti, *ad loc.*

2 See Acts 13 50 17 12. 'Of noble bearing' (Edersheim) is surely impossible.

3 So Brandt, *Evang. Gesch.* 79.

4 H. v. Schubert, *Die Comp. des ps. Petr. Evang.* 62.

age' required for Joseph's act (τολμήσας), and adds that 'Pilate marvelled if he were already dead, and calling the centurion, he asked if he had been any while dead; and when he knew it, he gave the body to Joseph' (Mk. 15 44 *f.*). None of the Synoptics makes any reference to the fact stated in Jn. 19 31 that the Jews had already asked Pilate that the *crurifragium* might be performed (see CROSS, §§ 4, 6), and that the bodies of the crucified might then be removed. Yet this certainly makes the whole occurrence more intelligible (cp *Evang. Petr.* 5). It was not usual, according to Roman law, to grant burial for the bodies of the crucified; hence the need of 'courage' on Joseph's part. That Pilate first of all asked Herod for the body (*Evang. Petr.* 3-5) is an unplausible fancy; and the elaborate tale of the imprisonment of Joseph, of his miraculous release and of his baptism by Jesus, after which he is taken by the Lord to Arimathæa, are specimens of the inventions of the *Acts of Pilate* (12 15).

For the English legends on which the abbey of Glastonbury is founded, see William of Malmeshury, 'De Antiq. Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ' in *Rev. Angl. Script. Vet.* 1 ('84), and elsewhere; and cp Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail with Especial Reference to the Hypothesis of its Celtic Origin*, 1888.

7. References. 2. Husband of Mary. — The references in the Gospels' must be carefully considered. (*a*) Seven occur in Mt., but all in chaps. 1 *f.*, a section which stands apart from the rest of Mt.'s Gospel, and has nothing answering to it in Mk. or Jn. The most important is that in 1 16, because it refers to Joseph as a person well known by name to the reader as 'the husband of Mary.' In 12 46 (= Mk. 3 31) Mt. mentions the mother of Jesus, but not his father. (*b*) Mk. nowhere, directly or indirectly, refers to Joseph. (c) Lk. also mentions Joseph seven times, but only in chaps. 1-4. It is true that one of these references is outside chaps. 1-3, a section which (if we put aside 2 21-38 and 40-52, which are unique, and 3 1-22, which corresponds to Mt. 3, and is properly speaking outside the prelude of the fuller traditional Gospel) is in the main parallel to Mt. 1 *f.* In the two narratives which are here called unique, however, the father of Jesus is twice referred to, without being named (2 33, ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, and 2 43 οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ [WH, followed by RV]). The last reference (Lk. 4 22) occurs in a narrative which has evidently been expanded and is less accurate than the tradition given in Mk. 6 1-6 Mt. 13 54-58, and may perhaps be ascribed to the influence of chaps. 1-3 in which Joseph is referred to by name. 'Is not this the son of Joseph' in Lk. corresponds to 'Is not this the carpenter' in Mk., and 'Is not this the carpenter's son' in Mt. (*d*) In Jn., Jesus is twice referred to as the son of Joseph (1 45 6 42), in the latter case with the addition, 'whose father and mother we know.'

Thus the evidence that primitive Christian tradition knew anything about the father of Jesus is very slight, and considering the high probability that the narratives respecting the birth of Jesus in Mt. 1 f. Lk. 1 21-39 3 23-38 are partly Haggadic or edifying tales like those in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (upon which, indeed, L. Conrady thinks that the infancy narratives are based), partly the offspring of the keen interest which post-exilic Judaism displayed in real and imaginary genealogies (this applies to Mt. 1 1-17 Lk. 3 23-38), it becomes the historical student to confess that the name of the father of Jesus is, to say the least, extremely imcertain.

8. Possible meaning of Joseph. It would, however, be hasty to assert that there was no element of truth in the expression, 'Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ' (Mt. 1 16).[2] A hint may perhaps be gained from the two references in Jn. The writer of this Gospel says nothing of the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem-judah, and apparently does not accept this particular tradition. He cannot, however (if we regard the gospel as a whole), have been indifferent to the earthly origin of Jesus. Though Jesus was μονογενής (Gods only begotten one), yet he 'abode among us,' and the evangelist makes Jesus invite inquirers to 'come and see where he dwelt' (Jn. 1 38 *f.*). One of these inquirers (Philip of Bethsaida) seeks out (εὑρίσκει, *i.e.*, finds after seeking) Nathanael, and says, 'We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.' Elsewhere (6 41 *f.*) a Galilean multitude is represented as murmuring at the great 'Rabbi' (*a*. 25) because he said that he had 'come down from heaven, and gave life to the world' (*vv.* 33 35), although he was 'Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know' (*v.* 42). Both these passages suggest that 'Jesus bar Joseph' was a common phrase in some forms of the primitive Christian tradition, and the latter passage suggests the inquiry whether there is not a sense in which Jesus could have been the son of Joseph, although the name of the husband of Mary was unknown. The phrase 'the sons of Jacob and Joseph' (Ps. 77 15 [16]) does not mean the men called Reuben, Simeon, Manasseh, Ephraim, etc., nor does 'Shallum the son of Jabesh' (2 K. 15 10) probably mean 'Shallum, whose father, in the strictest sense, was called Jabesh.' On the analogy of such passages 'Jesus the son of Joseph' may mean 'Jesus a member of the house of Joseph' (Zech. 10 6). It is true that the Jewish belief in a Messiah ben-Joseph, the forerunner of the Messiah ben-David, did not exist as a developed scholastic doctrine in the time of Jesus (see MESSIAH), but some of the germs of it may have appeared even then. The primitive Christians certainly seem to have traced Christ's origin to Galilee (see NAZARETH), and to have quoted Is. 9 1 [8 23] as a prophecy of his Galilæan birth (Mt. 2 23 4 14 *ff.*). Even in the latest of our Gospels we seem to find traces of a division among the Jews in this respect, some affirming that 'the holy one' and 'the prophet' (*par excellence*) could not proceed from Galilee (Jn. 1 46 7 52[1]); others that Jesus *was* 'the Holy One,' and *was* spoken of in the law and the prophets, although he was υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰωσηφ, ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρετ (Jn. 1 45, and cp 7 52).

9. A carpenter? According to Mt. 13 55 Jesus, when on a visit to his πατρίς or fatherland (but Syr. Cur. and Lewis, 'his city'), was called ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός, 'the carpenter's son.' It is true that this was early understood to mean 'the son of Joseph.' Not only does Lk. substitute this phrase in 4 22, but the Sinaitic Palimpsest does the same in Mt. 13 55. The phrase בַּר נַגָּר, however (*Bābā Bathrā*, 73*b*), simply means 'a carpenter' = בַּר נַגָּרִין, and, as Mr. N. Herz has already suggested, the phrase, as used in the tradition, may have meant no more than this (cp SON). In this case, Jesus himself is the carpenter, a result which agrees with the statement in Mk. 6 3, and is in accordance with what we should expect and desire. The possibility must be admitted, however, that there has been a confusion between two Semitic roots נצר and נסר. Elsewhere (see GENNESARET, NAZARETH) it has been shown that a name for Galilee, or for a district in Galilee, was נצר or נצרת, but that this was also written נסר or נסרת. Now the Aram. נַסַּר n'sar (Heb. נָשַׂר*; cp מַשּׂוֹר, 'a saw') means 'to saw,' so that 'Jesus the Nazarene' (Nasarene?) might be taken to mean 'Jesus, the carpenter.' Possibly, or probably, there was a play upon words. A mere carpenter, said the Jews; yes, a carpenter — one of ourselves, said Christ's poor.

10. Later views. The usual opinion that Joseph died before Jesus' ministry began seems to be based on Mk. 6 3; cp 3 31 and parallels.

The accounts in the Apocryphal Gospels and similar writings

[1] Cp. GOSPELS § 22.

[2] The Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest, however: gives 'Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin. Cp. GOSPELS, § 22.

[1] In Jn. 1 46, for δύναταί τι ἀγαθόν read δύναται ὁ ἅγιος, and in Jn. 7 52, for προφήτης read ὁ προφήτης. See NAZARETH; GALILEE, § 5, n. 2.

(*e.g.*, the *Death of Joseph;* see Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 1896) are not historical traditions at all. See (for dates) Lipsius, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* 2700. In the Sahidic apocryphal Life of Joseph, which is strongly impregnated with Egyptian ideas, the age of Joseph at his death is fixed at 111 years. The ideal age for the close of life in Egypt was 110 years (see JOSEPH ii., § 10). T. K. C.

3-6. Lk. 3 30 Lk. 3 26 RV JOSECH [*q.v.*], and Lk. 3 24, names of individuals in the genealogy of Jesus; see GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

7. Joseph (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2 2 43) called CAIAPHAS [*q.v.*].
8. Joseph (Acts 1 23) called BARSABAS [*q.v.*].
9. Joseph whose mother was Mary; brother of James (Mt. 13 55, AV JOSES, Mk. 6 3, EV *ib.*). The reading Joseph is supported by ℵ*a*BC in Mt., and by ℵ in Mk. See CLOPAS, § 4.
10. Acts 4 36, RV; see BARNABAS.

JOSEPHUS (ιωcηφοc [A]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 42, JOSEPH, 4.

JOSES, RV JOSEPH. (1) Mt. 13 55 (ιωcηφ [Ti.WH]), Mk. 6 3 (ἰωσῆτος [Ti. WH]); see CLOPAS § 4, JOSEPH iii., 9. (2) Acts 4 36 (ἰωσήφ [Ti. WH]); see BARNABAS.

JOSHAH (יוֹשָׁה, § 31; probably a corruption of JOSHIBIAH), a Simeonite 'prince,' 1 Ch. 4 34† (ιωc[ε]ιa [B], -ciac [A], ιωac [L]).

JOSHAPHAT (יוֹשָׁפָט, abbrev. from JEHOSHAPHAT [*q.v.*]; ιωcaφaτ [BℵAL]).

1. One of David's heroes, probably from TIMNAH [*q.v.*], for we can hardly help assuming a slight error in the gentilic, הַמִּתְנִי, 'the Mithnite,' which should be הַתִּמְנִי, 'the Timnite,' 1 Ch. 11 43† (ι. ὁ. βαιθανει [B], ιωσαφας [ℵ*] [ιωσαφατ, ℵ$^{c.a}$] ὁ. βεθανει [ℵ], ι. ὁ. μαθθανι [A], ι. ὁ. ματθανι [L]); see DAVID, § 11 *a.*
2. AV JEHOSHAPHAT, a Levite, temp. David, 1 Ch. 15 24 (ιωσαφατ). T. K. C.

JOSHAVIAH (יוֹשַׁוְיָה, § 31; probably a corruption of JOSHIBIAH), a name in David's army-list (DAVID, § 11 [*a* ii.]), 1 Ch. 11 46† (ιωc[ε]ιa [BℵA], cωcιa [L]). 𝔊BℵA favour the reading, 'Joshaviah his son' (בְּנוֹ) instead MT 'Jeshaviah, the sons [בְּנֵי] of Elnaam.' Cp ELNAAM.

JOSHBEKASHAH (יָשְׁבְּקָשָׁה), according to the Chronicler a son of Heman, 1 Ch. 25 4 24 (ιεiβacaκa, βaκaτa [B], cεβa καιτaν, ιεcβaκaτaν [A], ιεcβοκ [L], *iesbacassa* [Vg.]); but see HEMAN.

JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH (יֹשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת), 2 Sam. 23 8 RV. See JASHOBEAM.

JOSHIBIAH (יוֹשִׁבְיָה), 'God enthrones' [?], § 31), a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 35; AV JOSIBIAH, ιcaβιa [BA], ιωc. [L]). Cp JOSHAH, JOSHAVIAH.

JOSHUA and (Nu. 13 16) **Jehoshua** (יְהוֹשׁוּעַ, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ; Dt. 3 21 Judg. 2 7], ἰησοῦς;[1] usually explained 'Yahwè is deliverance'; cp NAMES, §§ 27, 84, 86; but see below. In Nu. 13 8 16 Dt. 32 44 we find הוֹשֵׁעַ [see HOSHEA]; but we cannot venture to assume that הוֹשֵׁעַ is really a traditional form, Nu. 23 8 16 proceeding from P, and Dt. 32 44 being incorrectly read [see Driver, *ad loc.*]).

1. Son of NUN [*q.v.*], 'attendant of Moses, and one of his young men' (Nu. 11 28; cp Josh. 1 1), traditional leader of Israel in the conquest of Canaan. He is said to have died at the same age as the tribal hero Joseph (110), and to have been buried in his inheritance at TIMNATH-SERAH (Josh. 24 29 *f.*)—or TIMNATH-HERES (Judg. 2 8 *f.*)—in the hill-country of Ephraim. In Nu. 13 8 16 he is said to have belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and to have been called Hoshea (see above), until Moses, on sending forth Hoshea among the other 'spies,' changed his name to Jehoshua. According to Budde, Judg. 1 22 states that Joshua accompanied the 'house of Joseph' in its invasion of Mt. Ephraim. Verse 19*a*, however, favours MT's reading 'Yahwè,' out of which the reading 'Judah' (ἰουδας 𝔊AL, etc.) would easily arise. At any rate, 'Joshua,' if correct, ought in this context to be a clan-name.

1 Whence the name JESUS [*q.v.*]. From the time of the Maccabees onwards the purely Greek name JASON [*q.v.*] was commonly regarded by Hellenizing Jews as an equivalent of Joshua.

Perhaps Joshua is another form of ABISHUA, which in 1 Ch. 6 4 Ezra 7 5 is the name of the son of Eleazar, b. Aaron. Eleazar and Joshua are associated in assigning the lands of the Israelites (Josh. 19 51), and the burial-places of the two are mentioned in the same narrative (Josh. 24 29-33), are both in Mt. Ephraim, and both probably contain the name Jerahmeel (see TIMNATH-HERES; PHINEHAS). If so, it was originally the priestly and warlike tribe of Levi that was represented by Joshua. His name is a clan-name, and should perhaps be read Josheba or Abi-sheba (cp Elishua and Elisheba), where Sheba is probably an obscure divine name (see SHEBA). This suggests a probable explanation of Joshua's patronymic. נוּן (NUN) may be an abridged way of writing נַחְשׁוֹן (NAHSHON), which is a Jerahmeelite name (cp Timnath-heres).

Even apart from these considerations the historical character of Joshua as an individual is doubtful. It was natural to provide Moses with attendants, and to give a name to the chief of these (Nu. 11 28), who was in training to become Moses' successor. Nor could such a successor have a more suitable name than 'Jehoshua'—cp Eliezer (Ex. 18 4), Eleazar (Ex. 6 23 Josh. 24 33), the names of a son of Moses and of a son of Aaron respectively. Naturally too he would be assigned to the tribe which had the leadership in early times, and if Joseph was originally (as Wi. maintains) a solar hero, it would not be surprising if details of solar-mythical origin attached themselves to the Joshua tradition; note in this connection the name of Joshua's 'inheritance' (see above), if this really means 'portion of the sun.

At any rate, whether the name 'Joshua' is a pure invention or has its origin in a clan-name, the actions ascribed to Joshua are purely legendary, unless indeed the work of critics on the narratives which relate them is a failure, cp, St. *GVI* 1 135; We. *CH* 116 *f.*, n. 1; Wi. *GI* 2 96-122. See ISRAEL, § 7; ELDAD; EPHRAIM. § 6; JABIN; JERICHO; JOSHUA ii.

2. High-priest, Hag. 1 1 Zech. 3 1 *f.*, see JESHUA, 5.
3. A man of Beth-shemesh ('house of the sun,' cp 'Timnath-serah' above), in whose field the ark rested, 1 S. 6 14 18 (ωσηε [B], ιωσηε [L]).
4. Governor of Jerusalem, temp. Josiah, 2 K. 23 8 (ιωσηε [L]).

JOSHUA (BOOK)

Name, etc. (§ 1 *f.*).	Accounts of settlement (§§ 12-14).
Sources (§§ 3-6).	Ultimate sources (§ 15 *f.*).
Analysis (§§ 7-10).	Chronology (§ 17).
Redaction (§ 11).	Text (§ 18 *f.*).
	Literature (§ 20).

In the Hebrew Bible, Joshua is the first of the four historical books (Josh., Judg., S., K.) which make up the first half of the canon of the Prophets, and are hence called the Former Prophets (נביאים ראשונים).[1]

1. Place in Canon.

In Greek manuscripts, Josh., Judg., and Ruth are frequently included with the Pentateuch in a codex (Octateuch); in the Latin Church the same books, with the omission of Ruth, are often similarly united (Heptateuch). In all these Josh. immediately follows the Pentateuch; but in the Bible of the Syrian Church this place is given to Job (as the work of Moses), and Josh. stands next in order.

The book of Joshua, in narrating the conquest and settlement of Canaan, records the fulfilment of the promises to the patriarchs and the completion of the great movement of which the Exodus is the beginning; it is thus the necessary continuation of the Pentateuch, and must once have formed part of the same historical work with the preceding five books. In recent critical investigations, therefore, the first six books of the OT (Hexateuch) are usually taken together: the separation of Josh. from the Pentateuch in the Jewish canon was due to the predominance of the legal point of view; the books of Moses were law (Torah), while Josh. was only history. It need not be assumed, however, that the Hexateuch ever formed by itself a complete historical work ending with the death of Joshua; we know it only as part of a more comprehensive history extending from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerusalem (Gen.-2 K.), in which Josh. is hardly more closely connected with the Pentateuch than with the following books; and the similarity of the redactional phenomena in Dt., Josh., and Judg. shows that this connection is not one of mere sequence,

1 See CANON, § 6.

2. Title and contents. The book takes its title (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ [BF] or ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΥΙΟΣ ΝΑΥΗ [A],[1] *Liber Josue*) from the name of the great leader whose achievements it relates (cp the books of Samuel).[2] The opinion that Joshua is not only the hero but the author of the book[3]—if not merely an inference from the title—rests, presumably, upon a theory of Hebrew historiography like that set forth by Josephus (*c. Ap.* 1 8).[4] The book of Joshua begins, immediately after the death of Moses (Dt. 34), with the command of God to Joshua, who had already been appointed Moses' successor (Dt. 31), to cross the Jordan; it relates the conquest and division of Canaan, and ends with the death of Joshua. The book falls naturally into two parts: the invasion and conquest (1-12), and the allotment of the land to the several tribes (13-24). The first part closes with a recapitulation of the Israelite conquests E. and W. of the Jordan (12); the second, with Joshua's parting charges and admonitions (23 *f.*).

The contents of the **book** may be summarised thus: crossing of the Jordan; capture of Jericho (1-6); operations against Ai (7 *f.*); successful ruse of the Gibeonites (9); victory over the coalition of Canaanite kings, subjugation of the South (10); campaign against the king of Hazor and his allies, subjugation of the North (11); recapitulation (12). Division of the land: the trans-Jordanic tribes (13), Caleb (14), Judah (15), Ephraim and Manasseh (16 *f.*); survey and allotment of the remaining territory to the other tribes, Joshua's own inheritance (18 *f.*); designation of cities of refuge (20); levitical cities (21); dismissal of the trans-Jordanic contingent (22); last exhortations of Joshua (23); assembly at Shechem, and covenant there; death and burial of Joshua (24).

3. Sources. Throughout the Pentateuch—from the first promise to Abraham down to the vision of the dying Moses on Mt. Nebo—the possession of the land of Canaan is kept steadily in view as the goal to which the history is moving. The critical analysis shows that this is true not only of the actual Pentateuch, but also of all its sources, and of every stage in the redaction.

Thus, in JE (J, E, and R_{JE} are all represented), Gen. 13 14-17 15 13-16 26 3 28 13-15 etc. Ex. 3 8 17 32 13 33 1-3 Nu. 13 17 *ff.* 14, also JE in Nu. 32 and Dt. 31; in D (incl. D_2, R_D), Dt. 31 3-6 7 *f.* 1 38 3 21 *f.* 28 cp also 27 1-8; in P Gen. 17 6-8 28 3 *f.* 35 11 *f.* (cp 48 4) Ex. 6 2-8 Nu. 27 18-23 33 50-54 34 *f.* Dt. 34 9.

It is not conceivable that any of these sources broke off with the death of Moses, at the very moment when the fulfilment of these promises and commands was about to begin; the conquest and settlement of Canaan must have been more or less fully narrated in all of them. On the other hand, the book of Joshua is connected in the closest way, both materially and formally, with the Pentateuch.

Cp Josh. 1 1-9 with Dt. 31 1-8 23; Josh. 1 12-15 with (Nu. 32) Dt. 3 18 20; Josh. 8 30-35 with Dt. 11 29 27 1-8 11-14; Josh. 13 *ff.* with Nu. 34; Josh. 14 6-15 with Nu. 14 24 Dt. 1 36; Josh. 17 1-6 with Nu. 27 1-11 36 1-12; Josh. 20 *f.* with Nu. 35 (Di.).

Since, furthermore, the book is obviously composite, it is a natural inference that Josh. was compiled (in the main) from the same sources as the five preceding books; and the critical analysis accordingly set itself to distinguish these sources.[5] The problem has proved, however, more difficult than might have been anticipated, and upon some important points opinion is still much divided.

4. D's share. The book opens with a deuteronomic introduction (1), and has a similar close (21 43 [41]-22 6 23); evidence of deuteronomic redaction is found in both parts of the book—much more abundantly, as would be expected, in the narrative chapters (1-12) than in the statistical account of the possessions of the tribes (13 *ff.*).[1] It is clear, therefore, that the basis of our book is a deuteronomic history of Joshua, as that of the following book is a deuteronomic history of the Judges (originally including Eli and Samuel).[2] Indeed, the two books are connected in such a way as to suggest that, at one stage of the redaction, at least, they were united in a single work—a deuteronomic history of Israel from the invasion of Palestine to the establishment of the kingdom.

5. P's share. Josh. 1-12 has come down to us substantially as it was in the deuteronomic book; the work of the priestly editors is here limited to some minor changes in phraseology and the insertion of a few verses (4 13 19 5 4-7 10-12 7 1 9 15*b* 17-21), some of which may be derived from P (so probably 5 10-12 9 15*b* 17-21), whilst others are additions of R_P or later diaskeuasts. In 13-24 the share of P is much larger; the description of the territories of the several tribes in 13-19 is in great part from this source, as are also the cities of refuge (20) and the catalogue of levitical cities (21 1-42 [40]); 22 9-34 is of still later origin.[3]

6. Older sources. The narrative in the deuteronomic book is not itself deuteronomic. As in Judg., it is taken from older sources, the hand of the compiler or editor appearing, aside from the introduction and close, chiefly in a consistent heightening of the colours, and in enlargements on the moral and religious aspects of the history.[4] The materials incorporated by the deuteronomic historian are not homogeneous; in 13-19 there are considerable fragments of an account of the conquest which, like Judg. 1, represented it, not as the work of Joshua at the head of all Israel, but as slowly and incompletely achieved by the several tribes; and in 1-12 (particularly in 1-9) it is possible to distinguish an older and simpler account of the invasion from a later version of the same story in which a tendency to magnify the events and exaggerate the miraculous character of the history is conspicuous. Since there is a similar relation between J and E in the history of the exodus,[5] and since, as we have seen above, both J and E must have included the conquest of Canaan, the natural hypothesis is that in Josh. also the older version of the story is derived from J, the younger from E.[6]

To some critics, however, this presumption appears to be refuted by other considerations;[7] E. Meyer[8] and Stade,[9] holding that J knew nothing of Joshua, must for this reason regard J as excluded from the greater part of Josh. 1-12. Kuenen, on the contrary, maintains that the representation of the conquest in Josh. 24 11-13 (E) differs so radically from that in 1-12 as to prevent our ascribing any considerable part of these chapters to that source.[10] Kuenen also thinks that the diverse materials have been more completely fused than is common in the Pentateuch; in 2-5 they can in part be distinguished, but in 6-11 they are inseparable.

The reasons urged for the exclusion of J or E from the analysis do not outweigh the strong antecedent probability created by the relation of Josh. to the Pentateuch, and the impression which the composition of Josh. itself makes. It is no more improbable that the Judæan historians (J) should have adopted Ephraimite traditions about Joshua than that they should have incor-

1 On the origin of this form see Nun.
2 [Athanas.] *Synopsis script. sacr.*; so Theodoret and others.
3 *Bābā bathrā*, 14 *b*, and many.
4 Confirmation of the opinion, which has been maintained in recent times by some Roman Catholic scholars (J. L. König, Kaulen), is sought in 1 K. 16 34; cp also Josh. 24 26.
5 De Wette (*Einl.*(6) '45) was the first to extend the analysis to Josh.; see Hollenberg, *St. Kr.* 47 462 *ff.* ('74), Albers *Quellenberichte*, 3 *ff.* Geddes and others had seen that Josh. was put together in the same way as the Pentateuch.

1 On the deuteronomic element in Josh. see Hollenberg, *l.c.* 462-506, with whom the modern period of investigation begins (cp also *TLZ*, '91, p. 278 *f.*); Kue. *Hex.* § 7, n. 24-31; Di., Albers. On the deuteronomistic phraseology, Kue. *Hex.* § 7, n. 26 (cp nn. 4 10 16); Holzinger, *Hex.* § 34; Dr. in Smith's *DB*(2) 1 1814 *f.*
2 See Judges, § 14.
3 On P in Josh. see Nöld. *Unters.* 95 *ff.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 48-53, cp § 16, n. 12; Di. *NDJ* 440 *f.*
4 See below, § 11.
5 See Exodus, § 3.
6 J and E are recognised in Josh. by Schr., Di., Vatke, Co., Ki., Albers, Dr., Bennett, and others.
7 See Holz. *Hex.* 81 *ff.*
8 *ZATW* 1 133 *f.* ('81).
9 *ib.* 147, *GVI*(2) 1 136 161. Cp also We. *CH*(2) 118 *f.*, *IJG*(2) 35 *f.* Against this view see Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 39 *ff.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 13, n. 14; Ki. *Gesch.* 1 247 *f.*; Albers.
10 *Hex.* § 8, n. 16; cp n. 20, § 13, n. 29. See also Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 72 *f.*, who finds in the chapters only J, epigoni of the Yahwistic school, and R_{JE}.

porated the legends of the Ephraimite holy places in the patriarchal story.' Even if we should admit that the contradiction between Josh. 24 11-13 and the representation in 1-12 is as irreconcilable as Kuenen thinks, E is not such a homogeneous and consistent work that such a discrepancy is inconceivable in it. The question can be decided only by the analysis itself. The difficulty of the analysis arises not so much from the intimate fusion of the sources, which are not more closely united than in many parts of the Pentateuch, — the accounts of the exodus, for example, — but from the fact that the two narratives were originally so much alike, and that the younger version of the story is here dependent on the older.

7. Analysis—chaps. 1-7.

In chap. 1, the deuteronomic introduction to the book, a kernel of older narrative (E) is contained in 1 *f.* 10 *f.* The deuteronomistic element is not all from one hand; Albers ascribes 7f: 17 6 18 6 to DB (the author of Dt. 4 29 *f.*), the rest to DA (author of Dt. 31 1-8).[2] The dependence of the latter element on Dt. is to be noted; 3-5a = Dt. 11 24 *f.*; 5 6 6 9* dep. on Dt. 31 1-8 esp. 7f: ; 12-16 conn. with Dt. 3 18-20 (not Nu. 32 JE), cp also Josh. 23.

In 2, the story of the spies, the words of Rahab 9 6-11 are a deuteronomistic expansion, with reminiscences of Dt. 4 39 (cp Ex. 15) and of Dt. 2 31-3 10, cp also Josh. 5 1; 24 is also deuteronomistic. The main narrative (1-5 in part, 6 8-9a 12-14 18-21) comes from the older source (J); with this is combined a second account (1-5 in part, 7 15 *f.* 22 *f.* [E]); 17 is editorial (? RJE).

3 2 seems to connect immediately with 1 10 *f.* (E); the sending of the spies stood in an earlier place, perhaps before 1 1*b* (Albers), or before 1 10 *f.* In the account of the crossing of the Jordan (3 *f.*), 3 7 4 14 21-24 5 1 are deuteronomistic; 4 6 *f.* seems to be later; a connected deuteronomic narrative (Di.) is not to be recognised. The conflation of two sources is apparent: at 3 17 the crossing is completed, in 4 11 the narrative has only reached the same point; in 4 8 (cp 20) the stones are erected at Gilgal, whilst according to 4 9 they were piled up in the middle of the river. The fuller narrative is here from E; remains of the briefer account of J are found in 3 1* 5 10*a* 11* 13* 14 15*b* 16*aα* *b* 17*; 4 3*a** *b* (6*a* 7*a* ? RJE), 8*aα* *b* (? 17 18 20* ?). Additions to both sources and harmonistic modifications may be recognised; 4 2 3*aα* seem to be displaced, the words would naturally stand (in E) after 3 8.

5 2 *f.* 8 6 9 contain an account (probably from E) of the circumcision of the Israelites;[3] 4-7 8*a* are an editorial amplification (later than 𝔊), designed to remove the natural impression of the original narrative, that this was the introduction of the rite; 10-12 is from P; 13 *f.* from J (the sequel, a plan for the capture of Jericho, is to be sought in 6); 15 was introduced by an editor (? RJE RD) from Ex. 3 5, in conformity with the tendency at a certain stage of the redaction to make Joshua the double of Moses.

In 6, the taking of Jericho, Wellhausen's analysis, with slight modifications, is generally adopted; the shorter and simpler narrative, rightly ascribed by most critics to J, is found in (2 3 3* 4* 7 in part, 10 11* 14* 15*a* 16*b* 17*a* 19 20*a* 20*b* from ויעל 21 24 26.[4] The other version (E) has been heightened and embellished by later hands; to E_2 may be attributed 5 7a 8*aα* 20*bβ* (Albers); RJE apears in 15*b*, also (? or RD) in 17 6 18 24 6; RD in 27; the untimely horn-blowing in 8 *f.* 13 is probably still later, cp Judg. 7.

Traces of post-exilic hands are found in 7 1 18 6 25*bα* (probably not from P, but merely late variants to JE). The remainder of the chapter, which comes from J, exhibits some redundancies (esp. in 15 *f.* 24-26, cp 𝔊); but these are probably due to repeated redaction rather than to the conflation of parallel narratives; the expansion of Joshua's prayer and the answer (7-12) is also to be ascribed to an editor.

8. Chaps. 8-12.

In 8-11 the views of critics diverge even more widely than in the preceding chapters; whilst Hollenberg, Wellhausen, Meyer, and Stade make the narrative dependent on E, nearly or quite to the exclusion of J, Kuenen and Budde derive it mainly from J (and $J_{2\,3}$), and Dillmann, Albers, and Kittel trace both sources through the chapters.

In 8 1-29 the analysis has very slight clues to work with, and the results are correspondingly uncertain. The chief source seems to be J; the other (E) may be recognised in 10 (traces) 11* 12 14*aβ* 16*a* 17*a* 18* 19*aβ* 20*b* 24* 25 26 28.6 The work of redactors is seen in 1 *f.* (chiefly deuteronomistic, but not homogeneous), 7 6 8*aβb* 22*b* 24*ab** 27 (RJE RD), 33 RP.[1] The erection of the altar on Mt. Ebal 8 30-35, stands in an impossible place, 𝔊B, etc., introduce the passage after 9 2, but with no better connection; Josephus and the Samaritan Joshua (chap. 21) put this ceremony where alone it is historically conceivable, after the completed conquest. The verses are a comparatively recent deuteronomistic addition to the book; they have been enlarged and retouched by still later hands (33; 'the blessing and the curse,' 34).[2]

In 9, the ruse of the Gibeonites, 15*c* 17-21 are of priestly character; a deuteronomistic hand is seen in 1 *f.* 9 (except the first words), 10 24 *f.* 27 in part. There is general agreement that the chief source is J;[3] note the resemblance to Gen. 19 30 *ff.* 38 (observe esp. Josh. 9 20-27), and the relation to 1 Sam. 21 @ (J). From 10 it appears that E also related that the Gibeonites made peace with Israel; traces of this source are, therefore, perhaps to be recognised in 9 (1 *f.*) 3*a* 8 11* 15*a* 27*, though in themselves these verses might be editorial glosses to J.

In the history of the war in the South (chap. 10), verses 1*aβ* 8 12*aβ* *bα* 19*bβ* 25 40-43 are deuteronomistic; slight traces of the priestly redaction are also discernible. Since in 15 the Israelite army returns to Gilgal, most critics ascribe 16-27 to another hand; Kittel and others assign 1-11 15 to E (slight contamination in 1 *f.* 10*b*), 16-27 to J; but the obvious dependence of 16-27 on 1-11 makes strongly against this partition. Wellhausen regards 16-27 as secondary in JE, Budde as tertiary in J (later than 28-39 43). It is a simpler hypothesis that 15, which should stand after 27, has been misplaced (Masius), presumably in connection with the intrusion of 12-14.[4] Nothing then stands in the way of attributing 16-27 to the author of 1-11 (E). The poetical prayer of Joshua in 12*b* 13a is quoted from the old book of songs;[5] the setting in which the lines now stand is given them by RD, or perhaps E_2, whose fondness for poetical *pièces justificatives* has often been remarked; nothing points to J. *Vv.* 28-39, describing Joshua's further conquests in the South, are obviously secondary, and are usually ascribed to RD, though there are no decisive indications of authorship — E_2 or RJE would be possible; an underlying source (J_2) is surmised by Kittel and others; 40-42 are a deuteronomistic general summary. J's parallel to the war with Adonizedek and his allies is preserved in an abridged form in Judg. 1 4-8 (cp also 9-15).

Chap. 11, a counterpart in contents and form to 10, relates the conquest of Northern Palestine. To the deuteronomistic author are attributed 2 *f.* 12 14 *f.*, perhaps also 6, and touches in 8 *f.*; 21-23 are of later origin. The chief source in 1-9 is E; fragments of J's parallel to the war with Jabin are combined with the history of the struggle with Sisera in Jndg. 4. *Vv.* 10-20 seem to be a secondary addition to 1-9 (as 10 28-39 is to 10 1-27), probably by E_2 or RJE, subsequently worked over, with the rest of the chapter, by RD.

Chap. 12 is a *résumé* of the conquests E. and W. of the Jordan; 2-6 depend on Dt. 3 9-12 14-17 (cp 1 3); cp Josh. 13 8-12; the superscription of the following catalogue of cities resembles 11 17. Both parts of the chapter are late and without historical value.

9. Chaps. 13-19.

In 13-19 we find some fragments of J; 13 13 15 13-19 63 16 10 17 11-13 14-18 19 47 (𝔊). These are plainly taken from a context similar to Judg. 1, and were inserted in their present connection by a late redactor.

13 1 was the introduction in JE to an allotment such as in twice redacted form we have in 18 2 *ff.*; 8-12 14 (cp Dt. 18 1) are deuteronomistic cp Dt. 3 Josh. 12 1-6; the description of the unconquered territory in 2-6 is also apparently deuteronomistic, whether by the same hand as 8 *ff.* or not (cp Jndg. 3 3); so probably 7 (cp 𝔊). Verses 15-32 (with the title 14 6 𝔊) are from P and RP; 21-31 has been worked over. 14 1-5 is from P (cp Nu. 34, esp. 13-17), probably preceded by a general title which now stands in 18 1; the corresponding subscription is 19 51, cp 13 14*b* (𝔊) 32 , 6-15, in its present form deuteronomistic, and related to Dt. 1 19-36, has perhaps a basis of E; cp 15 13-19 (J).

15 1-12 defines the boundaries of the tribe of Judah, 20-62 enumerates the cities and towns in its several regions; the list is probably based on an older (JE) list, traces of which still appear here and there.

In 16 *f.*[6] (the territories of Joseph), 16 10 17 11-13 14-18 are from J; 16 1-3 17 1*b* 2 8 9*aβ* are at variance with the presumptions of P, and must in substance be derived from JE (E); the remainder is from P, with additions by RP (16 4 17 5 *f.*).

The incompleteness and confusion of chaps. 16 *f.* compared with 15 (Judah) and 18 (Benjamin), or even with the description of the territories of the Northern Tribes (note the absence of the list of cities in Ephraim and Manasseh), must be attributed to late abridgment;

1 See below, § 15.

2 On the evidence of a double deuteronomistic redaction see at the end of § 10, and § 11.

3 See Sta. *ZATW* 6 132 *ff.* ('86). [The references to previous circumcision, 'again,' 'the second time,' are probably due to RD.]

4 Note the variations of 𝔊 in this chapter, esp. in *vv.* 3-5.

5 Budde ascribes this strand in a somewhat different analysis to J.

1 Note in this chapter also the variations of 𝔊.

2 See Hollenberg, *St. Kr.* 47 478-481 ('74); Kue. *Th.T* 12 315-322 ('78), *Hex.* § 7, n. 30 *f.*, § 14, n. 11.

3 Di. is an exception.

4 *V.* 15 is repeated in 43; it was originally lacking in both places in 𝔊; hexaplar MSS introduce it *sub ast*

5 See JASHER [BOOK OF], § 1.

6 On 17 see Kue. *Th.T* 11 484 *ff.* ('77); I. Sack, *REJ* 27 61-69 ('93).

similar abridgment may with good reason be suspected in the account of the conquest (2-11), where we now find nothing about the conquest of Central Palestine.[1]

Chap. 18 *f.* contain a survey of the land and allotments to the remaining tribes.

18 1 (P or R_P) originally stood before 14 1 (see above); 2-10 (3*b* 7 secondary) conflict with the presumptions of P; the obviously unhistorical character of the transaction has led some critics to ascribe the verses as a whole to R_{JE} (Kuenen) or D_A (Albers); but, the representation is not D's, more probably the passage is derived substantially from E (Dillmann, Kittel, etc.); the original scene of the transaction was Shechem which has been supplanted in 1 by P's Shiloh (cp 𝔊 in 24 1). The idea of a division of land by lot (before the conquest) comes from J (Judg. 1, see below, § 13), and is successively heightened by E and P; it may even be conjectured that traces of J's representation have been preserved in 18 5*b*; in the present form of the verses both R_{JE} and R_D may have had a hand. In what follows (18 11-19 51), the older source (E) may be recognised, especially in the titles (18 11*b* 19 1 17, and others), further, in 19 9 and 19 49 *f.*; but it is not possible to partition the material in the lists between E and P, probably because P is here directly dependent upon E; it can only be said that E's description of the territories of the several tribes was in the form of a catalogue of cities (189 לערים). *V.* 51 is P's closing formula for the whole, corresponding to 18 1.

Chaps. 20-22 are composite.

10. Chaps. 20-24. The appointment of the cities of refuge in 20 is from P, supplemented in 3* 4 *f.* 6*a* 8 by a very late hand from Dt. 4 41 *ff.* 19; cp 𝔊.[2] Chap. 21 1-42 [40], cities assigned to the priests and Levites, is also from P; 20 and 21 1-42 [40] correspond to the two parts of Nu. 35, cp Josh. 14 4. *Vv.* 43-45 [41-43] D's conclusion to the occupation of the land, originally followed 19 49 *f.*; 22 1-6, also deuteronomistic, and dependent on Dt. 3 18-20 (cp Josh. 1 12-15), is the continuation of 21 43-45 [41-43] perhaps not wholly by the same hand; 7 *f.* is of much late origin.[3] Chap. 22 9-34 belongs to the most recent stratum in the Hexateuch; its resemblance to P_2 in Nu. 31 32 6-15 and to Judg. 20 has often been pointed out; cp also the late working over of Gen. 34 and Ex. 16.

Chap. 23 is the close of the deuteronomic book of Joshua, and originally followed immediately on 21 43 [41]-22 6. It not only corresponds in position to the parting exhortations of Moses, Dt. 4 29 *f.*, but so closely resembles them in thought and diction as to raise the question whether they are not by the same author;[4] cp also the farewell address of Samuel (1 S. 12).

Chap. 24 contains the similar conclusion to E's history of Joshua.

This conclusion has reached us only in deuteronomic redaction, which may most certainly be recognised in 1*b a* (cp 23 2), 13 (cp Dt. 6 10), and 31 (cp Dt. 11), and in slighter touches of deuteronomistic colour in several other verses; the seven nations in 11 are editorial (? R_{JE} or R_D); 2*aβ* 26*a* are later glosses; 9*b* 10*a* *ba* are perhaps also secondary.[5]

The chapter must have been omitted by the author of 23, and restored by a later deuteronomistic editor (cp the case of Judg. 19 17-21). Its *résumé* of the Elohistic history is of great value. *V.* 29 *f.* concludes E's narrative; 32 *f.*, from the same source, is a natural appendix. 𝔊 contains further additions; see below, § 18.

11. Redaction. J and E appear in Josh. 1-12 to have been united, not by the deuteronomistic author (R_D) himself, but, as in the Pentateuch, by an earlier, redactor (R_{JE}); it is not improbable, however, that R_D, like the author of the introduction to Dt., had E separately, and used it, to the exclusion of J, in 10-12 13 *ff.* As in the other deuteronomistic histories, the religious comment and pragmatism which R_D introduced invited expansion by similarly-minded editors or scribes; and the presence of a secondary deuteronomistic element in the book is generally recognised, though it is not always possible to distinguish it with certainty. This secondary stratum is akin to the younger parts of Dt. (esp. 4 29 *f.*). A peculiar deuteronomistic colour belongs also to the very latest redaction of Josh. The union of the deuteronomistic Josh. with P was the work of R_P; nothing in the method of combination militates against the supposition that it was effected by the same hand as in Nu., though this can hardly be proved. A late addition of haggadic character cognate to Nu. 32 *f.* etc. is found in Josh. 22 9-34; cp 20. Still more recent, probably, is the mutilation of 16 *f.* To what stage in the redaction the restoration of 24 and the interpolation of the fragments of J in 13-19 belong cannot be determined. Slight additions and changes in the text continued to be made even after the time of the Greek translation.

12. History in P. The small fragments of P preserved in Josh. 1-12 lead us to suppose that in P the conqnest of Western Palestine was narrated summarily without detail, as was that of Eastern Palestine (P in Nu. 21 *ff.*—the war with the Midianites in Nu. 31 *f.* is later than P); as in the history of the exodus, P supposes readers familiar with the older narratives. From 18 1 we see that the whole land has been subdued. The congregation (עדה) then assembles at Shiloh, and sets up the tabernacle; Eleazar and Joshua, with the heads of families, divide the land by lot to the nine tribes and a half (14 1). The boundaries of the tribal territories, beginning with Judah, are minutely defined, in dependence on an older description with which P is here combined. P's doomsday book has not been preserved intact; for Ephraim and Manasseh little more than the skeleton remains (see above, § 9). It is characteristic that the priest Eleazar everywhere takes precedence of Joshua.

13. In J. The older of the two chief sources of the deuteronomistic history of the conquest (in our analysis, J) gives substantially the following representation. From Shittim, E. of the Jordan, Joshua sends spies to Jericho.

The spies take lodging with Rahah, who saves their lives and receives in return a pledge of protection when the city is taken. The Israelites encamp on the hanks of the Jordan; Joshua orders them to purify themselves for the holy war, and predicts that Yahwè will work wonders for them. They cross the river, the waters being miraculously stayed in their course, so that they pass over on dry ground. See JERICHO, § 4. At Joshua's command they take twelve stones from the midst of the river and set them up at their first halting-place (Gilgal). Joshua has a vision of the 'Captain of Yahwè's host' who reveals to him a plan for the capture of Jericho. The fighting men march round the city without any demonstration, and return to camp; this manœuvre is repeated for six days; on the seventh, Joshua gives the signal for assault.

The Israelites storm the city, which is taken by surprise and falls into their hands;[1] they slaughter the inhabitants—sparing only RAHAB (*q.v.*) and her household—and burn the city.

Spies sent to Ai report that it will be easy to take the place', but the division sent against it is badly defeated; Yahwè's anger has been provoked by the Judæan Achan's appropriation of part of the spoils of Jericho, the contagious *ḥērem* has infected the whole people; the guilty man is discovered by lot and put to death.

Ai is then taken by a familiar stratagem (cp Judg. 20). The Gibeonites deceive the Israelites by pretending to come from a great distance, and secure the protection of a treaty.

Thus far, in this source, as in later representations, Israel acts as one body, under the leadership of Joshua; after the destruction of Ai the army returns to Gilgal, which is the scene of chap. 9. The remains of J in Judg. 1 (and parallels in Josh. 13 *ff.*) represent the conquest of Canaan as the work of the several tribes independently—Judah and Simeon in the S., Joseph in the central highlands. There also, however, the tribes set out for the subjugation of the interior from the same point in the Jordan valley (Gilgal, Judg. 2 1; cp Jericho,

1 We. (*CH*(2) 133) with much probability conjectnres that this mutilation had its motive in hostility to the Samaritans; cp Kue. *Hex.* § 16, *n.* 12.

2 On 20 see Kue. *Th. T* 11 467-478 ('77); cp We. *CH*(2) 351 *f.*; Hollenberg, *Charakter*, 15.

3 On 22, see Kue. *Th. T* 11 480 *ff.* ('77).

4 See Hollenberg, *St. Kr.* 47 481 *ff.* ('74).

5 Mention should be made of Holzinger's conjecture, that the covenant referred to in 24 25 (cp 26 *f.*) was made upon the 'Book of the Covenant,' Ex. 21-23 (in its original form); see *Hex.* 179.

1 Precisely the same stratagem is said to have been employed by the Roman general Domitius Calvinus at the siege of Luna, a fortified town of the Ligurians; see Frontinus, *Stratagemata*, 3 2 1.

1 16); it is assumed that the region which each is to subdue has previously been determined by lot (Judg. 1 3), and the order in which they shall invade their several territories is decided by the oracle (Judg. 1 1 *f.*). Judg. 1 must, therefore, have been preceded by an account of the crossing of the Jordan by the united tribes and the taking of Jericho, and there is thus no conflict between the oldest narrative in Josh. 1-6 and Judg. 1. The operations against Ai (7 *f.*) present greater difficulty; for, as that city was in the immediate neighbourhood of Bethel, the war against it would seem properly to belong to the particular history of the conquests of Joseph (cp Judg. 1 22 *ff.*). Although, however, the historical probability that the taking of **Ai** was accomplished by Joseph alone must be conceded, it is a hazardous inference that our oldest source must have so narrated it; in fact, both **7** and **9** show that J represented it as the work of all Israel.

As has been already noted, J in Judg. 1 supposes that their territories had been assigned to Judah and Joseph, at least, before the invasion; it is possible that this source originally contained a brief description of these territories; the enumeration in Judg. 1 (and parallels in Josh.) of the cities which the several tribes were unable to reduce may he thought to presume such a description. Fragments of J's account of the war (of Judah and Simeon) with the king of Jerusalem and of the war **(of** Zebulun and Naphtali?) with the king of Hazor are preserved in Judg. 1 and **4**; the conquests and settlements of Caleb, Simeon, and the Kenites in the *S.*, and the taking of Bethel by Joseph, are related in Judg. 1 (cp Josh. 17 14-18); and it can scarcely he doubted that this source also contained at least brief and summary accounts of the movements **of** the northern tribes (cp Judg. 130 *ff.*). The narrative may have closed with a general statement of the incompleteness of the conquest such as underlies Judg. 2 23 3 2 (see JUDGES, § 5).

In Joshua, as frequently, the earliest written account has determined all the subsequent representations.

14. In E. The second chief source of the deuteronomistic history of Joshua is manifestly dependent on the older narrative, whose representation it consistently heightens.[1] Thus, the conquests of Judah and the kindred clans, and of the Galilæan tribes, are ascribed to all Israel in two great campaigns; the gradual subjugation of the Canaanites by the several tribes as it appears in J becomes the complete conquest of Western Palestine by Joshua (corresponding to that of Eastern Palestine by Moses in the same source), and—at least in the later strata of E—the annihilation of the whole native population. For the determination by lot, at Gilgal, of the region to be invaded by the several tribes (J), we have a formal survey, and division of the conquered land, at Shechem, to the seven tribes and a half.[2] The miraculous element in the history is exaggerated, and takes on a more magical form, as in the crossing of the Jordan (cp JORDAN, § 2 [6]), and especially in the account of the taking of Jericho, where a military stratagem is transformed into a religious procession, and the walls of the doomed city crumble into dust at the blast of the sacred trumpets and the shouts of the people (see JERICHO, § *3*). The relation of the younger narrative to the older one here is entirely similar to that which we find in the history of the Egyptian plagues and the crossing of the Red Sea (see EXODUS ii., § 3 [ii. iv.]); and this fact strengthens the presumption that the secondary version in Joshua also comes from E. Elements of independent historical value, derived from sources other than J, are not to he discovered in the younger narrative. The special Ephraimite interest appears in the increased prominence given to Joshua.

[1] From the point of view of historical criticism, it is therefore of no consequence whether the second source be **E** or J_2.

[2] It is possible that for this last **also** there **was** some point of connection in J.

JOSHUA (BOOK)

The redactors naturally adopt E's conception of the history, and exaggerate its unhistorical features, the deuteronomistic author in particular never failing to emphasise the unsparing thoroughness with which Joshua obeys the command to extirpate the Canaanites. The disposition to make Joshua a double of Moses has also been noted.

Behind the oldest account of the conquest (J) lies, as in Gen. and in Ex.-Nu., not a specifically Judæan tradition, but the common Israelite tradition, the product of a fusion which doubtless began in the time of the united kingdom, in which the Ephraimite element naturally preponderates over that which is distinctively of Southern origin.

15. Ultimate sources. In Josh. **2-9** the ultimate basis is probably in large part the local tradition of Gilgal (Stade). (The particular Judæan interest is only occasionally to he discerned, as, *e.g.*, in 15 13-19). In this tradition the Ephraimite hero Joshua is the successor of Moses and the leader of Israel in the first period of the invasion; all the tribes cross the Jordan at one time and place;[1] Judah and the allied clans enter their territory from the NE.; the Galilean tribes were perhaps thought of as following in the wake of Joseph and reaching their seats through the highlands of Ephraim.

The question how far this representation corresponds to the actual facts is one for historical criticism. It is not only antecedently more probable that Caleb and its kindred clans, as well as the Kenites, entered the country from the S.; traces of such a tradition seem to be preserved, *e.g.*, in Nn. 13 *f.* Whether the same is true of Judah and Simeon (Graf, Kue., Land, Tiele, Doorn., and others) is more doubtful. The lower fords of the Jordan, opposite Jericho, may have been the place of some memorable passage by Israelite tribes; but it is in the highest degree improbable that they all crossed there. The invasion was not even in its first stage a concerted movement; it was a series of irruptions, with varying success, as the catastrophe which befell Simeon and Levi in their attempt on Shechem (Gen. **34** 495-7) proves.

Thus even the oldest account of the invasion cannot be accepted without question **as** embodying a sound historical tradition; it shows very plainly the working of that process of 'concentration' which is observed in all legend, the tendency to ascribe to one man, one generation, one stroke of arms what was in fact the result of a long development.[2]

Of the age of J there are few definite indications in Josh. The curse laid by Joshua on the site of Jericho

16. Date of J. (626) is connected with something which happened (see HIEL) in the reign of Ahab (*circa* 875-851 B.C.; 1 K. 1634); the treaty with the Gibeonites is older than the time of Saul (2 S. 21), and may be probably referred to the period of the southward expansion of Joseph (formation of Benjamin) in the preceding century; the imposing upon Gibeon of the supply of wood for the temple—which was, we may surmise, the original meaning of 9 23, cp 27—would belong to the time of Solomon, who imposed various charges upon the subject Canaanites (1 K. 9 20-22); cp Judg. 1 28 30 33 35, and see GIBEON.

In striking contrast to Judg. the Book of Joshua has no chronological scheme.

We are not told how many years were consumed in the subjugation of the land, nor how long Joshua lived after the end of

17. Chronology. the wars, in both cases we read only that it was 'a long time' (11 18 23 1). From 14 7 9 *f.* it may be calculated that from the crossing of the Jordan to the assignment of Hebron to Caleb (after the conquest was completed) there had elapsed seven years; or if, with Josephus, following 𝔊 in Josh, 5 5, we allow forty full years

[1] This, it should be ohserved, **was a** necessary consequence of the representation in the Pentateuch, in which **Moses** leads **all** Israel to the plains of Moab.

[2] An instructive parallel to Josh. **is** found in the Greek legends of the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus ('return of the Heracleidæ'), partition of **the** land by lot, etc.

from the sending out of the spies from Kadesh-barnea to the crossing of the Jordan, five years. Other computations are based upon 1 K. 6 1 (480 years from the exodus to the building of the temple). in this way there were reckoned out for Joshua by the earl; Christian chronologists **27** years; in *Sēder 'Ōlām*, 28; by Josephus, **25**; by Eupolemus, followed by Africanus, **30**. More probably the author of 1 K. 6 1 allowed Joshua **40** years; but there is no trace of this system in Josh.

18. Text. The Hebrew text of Josh. is fairly well preserved. Certain consistent variations in its orthography (יְרִיחוֹ, Pent. יְרֵחוֹ; הִיא fem., Pent. הִוא)[1] show that the text of Josh. was edited by different hands from the Pentateuch. The Greek version of Josh. was not made by the translators of the Pentateuch;[2] it is not conspicuously inferior to that of the Pentateuch either in knowledge of Hebrew or in fidelity of rendering. The Hebrew text from which 𝔊 was made was not very different from MT; but it was free from some of the latest glosses in MT (cp 5 4-7 6 3-5 20 4-6), and sometimes had an intact text where there is now a *lacuna* in Hebrew (*e.g.*, in 15 59, where the names of eleven cities have fallen out from Hebrew, and 21 36 *f.* [MT between 35 and 36] where many Hebrew codd. and edd. also insert the missing levitical cities in Reuben); in variations 𝔊 not infrequently exhibits the better reading. 𝔊's additions at the end of chap. **24** are of some interest, especially the last, which seems to show that the author had a book of Judges which began with the story of Ehud (the same connection is made in the Samaritan Josh. chap. 39).[3]

19. Samaritan Josh. The Samaritans possess an uncanonical Book of Joshua in Arabic, professedly translated from a Hebrew original.[4]

It begins with the consecration of Joshua as Moses' successor (Dt. 31), after which is narrated (from Numbers) the story of Balaam and the war upon the Midianites (in which Joshua is the commander of the Israelite army). Then, with a new title ('Here begins the **Book of** Joshua the son of Nun'), it relates in its own way the conquest and division **of** the land, to the death of Joshua, and continues to the death of Eli. Setting aside the gr[illegible] [illegible]rpolation (Shobe[illegible], c[illegible]aps 26-37), and the appended chapters 45-47 (Nebuchadrezzar, Alexander, Adrian), the chronicle is based solely on the biblical narrative, which it sometimes reproduces verbally, often freely embellishes, and occasionally—especially in th[illegible] history of Eli [illegible]d Samuel, whom it makes tl[illegible] [illegible]

This [illegible] is [illegible] mediæval [illegible] and [illegible] only [illegible] is to th[illegible] student of the [illegible] sect under [illegible] rule.

For the [illegible] of works [illegible] on [illegible]ONOMY, § 33. For the history of criticism see HEXATEUCH.

20. Literature. [illegible]—Andreas Masius, 1[illegible]7[illegible], p[illegible]ted in *Critici Sacri*; Jo. [illegible], 17[illegible]8; Maurer, 1831; K[illegible], '61 (*KGH*), (2), by Di. *Deut. Nu. u. J*[illegible] '86; Ke., '[illegible]3, (2), '74, ET by [illegible] Martin, [illegible]8; F[illegible] F[illegible] Fay, '70 (Lange's [illegible]*belwerk*), ET [illegible] C. R. Bliss, '72; T. E. Espin, '[illegible] (*Sp*[illegible]*k*[illegible]*'s Comm.*); E. Reuss, *La Bible*, 3, *L'histoire sainte et la* [illegible] '79; *D*[illegible]*alte Testament*, 3 ('93); J. J. Lias '81 (Pulpit [illegible]); J[illegible] '86 S[illegible] C[illegible] '93 (*KGK*).

[illegible] C. H. van [illegible]werden, *Disputatio de libri J*[illegible] 6 (fragment hypothesis); L. König, *ATliche S*[illegible] *tie des Buches Josua*, '36 (the book a unit; J[illegible]sh[illegible]; H[illegible], 'Einheit und Glaubwürdigkeit d[illegible] Buches J[illegible] *Th*[illegible] *Que*[illegible]*ift* '64 *f.*; Kn. *Comm.* '61; Ew. [illegible] 2 323 [illegible] ('65); E. [illegible] D[illegible] Wette, *Einl.*(8) '69; Nö. *AT Unters.*, '69; [illegible], *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua*, 325[illegible] 97 343-360 ('72); J[illegible] Hollenberg, 'Die deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua,' *St. Kr.* [illegible] 462-506 ('74); A. Kayser *Das vorexilische Buch u. s. w.* 102 *ff.* ('74); We. *CH*(2) 118 [illegible] ('89=*JPT* [illegible]76); [illegible] *Th. T* 11 467-478 ('77), 12 315-323 ('78); Bu. *R*[illegible] *Sa*[illegible] ('90=*ZATW*, '87 *f.*); Ki. *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 1 238-[illegible] 251 *ff.* ('88); ET *History of the Hebrews*, 1 [illegible]3[illegible]; E[illegible] *Die Quellenberichte in Josua* 1 12 ('91); Socin and Kautzsch in Kautzsch *HS*, '94 (analysis in the margin); W. H. Bennett 'The Book of Joshua in Hebrew,' '95 (*SBOT*; analysis in colours), 'The Book of Josh. and the Pentateuch,' *JQR*, 10 649 *ff.* ('98); G. A. Smith, art. 'Joshua' in Hastings' *DB* 2 779-788 ('99); J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, 1900.

G. F. M.

[1] See Di. *NDJ* 439; König, *Einl.* 250.

[2] See Egli, *ZWT* 5 76-96 287-321 ('62).

[3] On the Greek version of Josh. see Hollenberg, ***Charakter der alexandrinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Josua und ihr textkritischer Werth*** (Programm), Moers, '76; cp *ZATW* 1 97 *ff.* ('81).

[4] ***Chronicon Samaritanum . . . cui titulus est Liber Josuæ.*** Ed. Juynboll '48.

JOSIAH (יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ [יֹאשִׁיָּה], Zech. 6 10], 'God supports' [Ges.]; [for another derivation see Hommel, *ANT* **83**; cp *Exp. T* 8 562 (May '97)]; ιωс[ε]ιαс). The last king of Judah (**639-608**) before the rapid decline and fall of the state (2 K. 22-23 30 2 Ch. 34 *f.*). If the numbers in 21 19 and 22 1 are correct, he was only a boy of eight when 'the people of the land' (*i.e.*, perhaps the men capable of bearing arms)[1] placed him on the throne in succession to his father Amon.

1. Early administration. Of the first years of his reign we know nothing. Probably the earlier events recorded in the annals did not, from the redactor's point of view, deserve to be remembered. Of course Assyria was no longer troublesome; but we should like to have been informed as to the nature of the cultus in the temple, and as to the Scythian invasion referred to by Herodotus[2] (1 103-106). In the eighteenth year of Josiahs reign, however, something occurred which affected the redactor very deeply: it was not so much the attention given by the king to the fabric of the temple (the royal sanctuary; cp Am. **7 13**), as the 'finding' of a book called ספר התורה ('the book of direction') in the house of Yahwè. See DEUTERONOMY, § 2 *f.*

The account of this 'finding' and **of** the effect it produced **on** Josiah is very disappointing. The section, 2 **K.** 22 3-20, contains some passages which were certainly not, as they now stand in the original narrative; also, it is silent ab to various point: about which we feel a legitimate curiosity. The next section (23 1-25), which describes the details of the reformation, is much fuller, but by no means free from difficulty. Without an elaborate investigation, we could not adopt from either section more than this—that long after Josiah's accession a recast and development of Yahwistic laws was brought from the temple to Josiah, and that the king adopted it and imposed it by force upon his people, having first of all obtained an endorsement **of** the authority of the book by a prophetess of high repute (see HILKIAH, 1; HULDAH).

The thirteen years which followed the reformation were monotonously peaceful. No foreign exactions hampered the industry of the subjects, and the king won the highest praise as a jnst and God-fearing ruler (Jer. 22 15 *f.*).

2. Foreign policy. This prosperity, however, arose from circumstances which could not last, and in **608** a storm burst upon the little kingdom. It was the imminent partition *of* the Assyrian empire that was the cause. Neco II., the young and enterprising king of Egypt, had not forgotten the glories of Thotmes and Rameses, and started soon after his accession to reconquer Canaan, Phœnicia, and Syria. His first object was to lay his hand on the northern territories; the strong southern fortress of Jerusalem he meant to leave till his return. Josiah also, however, appears to have had political plans of a far-reaching character; he was probably not such a pure enthusiast as he is represented in the Old Testament. The mortal sickness of Assyria may have given him hopes of restoring the old Davidic kingdom; it is said that at the time of the reformation he exercised sovereign rights in Bethel and the cities of Samaria (2 K. **23 15-20**). This is not impossible, though fuller evidence would be desirable. We may also presume that he was subject to a sad illusion relative to the earthly rewards of righteousness. He had the courage (alone or with allies) to meet the Egyptian king, and we have two accounts of what took place.

[1] Kittel, however (*Hist.* 2 379), explains, 'the party of the country people'; he supposes that the murder of Amon was committed by friends of the reform movement, which ultimately produced the original Deuteronomy.

[2] On this subject and on the possible allusions to the Scythians in the Books of Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel, see JEREMIAH i., § 20 (i.); SCYTHIANS; and cp Che. ***Jeremiah's Life and Times***, 30.38; Guthe, *GVI* 215-217.

The 'father of history' tells us (from Hecatæus) that Neco 'made war by land on the Syrians and defeated them in a pitched battle at Μαγδολον or Μαγδωλον, after which he took Kadytis, a large city of Syria' (Herod. 2 159). Herodotus must, however, have misunderstood his informants, for Magdolos is obviously the Egyptian MIGDOL [*q.v.*], whither Josiah is not at all likely to have gone to seek Neco. Apparently Herodotus confounds Megiddo with Magdolon, just as he confounds Cadytis-Gaza with the Syrian Cadytis-Kadesh.

The earliest Hebrew account is in 2 K. 23 29 *f.* It states that Neco was on his way to meet 'the king of Assyria' (see Schr. *CI* 243 *ff.*) at the Euphrates when Josiah went to meet him and fell in battle at Megiddo. The account is strangely short, and is unfortunately not free from corruption.' A later writer (2 Ch. 35 20-25), however, gives a fuller narrative. Neco, it is said, sent an embassy to Josiah, explaining that he had no quarrel with Josiah, and that he had been directed by an oracle to go to the Euphrates to battle; Josiah's fate, if he makes opposition, will be due to his own folly. Josiah, however, was bent on war, and though Neco's words were dictated by the true God, he hearkened not to them. A battle ensued in the plain of Megiddo (Jos. *Ant.* x. 5 1, says μενδη [*v.l.*, μηδη]).[2] The archers shot at Josiah, and wounded him fatally. He was bronght in his second chariot to Jerusalem.

An inspection of this narrative of the Chronicler shows that *v.* 21 *f.* (down to 'from the mouth of God') are parenthetical,

3. The account in 2 Ch. 35 20-25. and the analogy of similar passages suggests that they must have been inserted from another source. Was that source a trustworthy one? No; it is too clear that the insertion is midrashic and imaginative. The idea of the embassy of deprecation is taken from 2 K. 14 9 *f.*; that of the oracle is characteristic of the Chronicler and his circle; that Neco should he represented as in communication with God would not be strange in an age which nourished itself on Jeremiah (cp Jer. 27 6); but more probably Neco is supposed to have heard of a prophecy of Jeremiah (see 3 Esd. 1 28), just as Cyrus is supposed to have done in 2 Ch. 36 23. The speech ascribed to the wounded king is modelled on 1 K. 22 34 (see CHRONICLES, § 8).[3]

What were the exact circumstances which seemed to justify Josiah in encountering the Egyptian army, we do not know.

W. M. Müller ventures on the conjecture that the Assyrian prefect of Phœnicia and Palestine summoned Josiah and other vassal princes to unite their contingents, and meet the Pharaoh (who had reached Philistia) N. of Carmel. But was Assyria strong enough to give such an order? It would be safer to suppose that independently several Syrian and Palestinian princes combined against Neco under the leadership of Josiah, and that on the plain of Megiddo or Esdraelon they tried their fortune. The bare possibility must, however, be allowed for, that the armies clashed at a spot nearer to Mujēdil (one of the Migdals, SW. of Yāfā and Nazareth), on the N. of Esdraelon, than to *Lejjūn* (Megiddo) on the S.; Lejjūn may have been the place where the hapless king died. This allows us to suppose that Herodotus was correctly informed as to the name of the place of the encounter. Reinach's view (*Rev. arch.* 27 366) that the battle of Magdolon was a slightly earlier one (the opponents of the Egyptians being neither the Jews nor the Philistines, but the Σύροι [Assyriaps]), which transferred the western Asiatic Empire to Egypt, and Winckler's defence (*GI* 1 103, n. 2) of the statement of Herodotus,[4] are on different grounds highly improbable.[5] Whether Neco went by land or by sea to the neighbourhood of Carmel is disputed: the latter alternative has been generally adopted, but unwisely.[6] Why Josiah encountered Neco at Megiddo also is doubtful. Probably it was because of the rapidity of Neco's movements, and because he had effected a junction with N. Palestinian allies.

1 ink וַיְמִיתֵהוּ כִּרְאֹתוֹ בִמ׳ is evidently wrong. אתו at the end has been written twice over. We map conjecturally restore וַיִּתְרָאוּ פָנִים בִּמְ׳ וַיֹּרוּ יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ, 'and they looked each other in the face (2 K. 14 11) by Megiddo: and they shot at Josiah' . . . The corrupt וימיתהו is partly produced by the neighbourhood of מת (*v.* 30).

2 μενδη of course = מִגְּדוֹ = מגדו. Josephus, therefore, bad before him an incorrect Hebrew text. Cp WMM 'Studien z. vorderasiat. Gesch.' 54, n. 1 in *MVG*, '98, 3.

3 A scribe has already indicated this by the substitution of 'disguised himself' for 'encouraged himself' in 2 Ch. 35 22 (cp 2 Ch. 18 29). See 𝔊, and 1 Esd. 1 28.

4 So, too, Hommel, *Gesch. des alten Morgenl.* 152.

5 Against Winckler, see WMM *Studien zur vorderasiat. Gesch.* 55 *f.* ('98); against the latter, Prašek, *Forsch. zur Gesch. des Alt.* 2 3 *f.*

6 On one side, see GASm. (*HG* 405, n. 2); on the other, Che. *Jeremiah*, 96 ('88) (who mentions the other alternative, however and supports it by the historical parallel of the march of Thotmek III.).

The scantiness of our information is to be regretted. Few equally tragic events are recorded in the history of Israel.[1] Probably there were circumstances (not those which Josephus [*Ant.* x. 5 1] imagines) which it cut the ancient historian to the heart to mention. Whether the 'mourning of HADADRIMMON (*q.v.*) in the valley of Megiddo' (Zech. 12 11) refers to the lamentation for the death of Josiah is disputed. At any rate the Chronicler's statement that lamentations were held every year for Josiah seems to be trustworthy (cp the contrast in Jer. 22 10 18), even if we hesitate to believe that Jeremiah composed the first funeral dirge. See LAMENTATIONS, § 12.

2. b. Zephaniah, one of the representatives of the Babylonian Jewish communities who brought silver and gold to Jerusalem, temp. Zerubbabel (Zech. 6 10 14, according to necessary emendations of those texts). On the whole passage (Zech. 6 9-15) see ZERUBBABEL.

The words, 'and come thou the same day, and go into the house of' have grown out of a single corrupt or illegible word, the original of which was doubtless מִבָּבֶל. Several attempts were made to read this corrupt word; these were put together by an editor, and some apparent sense made by the insertion of 'the same day, and.' So first Wellhausen, who in *Kl. Proph.*(2) further tacitly emends the name 'Josiah' into 'Joshua.' His reason must be that *ben Zephaniah* is obviously added to distinguish the person intended from some well-known living personage of the same name (presumably the high priest Joshua).

T. K. C.

JOSIAS (1) (ϵcιαc [B]), 1 Esd. 8 33 AV = Ezra 8 7, JESHAIAH, 4. (2) (ιωσ[ϵ]ιας [BAL]), 1 Esd. 1 1, etc., Mt. 1 10 RV JOSIAH [*q.v.*].

JOSIBIAH (יוֹשִׁבְיָה), 1 Ch. 4 35 †, RV JOSHIBIAH.

JOSIPHIAH (יוֹסִפְיָה, §§ 27 53, 'Yahwk increases'; ιωcϵφ[ϵ]ιa [BA], ιϵccϵφιa [L]), a name in one of the post-exilic lists (EZRA i. § 2, ii. § 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 10 = 1 Esd. 8 36 JOSAPHIAS (ιωcaφιac [BA], ιωcϵφιa [L]).

JOTBAH (יָטְבָה, ιϵcϵβaλ [B], ιϵτaχaλ [A], ιϵτϵβaθa [L]), the native place of Haruz, father of Meshullemeth; 2 K. 21 19. On the analogy of Jotapata (once יטבת, see Jastrow, *Lex.*) we may safely regard Jotbah as a popular corruption of Jiphtah '(God) opens (the womb).' JIPHTAH [*q.v.*] was a place in the Shĕphēlah, Josh. 15 43.

T. K. C.

JOTBATHAH (יָטְבָתָה; cp JOTBAH), a stage in the wanderings in the wilderness (Nu. 33 33 *f.*; ϵτϵβaθa [B^ab L], ϵτϵβ. and ϵτaβ. [F], cϵτϵβ. [B*], ιϵτaβaθaν [A]; Dt. 10 7, AV JOTBATH; τaιβaθa [B], ιϵτaβ. [A], ιτϵβ. [F], ϵτϵβ. [L]). See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

JOTHAM (יוֹתָם, perhaps 'Yahwk is perfect (sincere),' § 38; cp Gray, *HPN* 154; ιωaθaμ [BℵAQΓL]).

1. (ιωαθαν [B], ιαθαμ [A in *v.* 5], ιωθαμ [A in *v.* 21, L *v.* 57]). The sole survivor of the massacre of Jerubbaal's (or rather Gideon's) sons—of whom he was the youngest—at Ophrah (see GIDEON, § 1); author of a fable (Judg. 9 5-21). Strictly, however, the author of the fable of the trees who sought for a king and the sole survivor of the house of Gideon are different persons, the former (of whose name we are ignorant) being more historical than the latter. The writer who first collected the historical tales about Abimelech, king of Shechem, probably knew nothing about Jotham. A subsequent editor, however, wishing to account for the calamities which befel both the people of Shechem and their king Abimelech, represented one of Gideon's sons as having escaped, and as proclaiming a parable in the hearing of the Shechemites (see GERIZIM, § 2), who had assembled to make Abimelech king. To this editor *v.* 5*b* (escape of Jotham), 6 (popular choice of Abimelech; superfluous after *vv.* 4 5*a*) 7-16*a* 19*b* 20 *f.* most probably helong.[2] His object was to impress upon his readers that the calamities of Abimelech and the Shechemites were a divine retribution, and this he makes still more evident by putting into the mouth of Jotham a curse

1 Cp Che. *Jeremiah*, 94 *ff.*

2 That *vv.* 16*b* 19*a* are a late amplification, is pointed out by Frankenb. (*Comp. des deut. Richterbuches*, 27) and Bu. (*Richter*, 72).

upon both the guilty parties (*v.* 20). This done, he gets rid of Jotham by making him flee to Beer (an unknown locality) 'for fear of his (half-)brother Abimelech' (*v.* 21).

It is the fable which interests us; Jotham is a mere shadow. Some scholars (*e.g.*, Moore) think that it was written by the author of *vv.* 7-21, with reference to the circumstances of Abimelech. The fable, however, is applicable to Abimelech only in so far as such a bad man was sure to bring misery on himself and on his snbjects. To do it justice we must regard it as an independent production, and disengage it from its setting. It is no objection to this that *v.* 15*b* forms a somewhat abrupt conclusion (Moore). We must not expect too much harmony in a Hebrew apologue; besides, the true closing words may have been omitted. The proof, however, that the fable is not by the author of its setting is in the imperfect parallelism between *v.* 15*b* and the application in *vv.* 16*a* 19*b* 20. 'If in good faith you anoint me to be king over you, come and enjoy my protection; but if not, beware of the ruin which I shall cause you'; this is the (present) close of the fable. 'If you have acted in good faith and integrity, making Abimelech your king, much joy may you have from your compact; but if not, then beware of the ruin which Abimelech will cause you, and let him beware of the ruin which you will cause him.' The bramble-king is self-deceived; he thinks that he can protect others, and threatens traitors with punishment. Jotham, however, speaks at first ironically. He affects to believe that the Shechemites really trust Abimelech, and wishes them joy of their bargain. Then he changes his tone. He foresees that they will soon become disloyal, and threatens them with punishment, not, however, for their disloyalty, but because they conspired with Abimelech to commit murder. That the fable, moreover, is inconsistent both with 8 23 and with 9 2, is also manifest. The idea of 8 23 is that Yahwè's kingship makes any human sovereign superfluous; that of 9 2, that the practical alternatives are oligarchy and monarchy, and that monarchy is better. On the other hand, the idea of the fable is that kingship is a burden which no noble-minded man will accept, because it destroys individuality. Each noble-minded man is either a cedar, or a fig-tree, or a vine. By developing his natural powers in his allotted sphere he pleases 'gods and men'; it is alien to him to interfere with others.' Compare this fable with that of King Jehoash in 2 K. 14 9. See ABIMELECH, 2.

2. b. Azariah, first regent (see UZZIAH) and then king of Judah (2 K. 15 5 ιωαθαν [A and *v.* 32], 32-38 ιωναθαν [B and *v.* 32], ιωναθαν [A *v.* 30], 2 Ch. 26 21 23 ιωναθαν [A], 27). The only facts derived from the annals are that he built the upper gate of the temple—*i.e.*, perhaps, the upper gate of Benjamin (cp Jer. 20 2 Ezek. 9 2)—and that in his time 'Yahwè began to despatch against Judah Rezin king of Aram and Pekah son of Remaliah' (cp ISRAEL, § 31 *f.*, ISAIAH, § 3). The Chronicler states that Jotham fortified cities and built castles (see FOREST), and, as a reward for his piety, makes him fight with success against the Ammonites (cp AMMON, § 5). In 1 Ch. 3 12 ιωαθαν [B], ιωναθαν [A], ιωθαμ [L]. On the chronology of Jotham's reign, see CHRONOLOGY, § 35.

3. One of the b'ne Jahdai, belonging to Caleb (1 Ch. 2 47). T. K. C.

JOZABAD (יוֹזָבָד, *i.q.*, JEHOZABAD [*q.v.*]; ιωζαβαδ [BKAL]).

1-3. The name of a Gederathite (see GEDERAH), and two Manassites, warriors of David; 1 Ch. 12 4 (JOSABAD [AV], ιωαζαβαβ [Bא]); *v.* 20 (τωζαβαθ [Bא], and ιωσαβαιθ [B], -βεθ [א], ιωζαβεδ [A]); see DAVID, § 11 [*a* iii.].

4. An overseer in the temple: 2 Ch. 31 13 (εζαβαθ [B], ιωζ. [A], ιωαζαβαδ [L]); perhaps the same as

5. A chief of the Levites: 2 Ch. 35 9 (ιωαζαβαδ [L]); in 1 Esd. 1 9 JORAM (ιωραμ [BA]).

6. b. Jeshua, a Levite, temp. Ezra (see EZRA i. § 2, ii. § 15 1] *d*), Ezra 8 33 = 1 Esd. 8 63 JOSABAD, RV JOSABDUS (𝔊 *v.* 62 ιωσαβεες [B], -βδος [A]).

7. One of the b'ne Pashhur, a priest in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 22 (ιζαβαδ [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 22 OCIDELUS (ωκαιληδος [B] ωκειδηλος [A]).

8. A Levite in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 23 = 1 Esd. 9 23 (JOZABDUS, ιωζαβδος [BA]) perhaps identical with (6) and the two following.

9. Expounder of law (see EZRA ii., § 13 [*f.*]; cp i., § 8, ii., § 16 [5], § 15 [1] *c*), Neh. 8 7 (ιωζαβεδ [L], om. BאA) = 1 Esd. 9 48 (JOZABDUS, 3).

10. Neh. 11 16 in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii., § 5 [b], § 15 [1] *a*) (ιωζαβαδ [א c.a mg. sup.], om. Bא*A).

JOZABDUS (ιωζαβδος [BA]; see above).

1. 1 Esd. 9 23 RV = Esra 10 23, JOZABAD, 8.

2. 1 Esd. 9 29 (ζαβδος [B], ωζαβαδος [A]), RV; AV JOSABAD = Ezra 10 28, ZABBAI, 1.

3. 1 Esd. 9 48 RV, AV JOAZABDUS = Neh. 8 7, JOZABAD, 9.

JOZACHAR, RV JOZACAR (יוֹזָכָר, 'Yahwè remembers'; cp Zechariah; יוֹזָבָר, Jozabar [Ginsb. Following some MSS and edd.]; ιεζειχαρ [B]; ιωζαχαρ [AL]) b. Shimeath, one of the murderers of Joash (2 K. 12 21 [22]). In 2 Ch. 24 26 (ZABAD; זָבָד, perhaps for ZACHAR, זָכָר; cp Ki. *SBOT*; ζαβελ B, cp ZABAD, 5, 𝔊], -βεθ [A], -βαθ [L]); 𝔊BA makes Jozachar himself, not his mother, an Ammonite [see SHIMEATH). See JEHOZABAD.

JOZADAK (יוֹצָדָק), Ezra 3 2 8 etc. See JEHOZADAK.

JUBAL (יוּבָל), Gen. 4 21.† See CAINITES, § 11.

JUBILEE, or JUBILE, THE YEAR OF. According to Lev. 25 8-55, at the completion of seven sabbaths of years, the trumpet of the jubilee (שׁוֹפַר תְּרוּעָה) is to be sounded 'throughout the land,' on the tenth day of the seventh month—*i.e.*, on the great day of atonement. The fiftieth year thus announced is to be 'hallowed,'—*i.e.*, liberty (דרור) is to be proclaimed everywhere to every one, and the people are to return 'every man unto his possession and unto his family.' The year in other respects is to resemble the sabbatical year; there is to be no sowing, nor reaping that which grows of itself, nor gathering of grapes (Lev. 25 8-12).

1. Principle and procedure.

To come to fuller detail,—as regards real property (Lev. 25 13-34), the law is that if any Hebrew under pressure of necessity shall alienate his property he is to get for it a sum of money reckoned according to the number of harvests to be reaped between the date of alienation and the first jubilee year; should he or any relation desire to redeem the property before the jubilee, this can always be done by repaying the value of the harvests between the redemption and the jubilee. The fundamental principle is that 'the land shall not be sold so as to be quite cut off, for it is mine, and ye are strangers and sojourners with me.' The same rule applies to dwelling-houses of unwalled villages. The case is different, however, as regards dwelling-houses in walled cities. These may be redeemed within a year after transfer; but if not redeemed within that period they continue permanently in possession of the purchaser. An exception to this last rule is made for the houses of the Levites in the Levitical cities. As regards property in slaves (Lev. 25 39-55), the Hebrew whom necessity has compelled to sell himself into the service of his brother Hebrew is to be treated as a hired servant and a sojourner, and to be released absolutely at the jubilee (*vv.* 39-43); non-Hebrew bondmen on the other hand are to be bondmen for ever (*vv.* 44-46). The Hebrew, however, who has sold himself to a stranger or sojourner is entitled to freedom at the year of jubilee, and further is at any time redeemable by any of his kindred,—the redemption price being regulated by the number of years to run between the redemption and the jubilee, according to the ordinary wage of hired servants (*vv.*

[1] See Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(2) 64.

47-55). In addition to these enactments Lev. 27 17-25 gives a supplementary **law** regulating the price of **a** piece of land that has been dedicated to God according to the distance in time between the date of the dedication and the jubilee year, and also defining the circumstances in which such a piece of land in the jubilee year either reverts to the original owner or permanently belongs to Yahwè. One further reference to the year of jubilee occurs in Nu. **36** 4 in the law as to inheritance by daughters,

As to origin, the law is plainly a growth out of the law of the Sabbath. The foundations of Lev. 25 are laid in the ancient provisions of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. **21** 2 *ff.* **23** 10 *ff.*) and in Deuteronomy. The Book of the Covenant enjoined that the land should lie fallow and Hebrew slaves be liberated in the seventh year; Dt. required in addition the remission of debts (see SABBATICAL YEAR). These regulations are in Lev. **25** carried over to the fiftieth year and amplified. The choice of the fiftieth to be the sacred year is evidently in parallelism with the feast of Pentecost which is the closing day after the seven weeks of harvest.

2. Origin, date, etc.

As to the date of the law, this much at least has to be observed, that no evidence of its existence has reached **us** from pre-exilic times. Certainly in Jeremiah's time the law acknowledged by the prophets was that described in Deut. **15,** according to which the rights of Hebrew slave-holders over their compatriots were invariably to cease seven years after they had been acquired. This appears to follow from Jer. 34 14; where note that Jeremiah uses the term דְּרוֹר (*vv.* 15 17, cp *v.* 8). Another important passage is Ezek. **46** 16 *f.*, where there is indication of a law according to which 'the prince' is at liberty to alienate in perpetuity any portion of his inheritance to his sons; but if he give a gift of his inheritance to any other of his subjects, then the change of ownership holds good only till 'the year of liberty' (שְׁנַת הַדְּרוֹר), after which the alienated property returns to its original possessor, the prince. Now since Jeremiah makes use of the same expression (דְּרוֹר) with reference to the liberation of the slaves in the seventh year it is exceedingly probable that Ezekiel also by שְׁנַת הַדְּרוֹר means the seventh year.

This view of the case gives additional probability to the conjecture of Kuenen (*Hex.* § 6, n. **28** *d*) and Wellhausen that originally Lev. 25 8 *ff.* also had reference to the seventh year. For the law in its present form proves (cp Kue. *l.c.*) on careful examination to be a revision of an older form which probably belonged to H. Thus this last, besides the injunction about the year of fallow (Lev, 25 1-7), contained also a precept about the year of liberation (שְׁנַת הַדְּרוֹר, Lev. 25 8 *ff.*), by which it understood the seventh year as Jeremiah had done. That in the year of jubilee in its present form we are dealing with a purely theoretical development of the sabbath idea which was incapable of being reduced to practice becomes evident from the simple reflection that in the event of such a year being observed there would occur two consecutive years (the 49th and the 50th) in which absolutely nothing could be reaped, and a third (the 51st) in which only some summer fruits could be obtained, sowing being prohibited in the fiftieth. This difficulty, which was perceived even by the author of Leviticus 25 himself (cp *v.* 22), has led many scholars to make the impossible assumption that the forty-ninth year is the year of jubilee (so, *e.g.*, Ew. *Ant. Isr.* 375, and Saalschiitz, *Arch.* 2 229, following older writers such as Scaliger, Petavius, and others). In order to meet the difficulty Riehm (*HWB*(2), 1 751 *ff.*) regards the command about the land lying fallow as one that was originally foreign to the law of the year of Jubilee and one that was never in force. This last character, however, belongs to the whole institution, not merely to this particular part of it. For the post-exilic period also we have evidence of the non-observance of the law. The Talmudists and Rabbins are unanimous that although the jubilee-years were reckoned they were not observed.

As regards the meaning of the name 'jubilee' (שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, or simply יֹבֵל, ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως or ἄφεσις, *annus jubilæi* or *jubilæus*), authorities are not agreed. According to Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 12 3), it means ἐλευθερία; but the use of the word יֹבֵל, in Ex. 19 13 Josh. **6** 5, makes it probable that the name is derived from the trumpet sound with which the jubilee was to be proclaimed; and it is not impossible that the old Jewish traditional view is right when it says that יֹבֵל means **a** ram—for which there is **a** probable confirmation in Phœnician—and then, by abbreviation for קֶרֶן יֹבֵל, a trumpet of ram's horn. See Dillmann on Ex. 19 13. שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל would thus mean the year that is ushered in by the blowing of the ram's horn (Lev. 25 9).

For the earlier literature see Dillm. *Ex. u. Lev.*(2) 603; Winer, *RWB*, art. 'Jubeljahr'; and *PRE*, art. 'Sabbatjahr.' Recent authorities are Saalschiitz, *Arch.* 2 224 *ff.*; Bähr, *Symb.* 2 569 *ff.* 601 *ff.*; Ew., *Ant. of Isr.* 372 *ff.*; De Wette, *Arch.*(4) ('64); Keil *Bibl. Arch.*(2) ('75); Wellh. *Prol.*(5) 116 *f.* ('95); Oehler, art: 'Sabbatjahr,' in *PRE*; Riehm, *HWB*(2), art. 'Jobeljahr'; Benzinger *HA* 474 ['94]; Nowack, *HA* 2 165-172 ['94].

W. R. S.—I. B.

JUCAL (יוּכַל), Jer. 38 1. See JEHUCAL.

JUDA, RV **Judah, City of** (Lk. 1 39). See JUTTAH; ZACHARIAS, 10.

JUDA (ιογδα [Ti. WH]), 1. Mk. **6** 3, RV JUDAS (*q.v.*).

2. (ἰωδα [Ti. WH]) Lk. 3 26, RV JODA.
3. Lk. 3 30, RV JUDAS (*q.v.*).
4. Lk. 3 33, RV JUDAH. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

JUDÆA (ιογδαια [BNA, etc., cod. 87 V; Ti. WH] = יְהוּדָה in Ezra 1 2 𝔊^AL; יְהוּד in Ezra and in Dan. [𝔊] and Dan. [Theod.]; in Macc. as well as in Ezra-Neh. we find both ιογδαια and ιογδα). The name of the region occupied by the reorganized Jewish community in the Persian, Greek, and Roman periods, hut extended by Lk. to the whole of W. Palestine (Lk. 4 44 [?] 23 5 Acts 2 9 10 37 etc.).

The limits of Judæa as a province varied at different periods. In the time of Jonathan the Maccabee (145 B.C.) three tetrarchies of Samaria (Aphærema [see EPHRAIM, ii.], LYDDA, and RAMATHAIM) were added to Judzea (1 Macc. 10 30 38 11 34); Judas himself had already expelled the Edomites from Hebron (1 Macc. 5 65). According to Josephus (*BJ* iii. 3 5), Judæa extended from Anuath-Borkæos (Ἀνουαθου Βορκαιος, now Berkit; *PEFQ*, '81, p. 48) in the N. to a village called Jordas (*Tell 'Arād*?) near Arabia on the S., and from Joppa on the W. to the Jordan on the E. The sea-coast, as far **as** Ptolemais (*Acre*), with the exception of Jamnia and Joppa, belonged to Judæa, and according to Ptolemy (v. 16 9) some districts beyond Jordan. The latter statement, however, is not to be adduced in illustration of Mt. 19 1 ('the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan'),[1] because here Mk. 10 1 (Ti. WH) contains the obviously correct reading, καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, 'that is, [first of all] the region beyond Jordan' (cp Mk. 11 1, 'unto Jerusalem and unto Bethany'). It should be noticed, too, that Josephus mentions no trans-Jordanic toparchy. On the death of Herod, Judaea, with Samaria and Idumæa, fell to the lot of Archelaus, as ethnarch; but on Archelaus' deposition his territory was annexed to the Roman Province of Syria (see ISRAEL,, § 89). In the fifth century Judæa became part of the division called *Palæstina Prima.*

Four of the eleven Judæan toparchies mentioned by Josephus and Eusehius are referred to in the Talmud,—Daroma, Gerartica, Gabalena, and Sarona.[2] Daroma, which corresponds to the biblical Negeb (see **Onk**, Dt, 34 3), had for its centre Lod or Lydda, so that the name Daroma is often used in the Talmud instead of Lod. The Arabs limited the application to **a** place near GAZA [*q.v.*]—the Daroma of the Crusaders. The meaning of the other names is clear.

The Judæan table-land is otherwise known as the hill-country of Judah'; but Judæa is not confined ta

1 As in Hastings' *DB* 2 792 *a.*
2 Neub. *Géogr. du Talm.* 62 *ff.*

this high region; there are districts outside of it which can boast of more varied scenery and of hardly less historical interest.' There is first that wonderful depression which bounds Judæa on the E.—the lower Jordan valley and the Dead Sea, beyond which rises the precipitous wall of the mountains of Moab. The three. roads into Judaea on this side start from the three oases, Jericho, 'Ain Fešḫa, and 'Ain Jidi.

Next, the *southern* border must be studied, not, however, here, but in dealing with that extensive and but lately explored region—the NECEB (*q.v.*). Then, for the *western* boundary we have—ideally the Mediterranean—but really, except at intervals, the edge of the great plateau itself. The low hills of the Shĕphēlah [lowland] are separated from the compact range to the E. by a long series of valleys running S. from Aijalon. This is the western barrier of the hill-country. It is penetrated by a number of defiles, which provide excellent cover for defenders, and opportunity for ambushes and surprises. The importance of Beth-zur (cp BETH-ZUR, KIRJATH-SEPHER) arises from the fact that it is the one fortress on the, W. flank of Judæa, S. of Aijalon, which the physical conditions make possible. In conclusion, the last ten miles of the Judæan plateau on the *north* form a frontier which was the most accessible side of the Judæan territory, but was well protected by the fortresses of Benjamin. See further, JUDAH; JUDAH, HILL COUNTRY OF; BENJAMIN, JORDAN, NEGEB, SHEPHELAH, PALESTINE.

JUDAH (יְהוּדָה; ΙΟΥΔΑ(C) [BADEL]; Ass. *Ia-'u-du*). For the gentilic see JEW.

1. Name. 1. Judah (Yĕhūdah), the eponym of the tribe of Judah, is represented as the fourth son of Jacob by Leah, born at Haran (Gen. 29 35). J explains the meaning thus, 'And she said, "Now will I praise Yahwk"; therefore she called his name Judah (Yehudah)'; the saying in Gen. 49 8 starts from the same favourite *Volksetymologie.* We may presume, however, that the name (like Isaac, Jacob, and Israel) is a popular adaptation of some fuller form, perhaps Abihud or Ahihud (whence Ehud). It does not, so far as we know, occur in the Amarna tablets. Tiele, indeed, thought we might read it in a letter of Rib-addi of Gebal[2] (*Am. Taf.* no. 86 42); but Winckler reads here Jada.

2. Legends in Genesis. One of the most striking characteristics of J is the interest which this writer, or school of writers, takes in Judah. That in J Judah takes the place assigned to his brother Reuben (closely connected with Judah, see § 3) in E in the Joseph-story, has been noticed elsewhere (see JOSEPH ii., § 3). According to Gen. 38, Judah went to Adullam (?) and married the daughter of a Canaanite (?) named Shua (=Sheba); his three sons were called, Er, Onan, and Shelah. The first-born was married by Judah to Tamar (?); but Er and Onan were wicked, and were slain by Yahwk. As Tamar was not given to the third son Shelah, she found an expedient to become the mother of two sons, Peres (?) and Zerah, by Judah. The other legends relative to Judah (Judges, Samuel) will be most conveniently referred to in § 3. The genealogies of Judah in 1 Ch. 4 1-23 will not be considered here. There is indeed much to reward a critical examination of the puzzles which they contain; but to condense the results of the special articles in a really fruitful way would occupy too much space. See as specimens, BITHIAH, CHARASHIM, HAZELELPONI, JABEZ, JASHUBI-LEHEM, SHOBAL.

3. Origin and history. It is usually thought that by a special piece of good fortune we have in the legend of Gen. 38, just now described, a tradition respecting the early development of the tribe of Judah. 'Reading the passage ethnologically we learn that Judah had established itself on the W. side of the "Hill Country of Judah" in the district of Timnah and Adullam, that the tribe allied itself to the Canaanites, but did not flourish till it united with the tribe of Tamar, which dwelt more to the *south.*'[1] According to Winckler,[2] however, the story records in legendary form the conquest of Baal-tamar, where was the sanctuary of the original tribe of *Benjamin,* by David, the leader of the Judahites. Baal-tamar, he thinks, was the place afterwards called, by a strange distortion of the name, Kirjath-jearim. This brings us face to face with more than one deep and difficult problem which this scholar has treated in a strikingly original manner (see KIRJATH-JEARIM, SAUL, TAMAR). We shall return to Gen. 38 later (§ 4, end); it is enough here to repeat that Tamar (תמר, a word which in some other passages too has arisen through textual corruption) as a woman's name is most probably a corruption of some popular shortened form of Jĕraḥmĕ'ēlīth, just as 'Ir hat-tĕmārīm (EV 'the city of palm-trees') in Judg. 1 16 is probably a corruption of 'Ir jerahme'el (see JERICHO, § 2). It was union with the Jerhameelites (a tribe of Edomitish affinities) that gave vigour to the clan or tribe of Judah; a similar cause seems to be assigned for the expansion of the Jacob-tribe (see JACOB, § 3), and also for the growth of the Isaac-tribe, Abraham representing the Jerahmeelites of Rehoboth, Sarah the Israelites or perhaps Jizrahelites (see JACOB, § 6). In the earliest times indeed Judah, Jerahmeel, Caleb, Kain (Kenites), and Simeon must have closely resembled each other, and probably we should add to the list Reuben, which (cp Gen. 46 9 12 1 Ch. 4 1 5 3) had clans closely connected with those of Judah. It was not therefore altogether unnatural for the editor of Judg. 1 10 *f.* to ascribe to Judah the conquest of 'Hebron' or rather REHOBOTH [*q.v.*] and of 'Debir' or rather Beth-zur (see KIRJATH-SEPHER); in reality these were the achievements of CALEB [*q.v.*], which did not become one with Judah till the time of David. (On Judg. 1 16 see KENITES.) All the tribes mentioned, including Judah, seem to have adhered for a long time to a nomadic or semi-nomadic mode of life; a large part of the Jerahmeelites remained nomads quite late (see AMALEK, HAM ii., JERAHMEEL, SAUL). It may be remarked here that Reuben (Reubel? see REUBEN) very possibly derives its name from Jerahme'el.

4. David. The leader who brought about, at least to a considerable extent, the union of these different clans (so far as they were in his neighbourhood at the time of his operations) all of which were outside the Israelitish territory, was David. The steps by which he reached his proud position at the head of a great inland Palestinian kingdom require renewed investigation. He was himself probably a Calebite of Bethuel or Beth-zur—*i.e.*, 'Debir' or KIRJATH-SEPHER [*q.v.*]. His sister Abigail bears the same name as the former wife of Nabal, which probably is really a tribal name; this might suggest that David's family was aware of a connection with another family called Abigail (or Abihail) settled near Carmel (= Jerahmeel) and Jezreel (cp DAVID, § 1, n. 2, SAUL, § 4, and see below), though it is true that Abigail and Abihail are ultimately traceable to Jerahmeel. If so, like his sister, David strengthened the connection with Jezreel by marriage (see NABAL). In spite of all this neither Caleb nor Jerahmeel supplied the name of the great tribe produced by a combination of smaller tribes—but Judah. No doubt Judah had already been extending its influence (cp Gen. 38), so that David only recognised and acted upon accomplished facts. But it was at first only a small Jndah that accepted David as its leader and prince (cp 1 S. 30 26-31, where note that the conquest of 'Hebron' or rather REHOBOTH is presupposed), nor can we say with documentary pre-

[1] See GASm. *HG* chap. 13.
[2] Wildeboer, *Theol. Studien*, 1900, pp. 261 *f.*

[1] Cp Wildeboer, 259 *f.*
[2] *GI* 2 104.

cision how David became possessed of the territory between the original southern border of Benjamin and the northern limit of the Negeb (see NEGEB). We need not therefore hesitate to accept Winckler's very plausible view that the present narrative of David's adventures during his 'outlaw period' is based upon earlier traditions of a struggle on David's part for the possession of the later Judahite territory. Winckler's interpretation of the details will of course be liable to criticism, partly from the inherent difficulty of the historical problems, but chiefly from the fact that his textual criticism is not as thorough and methodical as could be wished.

According to Winckler the 'Cherethites'and 'Pelethites' are those semi-nomad *gentes* of the Negeb to which David by his origin belonged; their chief town was Ziklag, from which as a centre they went about making raids under David's leadership. This can hardly be accepted. Though temporarily on friendly terms with the 'Cherethites' and 'Pelethites' David (a searching textual criticism suggests) wasafterwards at war with these tribes (*i.e.*, confederations of clans); at a later time again he made friends with them (see PELETHITES). Nor does the text we adopt favour the view that 'Ziklag' was the **chief** town either of the 'Cherethites' or of the 'Pelethites.' Winckler is also of opinion that in the present narrative of David's earlier career (which is admittedly ofcomposite origin) there have been brought together two widely different legends, one of which gave Adullam (a place ,in the later Judahite territory) as David's original base of operations, and the other 'Ziklag' in the land of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), to which region Achish (who is represented as having been for a time David's liege lord) must also have belonged. Of these two traditions the latter, Winckler thinks, is the original and sole authentic one. Independently, the present writer has arrived at similar but much mnre definite conclusions on certain points, and the same method which has enabled him to reach greater definiteness on these points has led him to conclusions on points of detail which seem adverse to other parts of Winckler's theory.

As we have said, David was probablynot (as Winckler represents) a Muṣrite, but a Calebite; not 'Ziklag' (Ḥalūṣah), but 'Debir' (see above) was his home. We cannot put on one side the Bethlehem-tradition quite as readily as Winckler does. 'Beth-lehem' must spring from some more possible name; that name is found—it is Bethuel.

It may be left an open question, however, whether both Beth-lehem and Bethuel (or Bethel) are not broken down forms of $ primitive Beth-Jerahmeel. This would account for 'Ephrathite in 1 S. 17 12, on which name (=Jerahmeelite) see RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

Similarly, though 'Adullam' is certainly not David's true starting-point, the name did not spring from the brain of a tradition-monger; עדלם, 'Adullam,' may be a corruption of כרמל, 'Carmel.' Carmel was in a region friendly to David's family; it is surely a plausible view, that David, if he was a native of 'Debir' (Kirjath-sepher), and closely allied with the clans of Jezreel and Carmel, took Carmel as his earliest base of operations. Nor is there any inconsistency between this tradition and the 'Ziklag' tradition. Until David gave practical effect to his aspiration after the imperial throne of an expanded Israel there was no reason why he should not be on the most friendly terms with the chieftains of Muṣrite tribes like the 'Cherethites' and 'Pelethites.' There is a striking little narrative in 1 S. 22 3-5 which throws some light on this (and so indeed, rightly understood, does the story in Gen. 38). From the fort (not cave) of Carmel (not Adnllam) David, we are told, took his father and mother to 'Mizpeh of Moab' (rather to Migrephath of Muṣur, see ZAREPHATH), and confided them to the care of the king or, as we might say, chieftain (see KING). There his parents found a safe asylum, all the time that he was in the fort of Carmel. It should be noticed that Carmel is already a Judahite place. 'Abide not in Miṣrephath' (read, not מצודה, but מצרפת); 'depart, and get thee into the land of Jndah,' says Gad the 'prophet' (see GAD ii.). So David leaves Musur, and proceeds to the fort of Carmel ('Adullam'); see HARETH.

We must now return to Gen. 38, assuming here the corruptions of the text mentioned under TAMAR. A Judahite family settles at Carmel[1] (not Adullam). A fusion with the Maonites was attempted, but had less prosperous results than a Jerahmeelite alliance. The two clans which arose in consequence were called respectively Ṣārĕphath and Zerah. This seems to be a record of the friendly intercourse between David when at Carmel and the Muṣrites of Sarephath.

We conclude then that David made Carmel his base of operations for the conquest of territory for an enlarged tribe of Judah. He established himself for a time in Ke'ilah, but found it necessary to retire, first to the wilderness of Ziph, and then to that of En-kadesh (not En-gedi; see KADESH), where he was certainly in the land of Muṣri. From Kadesh we may presume that he made his way to REHOBOTH [*q.v.*], by favour of whose chieftain Achish, or perhaps rather Nahash (who, be it noted, worships Yahwè, 1 S. 29 6), he found new headquarters at Ḥalūṣah (see ZIKLAG). It was from this place that he obtained his great warrior Benaiah (see JEKABZEEL) and raided those parts of the Negeb which did not belong to the Rehobothites and Zarephathites. Meantime the Zarephathites were doing great mischief to Saul's kingdom by their incursions (cp especially 1 S. 23 28 28 1 *f.*), and, if our treatment of the text is sound, Saul met his death bravely struggling with them on the ridge of hills near Carmel or Jerahmeel (see SAUL, § 4).

5. David's progress.

It is possibly to the following period that David's acquisition of a chieftainship in the Carmelite district[2] is to be assigned; this helps to account for his elevation to a greater position at Hebron[3] (the reading 'Hebron' may be safely accepted). This, however, was not agreeable to the Zarephathites, and a fierce conflict broke out between them and the new-made king. David, however, became the victor,[4] 'Gob' and 'Gath' in 2 S. 21 15-22 being corrupt fragments of 'Rehoboth,'[5] and 'Rephaim' and 'Baalperagim' in 2 S. 5 18 20 22 of Jeraḥme'elim and Baal-Ṣarephāthīm respectively; see also Judg. 1 10. After this, the Rehobothites and the Sarephathites became David's faithful servants; in this character their names have come down to us as 'Cherethites' and 'Pelethites.' See PELETHITES, REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH.

It required doubtless a harder struggle to overcome the resistance of Abner, the general of Ishbosheth (or rather perhaps Mahriel; see MEPHIBOSHETH, § 1), whom Winckler, perhaps rightly, regards as having been in the first instance king of 'all Israel' (2 S. 2 9). The conquest of JERUSALEM [*q.v.*, § 13 *ff.*] was the necessary preliminary of this. Being taken by David himself from the Jebusites, it formed originally no part of the tribe of Judah; but its possession secured the continuance of the family of David on the throne of Judah, and in Josh. 15 63 (R_{JE}) it is represented as half-Judahite, half-Jebusite. On Solomon's supposed exclusion of Judah from the departmental division of his kingdom see SOLOMON, TAXATION, and cp Kittel on 1 K. 4 9 *f.*

The tribe of Judah is referred to twice in the NT (Heb. 7 14 Rev. 7 5); but the references require no comment.

The isolation of Judah is its most notable geographical

[1] Note that Timnah (*v.* 12) is mentioned in Josh. 15 55-57 in the same group with Maon, Carmel, and Ziph (which name underlies 'Chezib' in Gen. 38 5).

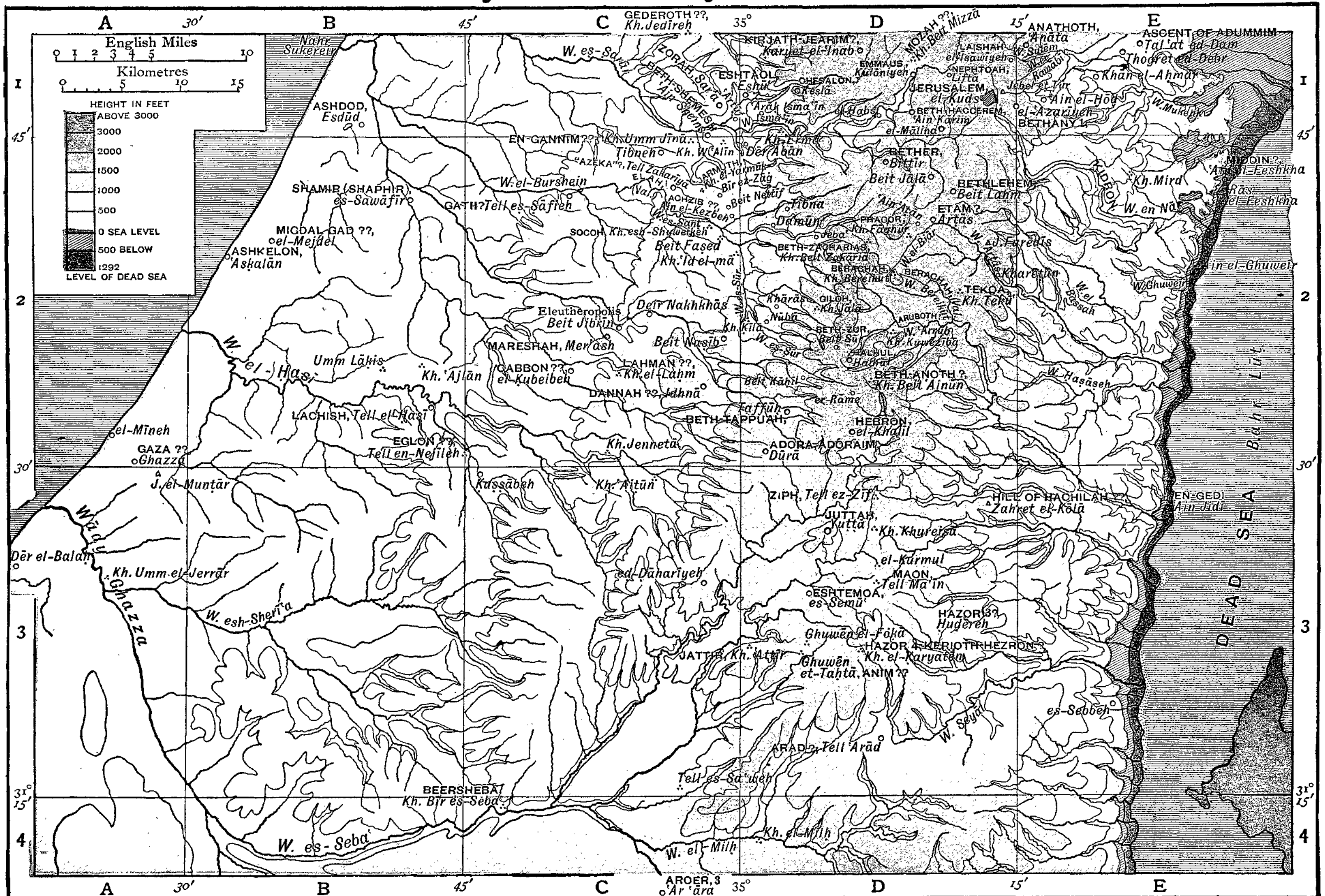
[2] He was probably 'prince of Abiḥail' (1 S. 25 3, crit. emend.). See NABAL.

[3] The supposed reference to David as 'head of Caleb' after he had removed to Hebron can hardly be maintained (see NABAL). Tradition rightly describes him as a *melek* ('king,' 'chieftain').

[4] This may he implied too in the story of PEREZ-UZZAH and OBED-EDOM the 'Gittite' (Rehohothite) in 2 S. 6. Perhaps too the 'Rabbath-bnē-Ammon' of 2 S. 12 26 *ff.* should rather be 'Rehoboth-bnē-Jeraḥmeel' (cp REHOBOTH, and see *Crit. Bib.*).

[5] In this connection it may be noted that in the earlier and much briefer story on which 1 S. 17 is probably based, 'Goliath of Gath' was probably 'Goliath of Rehoboth,' 'the valley of Elah' (האלה) was 'the valley of Jerahmeel,' and 'Bethlehem-judah' was 'Bethel-judah.'

JUDAH AND JUDAEA.



JUDAH AND JUDAEA.

MAP OF JUDAH AND JUDEA

INDEX TO NAMES

Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having **no** *biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement usually ignores prefixes :* *'ain* (*'* **spring'**) *beit* (*'house'*), *bīr* (*'well'*), *dēr* (*'monastery'*), *ed-, el-* (*'the'*), *khān* (*'* **inn**'), *khirbet* (*'* **ruin**'), *nahr* (*'* **river**'), viis (*'* **summit**'), *tell* (*'mound'*), *umm* (*'mother'*), *wādy* (*'valley'*).

characteristic. Its boundaries are given in Josh. 15 1-12 (P); but these of course have no relation to the pre-Davidic period.

6. Characteristics: geographical. The N. boundary coincides with the S. boundary of Benjamin; only it is given with greater fulness. On the E. the boundary is the Dead Sea; on the W. the Mediterranean; on the S. a line drawn from the southern tongue of the Dead Sea to the Naḥal Miṣraim (rather Miṣrim; see EGYPT, BROOK OF), and passing by the ascent of Akrabbim, Zin, Kadesh-barnea, and other places (consult HAZAR-ADDAR, HEZRON, KARKAA). The idealizing tendency of P comes out in his inclusion of Philistia within Judahite territory. There is an inconsistency with regard to Kirjath-jearim, which Judg. 18 12 and Josh. 15 60 make Judahite, whilst Josh 18 28 apparently assigns it to Benjamin (cp KIRJATH-JEARIM); also with regard to JERUSALEM [*q.v.*, § 13]. It should be noticed that in the earlier narratives we hear of LEHI (Judg. 15 9) and ADULLAM (1 S. 22 5, see above), or rather Carmel, as belonging to Judah; we also read of a Negeb of Judah (1 S. 27 10; see NEGEB). The natural divisions of the territory are—the NEGEB, the SHEPHELAH, and the Wilderness of Judah (see DESERT, § 2 [3] and § 3 [3]). It is urgently necessary to get a clear idea of each of these without which the full significance of many OT passages will be missed. As to the names in Josh. 15 20-62 reference must also be made to special articles. Some progress has doubtless been made in settling the readings (which in MT are often incorrect), and consequently many current identifications have not improbably been criticised in the present work with effect; but much uncertainty still attaches to many of the details (see *e.g.* the names of places on the S. boundary).

7. Racial. Judah is not to be blamed for indifference to the great struggle celebrated in Judg. 5; a tribe of Judah did not at that time exist. In Dt. 33 7 (in the 'Blessing of Moses'), however, we meet with a prayer that Yahwè would bring Judah 'to his people,'—*i.e.*, that the great schism might be healed, and Judah reincorporated into the people of Israel; it is the saying of a N. Israelite. The 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. 49 9 11[1]) celebrates the fierceness and victorious might of Judah and at the same time its appreciation of the natural advantages of its land (Judah was a vine-country; cp Joel 1 7 *ff.*, 3 [4] 18 2 Ch. 26 10, and HEBRON, § 3). Later history exhibits this tribe as tenacious, conservative, and even fanatical—characteristics perhaps not wholly unconnected with its Edomitish and N. Arabian affinities.

8. Use of name. The two 'Blessings' just referred to are the only pre-exilic poetical passages in which the name Yĕhūdah occurs; even in the exilic and post-exilic poetry it is very rare. Among the prophets it is Jeremiah who uses the term most frequently, though the abundance of interpolations in his book makes it difficult to estimate the exact numbers. The examination of the historical books leads to some interesting results. The phrase *bnē Yehūdah* occurs in Judg. 1 8 *f.* 16 2 S. 1 18 2 12 1 Ch. 12 26 2 Ch. 10 17 25 12 28 10 31 6 Neh. 11 4 25 13 16 Dan. 1 6; also in Jer. 7 30 32 30 32 [L. 4 33], Joel 3 [4] 6 8 19 Ob. 12. But some of these occurrences are of small account, being due to glosses, and 2 S. 1 18 is strongly corrupt (see JASHER, BOOK OF, § 2). The phrase *bēth Yehūdah* is not much commoner. *Yehūdah* is, of course, frequent. According to Staerk,[2] it may be inferred from the use of 'Israel and Judah' in passages like 2 S. 3 10 11 11 and 1 K. 2 32 that there was a sense of the inner opposition between north and south before the separation of the kingdoms.

The above article on a subject of great difficulty sums up some of the chief results of special articles. The reader will, of course, consult the histories of Israel, not forgetting the most recent—that of Winckler, to some of whose conclusions the above article gives an independent support.

2. b. Senuah, Neh. 11 9, doubtless the same as HODAVIAH, 2 (*q.v.*).

3. A Levitical family, according to the MT of Ezra 3 9 = 1 Esd. 5 58 (JODA, ιωδα [A]). Here, as in Neh. 12 8 (ιωδαε [ℵ*A]), some would read HODAVIAH [*q.v.*, no. 4]; possibly, however, the original name was חֲרֹדִי (2 Sam. 23 25, HARODITE). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [i].

4. A Levite (the above clan individualised?), Ezra 10 23 (ιοδομ [B], ιεδομ [ℵAL]) = 1 Esd. 9 23 (JUDAS, ιουδας [BA]).

5. A priest's son, Neh. 12 36 (om. BNA). T. K. C.

JUDAH, HILL-COUNTRY OF (הַר יְהוּדָה; ὄρος Ἰούδα), RV Josh. 11 21 20 7 21 11 2 Ch. 27 4, and virtually Josh. 15 48 18 12 Judg. 1 9 19 Jer. 32 44 33 13, or, OF JUDÆA (Lk. 1 65, ἡ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας), is the special term for a well-defined region to the north of what was called the NEGEB [*q.v.*], some 25 miles long by 12 to 17 broad, and from 2000 to 3000 feet above the sea. Under the title of *Orine* it forms the ninth of Pliny's Judæan toparchies.[1] It has for its centre the ancient city of HEBRON, between which and the Negeb there is a fertile plateau, 9 miles by 3, which forms a strong and agreeable contrast to the Judæan table-land in the north. It is of this table-land that travellers think when they speak of Judæa as a stony desolate region. Apart from some breaks in the plateau, which enjoy a rich vegetation, such as Bethany, the Valley of Hinnom, 'Ain Kārim, the Wady Arṭās (see CONDUITS, § 3), the valleys near Bethlehem, and especially Hebron, the thinly covered limestone produces a very dreary effect; one cannot help pitying the few dwarf trees which wage a doubtful struggle for existence with the boulders around them.

Nevertheless the austerity of this region was not always nearly so unmitigated; it did but call out the art and energy of man to counteract it. By a trained historic imagination we can recall some of the vanished glory, the traces of which, indeed, are multitudinous. One may wander for many miles in perfect solitude in a country of sheep and goats. But the hills are crowned with ruins, and the sides of the hills are terraced, and by the fountains are fragments of walls and heaps of stones which indicate the ancient homes of men.

The greatest elevation in the hill-country of Judah is attained by the *Sīret el-bellā'a* (3370 ft.), which terminates a mountain-ridge between Halhūl and Hebron. The chief valleys are the Wādy Halil, which is joined by the valley of Hebron, and beginning NE. of Hebron, runs first southward, then south-westward, and finally unites with the Wādy el-Milh (coming from the east), forming the Wādy es-Seba'. WNW. from Hebron begins the Wādy el-Afranj, which runs NW. to join the Wādy es-Sanṭ at Ashdod. This is probably the 'valley (גַּיְא) northward from Mareshah' (2 Ch. 14 10; see ZEPHATHAH) where Asa is said to have defeated the 'Cushite' invaders. Farther south is the broad and fruitful Wādy eṣ-Ṣūr, which first of all runs north, then turns westward, and under the name of the Wādy es-Sanṭ (see ELAH, VALLEY OF) cuts through the Shephēlah. At Shuwēkeh (Socoh) is the point of junction of the Wādy eṣ-Ṣūr and the Wādy en-Najil. This and other wadies issue in a remarkable basin about 30 miles long, which divides the mountains of Judah from the lower hills of the Shephēlah. Towards the NW. this basin is drained by the broad and fertile Wādy Ṣarār, which near the coast assumes the name Nahr Rūbīn (see JABNEEL). Not far from Tekoa is the great Wādy 'Arrūb, where is the ruin called Bereikūt, in the name of which some find an echo of the Berachah of 1 Ch. 20 26 (see BERACHAH, VALLEY OF).

The Hebrew text of Josh. 15 48-60 reckons as belonging to this region thirty-eight cities, some of which can be identified with obvious certainty, such as Eshtemoli, Beth-Tappuah, Hebron, Maon, Carmel, Ziph, Juttah, Zanoah, Ḥalḥul, Beth-

1 On *v.* 10, which seems to interrupt the connection, see SHILOH.

2 *Studien zur Relig. u. Sprachgesch. des Alten Test.* ('99), 90.

1 *NH* 9 15; in the list of Jos. (*BJ* iii. 3 5), En-gaddi is the corresponding name. Schick (*ZDPV* 22 83 ['99]) ventures to suppose a confusion between En-gedi and 'Ain Kārim.

zur. There are also, however, places which are omitted in MT, but have an undeniable claim to be included in the list; and 𝔊, after Josh. 15 59, actually gives eleven names which (see Di.) must have belonged to the original list. All the cities mentioned here by 𝔊 lay, no doubt, immediately south of Jerusalem; among them are the well-known places Tekoa, Bethlehem, 'Ain Kārim (see BETH-HACCEREM) and Bittir (see BETHER).

JUDAR, KINGDOM OF. See ISRAEL, §§ 28-45.

JUDAR, THE PROVINCE OF (יְהוּד מְדִינְתָּא), Ezra 5 8 RV, AV . . , JUDEA. See JUDÆA.

JUDAH UPON [RV AT] **JORDAN** (יְהוּדָה הַיַּרְדֵּן), the eastern limit of the territory of Naphtali (Josh. 19 34; 𝔊^BA simply ο ιορδανης, 𝔊^L ιουδα ο ι.), suggesting that a district in the N. by the Jordan belonged to Judah. Evidently the text is corrupt. Read וּבַיַּרְדֵּן, 'and (reaches) to the Jordan' (Gra.). This was written twice, and one of the 'Jordans' was wrongly emended into 'Judah.' For a similar case in the Gk. of Jn. 3 25 see JOHN THE BAPTIST, § 6.

Ewald (*Hist.* 2 291) would read בִּכְנֶּרֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן, '(reaches) to Chinneroth of Jordan,' and interpret this phrase on the analogy of the phrase 'all Chinneroth' in 1 K. 15 20 as meaning the W. shore of the Sea of Galilee (see CHINNEROTH). Another suggestion is to emend בִיהוּדָה into בִּיד '(to) the side (of)'; cp Neub. *Géogr.* 224. Neither is satisfactory. T. K. C.

JUDAS (ιουδας[1] [ANVL], the **Gk.** form of the Heb. JUDAH [*q.v.*]).

1. 1 Esd. 9 23 (ωουδας [BA]); see JUDAH, 4.

2. The third son of Mattathias, called μακκαβαῖος (1 Macc. 2 4; see MACCABEES i., § 4; called ιουλος [A in 1 Macc. 4 13].

3. Son of Chalphi, called ιωδας [A in 1 Macc. 13 81, a Jewish general under Jonathan (1 Macc. 11 70).

4. Son of Simon (1 Macc. 16 2 *ff.*). See MACCABEES i., § 6.

5. One, evidently holding a high position in Jerusalem, who took part in sending a letter to ARISTOBULUS (*q.v.*) (2 Macc. 1 10). Though identified with the Essene (cp Jos. *BJ* i. 3 5) he is more probably the same as no. 2.

6. Lk. 3 30, Mt. 1 2 *f.* [RV Judah]; see JUDAH, 1.

7. Judas of James (Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου) [Ti. WH], one of the twelve apostles according to Lk. 6 16 and Acts 1 13, though not according to the lists in Mt. and Mk., where his place is taken by Thaddaeus. He is, without doubt, the 'Judas not Iscariot' of the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 14 22), who asked Jesus the question: 'Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?' The expression 'Judas of James' is most naturally and usually understood as meaning 'son of James'; but it can be interpreted as meaning 'brother of James,' and this is the sense in which it has been taken by the author of the epistle of JUDE (*q.v.*).

Ecclesiastical tradition very early began its attempts to harmonise the four lists of the twelve apostles, and one of the results (since Origen) was the identification of 'Judas of James' with Thaddaus; in late Syriac legend he appears as Judas Thaddaeus and is the apostle of Syria and Mesopotamia, ultimately suffering martyrdom by stoning at Berytus or Aradus. The similar Armenian legend claims him also for Armenia. In the Roman Breviary (Oct. 28), 'Thaddæus, qui et Judas Jacobi appellatur in Evangelio, unius ex Catholicis Epistolis scriptor' is said to have evangelized Mesopotamia and afterwards to have accompanied Simon the Cananaan into Persia where they crowned a successful ministry by suffering a glorious martyrdom together. It is worthy of particular notice, however, that the oldest Syrian (Edessene) legend, which goes back to the second (?) century, identifies Judas Jacobi with Thomas (see Eus. *HE* 1 13; 'After Jesus was ascended, Judas Thomas sent to him [Abgarus] Thaddaus the apostle, one of the Seventy').

8. Judas, Mk. 6 3, see CLOPAS.

9. **Judas Iscariot** (ιουδας ο ισκαριωτης [Mt. 10 4], ιουδ. ισκ. [Mt. 26 14], ιουδ. ο καλουμενος ισκαρ. [Lk. 22 3], ιουδ. ισκαριωθ [Mk. 3 19 14 10 Lk. 6 16], [ὁ] ιουδ. σιμωνος ισκαριωτου [Jn. 6 71 13 26], ιουδ. σιμωνος ισκαριωτης [Jn. 13 2; not 12 4, as TR], ιουδ. ὁ ισκ. [Jn. 12 4; cp 14 22, ιουδ., οὐχ ὁ ισκαρ.]. In Jn. 6 71 ℵ gives ἀπο καρυωτου; so D in Jn. 12 4 13 2 26, but in 14 22 ὁ ἀπο καρ. In Mt. 10 4 26 14 Mk. 14 10 D gives σκαριωτης; in Lk. 22 3 ισκαριωδ; in Mk. 3 19 Lk. 6 16 Jn. 6 7 σκαριωθ).

1. Name. Thrice in the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 6 71 13 2 26) Judas is called the son of Simon, which may well be a genuine tradition.

[1] Also ιωδας 1 Macc. 13 8 [A], and ιουλος 1 Macc. 4 13 [A], the latter a corruption in the Gk.

As for the name 'Iscariot' (twice applied to the father of Judas, Jn. 6 71 13 26), there is a well-supported reading in Jn. απο καρυωτου, which, according to Zahn and Nestle,[1] confirm; the view that ισκαριωθ and ισκαριωτης proceed from the Hebrew designation אִישׁ קְרִיּוֹת, 'a man of Kerioth'; cp Ἴστοβος, Jos. *Ant.* vii. 6 1 = אִישׁ טוֹב, 2 S. 10 6 8 (𝔊^B ειστωβ). We should, however, have expected απο κεριωθ; -ωτου suggests that the phrase in D is derived from ισκαριωτου. Not understanding καριωτ, the scribe thought of καρυωτὸς (φοῖνιξ), 'a palm tree which bears dates resembling a walnut.'[2] Apart from this, it is a plausible view that ισκαριωτης is derived from Ish-kerioth, 'a man of Kerioth. Such formations of names continued to be used, as Dalman shows, in spite of the predominance of Aramaic. Most scholars consider Judas to have been a native of the Kerioth mentioned in Josh. 15 25; but קְרִיּוֹת, *kĕrīyyoth*, in this passage means 'group of places' (see HAZOR, 4), and the spot or district intended did not belong to Judæa.[3] Keim and Wellhausen therefore prefer the *Korea* (Kerioth) of Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 4, etc. which was a beautifully situated place N. of Karn Ṣarṭabeh (see ZARETHAN). Since, however, the evangelists themselves find the name so unintelligible, how much more natural is it to suspect that it may have been incorrectly kransmitted (cp Boanerges, Kananaios (?), Bar-jona)! If so, we may not unreasonably conjecture that the true name is Ἱεριχωτής, 'a man of Jericho.' It would readily be remembered that one of the disciples came from Jericho. Cp JERICHO, § 7.

Of the early history of Judas nothing is told us. We know, however, that he was one of those whom the Preacher of the Kingdom of Heaven drew to himself by the power of his will to be his companions and assistants. 'And he goes up into the mountain (εἰς τὸ ὄρος), and calls to him whom he himself would, and they went unto him' (Mk. 3 13); the οὓς ἤθελεν αὐτός assures us that every one of the persons named was specially chosen by Jesus. Twelve are named; three lists of the twelve are given, and in each of the three Judas stands last (Mt. 10 4 Mk. 3 19 Lk. 6 16; see APOSTLE, § 1). Mt. and Mk. add, 'who also betrayed him'; Lk. adds, 'who became traitor' (ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης). In the lists of Mt. and of Mk. the eleventh, and in that of Lk. the tenth, is Simon called 6 καναναῖος or ζηλωτής. Farrar has offered the conjecture that this Simon was the father of Judas Iscariot, and it is certain that in Jn. (see § 1) Judas Iscariot is called the son of Simon. It is not likely, however, that both father and son would belong to the Twelve, and Simon was a very common name, whilst καναναιος is very possibly a corruption of καναιος ('a man of Cana'), which would make this Simon a Galilæan. All that we can say is that Simon and Judas were probably companions whenever the Twelve were sent out 'by two and two' (Mk. 6 7).

2. Notices in Synoptics.

There is no list of the Twelve in the Fourth Gospel. In Jn. 6 71, however, we receive early notice that Judas Iscariot was one of the Twelve, and that it was he who was destined to deliver up Jesus (Jn. 6 71).

3. Notice in Jn.

The notice (οὗτος γὰρ ἔμελλεν αὐτὸν παραδιδόναι, εἷς ὢν ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα) is suggested by a saying ascribed to Jesus (*v.* 70): 'Have not I chosen yon twelve, and one of you is a devil (διάβολος)?' It adds but little, however, to the historical weight of the Synoptic tradition, and the saying in *v.* 70 appears to be inconsistent with the equal confidence in all the disciples shown by Jesus according to the Synoptic tradition—a confidence which is maintained unbroken till the last paschal meal.

The Fourth Evangelist further tells us (Jn. 12 4-6) that the destined traitor murmured at Mary's costly gift of love at Bethany, when she took a pound of SPIKENARD [*q.v.*] and anointed the feet of Jesus; he also mentions as the secret cause of this murmuring of Judas that he 'was a thief, and having the box took away what was put therein.'

So at least the traditional text must be interpreted (ὅτι κλέπτης ἦν καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον ἔχων[4] τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταζεν); but the phraseology is very awkward, and it is strange that this habit of pilfering should be mentioned unless it were to

[1] Zahn, *Einl.* 2 561; Nestle, *Philologica Sacra*, 14. Cp the controversy between Nestle and Chase, *Exp. T* (9 140 189 240 285 *f.*), Dec '97, Jan., Feb., Mar. '98.

[2] Cp Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1 41.

[3] Wellh. *Phar. u. Sadd.* 152; Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* 2 225.

[4] So BDQL, etc.; ειχεν και (TR), ΑΠΧ, a purely literary correction, cp Jn. 13 29. The conjecture of Peerlkamp (?) and Bakhuizen, ἔχον, is not satisfactory.

account for the smallness of the sum which (Mt. at least says) tempted Judas to betray his master. It would seem that here there is a clear case of corruption, and that a very early editor of the text may have miscorrected the corrupt passage before him. Very possibly we should read, ὅτι χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν βαλλάντιον ἐβάσταζε,[1] 'because he was a harsh man, and used to carry the common purse' (κοιν. βαλ. as 𝔊, Prov. 1 14). The statement about Judas is therefore worthy of more credit than it has sometimes received from advanced critics. It may be nearer to the oldest tradition than the vaguer statement of Mt. 26 8 Mk. 14 4.[2]

Weiss (*Leben Jesu*, 2 443) cannot account for the imputation of thievish intentions to Judas in Jn. except on the theory that the apostle John had found out thefts committed hy the greedy Judas, and Godet speaks of some one who has accused John of a personal hatred to Judas. The difficulties disappear if the reading proposed above is accepted.

4. The Betrayal.

According to Mt. 26 14-16 Mk. 14 10 *f.*, after the anointing in Bethany 'one of the twelve called Judas Iscariot' (Mt. ; nearly so Mk.) went to the chief priests and offered to betray Jesus to them. On receiving their promise of 'money' (ἀργύριον, Mk.) or 'thirty pieces of silver [shekels]' (τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, Mt.), Judas sought for an opportunity to betray him. Lk. (22 3-6) altogether disconnects the transactjon from the scene of the anointing. After noticing that every night Jesus camped out (ηὐλίζετο) on the Mount of Olives (21 37), which prepares the way for the notable statement in 22 39, Lk. mentions that the passover was drawing near, and that the chief priests and scribes were seeking for a way to effect the destruction of Jesus. Then 'Satan entered into Judas, called Iscariot, of the number of the twelve'; the rest of the notice agrees with that of Mt. and Mk. Evidently the assumption that Satan had entered into Judas is a humane one: treason against the Holy One was too foul a crime for a disciple in his right mind to have committed. It should also be noticed that all the Synoptists (Mt. 17 22 Mk. 9 31 Lk. 9 44) mention that after Peter's confession of Jesus' Messiahship, Jesus spoke of his being 'delivered up into the hands of men.' Mt. says that the disciples were 'very sorry'; Mk. and Lk. that they 'understood not the saying.' We should never have guessed (nor did the apostles guess) that one of them was capable of committing treason.

5. Account in Jn.

Quite a different account is given in Jn. (13 2 18 21-30). Nothing is said of the visit of Judas to the chief priests and of the promised payment of his treason, nor of his deliberate search for an opportunity to betray Jesus. It was at the Last Supper that the hateful idea occurred to Judas, and it was inspired by the devil (13 2 27). Jesus openly declared (*vv.* 10 18) that one of his chosen ones would 'lift up his heel' against him, to fulfil the old scripture (Ps. 41 9). Yet he gave one more special proof of love to the traitor, and it was after this that Satan took full possession of his captive. 'Therefore Jesus says to him, That thou doest, do quickly'; Judas went out, 'and it was night.' It is a modification of the Synoptic tradition that we have here, though Lk. has already suggested it by his reference to Satan. It was not to any common temptation that at last Judas fell victim; he was taken by storm. How, according to Jn., the original suggestion of treason (Jn. 13 2) was made plausible, there is no direct evidence to show. From Jn. 6 60-65, however, we infer that, according to the evangelist, Judas was one of those who entertained unspiritual views of Messiahship. When the last hope that Jesus would make himself king of Israel by force had vanished, the evangelist possibly considered that the love which Judas must formerly have had for Jesus diminished, and that finally under Satanic influence it turned into its opposite — hate. Godet regards the Johannine picture as more truly historical than that given by the Synoptists, on the ground that in the former the relations between Jesus and Judas 'form an organic part of the description of the repast, and are presented under the form of a series of historical shades and gradations.'[1] A very different view is taken by Keim, and a critical student cannot fail to admit the force of Keim's arguments.

6. The paschal supper.

What, then, is the Synoptic description of the repast? It is the Paschal Supper that Jesus and the Twelve are eating. Jesus has seen through Judas before this solemn evening, but has made no change in his demeanour towards him. Now, however, he announces the fact, 'One of you will betray me, even he that eats with me.' 'Is it I?' asks each man sorrowfully. 'It is one of the twelve, he that dips with me in the dish . . . Good were it for that man if he had not been born' (Mk. 14 17-21; cp Mt. 26 20-24 Lk. 22 21-23). The accounts do not entirely agree. It is only Mt. who expressly states that Judas the traitor also put the question, 'Is it I?' — and the way in which the statement is introdnced suggests that it is an addition to the earlier story (Mt. 26 25). Jn., as we have seen, diverges most widely from the simple form of the Synoptic narrative.

7. Arrest of Jesus.

The account of the betrayal itself also is very variously given. All the Gospels agree that it was by an armed band that Jesus was arrested, and that Judas was its guide. Both the scene of the arrest, however, and the circumstances are different in the Synoptic Gospels and in Jn. respectively, and it is for our present purpose especially noteworthy that nothing is said in Jn. of the kiss with which according to the Synoptists Judas ventured to greet Jesus. Mk. and Lk. give the simplest narrative; Mt. (26 50) makes Jesus answer the traitor with Ἑταῖρε, ἐφ' ὃ πάρει, 'Amice, ad quod venisti' (Vg.), an untranslatable phrase, while Lk. gives, 'Judas, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss,' suggesting what is probably the true reading in Mt., ὑποκρίνει, 'Thou feignest,' 'Thou actest a part,' 'Thou art no friend of mine.'[2] To Jn. the outward details of the act of Satanic treachery are indifferent.

8. Death of Judas.

The end of the traitor is told in Mt. 27 3-10 Acts 1 18-20. The discrepancies between the two accounts are remarkable, and the silence of Mk. and Jn. is also noteworthy. Mt. states that Judas, on finding that Jesus was condemned, was struck with remorse, and brought back the thirty shekels to the chief priests, confessing that he had 'betrayed innocent blood.' Then he hurled the 'pieces of silver into the sanctuary (εἰς τὸν ναόν), and departed'; to this is added a further statement, complete in itself, 'and he went away and hanged himself' (ἀπήγξατο)—where, we are not told. The chief priests, however, with characteristic scrupulosity, would pot put the money into the sacred treasury (κορβανᾶς), but bought with it the potter's field to bury strangers in. This field

[1] Both κλεπτης and και γλωσσο are based upon a miswritten χαλεπος; κομον and εχων have come out of κοινον, and βαλλομενα out of βαλλαντιον. γλωσσοκομον was suggested by Jn. 13 29. βαλ. is one of Lk.'s words.

[2] Mt. assigns the niggardly question, 'To what purpose,' etc., to the disciples; Mk. to 'some' (of the guests). Mt. is evidently right. In Lk. 7 36 *ff.* no mention is made of a murmuring against the lavishness of the gift of love. Certainly it would have spoiled Lk.'s narrative to have referred to this detail. Zahn (*Einl.* 2 517) thinks the view that there were two anointings not impossible. It is, at any rate, more in accordance with our experience elsewhere to suppose that two divergent forms of the same tradition were in circulation.

[1] *Commentary on St. John* ('87), 3 121.

[2] Holtzmann's criticism that Lk.'s form of the speech of Jesus is rhetorical, does not go to the heart of the matter. The form may he rhetorical; but the idea is appropriate to the occasion. 'Friend, (do) that for which thou art come,' RV's rendering of ἐφ' ὃ πάρει, is most unnatural; Judas *Lad* done his work: the underlings of the chief priests had to do the rest. Yet most moderns agree with RV, and if anything had preceded which made such an aposiopesis natural (*e.g.*, 'and Judas said, "What shall I do?"'), it would be right to follow RV. AV's rendering, 'Friend, wherefore art thou come,' is much more natural, but it is ungrammatical. There must be an error in the text. Εταιρε (an unsuitable word, whether we render 'Comrade' or 'Good Friend') should come after εφ ο παρει (so D a c f Syr sch L c i f). It is a corruption of a dittographed ο παρει, D in fact gives εταιρε. EQ ο παρει can hardly have come out of any other word than υποκρινει.

received the name, 'Field of blood,' and so a prophecy of Jeremiah (or rather Zechariah) was fulfilled.[1] Here we have Iscariot represented as a second Ahithophel, who, so far as intention went, betrayed David to his enemy, and hanged himself (2 S. 17 23).

The account in Acts can be separated, with advantage to the sense, from the speech of Peter in which it occurs, and may perhaps be a later insertion. It is, however, at any rate of early date. It states that, so far from restoring the money, Judas 'acquired a field (χωρίον, see FIELD, 9) with his unrighteous reward; and falling headlong (on the field)[2] he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.' Hence that field was called Akeldama, or 'The field of blood' (see ACELDAMA). So, it is added, the prophecies in Ps. 69 25 and 109 8 were fulfilled. Clearly here is a mere popular explanation of 'Akeldama,' and not less evidently here is the expression of the popular sense of justice as regards the end of the traitor.

A more elaborate and tasteless story is given by Papias (Fragm. III.); it seems to he an independent version of the popular legend reminding us partly of Acts 1 18, partly of the legend of the edd of Antiochus Epiphanes in 2 Macc. 9 5 *ff.*

Returning to the two biblical accounts, we note that De Quincey (*Works*, 6 21-25) endeavours to remove the discrepancies, but by purely arbitrary means. This is quite needless. Both the modes of death assigned to Judas were conventionally assigned to traitors and enemies of God, and more especially that given in Acts[3] to which there is a striking parallel in the story of the death of the traitor Nadan in the tale of Ahikar. Mr. Rendel Harris suggests that the original reading in Acts 1 18 may have been, not πρηνὴς γενόμενος, but πρησθεὶς, 'having swollen out'; the existing reading he accounts for by a tradition which identified Judas with a poisonous serpent, and he illustrates by 'upon thy belly shalt thou go' in Gen. 3 14. See 'Did Judas commit suicide?' *Amer. J. of Theol.*, July 1900.

9. Character.

The psychological attempts to explain the character of Judas so as to comprehend the crime ascribed to him are numerous. His despair has been regarded as a proof of original nobility of character (Hase); he has even been regarded as having sought 'the attainment of a good object by evil means (Paulus). Neander too was touched by the same generous anxiety for the misguided apostle.

'If Jesus is the Messiah,' so he considers Judas to have reasoned, 'it will not injure him to deliver him up to his enemies, for legions of angels will come to his rescue, while if he is not the Messiah, he deserves destruction.'

Thus the betrayal was merely a test intended to clear up all doubt. Volkmar thinks that 'in the heart of the zealot who hoped to draw Jesus to battle and to victory, the greeting, so fearful to us, "Hail, Master," must have meant, "I greet thee, O king of Israel: now show thy power"' (*Jesus Nazarenus* ['82], 121). De Quincey considers that the object of Judas was—

'audacious in a high degree, hut for that very reason not treacherous at all. His hope was that, when at length actually arrested by the Jewish authorities Christ would no longer vacillate; he would be forced into giving the signal to the populace of Jerusalem, who would then rise unanimously, for the double purpose of placing Christ at the head of an insurrectionary movement, and of throwing off the Roman yoke.'

All these theories are entirely contrary to the evangelic narratives. If we accept the tradition that Judas betrayed his Master, we cannot separate it from the statement that he did it either out of Satanic wickedness or for money.

Are critical students, then, really bound to accept the tradition as historical?

[1] The passage, Mt. 27 9 *f.*, which shows evidence of Christian modification, has probably come from a collection of Messianic passages of the OT prophets in use among the Christians. (This also accounts for διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, Mt. 2 23; cp NAZARETH.) On Zech. 11 12 *f.*, see GASm. *Twelve Prophets*, 2 475, and cp POTTER.

[2] But cp J. R. Harris (below). Papias: ἐν ἰδίῳ φασὶ χωρίῳ τελευτήσαντα.

[3] Cp Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 81.

10. The story of Judas.

'The fact of the treason of Judas is so unexpected, so incredible, so terrible; it jeopardises so painfully our faith not only in human fidelity hut also in the dignity and greatness of Jesus, in his knowledge, his judgment, his keenness of vision, and above all, the weight of his influence and of that love of his which could melt even ice, and it is such a mark for the scoffing of enemies, beginning with the venomous Celsus,[1] that we should have to greet it as the removal of a hundred pound weight from the heart of Christendom, if the treason of Judas could be proved to have had no existence.'[2]

The growth of the story of Judas can also be adequately explained. Supposing that the original tradition left the ease with which the capture of Jesus was effected unaccounted for, Christian ingenuity would exert itself to find an explanation. Passages in the Psalms which spoke of the Righteous Man as treated with brutal insolence by his own familiar friend (Ps. 41 9 55 12-14) would suggest the originator of the outrage; the betrayer of Jesus must have been a faithless friend. And if an apostle, who could he have been but Judas Iscariot? For Iscariot was not a Galilean like the other apostles; he had a harsh, crabbed temper (χαλεπός), and he carried the purse of the little company. The last circumstance suggested a reminiscence of Zech. 11 12 *f.*—a mysterious passage which seemed to become intelligible for the first time if applied to Jesus. This view is not altogether new; in its earlier forms it has found little favour,[3] but it may nevertheless in essentials be true.

The objections to it are (1) that the story of Judas's treason has fixed itself firmly in our oldest documents, and (2) that in Acts 1 we have an account of the appointment of Matthias to the vacant apostleship. It cannot, however, he proved that Judas's treason formed part of the *oldest tradition;* it is separable from the surest traditions of the life of Jesus, and the appointment of Matthias may perfectly well have taken place, even if Judas did not betray Jesus. The probability is that no one *knew* how the emissaries of the Pharisees found Jesus so easily, and that the story of Judas's treason was a very early attempt to imagine an explanation. Probably Judas did disappear from view. We know that all the disciples 'forsook Jesus and fled' (Mt. 26 56 Mk. 14 50); Judas probably returned to his home, and never again joined the Galilean disciples, with whom he may have felt little sympathy. This view has the advantage over that still prevalent, because it does not force us to think that Jesus treated Judas worse than Peter, for whom he prayed when Satan 'had obtained him by asking, in order to sift him as wheat' (Lk. 22 31), or that the prayer πρόσθες ἡμῖν πίστιν (Lk. 17 5) was unanswered in the case of Judas. That popular mythology gladly releases the traitor Judas from hell once in the year (cp Matthew Arnold, *Saint Brandan*), should perhaps stir the critical conscience to **examine** more fully into the grounds of the received opinion.

A wild Gnostic fancy may be mentioned, as a singular specimen of early speculations about Judas.

Epiphan. *38 3.* Some Cainites say that Judas delivered up Jesus because he regarded him as a wicked man (πονηρόν), who meant to destroy the good law. Others say that he gave Jesus, up just because he was a good man. The rulers knew that if Jesus were crucified, their ineffectual power would be brought to nought. Judas therefore made a mighty effort to deliver him up for the salvation of mankind, and deserves praise as an 'agent' in the events which have led to our salvation and enlightenment (ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, οὐχί, φασὶν, ἀλλὰ ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα παρέδωκε κατὰ τὴν ἐπουράνιον γνῶσιν. ἔγνωσαν γάρ, φησιν, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅτι, ἐὰν ὁ χριστὸς παραδοθῇ σταυρῷ, κενοῦται αὐτῶν ἡ ἀσθενὴς δύναμις, καὶ τοῦτό, φησι, γνοὺς ὁ Ἰούδας, ἔσπευσε καὶ πάντα ἐκίνησεν, ὥστε παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν, ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ποιήσας ἡμῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν. καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ἀποδιδόναι αὐτῷ τὸν ἔπαινον, ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ κατεσκευάσθη ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ σταυροῦ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως τῶν ἄνω ἀποκάλυψις). T. K. C.

10. **Judas of Galilee** (ΙΟΥΔΑΣ Ο ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]), in association with a Pharisee named Sadduk, was leader of an agitation which arose in Judæa (on the death of Archelaus), when that part of Palestine in 6 or 7 A.D. was brought under Roman administration, and

[1] Orig. *c. Cels.* 2 11 *f.* Celsus, in the character of a Jew, scoffed at Jesus for being betrayed by one of those whom he called disciples—a proof that he was less able to attach his followers to himself than every general or brigand-chief.

[2] Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 3 242.

[3] Proposed by Bruno Bauer (*Kritik der evangel. Geschichte der Synoptiker und des Johannes*, 3 ['42], 235 *ff.*) and again by Volkmar (*Die Religion Jesu*, 260 *ff.* ['57]), it has been rejected by Keim (*Jesu von Naz.* 3 242 *f.*) and Brandt (*Die evangel. Gesch.*, 11-18).

Sulpicius Quirinius, the governor of Syria, instituted a census of the newly annexed district. In Gamaliel's speech in Acts 5 37 it is rightly stated that he 'rose up in the days of the enrolment (ἀπογραφή)'—the only enrolment known to Lk.—which had already been mentioned in the Third Gospel (2 1 *f.*; see QUIRINIUS).

Josephus speaks of Judas at some length in *BJ* ii. 8 1, *Ant.* xviii. 1 1 6, and also makes brief reference to him in *BJ* ii. 17 8, vii. 8 1, *Ant.* xx. 5 2. The epithet (ὁ [καλούμενος] Γαλιλαῖος or ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος) which he bestows on him, expresses clearly that be was of Galilæan origin, and had received from this circumstance the standing addition to his proper name (which was a very common onej; it would be given all the more readily if his first public appearance was in Judæa, outside of his native land. Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1 1) calls him, more precisely, a man of Gaulanitis (Γαυλανίτης ἀνήρ), and says that he came from Gamala. Gamala was in Gaulanitis not far from the eastern shore of the Lake of Gennesareth, and Gaulanitis could be reckoned as belonging to Galilee in the broader meaning of that word.

What Judas actually did is not quite clear from the account of Josephus. According to *BJ* ii. 17 8 he merely reproached the Jews with their subjection to the Romans; according to *BJ* ii. 8 1 he instigated them to revolt (εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγε) by his reproaches; according to *BJ* vii. 8 1 he persuaded 'not a few' (οὐκ ὀλίγους) to make no returns (μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφάς); according to *Ant.* xx. 5 2 he actually caused the people to revolt against the Romans (. . . τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος). The expression last quoted goes too far if we take as our basis the chief passage in Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1 1). In that passage he introduces his reference to Judas only after explaining how the Jews, yielding to the persuasions of Joazar the high priest, had submitted to the census. Judas indeed, he says, was urgent for revolt (ἠπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει) and the movement went far; but he does not expressly mention any noteworthy occurrence, passing on merely to a long and vague list of evils extending in the course of time to the final destruction of Jerusalem, that had been brought upon the nation by the followers of Judas: wars, robberies, seditions, murders of principal men, famines, and the like.

In particular he designates Judas and Sadduk as the originators among the Jews of a 'fourth philosophy' (τετάρτην φιλοσοφίαν), as he does also in the other leading passage (*BJ* ii. 8 1), where he calls Judas a 'sophist of a sect of his own' (σοφιστὴς ἰδίας αἱρέσεως; cp ii. 17 8 'a most cunning sophist,' σοφιστὴς δεινότατος); in both places he takes occasion to characterise the three previously existing 'philosophies' of the Jews—those, namely, of the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes—but it is only in *Ant.* xviii. 1 6 that he goes into the 'philosophy' of Judas and his companions. There he says that in every other respect the followers of Judas agree with the Pharisees, but they are distinguished by an unquenchable love of liberty—holding God alone to be ruler and lord—and by indifference to death. The party of the ZEALOTS (קַנָּאִים, Aram. קַנְאָנַיָּא; see CANANÆAN) is intended, from which party arose at a later date the Sicarii or ASSASSINS, who not only did not shrink from violence and rebellion against their enemies, but also did not scruple to exercise a reign of terror over their co-religionists by secret assassination.

It is certainly no mere coincidence that one of their most determined leaders—he who held the fortress of Masada even after Jerusalem had fallen, and with all his companions committed suicide when no longer able to keep the enemy at bay (73 A.D.; see ISRAEL, § 109)—Eleazar, son of Jairus., was a descendant of Judas of Galilee and a relation of his son Manaim (=Menahem), a ringleader at the beginning of the revolt in 66 A.D. who himself in turn fell a victim to the fanaticism of the Zealots in the same year (*BJ* ii. 17 8 *f.*, vii. 8 1; cp ISRAEL, § 101).

It will be observed that in Josephus no word is found of what is stated in Acts 5 37, that Judas perished and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad. On the other hand, Josephus tells us (*Ant.* xx. 5 2) that the sons of Judas (*i.e.*, two of them), Jacob and Simon, were put to death by the procurator Alexander of Judæa (therefore about 46-48). In Lk. there is another noticeable circumstance, the fact, namely, that Judas, notwithstanding the express mention of the census of 6-7 A.D., is nevertheless represented as coming upon the scene *after* Theudas, whose insurrection was under the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus (*i.e.*, about 44-46). At the same time it has to be remarked that, as the mention of the census shows, Lk. was not in error about the period of Judas so much as about that of Theudas; whether this error justifies the conjecture that Lk. was acquainted with Josephus will be considered therefore under the latter name (see THEUDAS).

The other conjecture, that Lk. confused Judas, so far as his end was concerned, with his two sons, is certainly forcibly suggested by the fact that his fate is mentioned after that of Theudas. Krenkel (*Josephus u. Lucas*, '94, 168-170) has pointed out an analogous case; in 1 S. 17 Goliath is represented as having been slain by David, but in the older account (2 S. 21 15-22) this feat is given to Elhanan, while it is another giant that is encountered by David (cp ELHANAN, GOLIATH). He instances similar slips of memory in Livy (xxi. 46 9 *f.*), in Cicero (*Cato Major*, 2 3, § 83), and in Josephus himself; Josephus (*BJ* ii. 21 7), among the four men who were sent to Jerusalem to stir up the people against himself, names Judas the son of Jonathes, whereas in *Vit.* § 39 he names Jonathes himself, thus (after an interval of 25 years, it is true) making a mistake as to the name of a person with whom he had been personally in strenuous conflict. Krenkel himself adds, however, that even without confounding Judas with his sons, it was not unnatural that Lk. should assign to him the fate which, practically speaking, befell all the leaders of insurrection in those days. In any case Lk. found no warrant in Josephus for his statement that all the followers of Judas were hcattered abroad.

Schiirer, *GJV*(2) 1 406 *f.* (ET, Div. i. vol. ii. p. 81), confidently identifies Judas of Galilee with the Judas, son of Ezekias, who after the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C. gathered a following in the neighhonrhood of Sepphoris and rendered all Galilee insecure, aiming, indeed, it would seem, even at the crown itself (*BJ* ii. 4 1, *Ant.* xvii. 10 5). Krenkel, however (p. 163), rightly doubts this identification, inasmuch as Josephus does not give to this Judas the epithet of Galilæan, but designates him simply as son of Ezekias and moreover expressly records the execution of this robber-chief Ezekias by Herod the Great.

11. Judas called Barsabbas (Acts 15 22). See BARSABAS 2.

12. Of Damascus, with whom Saul stayed in the 'Street which is called Straight' (see DAMASCUS, § 3), Acts 9 11.

P. W. S.

JUDE, THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF. The author designates himself as Judas 'a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James,' and evidently wished to pass for a brother of Jesus (see JUDAS, 7; JAMES). It has been conjectured that he was restrained from so calling himself bntright by an exalted idea of Jesus, which did not admit of his having a human brother. He addresses his writing to 'those that are called, beloved in God the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ,' thus evidently intending it for an sxtended circle of readers rather than for a single church. The object of the epistle is declared to be an exhortation to the readers to 'contend earnestly for the faith' on account of certain ungodly men whose lives are reprehensible, and whose teaching is a denial of 'the only Ruler and our Lord, Jesus Christ.' Examples of the destruction by divine judgment of those whose belief and life were false are adduced from the OT and Jewish apocalyptic, and directions are given as to the proper deportment of believers toward such persons. The epistle closes with a doxology.

1. General character.

The point of view of the writer is indicated in *v.* 17, as that of one who looked back upon the apostolic age ('Remember ye the words which have been spoken before by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ'), and the prophecies referred to in *v.* 18 have so close a resemblance to the post-apostolic 1 Tim. 4 1 and 2 Tim. 3 1 *f.* 4 3 as *to* favour the hypothesis of a dependence upon these epistles. Accords with the Pauline writings are at least probable in *v.* 12 (cp 1 Cor. 11 20), *v.* 20 (cp Rom. 8 26), *vv.* 10 and 19 (cp 1 Cor. 2 14 *f.*), and *v.* 22 (cp 1 Cor. 3 15).

The occasion of the epistle was evidently the author's

lively concern about certain ungodly men (ἀσεβεῖς, *v.* 4) who had 'stolcn in' (παρεισέδυσαν), and who were 'turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Ruler and our Lord, Jesus Christ.' He regards their influence both in doctrine and in practice as a menace to the well-being of the church, and he not only sounds a note of warning against them, but also points out the punishment reserved for such as they.

2. Occasion.

Not only did they deny Christ and God as the only Ruler (τὸν μόνον δεσπότην) and thus act the part of 'liars' according to 1 Jn. 2 22 (cp Enoch 48 10) but they 'set at nought dominion (κυριότητα), and railed at dignities (δόξας, *v.* 8).' They are licentious revellers, stains (σπιλάδες, *v.* 12) in the Christian love-feasts, and mockers at sacred things.

Although the examples of divine judgment relate to wrong conduct, these dangerous persons are not simply men of loose morals whose life is a peril to the church—according to Schwegler's opinion (*Nachap. Zeitalter*, 1 518 *f.*) and Ritschl's ingenious argument marred by a somewhat strained grammatical interpretation (*St. Kr.*, '61, p. 163 *f.*)—but also false teachers, as is evident from their 'denying,' from the reference to the divine judgment on those who 'believed not,' and from the exhortation to 'contend earnestly for the faith' (*v.* 3).

The data for a precise determination of their doctrines amidst the many so-called heresies of the early church are wanting, and expositors differ widely upon the matter. Renan stands alone in the opinion that the epistle was directed against Paul. Other scholars are divided as to whether it assails Jewish false teachers, hyper-Paulinians, Nicolaitans, Gnostics of the second century in general, or the Carpocratian Gnosticism of Alexandria in particular.

The character and practices of the persons in question resemble very closely those of the Gnostics as described by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 26 ii). We know that these denied that God was the 'only Ruler'—that is, the creator and governor of the world—and held very lax views as to the divinity of Christ (Iren. *Hær.* 1 25 *f.*). Out of the dualism of their system naturally sprang an indifference to all relations to the flesh; and hence such moral looseness as is described in the Epistle appeared in some quarters.

So close is the resemblance of the persons here censured to the Carpocratians who flourished in Alexandria toward the middle of the second century, that Clement believed Jude to have written prophetically of them (*Strom.* 3 2 *f.*). It is, accordingly, not improbable that the writer had them in mind as his contemporaries. His denunciations are quite applicable to a sect who had established upon lust a 'cult of righteousness.' With the late date of the epistle which must be assumed from this point of view corresponds the author's apprehension of Christian 'faith' as a system of doctrine or a fixed confession (*v.* 3).

3. Allusions.

The writer uses apocryphal apocalyptic works such as the *Ascensio Mosis* in which Origen (*De Princip.* 3 2) found the legend concerning Michael (see APOCALYPTIC, § 59), and the book of Enoch (6 and 10), from which he doubtless derived the story of the fallen angels substantially in the form in which he gives it. With reference to *v.* 14 see also Enoch 60 (cp APOCALYPTIC, § 19). No certain conclusion as to the date of the Epistle can, however, be drawn from the citation of these writings.

It has been argued that the author was an Alexandrian Jewish Christian from the fact that he attaches to the apocryphal books referred to, an equal authority with the OT—that is, regards them as belonging to the later additions to the canon.

4. Fortunes.

The epistle was probably used by the writer of 2 Peter, though opinions are divided as to priority. It is not surprising that, on account of its brevity and the fact that it is not of doctrinal importance, to say nothing of its making no claim to apostolical authorship, it did not receive early recognition.

Jude is referred to hy Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3 2 11) as a 'catholic Epistle' written by Jude 'frater filiorum Joseph exstans.' Origen (*In Mt.* 10 17 23 27) mkntions it as the work of Judas the brother of James, but except in the parts of his works which survive only in a Latin translation he does not designate the author as an 'apostle.' Tertullian, on the other hand, calls the writer 'Jude the apostle' (*De cult. fem.* 13). The Muratorian fragment makes mention of it in a somewhat doubtful test as the work of Jude without designating him either an apostle or the brother of James. Eusebius (*HE* 3 25) places it among the ἀντιλεγόμενα, and says that 'not many of the ancients have made mention of it.' Jerome (*De vir. ill.* 4) calls the author of the epistle 'the brother of James,' and attributes its rejection by many to its citation of Enoch. Epiphanius (*Hær.* 76) speaks of its author as ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου καὶ κυρίου, but according to the Canon of Athanasius all the seven catholic epistles were written by 'apostles.' The wavering and uncertain character of all this 'testimony' is evident. The epistle is not included in the Peshitta, although Ephrem acknowledged it as apostolic. It is not mentioned by Justin, Theophilus and Irenæus. [The text of the Epistle of Jude, like that of 2 Pdter, has more than probably suffered in transmission, as the variant readings sufficiently warn us. See Hort's remarks in *Notes on Select Passages*, NT 2 106. There are, no doubt, more discoveries to he made by a practised critic. Even Hort, for example, has not said all that might be said on the corruptions of *v.* 5. Probably we should read, not εἰδότας ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι κύριος λαὸν κ.τ.λ. but εἰδότας πάντας ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἅπαξ λαὸν κ.τ.λ.—the position of ἅπαξ in accordance with ℵ and several Church Fathers and Versions, Ιησους (a corruption acc. to WH), with AB minusc. Copt. Vg. etc., Lachm., Zahn (*Einl.* 2 88), Nestle (*Einf.* 261). On the relation of Jude to Jewish apocalyptic writers cp ESCHATOLOGY, especially § 90 and for a list of coincidences cp Chase, art. 'Jude, Epistle of,' in Hastings' *DB* 2 801 *f.*]

5. Literature.

Resides the well-known English and German Introductions the following works and articles may be consulted : Amaud, *Recherches crit. sur l'Ep. ne Jude* ('51); Keil, *Pet. u. Jud.* ('53); Schott, *Pet. u. Jud.* ('63); Spitta, *Der 2 Br. d. Pet. u. der Br. des Jud.* ('85); Ritschl, *St. Kr.* ('61); v. Soden in *HC* 3 *b*; Schenkel in *Bib. Lex.* 3 433 *f.* ('71); Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*(2) ('87). O. C.

JUDEA (ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑ [Ald.]), in Judith 3 9, a false reading for **DOTAEA** (ΔΩΤΑΙΑC [Bℵ], -ΤΕΑC [A]). See **DOTHAN.**

Dotæa is defined as situated over against the great strait (RV 'ridge') of Judea (*ib.* τοῦ πρίονος τοῦ μεγάλου τῆς ἰουδαίας; similarly Syr.): the Gr. translator read מַשּׂוֹר, 'a saw,' instead of מִישׁוֹר, 'plain' (Reland). This same plain is referred to in 4 6 (om. ℵ).

JUDGE. The words for 'judge' will reward investigation.

1. שֹׁפֵט, *šōphēṭ* (Phœn. שפט, Lat. *sufetes* [pl.]; Ass. *šapâtu*; κριτής, δικαστής). See below (JUDGES, BOOK OF, § 1); also LAW AND JUSTICE, § 9 *f.*, GOVERNMENT, § 17, ISRAEL, § 8 *f.*, and cp COVENANT, § 4. Other words rendered 'judge' are :—

2. דַּיָּן, *dayyān*, 1 S. 24 15 [16], Ps. 68 5 [6] (?), Ezra 7 25† (‖ 1 Esd. 8 23, κριτὰς καὶ δικαστάς, EV 'judges and justices').

3. פָּלִיל, *pālīl*, Ex. 21 22 Dt. 32 31 Job 31 11 (all these passages are insecure; see Ges.-Buhl).

4. אֱלֹהִים, *ĕlōhīm*, Ex. 21 6 22 8 [7] *f.* 28 [27], where AV 'the judges' (mg. of 22 28); 1 S. 2 25, where AV 'the judge'; in all these cases RV 'God.'[1] Other passages have been similarly interpreted' *e.g.*, Judg. 5 8 (EV 'new gods'), Ps. 82 1 [2]. The explanhion is old (cp 𝔊 Ex. 21 6, τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ; so Pesh.). Dillmann (*Ex.*, *ad loc.*) thinks that judges were called Elōhim, because they gave sentence at holy places; but Samaritan Tg. and Pent., Jerome, and probably Vet. Lat. (Ex. 22 8 [7] *f.*), followed by Graf and Kuenen think that one of the sanctuaries of Yahwè is meant, where the priests gave divinely sanctioned judgments. Eerdmans (*Th. T.* '94, p. 283) and Marti (*Gesch.* 29) think that the household god is referred to as Elōhim; and this view is archæologically the most probable. On Ps. 82 1 see ANGELS, § 4.

5. קָצִין, *ḳāṣīn*, Prov. 6 7 RVmg. (AV 'Guide,' RV 'Chief').

In spite of Toy's defence Bickell's objections to the passage appear to be valid. It is &metrical, and does not fit in well with what follows. It is probably an editor's attempt to make sense of a variant form of *v.* 6 which had became indistinct. The absence of any reference to Prov. 6 7 in ANT (*q.v.*) is fully justified.

6. The אדרגזריא of Dan. 3 2 *f.* (EV 'judges') is rendered in RVmg. 'chief soothsayer'; but it is 'probably the Pers. *endarzgar*, "counsellor," a title which was still in use under the Sasanians (Nold. *Tabari*, 462 n.), and the resemblance with גזרין [2 27] is therefore accidental' (Bevan, *ad loc.*; cp Marti's *Aram. Gr.* [Glossary]).

7. 8. In NT κρίτης (Mt. 5 25), δικαστής (Lk. 12 14, see Ti.). Perfectly synonymous (see 𝔊, 1 S. 24 15 [16]). T. K. C.

[1] Cp DEPOSIT, n. 2.

JUDGES (BOOK)

1. Title and place in the Canon. The title *Judges* is a translation of the Hebrew name of the book, שופטים[1] (ΚΡΙΤΑΙ, Η ΤωΝ ΚΡΙΤωΝ ΒΙΒΛΟϹ; *Liber Judicum*), which is given to it because it contains the history of certain Israelite leaders and champions who in the book itself (*e.g.*, 2 16-18) and elsewhere in the OT (2 S. 7 7 11 2 K. 23 22 Ecclus. 46 11 etc.) are called 'Judges' (*šōphĕṭīm*).

Those who gave the book this title probably thought of the Judges as divinely appointed rulers, forming a continuous succession, and wielding over all Israel an authority which differed from that of the kings who followed them chiefly in that it was not hereditary (see Judg. 10 2 *f.* 12 7 *f.* 11 13 15 2 1 S. 4 18 7 15).[3] The word *šōphēṭ* sometimes occurs in synonymous parallelism with *mélek*, 'king' (Hos. 7 7 Ps. 2 10); among the Phoenicians in an interregnum the supreme power was committed to a δικαστής (doubtless שפט, *šūphēṭ*);[4] in Carthage and other Punic cities the *sufetes* were the chief magistrates, corresponding to the Roman consuls.

The verb שפט, however, means also 'vindicate,' and thus 'champion, deliverer,' synonymous with הושיע (Judg. 2 16 18 3 9 *f.* cp 1 S. 8 20 Neh. 9 27); and the title could therefore be interpreted, Book of the Deliverers of Israel (Ephr. Syrus).

In the Hebrew Canon, Judges is the second of the Former Prophets, standing between Joshua and Samuel; in 𝔊 (followed by Vg. and modern versions), Ruth, a story of the times of the judges (1 1), is appended to Judges and sometimes reckoned part of it.[5]

2. Contents. The Book begins with a brief account of the invasion of the interior of Western Palestine by the several tribes, their conquests and settlements; the names of the cities which remained in the hands of their old inhabitants (1); the disobedience of the Israelites in making peace with the Canaanites is rebuked by the Messenger of Yahwè (2 1-5). Ch. 2 6-16 takes up the narrative at the point which has been reached in Jos. 24 27; the verses are substantially identical with Jos. 24 28-31. This introduces a general description of the period of the judges as a recurring cycle of apostasy from the religion of Yahwè to Canaanite heathenism, divine judgment inflicted by the hand of the neighbouring peoples, and signal deliverance by a champion whom Yahwè raised up to save them from their enemies; closing with a catalogue of the nations of Palestine whom Yahwè, for the sins of Israel (or as a test of its loyalty), left unsubdued (2 11-3 6). The history of the several judges is presented in a scheme corresponding to 2 11-19.

Thus 3 7-11: 'The Israelites offended Yahwè . . . and he was incensed against Israel and sold them into the power of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Syria, . . . for eight years. Then the Israelites cried for help to Yahwè, and he raised them up a deliverer, Othniel ben-Kenaz. (Here follows the account of the judge's exploits.) And the land enjoyed security for forty years.'

With other names and numbers, and variations of phraseology, a similar setting is given to the stories of the succeeding judges.

Israel is oppressed by the Moabites. Ehud kills the king of Moab, Eglon and sets his country free (3 12-30); Shamgar makes a slaughter among the Philistines (3 31); the Canaanites under their king, Jabin of Hazor, and his general Sisera oppress Israel; at the instance of the prophetess Deborah, Barak raises the tribes, defeats Sisera, and delivers Israel (4); the victory is celebrated in a triumphal ode (5): the Midianites and their Bedawin allies harry and devastate the land; Gideon by a stratagem throws their camp into a panic, pursues, and destroys them (6-8); Abimelech, a son of Gideon, becomes king of Shechem; the Shechemites revolt and are punished; Abimelech is killed while besieging Thebez (9); Tola and Jair judge Israel (10 1-5); the Ammonites oppress the Israelites in Gilead; Jephthah conquers them (10 6-12 7); Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon judge Israel (12 8-15); the Philistines are the masters of Israel; Samson inflicts many injuries upon them (13-16).

Chapters 17-21 contain two stories of the times of the judges: the first (17 *f.*) tells of the migration of the Danites and the establishment of the sanctuary at Dan; the second (19-21), of an outrage committed upon a traveller by the Benjamites of Gibeah and of the sanguinary vengeance taken upon the tribe.

3. Sources. The preceding synopsis of its contents shows that the book in its present form consists of three parts:

1. 1 1-2 5, a brief history of the conquest and settlement of Canaan in some way parallel to Josh.
2. 2 6-16 31 the history of Israel in Canaan from the death of Joshua to the death of Samson, set in the framework of a consistent religious interpretation and a continuous chronology.
3. 17-21, an appendix narrating other events of the same period, but containing the name of no judge and exhibiting no trace of the distinctive religious point of view observed in the preceding chapters.

A. Deuteronomistic Book of Judges.—Our inquiry must begin with the body of the book, 2 6-16 31.

The introduction (2 6-3 6) as a whole is unmistakably deuteronomistic.

The sweeping condemnation of the whole period—Israel forsook its own God, Yahwè, and worshipped the Baals and Astartes of Canaan—and the religious pragmatism which makes unfaithfulness to Yahwè the one unfailing cause of national calamity and return to him the signal for deliverance, are characteristic of the historiography of the end of the seventh century and in still more marked degree of the sixth century under the influence of Deuteronomy, the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and the Exile itself.[1]

The same pragmatism appears, as we have noted above, in the short particular introductions to the stories of the several judges (3 12-15 4 1 *ff.* 13 1; more fully in 3 7-11 6 1-10 10 6-16), but not in chap. 1 nor in 17-21. Judg. 2 6-16 31 may therefore properly be called the Deuteronomistic Book of Judges.

The deuteronomistic element is confined, however, to the introduction and the setting of the stories; the stories themselves (except that of Othniel, 3 7-11) are not of deuteronomistic conception, and, except on the margins where they are joined to the pragmatic introductions and conclusions, show no signs of deuteronomistic redaction.

ii. *Pre-deuteronomic editor.*—As in Josh. 1-12, the deuteronomistic author manifestly took his narrative material from an older written source without to any considerable extent recasting it.

In the history of Gideon (6-8) and Abimelech (9) it is plain that two accounts have been combined in the same way in which parallel narratives are so often united in the Pentateuch and Joshua. More or less convincing evidence of the composite character of the text is discovered in other stories also (Ehud, Deborah and Harak, Jephthah; see below, § 4 *ff.*). The history of the judges was, therefore, related in at least two older books.

These sources were united, not by the deuteronomistic author of Judg. 2 6-16 31, but by an earlier compiler,[2] as is evident from the following considerations:—

First, in the seams of the composite narrative no trace of the distinctive deuteronomistic manner can be detected.

Second, the union of the two strands in 9 and in 17 *f.* (19-21), which chapters were not included in the deuteronomistic Judges (see below, § 14), is entirely similar to that in 6-8.

Third, in the introductions and conclusions of the stories there are indications of an underlying editorial schematism different from that of Rn.

iii. *His two sources.*—The pre-deuteronomic history from which the deuteronomistic author took his material was itself made up of two main strands of narrative united by a redactor. The case is thus precisely similar to that in Josh. 1-12 (see JOSHUA, § 6); and since in Josh. we have found reason to believe that the two sources are the continuations respectively of

1 *Baba bathra* 14*b*.
2 See Moore, *Judges*, p. xiii. Philo (*De confus. ling.*, § 26) cites it as ἡ τῶν κριμάτων ἀναγραφομένη βίβλος (שֹׁפְטִים; Orig. Σαφατειμ); cp the 𝔊 title of Kings, βασιλειῶν.
3 So the name is understood by Josephus.
4 Menander of Ephesus (in Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 21).
5 See CANON, §§ 6 10; and RUTH.

1 See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 6.
2 The opposite opinion is maintained by Kittel, almost alone.

those which in the Pentateuch are distinguished by the symbols J and E, and that they were united by a pre-deuteronomic redactor (R_{JE}),[1] a presumption arises that this is true in Judges also, and this presumption has furnished the working hypothesis of recent criticism.

It is indeed true that the history of the period of the judges is not the necessary sequel of Josh. in the same way that the history of the conquest and settlement of Canaan is the necessary sequel of the promises to the patriarchs and the history of the exodus in J and E; it is conceivable that an historian should close a work with the occupation of the promised land, as P seems to have done.[2] This is hardly probable, however, in early historians, who commonly propose to bring the history down to their own time; and, antecedent probability aside, it can be shown that neither I nor E comes to an end in Joshua.[3] In Josh. 24, E not only glances back over the preceding history (idolatry of the forefathers: God's deliverance), but by its earnest warnings of the consequences of falling away from Yahwè and worshipping other gods (19 *f.* 22) looks forward to the subsequent narration of such apostasy and its results, just as 1 S. 12 looks back over the period of the judges and forward over that of the kings. The suitable sequel of these verses in Josh. 24 is Judg. 2 13 20 *f.* (cp 7=Josh. 24 31 D), which in turn lead over to the stories in Judg. J also, whose account of the conquest is preserved in fragmentary form in Judg. 1 1-2 5 (with parallels in Joshua), cannot have ended his history with this incomplete occupation of the land of promise: the very form of the chapter fairly presumes the intention to tell how in after times these cities came into the hands of the Israelites; and Judg. 2 23*a*, 3 2*a*, which are recognised by most recent critics as the continuation of J in Judg. 1, actually lead over to the relation of the wars which Israel had to wage with these nations in the period of the judges.

The affinity of parts of Judg. to E and J respectively has long been observed.

Stade found E, not only (with E. Meyer, *l.c.*) in parts of 2 6-36, but also in 10 6-16, which is clearly dependent on Josh. 24;[4] Bohme pointed out the striking resemblances to J in *6 11-24* and 13 *2-24*;[5] Budde carried the analysis through the entire book.[6] Winckler, Holzinger, and Moore have worked upon the same hypothesis.[7]

Other scholars, while not denying the existence of more than one source in Judges, think that there are not sufficient grounds for identifying these sources with the J and E of the Hexateuch.[8] For this division of opinion a different definition of the problem and a different approach to it are in part responsible.

Kittel and those who occupy his position frame the question in some such way as this: Did the author who wrote the Yahwistic part of the primæval history and the patriarchal stories in Genesis also write, say, the stories of Samson, or the part of the story of Gideon ascribed by Budde and others to J? and they find the resemblance in style and diction insufficient to establish identity of authorship in this sense. But the unity of J in this sense is not affirmed by the critics on the other side. Believing that the writing of history began in Israel in the days of David or Solomon with the recent past, the events which led to the founding of the kingdom, and ascended thence to remoter times, they recognise that in the first comprehensive history of Israel from the earliest times to the days of the kingdom there were included not only materials of very diverse character, but materials which had been previously reduced to writing by different hands.[9] The existence of different elements of this kind in J even in Genesis itself is generally recognised.

What the critics mean, who ascribe portions of Judges or Samuel to J is, not that these portions necessarily received their literary form from the same hand as the stories of the patriarchs or the narrative of the exodus, but that they formed part of the same comprehensive historical work in which the Yahwistic parts of Genesis and Exodus were included; and that they were written in general in the same age and surroundings, and in the same spirit.

[1] In using the word 'pre-deuteronomic' to designate this redaction. it is not meant to imply that it was earlier than 621 B.C., but only that it preceded the deuteronomic edition of Joshua and Judges.

[2] P, however, it is to be observed, is an archæology rather than a history.

[3] First demonstrated by E. Meyer, *ZATW* 1 144 *f.* ('81).

[4] *ZATW* 1 340 *ff.* ('81).

[5] *ZATW* 5 251 *ff.* ('85).

[6] *Ri. Sa.* ('90). For an earlier attempt see Schrader in De Wette, *Einl.*(8) ('69).

[7] See Budde, *Richter* (*KHC*), xii. *ff.* ('97).

[8] Kue. *Ond.*(2) 1 355 *f.*; Ki. *St. Kr.* 65 44 *ff.* ('92); *Gesch.* 2 15 *ff.*; Frankenberg, *Comp. d. deut. Richterbuches* ('95); Kö. *Einl.* 252-254, and in Hastings' *DB* 2 811 *ff.* ('99).

[9] See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 1 *f.*

It is manifest also that the problem should methodically be approached, not, as is generally done, from the analysis of Genesis, but from that of Josh. 1-12, where the nature of the sources is more nearly the same and their relation to the deuteronomistic element similar. When we come at it from this side, there appears to be no greater difficulty in the discrimination and identification of the sources in Judges than in Joshua, where J and E are generally recognised. There is general agreement that Judg. 1 gives us J's account of the conquest, much abridged and glossed by later hands.

B. Additional chapters.—Ch. 17 *f.* and 19-21 contain no deuteronomistic element. In both, two strands of narrative seem to be combined; the character of the two versions and the nature of the composition make it a reasonahle presumption that the sources are the same as in the preceding chapters: in 19-21, the presence of a third element complicates the problem (see below, § 13).

Chap. 1 1-2 5 is in the main from J, and contains an abridgment or epitome of the oldest account of the conquest.

4. Analysis, Chap. 1 1-2 5. 1*a* (corresponding to Josh. 1 1*a*) was added by the last editor, making the only possible connection—though a false one—with the preceding book. The hand of the post-exilic editor is to be recognised also in 4 8 9 *f.* (ascribing to Judah the conquests of Caleb, cp 20 *f.*) 18, and in various minor glosses; 21*a* connects with 5*b*, the intervening verses, containing the reproof administered by the Messenger of Yahwè to Israel for making peace with the Canaanites, are the addition of a redactor, probably R, ; the passage is a cento of reminiscences from the Pentateuch.

5. Chap. 2 6-3 11. In 2 6-3 6, the Introduction to the Book of Judges proper, the text is plainly not homogeneous; but repeated redaction has made the problem presented to criticism very difficult.

Vv. 6-10, which connect immediately with Josh. 24 27 and continue the history from that point (=Josh. 24 28-31), are from E; only 7 (=Josh. 24 31, cp 𝔊) is from a deuteronomistic hand. The sequel to this appears to be 13 20 *f.*, and perhaps 3 4.[1] The introduction of the deuteronomistic author is contained in 11 *f.* 14-19; but *17* and perhaps 16 also is a later addition (R_P). *V.* 23*a* and perhaps *23b* (reading *Israel* instead of Joshua) is from J, to which also 3 2*a* belongs, the original continuation of the account of the conquest in ch. 1; 3 1*a* 3, and perhaps 4, are from a deuteronomistic hand; 5 is probably wholly redactional (? R_{JE}); the provenience of 2 22 is not clear; the glosses in 3 1*b* 2*b* are late.[2]

Chap. *3 7-11* (Othniel) is deuteronomistic throughout, a typical example of the historical scheme set forth in 2 11 *ff.*

6. Chap. 3 12-31. The story of Ehud has a deuteronomistic introduction (12-15)—the concrete facts in which, such as the Moabite occupation of Jericho (13*b*), the sending of tribute (15*b*), etc. are of course derived from the original beginning of the narrative—and a deuteronomistic close (29 *f.*).

In the story itself are some doublets; most clearly in the account of the audience (19: 20), perhaps also in that of the escape (26*a*: 26*b*), and the Israelite attack on the Moabites (27 *ff.*). The attempt of Winckler to separate two strands in the narrative is not convincing.[3] Perhaps the doublets should be regarded as evidence, not of the existence of a second source, but of the conflation of variants in the same source. The story (or the main narrative) comes from the oldest collection. Ch. 3 31 (Shamgar) must have been introduced here by a very late hand; at an earlier stage in the redaction it stood after 16 31, where it is still found in several recensions of 𝔊.[4]

7. Chaps. 4 f. Deborah and Barak. The deuteronomistic introduction is easily recognised in 4 1-4; the corresponding close is divided between 4 23 *f.* and 5 31 *b*; materials from the story itself are incorporated, especially in 4 3 *f.*, and traces of an older setting seem to be preserved. The main

[1] The verses might in themselves be deuteronomistic and are now ascribed by Budde to D_1, an earlier deuteronomistic redaction than 11 *ff.* (D_2).

[2] For different attempts to analyse this introduction, see Moore, *Judges* ('95), and *SBOT*, 'Judges' ('97), and Budde, *Ri.* (*KHC*, '97).

[3] *ATliche Unters.* 55 *ff.* ('92).

[4] See § 14.

narrative relates a conflict with Sisera, his defeat and death; as in **5**, Sisera appears in it as an independent and powerful prince. A pre-deuteronomic redactor, for reasons which can only be uncertainly conjectured, connected this story with the account of an Israelite victory over Jabin, king of Hazor, superficially harmonising the two by making Sisera Jabin's general (2 7; 17b also is harmonistic).

The account of the war (? of Zebulun and Naphtali) with Jabin, which is the basis of Josh. 11 1 *ff.* also, seems to be derived from the same source as the victory of Judah and Simeon over Adonihezek (Judg. 1 5 *ff.*, cp Josh. 10), *i.e.*, J; in that case it was probably quite brief. Contamination from the story of Jabin may be suspected in the mention of Kedesh of Naphtali as the home of Barak and the rendezvous of the tribes (6 10), and the locating of Jael's tent in the same vicinity (11 17), far away from the field of battle in the Great Plain; but the premises of this story are so imperfectly preserved that we cannot be certain. The story of Sisera is not improbably from E; but there are no decisive grounds for the attribution. *v.* 17b is at least redactional; 5 is a late addition (RP).

Chap. **5** is a triumphal ode, celebrating the victory over Sisera. The title (1) was probably prefixed by the editor who introduced the poem into the historical context (cp Ex. **15** 1); 31b is D's standing formula; 2 is thought by some to be misplaced or editorial; to others 2 *f.* appears to be an invitatory in the manner of the liturgical psalms; 31*a* is also questioned (see Budde *Ri.*). Whether the ode was included in one of the collections of old Hebrew poetry such as the Book of Jashar, and whether it was found in one of the sources of Judges (? J), are questions which can hardly be answered with any confidence. See further, DEBORAH, § 3.

8. Chaps. 6-8, 9. Gideon, Abimelech.

The usual deuteronomistic introduction is found in 6 1-6, embodying material from JE, and glossed by later hands; the close in 8 28; 8 33-35 is a brief substitute for 9, which was not included in the deuteronomistic Judges. The composite character of 6-8 was early recognised (Studer)—8 4 *ff.* cannot be the sequel of 7 22-8 3; but the problem in 6 *f.* is extremely complicated, and a complete solution is scarcely to be expected. See GIDEON.

Judg. 6 8-10, the prophet's reproof, is akin to Josh. **24** 1 S. 7 10 17 *ff.* **12**; the resemblance may point to identity of source or to dependence, and the verses may be ascribed accordingly to E_2 or to a late editor;[1] the fact that the speech is broken off may be urged for the former hypothesis (Budde). The call of Gideon, 11-24, is from J (Bohme and most recent critics); many glosses, probably by more than one hand, in 13 6 14 **16** **17** 6 18*a* 20 21*b* anticipate Gideon's recognition of his visitor, and convert his hospitality into a sacrifice: it is not necessary to suppose contamination from a second source; 25-32 is cognate to **7**-**11**, and presumably from the same source (E_2); late glosses in 28 6 31*aβ* 32 6 33; 36-40 are with much probability ascribed to E; 34 is from J; 35a 7 2-8 is an addition attributed to RJE (Moore *SBOT*) or to a post-exilic hand (Budde); 6 35 6 is a still late; exaggeration.

Chap. 7 9-15 is ascribed by Bndde to E, by Moore and Holzinger to J. In the description of the night attack on the Midianite camp (16-22) two stratagems have been combined—a clear analysis is impossible. The horns are probably from E (cp Josh. 6), the jars and torches then from J; Winckler with considerable probability surmises that the latter originally belonged to the account of the attack E. of the Jordan (8 11);[2] it would follow that 8 4 *ff.* was omitted by the redactor who fused the two versions in 7 16 *ff.* Chap. 7 24 *f.* 8 1-3, form the conclusion of E's narrative (harmonistic gloss, in **7 25** 6).

Chap. 8 4-21, with the exception of glosses and retouches in 10*b* 16, is from the oldest source (J); it presumes a personal grievance which is not mentioned in 6 1-8 3. Chap. 8 22 *f.*, the rejection of the kingdom, stands on the same plane with 1 S. 8 10 17 *ff.* **12**; the question whether we have to do with a late addition to E or with a deuteronomistic hand is of import chiefly for the history of the redaction. The setting up of the 'Ephod' at Ophrah (24-27*a*) is from J (glosses in 26), the comment thereupon (27 6) deuteronomistic, 28 33 35 is RD's close; 30-32 were inserted by RP (cp 11 2) when he restored **9** to its original place in the book.[3]

Chap. 9, Abimelech. The chapter exhibits no trace of deuteronomistic redaction; but it is plainly composite. Two accounts of the discomfiture of the Shechemites stand side by side in 34 *ff.* and 42 *ff.*; the antecedents of both may he traced in the earlier part of the chapter.

[1] Hardly to RD (Frankenberg).
[2] So Holzinger and Budde; cp Frankenberg.
[3] See § 14.

Both sources must have narrated how Abimelech became king, but 1-6 seems to be homogeneous. The story of Gaal (26-40 [41]) is, in the main, from J;[1] Jotbam's apologue (7-21) from E (16*b*-19*a* not improbably secondary); 22-25 E (+RJE), from which 42-45 also are derived; 46-55 are ascribed by Moore to E (cp 41), by Budde to J (41 = RJE); 56 *f.* may be from E or RJE.

The brief notices of the 'minor judges' differ in both form and content from the stories in the midst of which they stand.

9. Chaps. 10 1-5, 12 8-15: Minor Judges.

They speak neither of oppression nor of deliverance; the stereotyped formula is, After him NN judged Israel . . . years . . . And NN died and was buried in such and such a place. The years of rule (23, 22, 7, 10, 8) differ noticeably from the symmetrical numbers of RD's chronology (40, 20, 80).

The names of several of these 'judges' are otherwise known as names of clans, and what is told of their numerous posterity, possessions, and matrimonial alliances seems to be the legendary reflection of clan history.

Many scholars therefore think that these notices were made u by a late redactor to round out the number of *twelve* judges? In confirmation of this view it was pointed out that the sum of the years of their rule (70) is almost exactly that of the periods of oppression (71) in RD's introductions to the stories of the judges; the post-exilic editor made the succession continuous, reckoning the years of foreign domination (in the intention of RD, interregna) in the rule of the succeeding judge.[3] The framework in which these names and numbers are set is an imitation of RD. Others, observing that the formula of the minor judges occurs also at the close of the story of Jephthah (12 7, note also the *six* years of his rule cp 15 20 1 S. 4 18 7 15), believe that the minor judges were contained in JE, and were taken thence without change by RD; the set phrases of RD are an amplification of those of his predecessor.[4]

The arguments from the number twelve and from the chronology are not conclusive, and even if it were certain that the minor judges were not contained in the deuteronomistic book, it would still be possible that RP did not invent them, but simply restored them from JE; that the names are really those of clans is not proof of late origin, as we may see from Gen. 38, for example.

The introduction to the story of Jephthah, 10 6-16, is much longer than usual, and appears on close examination not to be homogeneous.

10. Chap. 10 6-12 7: Jephthah.

In 6-9 the set formulas of RD have been expanded by subsequent editors (especially in 6*aβ* 8 6 9a); 10-16 is cognate with 6 8-10; it looks as if a redactor had combined an introduction to the Philistine oppression in the days of Eli with that to the Ammonite oppression (cp 7); 17 *f.* belongs to the deuteronomistic introduction, the material being taken from the following story; the closing formulas are found in 11 33 **12** 7 (perhaps pre-deuteronomistic); in 11 *f.* we have editorial amplification

In 10 17-12 7, the long diplomatic representation to the king of Ammon, 11 12-28, is foreign to the main narrative; it has in reality nothing to do with the Ammonites; the argument is drawn entirely from the history of Israel's relations to Moab. The passage is therefore generally regarded as an editorial addition (? R_{JE}).

Holzinger, followed by Budde (*KHC*, *Richter*, 80-82), conjectures that two stories (J and E) about Jephthah have been combined, much as are the two stories about Gideon in 6-8. An outlawed freebooter recalled from banishment by the Gileadites (11 1-10 in the main, 2 is a late interpolation); after seeking aid in vain from the tribes west of the Jordan (cp 12 2, and 11 29), he marches against the Ammonites and defeats them; the Ephraimites who come against him seeking trouble are severely punished (12 1-6). In the other (E) he was represented as dwelling at Mizpah, the enemy is Moab (11 12 *ff.*, barmonised by RJE by the substitution of the name Ammon); the victory is purchased by the vow which cost the life of the hero's daughter (11 30-40).[5]

11. Chaps. 13-16: Samson.

In the story of Samson the brief deuteronomistic formulas are found in 13 1 15 20 16 31. The stories, which are not all of the same antiquity,' were in all probability found in J; composition or contamination from E is not

[1] Budde suspects considerable contamination from the other source.
[2] Nöldeke, *ATliche Unters.* 190.
[3] See We. *CH*(2) 216 *f.* cp 356; Stade, *ZATW* 1 339 *f.* ('81); Budde, *Ri.Sa.* 134 *ff.*, *Ri.* ix *f.* xvii *f.*; Cornill, *Einl.*(3.4).
[4] Both Kuenen (*Ond.*(2) 1 351 *f.*, cp 342, 354) and Kittel (*Hist.* 83 *f.*) regard the list of minor judges as pre-deuteronomic.
[5] See further, JEPHTHAH.

demonstrable ; in some cases a later Yahwistic variant has been united with the older story (Budde); in 14 an editor has made numerous changes, the tendency of which is to remove the offence of Samson's marriage into a Philistine family.[1]

As has been noted above (§ 3, ii.), chaps. 17 *f.* exhibit no signs of deuteronomistic redaction. The repetitions which abound in the story have been ascribed to interpolation by an editor whose aim was to throw contumely on the famous sanctuary at Dan ;[3] more probably they are due to the union of two closely parallel versions.[4]

12. Chaps. 17 *f.* Migration of Danites.[2]

The main narrative is from J ; the second version may be traced in 17 2-4 7* 11*b* 12*a* 18 3 4* in one strand running through 18 7-10 15 31 (or 30). The hand: of both R_{JE} and R_P may be recognised ; the former in harmonistic adjustments, the latter chiefly in archæological notes.

In chapters 19-21 there is a stratum which in spirit and language is akin to the youngest additions to the Hexateuch and to the historical midrash in Chron. To the late stratum belong 20 1 2* 9-48 (remains of the older text in 14 19 29, considerable part of 36-41, 44*a* 47), 21 2-14 in the main, 16 19*b* 20*a* 22* 24. The older narrative was itself composite, *as* appears most clearly in 19. The main source is J, contamination from a second version is to be recoguised especially in 19 6*b*-8 10* 13 15*a* ; a complete separation of the two closely parallel and intimately welded accounts is not feasible. In 21 the rape of the Shilonite maidens (15 17-19*a* 21-23, excluding glosses in 22) comes from the oldest source ; the remainder is not homogeneous ; Budde finds (in 1 6-8 10*a* 12* 13 14* 246) E's account of the expedition to Jabesh combined with the post-exilic version of the same ; others ascribe the repetition and confusion to very late interpolation (especially in 4 *f.*), evidence of which is found in 20 also (11 18 23 *f.* 27 *f.* etc.). The midrash seems to have been united to JE by a redactor ; see § 14.

13. Chaps. 19-21: Outrage at Gibeah.

Redaction—i. *Pre-deuteronomistic* (R_{JE}).—As in Josh. 1-12, the deuteronomistic author of Judg. found J and E already united by an earlier redactor (R_{JE}) ; there is no evidence that he had J *or* E separately. The earlier redaction was primarily harmonistic ; 'it laboured with more or less skill to make one continuous narrative out of two. Its religious standpoint was that of the prophetic period ; the moral and religious lessons of the history are emphasised, as they were also in the younger stratum of E ; it is not improbable that the beginnings of a pragmatism akin to that of R_D were found in R_{JE}. The historical standpoint is that of a united nation, and it was natural that the redactor should see in the invasions of particular regions and the deliverances wrought by local champions the oppression and liberation of all Israel, thus also preparing the way for R_D.

14. Redaction.

ii. ***Deuteronomistic*** (R_D). — The aim of the deuteronomistic author, as has been observed above, was religious rather than historical; the experience of Israel in the days of the judges is used to enforce for his own generation the lesson that unfaithfulness to Yahwè is always punished by national calamity, but that repentance brings deliverance. This lesson is set forth in the introductions to the whole book, and to the history of the several judges ; the redactor hardly touched the stories themselves. He freely omitted, however, what did not readily lend itself to his purpose ; chaps. 19 (for which 8 33-35 is a substitute) 17 *f.* 19-21, and perhaps the end of Samson's career, 16 (note the close 15 20). Later deuteronomistic editors may have added some verses, especially in the longer introductions (26-36 6 1-10 10 6-18).[5]

It is not probable that the deuteronomistic Book of Judges ended with 1631 (or 15 20) ; the Philistine oppression was not at an end with the death of Samson. We should expect the author to include the whole period of the judges down to the establishment of the kingdom, and,

1 See Stade, *ZATW* 4 250-256 ('84) ; v. Doorninck, *Th. T* 28 14-32 ('94).
2 Oort, *Th. T* 1 285-29 ('67) ; Halévy, *RE3* 21 207-217 ('90).
3 Oort, We. (formerly?, Kue., and others.
4 Vatke, Be., Bu., Moore ; see now We. *CH* (3) 363 *ff.* ('99).
5 Budde (*Ri.*) finds evidence of two deuteronomistic redactions.

at least, he can hardly have failed to record the deliverance from the Philistines. Confirmation of this antecedent probability is found in 1 *S.* 1-12.

At the close of the life of Eli (1 S. 4 18) we read the formula, 'He judged Israel forty years,' precisely corresponding to Judg. 16 31 (cp 12 7 10 2 *f.* 12 9 11 14) ; Samuel also is represented as a great deliverer, under whom the Philistines suffered such a repulse 'that they were subdued and no more invaded the territory of Israel ; the hand of Yahwè was against the Philistines as long as Samuel lived' (1 S. 7 13, cp Judg. 2 18 Josh. 15 Judg. 3 31 4 23 *f.* 828 11 33) ; of Samuel also it is said, 'He judged Israel as long as he lived' (1 S. 7 15).

We should expect also that the author of the deuteronomistic Judges would bring his book to a close by repeating and enforcing the religious lessons he had so much at heart, just as the deuterononiistic history of Moses closes with his solemn parting admonitions (Dt. 4 29 *f.*), and the deuteronomistic history of Joshua with similar exhortations from the leader of the conquest (Josh. 23). The farewell address of Samuel, the last of the judges, in 1 S. 12, with its historical retrospect and its solemn warnings for the future, so evidently marking the boundary between the history of the judges and the kings, is just such a close as we should look for from the author of Judg. 26-36 (or 2 11 *ff.*). The alternative is to suppose that the passages cited from Samuel belong exclusively to a pre-denteronomic editor ; which would compel us to suppose (with Budde) that the original conclusion of the deuteronomistic Judges was omitted by the post-exilic redaction (R_P).

iii. *Post-exilic* (R_P).—In Judg., as in Josh. 13 *ff.*, it seems that JE was in the hands of the post-exilic redactor, who restored from it the chapters which R_D omitted (19 17-21): The splitting of the deuteronomistic formula in 424 and 5316, suggests the possibility that 5 also was inserted by a post-exilic hand. The last redactor also introduced the midrashic version of the war on Benjamin in 19-21 ; many minor additions and changes in the text of other chapters are to be ascribed to this redactor or to still later editors and scribes. To R_P many scholars attribute also the 'minor judges' (10 1-5 12 8-15) ; see above, § 9. It is generally agreed that Shamgar in 331 belongs to one of the latest stages of the redaction. The history of the text shows that the verse once stood after 16 31 (following Samson), where the Philistine slayer is in place, and was introduced by the usual formula of the minor judges. The character and form of the notice remind us strongly of the exploits of David's heroes (2 *S.* 23, cp especially Shammah ben Agee, 11 *f.*). Corruption of the name to Shamgar (56) led to the insertion of the verse before 4 *f.*[1] It is quite possible that the verse in its original form stood in JE after Samson.

In 1 K. 6 1 the deuteronomistic author makes the time from the Exodus to the founding of the temple in the fourth year of Solomon 480 years. This is manifestly computed on the basis of twelve generations of forty years.[3]

15. Chronology.[2]

The chronology of R_D in Judg. belongs to the same system. Othniel's victory secured peace for 40 years ; Ehud's, 80 ; Barak's, 40; Gideon's, 40; Samson judged Israel 20 years: By the side of these round numbers appear others which do not seem to be systematic ; for the rule of the minor judges' (23, 22, 7, 10, 8), Jephthah (6), Abimelech (3), and for most of the periods of oppression (8, 18, 20, 7, 18, 40). The sum of all these numbers, together with the times of Moses (40), Joshua, Eli (40, 𝔊 20), Samuel, Saul, David (40), greatly exceeds 480, and various hypotheses have been proposed to bring the data into agreement. The most probable is that the years of foreign domination are not to be counted separately, but to be included in the rule of the judges, which are thus continuous. We thus obtain : Moses, 40; Joshua, *x* ; Othniel, 40 ; Ehud, 80 ; Barak, 40 ; Gideon, 40; Minor Judges with Jephthah, 76 ; Samson, 20 ; Eli, 40; Samuel, *y* ; Saul, *z* ; David, 40; Solomon (to the founding of the temple), 4 ; total $420+x+y+z$, which leaves us 60 (or if with 𝔊 we give only 20 years to Eli, 80) years for

1 See Budde, *Ri.* x ; and Moore, *SBOT*, 'Judges,' on 16 31.
2 See Nöldeke, *ATliche Unters.* 173 *ff.* ; Moore, *Judges*, Introd. § 7 ; Budde, *Ri.* xvii *ff.* ; also Bousset, 'Das chronologische System d. biblischen Geschichtsbücher,' *ZATW* 20 136 *ff.* (1900).
3 See CHRONOLOGY, § 5.

Joshua, Samuel and Saul. Substantially the same result is reached by those) who reckon in the periods of oppression and exclude the ' minor judges' as a later addition (see § 9).

The oldest written history of the period of the judges drew its materials from the local traditions ; the story of Ehud is connected with Gilgal ; Gideon and Abimelech with Ophrah and Shechem ; Jephthah with Mizpeh in Gilead; Deborah and Barak belong apparently to the tribes N. of the Great Plain (though Deborah may have been early appropriated by Ephraim). The subject of these traditions was naturally the daring deed by which an Israelite hero discomfited the enemy and delivered his countrymen ; of the situation only enough was recalled to make the achievement the more glorious ; there was no motive for preserving the memory of the misfortunes of the Israelites in war, or the way in which their neighbours got the upper hand of them. We may be sure that if the deuteronomistic author had found any such details in his sources he would have made the most of them.

16. Ultimate sources.

Chaps. **13-16** are of a different character. They contain a life of Samson from the announcement of his birth to his death, and narrate, not one signal act of deliverance, but a series of exploits in which the hero, a man of gigantic strength, in his own cause, single-handed, inflicts many injuries upon the Philistines. The stories may reflect a historical situation, the Danite Hercules may have been a historical person; but it is evident that we have in these chapters not historical traditions, in the sense in which we may use those words of the stories of Ehud, Gideon, Abimelech, and others, but popular tales, in which, as usual, elements of widely diverse origin—in part, perhaps, mythical—have been united in the imagination of the people.[1] It is noteworthy, and not without historical significance, that these are the only stories in the book which come from the south.

Chapters 17 *f.*, which have for subject the migration of the Danites, the origin of the idol and the priesthood at Dan, are probably derived from the traditions of that sanctuary. Of the history of the war over Gibeah (chap. 19 *ff.*), we can only say' that it seems to be from an Ephraimite sonrce.

17. Historical value.

In estimating the historical value of the Book of Judges, we must bear in mind that the stories of the deliverers of Israel represent only certain glorious moments in the history of these centuries; of their manifold vicissitudes of fortune tradition has preserved but fragmentary memories, and of the long, slow process by which the nomadic Israelite tribes established themselves in Canaan and adopted the agriculture and arts of the older inhabitants, we learn only from the glimpses which the stories incidentally afford us.

The chronological scheme of R_D is late and systematic; we cannot be sure that the order in which the' stories were arranged in JE was chronological. In the stories themselves a legendary admixture cannot be denied ; this has been successively heightened by later authors and editors ; the union of parallel accounts by R_{JE} has, in more than one case, wrought an intricate confusion which baffles the keenest analytic criticism.

When all this is recognised, however, it remains true that the picture which the book gives us of the social and religious conditions of the period which preceded the establishment of the kingdom is 'of the highest historical value. It is manifest that the traditions contained in it were fixed in writing before the momentous changes which the kingdom wrought had had time to make such a state of things as is represented in Judg. unintelligible or unsympathetic.

We fortunately possess one contemporary monument, the Song of Deborah ;[2] and its description of the great struggle with the Canaanites confirms the impression that the picture of the times which the stories draw for us is as faithful as it is vivid.[1]

[1] See SAMSON, § 2.
[2] See DEBORAH, and POETICAL LITERATURE, § 3 (ii.).

18. Text.

The Hebrew text of Judges is unusually well preserved. Only in parts of the Song of Deborah does any considerable passage seem to be beyond critical remedy. In other difficult places unskilful redaction, rather than faulty transmission, seems to be responsible for the obscurity.

There are two distinct, if not wholly independent, Greek translations of the book ; one found in the great mass of manuscripts (A, etc.), and rendered by most of the secondary versions, of which Lagarde's edition, may be taken as a fair representative ; the other in B, a group of minuscules, and the Sahidic version. The latter, which is the younger of the two, adheres closely to MT, and is consequently of relatively little value for the emendation of the text.[2]

is. Literature.

A. *Commentaries.*—Sebastian Schmid, 1684; Jo. Clericus, 1708; G. L. Stnder, Richter, '35 ; second (title) ed. '42 ; Bertheau, '45, (2) '83 (*KGH*), C. F. Keil, '63, (2) '74, ET, '68 ; P. Cassel, '65, (2) '87 (Lange's *Bibelwerk*), ET, '72 ; J. Bachmann, '68 (unfinished ; chaps. 1-5) ; Hervey, '72 (Speaker's Commentary); E. Reuss, *La Bible*, 1, '77 ; *Das Alte Testament*, 1, '92 ; S. Oettli, '93 (*KGK*); G. F. Moore, '95 (Internat. Crit. Comm.), '98 (*SBOT*; translationand brief notes) ; K. Budde, '97 (*KHC*).

B. Criticism—Noldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des AT*, 173-198 ('69); Schrader, in De Wette, *Einl.*(8) 327-333 ; We. *CH*(2) 213-238, cp 353-357 ; v. Doorninck, *Bijarage tot de tekstkritiek van Richteren*, 1-16, 123-128 ('79) ; E. Meyer, 'Kritik der Berichte iiher die Eroberung Palaestmas,' *ZATW* 1 117-146 ('81) ; B. Stade, 'Zur Entstehungsgesch. des vordeut. Richterbuches,' *ZATW* 1 339-343 ('81) ; J. C. Matthes, *Th.T* 15 593 *ff.* ('81) ; W. Boehme, *ZATW* 5 251-274 ('85) ; K. Budde, *ZATW* 7 93-166 ('87); *Ri.Sa.* 166-1 ('90); Kuenen, *Ond.*(2) 1 338-367 ; S. R. Driver, *JQR* 1 258-270 ('89), *Introd.*(6) ('97); R. Kittel, 'Die Pentateuch. Urkunden in den BB Richter u. Samuel,' *St. Kr.* 65 44 *ff.* ('92), *Hist.* i. ; also in Kautzsch, *HS*, '94 (analysis in the margin), G. Kalkoff, *Zur Quellenkritik des Richterbuches*, '93 (Gymnas. Progr.) ; Frankenberg, Die *Composition des deuteronomischen Richterbuches*, '95 ; König in Hastings' DB, art. 'Judges' ('99). See also the commentaries of Studer, Bertheau, Moore, and Bndde (using valuable unpublished investigations of Holzinger), and the Polychrome Bible (analysis in colours).

G. F. M.

JUDGMENT, DAY OF (ημερα κρισεως), 2 Pet. 37. See ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 34 *ff.*

JUDGMENT HALL (πραιτωριον), Jn. 18 28 33 19 9 Acts 23 35 ; RV 'palace,' RVmg. PRÆTORIUM (*q.v.*).

JUDITH (יְהוּדִית, § 76 ; fem. of JEHUDI, *q.v.*).

1. Daughter of Beeri the 'Hittite' (or rather 'Rehobothite,' see REHOBOTH), and one of the wives of Esau ; Gen. 26 34 [P] (ιουδ[ε]ιν [ADEL]). See BASEMATH. A Jewish clan as 'daughter' of a Rehobothite, is not likely. Perhaps 'Judith' is a corruption of Ḥorith (חוֹרִית).

2. See below.

T. K. C.

JUDITH, THE BOOK OF (ιουδειθ [BℵA], *i.e.*, יהודית), one of the Books of the APOCRYPHA [§ 5, 4], has come down to us in a shorter and a longer form, and the text of the latter in a varietv of recensions.

1. Two versions of story.

The various texts belonging to the longer (the canonical) recension show much more pronounced differences than are found in those belonging to the other. Even Jerome speaks of the number and variety of the MSS of the Judith legend which had been seen by him.

The two forms of the story are quite different in tendency and in historical background. The contents, which though similar are not absolutely identical, are therefore summarised here separately, as comparison of the two forms of the story may enable us to arrive at sure conclusions as to the date and origin of the book.[3]

[1] On the historical character of Judg. 1, see JOSHUA, §§ 13 15 ; also HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2.
[2] On the text see Moore, *Judges* xliii *ff.*, and in addition to the authors there cited, Mez, *Die) Bibel des Josephus*, '95 ; cp Moore's critical edition of the text in *SBOT* Heb., 1900.
[3] The line here taken renders it unnecessary to discuss other critical theories; which, resting on mere conjecture, were only provisionally useful. They are briefly referred to by König in his *Einl.*, and discussed at length by Ball in his commentary. [Ball himself refers Judith to the time of queen Salome.

The longer form of the story is as follows: — Arphaxad, king of Ecbatana, fortifies his city. Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadrezzar), king of the Assyrians in Nineveh, makes war against him and summons the dwellers in all the lands between Persia and Memphis to his aid. They refuse. Vowing vengeance against them, he marches alone to battle with ARPHAXAD (*q.v.*, 2), and destroys him. After an interval be appoints Holofernes general over his army, and sends him against those nations which had refused their aid, with orders to spare none who should offer resistance, or should refuse to recognise and worship Nebuchadrezzar as a god.

2. Longer story (A).

Holofernes occupies all the places along the sea coast, and destroys all their gods so that 'all the nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and that all their tongues and their tribes should call upon him as god' (3 8). The 'children of Israel that dwelt in Judaea,' terrified at his approach, fortify their hills. Joakim the high priest charges the people of Bethulia and Betomesthaim to guard the passes to the hill-country, while all the inhabitants of Judaea and Jerusalem betake themselves to fasting and prayer.

Achior, the leader of the children of Ammon, tells Holofernes who the Jews are and warns him not to attack them, for if there is no iniquity among them their Lord will defend them and their God be for them. Holofernes and his followers are incensed against Achior, and rebuke him, telling him that there is no God hut Nabuchodonosor, who has decreed the utter destruction of the Jews. Achior will be destroyed with them. Having thus spoken Holofernes causes Achior to be cast down and left at the foot of the hill near Bethulia. He is rescued by the Jews, who, after the words of Holofernes have been reported to them, fall down and worship God, saying: 'O Lord God of heaven, behold their arrogance and pity the low estate of our race, and look upon the face of 'those that are sanctified unto thee (or, thy sanctuary [Syr.]) this day' (6 19).

Holofernes lays siege to Bethulia and stops the water supply. The people lose heart and press Ozias and the rulers to give way; these promise to do so, if no help arise before five days have passed. Now in those days there lived a widow, named Judith, of rare piety and beauty. She fasted all the days of her widowhood save the eves of the Sabbath, and the Sabbaths, the eves of the new moons and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel. She blames Ozias and the rulers for thinking of submission, and points out to them that as they are now worshipping none other but the true God — and no one among them worships gods made with hands as had aforetime been the case — they may safely put their trust in God that he will not despise them nor any of their race. The rulers excuse themselves, and Judith promises to do for them something that shall go down to all generations. When left alone she falls on her face, and at the time when incense is being offered in the temple in Jerusalem she prays God to help her in her undertaking, recalling the deliverances wrought in the time of the Maccabaean revolt and on other occasions when God had signally discomfited the plans of their enemies for the destruction of the Jewish nation. She then decks herself bravely and goes to the camp of Holofernes accompanied by her maid, who carries a bottle of wine, a cruse of oil, a bag filled with parched corn and fine bread (and cheese [It. Syr. Vg.]). Arrived at the camp, she is brought before Holofernes, who asks her wherefore she has come.

She tells him that her nation cannot he punished, neither can the sword prevail against them, except they sin against their God, but that now they are about to eat all those things which God charged them by his laws that they should not eat and that they will therefore he delivered into his hands. Shd will show him the way to the town, and will lead him until he comes to Jerusalem. Holofernes is highly pleased, and bids that his people should prepare for her of his own meats and that she should drink of his own wine. This she refuses; but in the morning she asks and receives permission to go forth into the valley of Bethulia for prayer; on three successive nights accordingly she goes forth and washes herself in a fountain by the camp.

On the fourth day Holofernes who wishes to 'deceive' Judith sends BAGOAS (*q.v.*) the eunuch to invite her to a banquet. She accepts. He drinks deeply and is left alone with her. Praying God for strength she smites off, with his own scimitar, the head of Holofernes, and putting it into her bag of victuals, hastens to Bethulia. All the people run together on hearing her voice, and seeing the head of Holofernes, give praise to God, who has not taken away his mercy from Israel. The next morning they fall upon the besiegers, who, finding their leader dead, lose heart and flee in wild disorder.

The Jews spoil the camp for thirty days, and Judith after singing a song of praise and thanksgiving to God accompanies the victors to Jerusalem, where the rejoicings before the sanctuary continue for the space of three months. After a great and glorious life she dies at the age of one hundred and five years, and is buried in Bethulia in the cave of her husband Manasseh. 'And there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death' (16 25). (Vg. adds: 'but the day of the festival of this victory is received by the Hebrews in the number of the holy days, and is observed by the Jews from that time unto the present day.')

The shorter form is as follows: — Seleucus besieged Jerusalem. The Israelites were fasting and praying. Among them was a beautiful maiden, Judith the daughter of Ahitob. God inspired her with the thought that a miracle would be wrought through her. So she set out from Jerusalem with her maid and went to the camp of Seleucus, where she told the king that having heard that the town was sure to fall into his hands, she had come out first that she might find favour in his eyes. The king, struck by her beauty, desired to have her company. She declared herself willing to satisfy him, but as she was in her impurity, so she told him, she asked his permission to go out unmolested in the middle of the night to the fountain of water to make her ablutions. The king granted her request. At the banquet he drank much wine and was afterwards left alone with her. Taking his falchion she cut off his head and hastened with it to Jerusalem, passing unmolested through the camp. The Israelites seeing this unexpected deliverance rejoiced greatly, and going forth routed their enemies. They established this day as a day of feasting. It fell on the eighteenth day of Adar, and was observed as a day on which mourning and fasting were forbidden.

3. Shorter story (B).

Of the two tales the shorter seems to retain the true original character most. There is nothing improbable in a story of the kind. The names are historical, and the besieged place is Jerusalem. The mention of the day on which the memory of the achievement was celebrated points to the fact that we have here a fragment of the Maccabaean calendar, which was abrogated officially in the middle of the third century of our era, but had fallen into desuetude long before. The narrative is probably the record of an occurrence during the wars of the Maccabees. There is not a single reference in it to ceremonial observances, nor any allusion to sin and its consequences for the political future of the nation, through forfeiture of the grace and mercy of God by transgression, and by the worship of false gods. The reason for the visit to the fountain is made perfectly obvious, whilst in the other recension it is anything but clear.

4. Date of B.

The longer tale differs completely in style, tendency, and conception. A simple incident in a war of antiquity and the heroism of a Jewish maiden are only the warp upon which a later writer has woven his richly embroidered tale. He has transformed it into a tale of comfort and encouragement.

5. Date of A.

From the leading features of the story as epitomised above, it is evident that the author of the romance laid the greatest possible stress upon strict observance of all the religious ceremonial in vogue in his time. He manifests his strong belief that

Alexandra (79-70 B.C.), and G. Klein (*Actes du VIIIe. congrès internat. des Orientalistes*, sect. sémit. 287-105, Leyden, '93), reviving a theory of Hitzig, to the period of the revolt of Bar. Cochha (131-135 A.D.).]

God is sure to grant his aid to those who have not sinned. He takes the greatest care to emphasise the ruin that is sure to follow upon any meddling with the tithes or other sacred things, he abhors all ceremonial defilement, and dwells upon the efficacy of prayer; the prayer of the righteous and pure widow is sure to be heard, and her intercession saves the Jewish race. Judith scrupulously abstains from touching any of the food of the heathen. She fasts all the days of her widowhood, except on certain feast days and their eves.

All these details show that the author of the longer story was a Pharisee. One might feel inclined to think of him as one of the ASSIDÆANS (*q.v.*) from the very great stress he lays on the regular ablution before prayer, which is nowhere else heard of.

A reminiscence of the old original survives in 129 where we read that 'She came in clean,' but in what respect is not mentioned. We are to understand that the whole rabbinical ceremonial law has been observed with great minuteness by Judith, in full agreement with the decisions arrived at in the controversy between the school of Shammai and that of Hillel. This is equally clear in the matter of food (wine, oil, and bread) and in that of the tithes which it is not lawful for any of the people so much as to touch with their hands (11 13).

These rigorous prescriptions point to the end of the first century B.C.

A further study of the additional elements in the longer version (A) may enable us to fix its date with still greater precision. The chief ruler of the nation is the high priest; no mention is made of a king. Nebuchadrezzar has killed Arphaxad.

It is easily seen that these names, borrowed from ancient history, stand for more modern ones, and have been chosen for the purpose of giving the book an air of antiquity, since otherwise it would defeat its own ends. Unless put forth as a tale of ancient deliverance it would miss the popular effect it was intended to have in times of danger and distress.

The book also mentions Achior, the chief of the house of Ammon, as friendly to the Jews (55 62 *ff.*). A great danger threatens the people.

They are uncertain of the issue, but are convinced that God will not deliver them into the hands of their enemies if only they do what is right and live piously. It appears that they are suffering from great drought or scarcity of water.

Taking these and other data (see, *e.g.*, JEMNAAN) together, we shall find but one period which the author can have had before him—the time, namely, of the approach of Pompey to Jerusalem (B.C. 63).

Aristobiilus II. had commenced a war against his brother Hyrcanus II. Scaurus (Holofernes), the Roman general in Syria, took the part of Aristobūlus.[1] Pompey, before coming to Palestine, had a war with Mithridates, whom he overthrew and slew, exactly as Nabuchodonosor smote Arphaxad. Aretas, king of the Nabataeans, assisted Hyrcanus at the instigation of Antipater the Idumaean. When hostilities commenced between Hyrcanus and Aristohiilus, a certain holy man, Onias by name (=Joakim),' prayed that the great drought might cease (Jos. Ant. xiv. 2 1). Pompey, taking the side of Hyrcanus, deposed Aristobiilus and appointed Hyrcanus high priest.

Here we find all the leading elements in the tale in correspondence with the historical events. BETHULIA (*q.v.*) is thus seen to be equivalent to ביתאל : the House of God, Jerusalem. This hypothesis is corroborated and strengthened if we compare the book with another product of exactly the same period, viz., the Psalms of Solomon, written shortly after this date, when Pompey had already met his death in Egypt.

The situation as viewed by the two authors is almost identical, and the Psalms furnish a number of parallels to the leading views expressed by the author of Judith. He too knows of a high priest only. He too lays preponderant stress on the observance of ceremonial law (38-10) and on prayer (224 etc.); the prayer of the righteous is heard (15 1). He too dwells on ceremonial pollution and its purification (2 2 *f.* 8 12 *f.* 17 25-33); God blesses pious conduct (1 2 87) (see Ryle and James, ***Psalms of the Pharisees***, xlviii *f.* ['91]). Besides, the tone which pervades the prayers of Judith and her last song finds its absolute counterpart in those Psalms. Both reflect the same period, viz., ***circa*** 50 B.C.

The ceremonial prescriptions mentioned in Judith render any earlier date impossible: and at any later date the book would have lost its value and importance, as being too transparent a fiction.

Winckler has given an analysis of the sources with new views on Holofernes and Judith (*AF* 2 266 *ff.*). He derives the name Judith from the Babylonian Ištar.

[1] See Schiirer, Hist. 1318.

According to Willrich (*Judaica*, 33 [1900]), the book was written in the quiet period between 157 and 153 B.C. The author is one of the Assidæans (*ḥasīdīm*) who welcomed Alcimus. He holds that it was not the Maccabees who rescued the Jewish people, hut Yahwè alone and his instrument Judith. Ozias (= Jonathan) plays quite a secondary role. The name Holofernes is suggested by Odoarres, Arphaxad by Artaxias, Bethulia by Bethalagan (see, however, HOLOFERNES, BETHULIA, BETHBASI).

If the book was meant to be accepted as an old book, and if it was the work of a Pharisee or Assidæan, it could only have been written in the language of the people—viz., either in Aramaic or (what is more probable') in Hebrew. Jerome mentions Hebrew MSS, and 'the addition which appears at the end of his translation only proves him to have had access to a text which stood in some relation to the more complete Hebrew text of what is now the short recension (B). In these alone do we find an allusion to the observance of the day as a festival.

6. Original language.

7. Editions.

1. Of the *long* recension (A) no old Hebrew text has, thus far, been critically edited. Jellinek has merely reprinted a later version ***Hemdath ha-yamim***, 2 *f.* 62*b*-65*c* (Constantinople, 1737) = ***Bet ha-midrasch***, 2 12-22). A better text is one that has hitherto remained unnoticed (***Ozar ha-Kodesh*** 6*b*-12*a*; Lemberg [Amsterdam], '51). A very old version, older at least than the twelfth century if not of even much greater antiquity, has been discovered by Dr. Gaster in the Chronicle of Jerahmeel (see ***The Chronicles of Jerahmeel***, '99). Both of these agree with Jerome and have the same ending. For other allusions to the story of Judith in Hebrew literature see Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vortr.*(2) 131, n. d). The relation between these texts and that of Jerome requires further study.

The Greek versions have come down in three recensions, one of which forms the LXX text (best ed., O. F. Fritzsche, ***Lib. Apocr. Vet. Test. Grace***, 165-203). The second, more akin to the Lat. and Syr., is found in a MS (cod. 58 Holmes and Parsons), and a third in a group of MSS not very different from the latter. The Latin versions are: (*a*) *Vetus*, ed. Sabatier, ***Bibl. sac. Lat. verss. antiq.*** 1 744-790 (1743), from five codices; (*b*) Jerome's ***Vulgata***. The Syriac is given in Lagarde, ***Lib. vet. Test. apocr. Syriace***, 104-126 ('61). For further bibliography (Gr., Lat., and Syr. versions, etc.) see Schürer, *GJV* 2 599-603. See also Wi. *AF* 2 266 *ff.*

Commentaries.—The best thus far is that of O. F. Fritzsche in the *Exeg. Handb.* 2 111-211 ('53). For other literature see Schiirer (as above; ET, 603), and C. J. Ball, *Speaker's* **Comm.**: *Apocrypha*, vol. 1, to whose lists add A. Scholz, *Commentar*(2), '96, and Löhr in Kau. *Apokr.*

2. Of the ***short*** recension (B) only the Hebrew text has come down to us; see 'The oldest text with introduction and translation' by M. Gaster in *PSBA*, '94, pp. 156-163; where further bibliography is given. M. G.

JUEL (ΙΟΥΗΛ [L]). 1. 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 34 UEL. 2. (ιουηλ [A], ιωηλ [L]), 1 Esd. 9 35 = Ezra 10 43, JOEL (14).

JULIA (ΙΟΥΛΙΑ [Ti. WH]), is saluted in Rom. 16 15 in conjunction with PHILOLOGUS (*q.v.*), who was doubtless her husband (cp ROMANS, §§ 4 10). She may have been a freedwoman of some member of the gens Julia; the name is, at all events, exceedingly common.

JULIUS (ΙΟΥΛΙΟC [Ti. WH]), the centurion of the Augustan band (see ARMY, § 10), who had charge of Paul when he was sent to Rome (Acts 27 1 3).

JUNIAS (so RV, but RVmg. and AV have **Junia,** assuming with Chrysostom and other ancient interpreters a feminine nominative for ΙΟΥΝΙΑΝ [Ti. WH], which, however. more probably represents a nominative ΙΟΥΝΙΑC, an abbreviated form of Junianus) is mentioned in Rom. 16 7 along with Andronicus as being an apostle, as a kinsman and fellow-prisoner of Paul, and as having been 'in Christ' before him (cp ROMANS, §§ 4 10). It has been conjectured from the name that he may have been originally a slave; the word 'kinsman' seems to suggest that he was of Jewish birth.

See, further, ANDRONICUS. In the list of the seventy by Pseudo-Dorotheus (A) Junias figures as bishop of Apamea in Syria.

JUNIPER (רֹתֶם, *rōthem*, 1 K. 19 4 *f.* Job 30 4 Ps. 120 4†) should be 'broom' (so Job 30 4 RV, 1 K. 19 4

[1] [Cp Ball, 1 244.]

RVmg., Ps. 1204 RVmg.), except, probably, in 1 K. 194.[1]

The Heb. word puzzled the LXX translators, who render by φυτόν in 1 K. 195 and by ἐρημικοῖς in Ps. 1204, while in Job 304 the translator shortens his text (Bab mg. inf. ℵA have ξύλων). Pesh. has 'terebinth' in 1 K. 19, and 'oak' in Ps. 120. Aq. rendered 'juniper' (ἀρκεύθω, ἀρκευθίναις, ραθαμιν) in 1 K. and in the Psalm; this is also in Vg., which as usual follows Jewish tradition. Symm. has σκέπης, ἐστοιβασμένων, ξύλων, ἀγρίων.

In spite of the versions Ar. *ratam* certainly means 'broom' (cp Low, 366). The particular species is probably *Genista Rætam*, Forsk., which, according to Robinson (*BR* 1 203), is 'the largest and most conspicuous shrub' in the deserts S. of Palestine.

a. 1 K. 195 can be explained by another quotation from the same source. 'Our Arabs always selected the place of encampment (if possible) in a spot where it grew, in order to be sheltered by it at night from the wind; and during the day, when they often went on in advance of the camels, we found them not unfrequently sitting or sleeping under a bush of Retem to protect them from the sun.

b. Ps. *1204* is a more doubtful passage. RV renders thus, 'What shall be given unto thee . . . thou deceitful tongue? Sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.' The mode of expression, however, is 'somewhat artificial, not to say affected' (Duhm). The tongue is itself an 'arrow'; how can 'arrows' be given to it, and how can arrows be united with 'coals'? Travellers tell us, no doubt, that 'coals of broom emit an intense heat (see COAL, § 2, col. 854). This illustrates the phrase, but not its figurative application in this context; Hupfeld has already seen that 'coals' (גחלי) should be 'tents' (אהלי). This at once gives a new aspect to the passage; but it creates a new riddle which only a more thorough investigation of the text can solve. Probably, for רתמים we should read מִצְרִים, and render *vv. 4f.* (emended text) thus, 'Arrows of a warrior are the tongues of the people of the tents of Miṣrim' (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [*b*]).

c. Job 304 RV, 'and the roots of the broom are their meat' (לַחְמָם), supposing that these roots were sometimes eaten by famine-stricken men. Many critics, however, find this supposition difficult, and propose to read לְחַמֵּם or לְחֻמָּם assuming that fires of *rōthem* branches are referred to (so RVmg. 'to warm them'). Both לְחֻמָּם and לְחַמֵּם are unsatisfactory.[2] It must be חַלָּמוּת, 'purslain' (see PURSLAIN), that is referred to; שֹׁרֶשׁ רתמים should be הָעֲרָקִים רֹתֶם; *v.* 3 is a collection of misread duplications and the last two words a glossatorial comment on the corrupt צִיָּה. Light and sense are thus restored to an almost desperate passage. Read—

'Who pluck mallow and the leaves (וַעֲלֵי, G. Beer) of the *šîaḥ*,
Who gnaw the broom-plant and the purslain.'

Thus only two passages with רֹתֶם can be vindicated. But we need not doubt the word on this account. Cp RITHMAH.

T. K. C.

JUPITER (Greek ΖΕΥϹ ΠΑΤΗΡ = Sanscr. *Djâus pitár*; from √ΔιF 'shining,' seen in *dies*), the supreme deity of the Greeks, the conception of whom arose from the contemplation of the clear sky (cp Holm, *Greek Hist.*, *ET* 1 124 *f.*). In Acts 1935, therefore, the words τοῦ διοπετοῦς ('the image which fell down from Jupiter,' AV; so also RV, with marg. 'heaven') should be rendered 'the image that fell from the bright sky.'

So Euripides rightly explains the same epithet in speaking of the image of the Tauric Artemis (*Iph. T.* 977, διοπετὲς ἄγαλμα: cp *v.* 1384, οὐρανοῦ πέσημα). [For parallels in Hebrew cp Gen. *1924*, 'brimstone and fire from Yahwè, from heaven' (מאת יהוה מהשמים); Mic. 57 [6] 'a dew from Yahwè' (טל מאת יהוה).]

The title Olympian (Ὀλύμπιος) was in general use throughout Greece as marking the supremacy of Zeus, owing to the influence of the Homeric poems, in which the abode of the gods was localised upon the summit of Mt. Olympus (cp Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I. iv.).

As the god of hospitality and the protector of strangers he was everywhere worshipped as Zeus Xenios. In 168 B.C. Antiochns Epiphanes (see ANTIOCHUS 2) established the worship of the Olympian Zeus in the Temple at Jerusalem (2 Macc. 62; on the Syriac equivalent of Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, see col. 23 top, and on Dan. 1131 and 12 11 see col. 22), and that of Zeus Xenios on Mt. Gerizim. It was this Antiochus who resumed the building of the greatest temple of Olympian Zeus, that at Athens, fifteen columns of which still remain: Peisistratos had laid the foundations; but the completion of the work was reserved for Hadrian (130 A.D.).

The Jupiter of Lystra (Acts 1412) is not the Greek Zeus, but the native Lycaonian deity identified by the Greek-speaking section of the population with the supreme god of the Greek pantheon; but we have no right to draw inferences as to the character of the cult from such identification, for identity of name by no means implied identity in character (*e.g.* the Artemis of Ephesus was very different from the Artemis of Delos). This caution applies also to the use of the name Hermes in this passage of Acts. Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.*(5) 57, n.) acutely remarks that 'true to the Oriental character, the Lycaonians regarded the active and energetic preacher (Paul) as the inferior, and the more silent and statuesque figure (Rarnabas) as the leader and principal.'[1] The idea that the deities manifested themselves on earth seems to have been prominent in central Asia Minor. Ovid (*Metam.* 8621) relates the Phrygian legend of the entertainment unawares of Zeus and Hermes by the poor couple Baucis and Philemon[2] (the legend was localised perhaps near Tyriaion, near Iconium: see Ramsay, *Church in R. Emp.* 58 n., and *Comm. on Gal.* 225, where he refers also to Phrygian inscriptions with the words τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον θεόν, "the most manifest god").'

In Acts 1413 (τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, 'Jupiter, which was before their city,' AV; 'whose temple was before the city,' RV), Codex Bezæ reads τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως (or better Προπόλεως, as one word), 'of Zeus who is (called) Zeus-before-the-City,' *i.e.*, Zeus Propoleos. This is preferable.[3] Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.* 51) compares an inscription of Claudiopolis of Isauria, to the SE. of Lystra, recording a dedication Διὶ Προαστίῳ, 'to Zeus-before-the-Town.' Independent proof of the existence of the temple would probably be the first-fruits of excavation on the site of Lystra.

W. J. W.

JURISDICTION (ἐξουσία), Lk. 237 (cp 2020). See GOVERNMENT, § 30 *f.*

JUSHAB-HESED (יוּשַׁב חֶסֶד, 'kindness is requited,' § 23; ἀοβασοκ [B], ἀσοβαεσδ [A], ιωσαβεε [L]), a son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 320†). The name seems improbable; it follows Hasadiah, and is of a type which is unusual in Hebrew proper names.

𝔊L suggests יהושבע Jehosheba, of which 'Jushab' would be a corrupt fragment, and 'ḥesed' a fragment of a duplicated Hasadiah. Cp the corrupt names Giddalti, Romanti-ezer, etc. (see HEMAN, TOB-ADONIJAH).

T. K. C.

JUSTICE (Administration of). See LAW AND JUSTICE.

JUSTUS (ΙΟΥϹΤΟϹ), under the form Justā, Jnsti, was a common name among the Jews. Josephns mentions three persons of the name, including a son of his own. Bar-Kappara, denouncing the practice of taking Roman names, says, 'They did not call Reuben Rufus, Judah Julianus, Benjamin Alexander, Joseph Justus.'[4] We need hardly suppose that he is attacking the

[1] Here, as 𝔊 (ραθμέν [B], or ραμαθ [A], or ραθαμειν [L]) in *v.* 4 suggests, רתם conceals the name, or part of the name, of some locality; otherwise we do not know where Elijah halted. For רתם אחת we should probably read בְּנַחַל רְחֹבוֹת, 'in the valley of Rehohoth' (Klo., however, מִצְרַיִם, 'Egypt'). See CHERITH. To take -εν in ραθμεν [B] as a misplaced numeral would be unwise, since 𝔊 passes over אחד in *v.* 5.

[2] The use of *rōthem*-branches for fuel would hardly be characteristic of the poorest class.

[1] [In Acts 1412 in its present form, two reasons for the prominence of Barnabas seem to be combined: (1) that he was of imposing stature (contrast Paul, *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 3), and (2) that he was not forward to speak, like Paul. Ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ. ('because he was the chief speaker,' EV) may perhaps be an early addition (the Fleury palimpsest omits). On the source of Acts 18 *f.* cp ACTS, § 10.—ED.]

[2] Cp SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

[3] [If conjectures are permissible should we not read, with Valckenir, ὅ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἱεροῦ τοῦ ὄντος κ.τ.λ., 'and the priest of the temple of Zeus which was' etc.?—ED.]

[4] *Wayyikrā Rabbā*, 32. See Nestle, *Exp. T* 10. 527*a* ('99); Chajes, *Markus-studien* ('99), 78.

Alexander and Rufus of Mk. 15 21, and the Joseph-Justus of Acts 1 23, but the coincidence of the names is remarkable.

1. Joseph Barsabas, 'surnamed Justus,' Acts 1 23; see BARSABAS, § 2.

2. Jesus, Justus, a Jewish Christian who, unlike most who were 'of the circumcision,' was a comfort to Paul, Col. 4 11. Theophylact identifies him with 3 below. According to a late tradition he became bishop of Eleutheropolis.

3. Titius Justus, see below.

JUSTUS (AB_3D^*, etc.), or (RV) TITUS JUSTUS (ℵE) or Titius Justus (ΤΙΤΙΟC ΙΟΥCΤΟC [Ti. WH], B*, Vg., Memph., Arm.), a proselyte (CEBOMENOC TON ΘΕΟΝ), whose house adjoined the synagogue, and who received the apostle Paul at a critical period during his first visit to Corinth (Acts 18 7). As Ramsay points out,[1] he was evidently one of the *coloni* of the colony Corinth; the adhesion of a Roman citizen would be a great help to a Christian missionary. When the Christians left the synagogue, the house of Justus provided a convenient meeting-place. The exact name of Paul's friend, however, is disputed. Tregelles inclined to 'Justus' (AV); Ti., WH, and Blass adopt 'Titius Justus'; Wieseler, on doubtful grounds, prefers 'Titus Justus' (RV). The decision may perhaps be given by Paul himself, who, as Weizsacker notes, (in the present text) makes no reference to his Corinthian entertainer. Probably not one of the forms given above, to which may be added the bare Titus (Pesh., Theb.), is correct. Probably the true name is Tertius Justus, 'Titius' being a corruption of 'Tertius.' The Roman Christian who had received Paul during his first visit to Corinth was of course still his intimate friend during his second visit, and as such was proud to discharge the important duties of a secretary. 'I, Tertius, who write this epistle . . .' (Rom. 16 22). T. K. C.

JUTTAH (יֻטָּה; Josh. 21 16: ΤΑΝΥ [B], om. A, ΙΕΤΤΑ [L]; *IETA*), or **Jutah** (יוּטָּה; Josh. 15 55 RV; ΙΤΑΝ [B], ΙΕΤΤΑ [AL]), a place in the hill-country of Judah, a Levitical city according to the Priestly Writer.

By mistake (notice the number in *v.* 60) Juttah is omitted in MT of 1 Ch. 6 59 [44]; it is restored by Be. and Ki., who have not noticed, however, that 𝔊B (*ατταν*, *Iota*) had preceded them.'

Eusebius and Jerome describe Juttah as a large village, 18 R. m. to the S. of Eleutheropolis (*Onom.* 266 49; 133 10). This exactly agrees with the distance to the SE. from *Beit Jibrīn* of the modern *Yaṭṭā*, which lies very high on the S. slopes of a mountain, 5½ m. S. by W. from Hebron (Rob. *BR* 2 628: Guérin, *Judée*, 3 205; *PEFM* 3 310).

Reland, Robinson, Renan, and Smend have identified it with the city referred to in Lk. 1 39 (*εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα* [Ti. WH]), but 'Judah' there seems to be parallel to 'the hill-country' (cp *v.* 65), so that no particular city is specified, and, as Guérin points out (*Judée*, 1 88), the attested Greek form of Juttah has a τ not a δ. See also Schick, *ZDPV* 22 81 *ff.* ('99). On the transition from the Hebrew to the Arabic form, see Kampffmeyer, *ZDPV* 16 421. T. K. C.

[1] *St. Paul the Traveller*, 256.

K

KAB (קַב), 2 K. 6 25 RV, AV CAB (*q.v.*).

KABZEEL (קַבְצְאֵל, '[whom] God collects'), a city of Judah on the border of Edom, the native town of BENAIAH (1).

Josh. 15 21 (*καὶ βαισελεηλ* [B], *κασθεηλ* [A], *καβσηλ* [L]); 2 S. 23 20 (*καβεσεηλ* [B*A], *κατραβεσθηλ* [B a mg.], *γαβασαηλ* [L]); 1 Ch. 11 22 (*καβασαηλ* [BA], *βασαηλ* [ℵvid.], *καβσεηλ* [L]).

In Neh. 11 25 the name appears as JEKABZEEL יְקַבְצְאֵל; om. Bℵ*A, *καβσεηλ* [ℵc.a mg. L]. Most probably it is a corruption of Jeḥalleṣe'el (יחלצאל), Ḥalleṣe'el (חלצאל)—*i.e.* the important town elsewhere miscalled Ziklag, on the site of Ḥalaṣa, SW. of Beersheba, towards Ruheibeh (Rehoboth). David's close connection, probably by birth and certainly by fortunes, with the Negeb, and the fact that Benaiah was the commander of the Cherethites (Rehobothites) and Pelethites (Zarephathites), strongly favours this view. See JUDAH.

It must be admitted that Jekabzeel, Kabzeel are in themselves likely forms; the present writer has therefore been reluctant to resort to emendation. Winckler's treatment of the Kĕrēthi and Pĕlēthi (*GI* ii. 184 *ff.*), however, so nearly approaches that proposed in this and other articles (especially PELETHITES, REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH), and adds so much force to the argument for deriving David's bodyguard from the Negeb (see NEGEB), that it would be misplaced hesitation to withhold this conjecture, which is in fact not very much less probable than the restoration of Ḥaluṣah for Ziklag. See ZIKLAG, and cp HAZELELPONI. T. K. C.

KADESH (קָדֵשׁ, 'holy.' § 98; ΚΑΔΗC [BAL]).

1. Also called Kadesh - Barnea (קָ׳ בַּרְנֵעַ, peculiar to D (R_D) and P, *κ. βαρνη* [BAFL], once *κ. του β.* Num. 34 4 [BAFL], on the Targ. רקם for Kadesh see JERAHMEEL, § 4), one of the most important places in the history of Israel previous to the 'conquest,' is now identified with *'Ain-Ḳadīs*, 50 m. S. of Beersheba. From its situation it is plain that it must always have been a central spot, and Trumbull, with whom Guthe (*ZDPV* 8 182 *ff.*) in all essentials agrees, has shown that the biblical references to Kadesh are best satisfied by identifying it with 'Ain Kadis (see NEGEB, and [on the confusion between Kadesh and Petra] SELA). In the OT it appears as the frontier-city of Edom (Nu. 20 16), and in P and Ezek. as part of the southernmost border of Palestine (Nu. 34 4 Ezek. 47 19 [*καδημ* B] 48 28). The surrounding district is once called 'the desert of Kadesh' (Ps. 29 8), and was perhaps identical with that of Beersheba (Gen. 21 14).[2] Its name, however, is given by P as PARAN (Nu. 13 3 26), and by another writer of the same age as Sin (EV ZIN).[3] It is by no means improbable that the district coincided with the N. Arabian *Muṣri* mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*.

1. Situation.

The significance of the name Kadesh fully accords with all we know of the whole district. In the old patriarchal legends the district of Kadesh (see BERED, BEER-LAHAI-ROI, SHUR), enters into the stories of ABRAHAM, HAGAR, and ISHMAEL,[4] its prominence being no doubt derived from its association with the early life of Israel after the Exodus, the old accounts (JE) of which make Kadesh the goal on leaving Egypt, and the centre of the forty years' wanderings; see WANDERINGS, §§ 3 *ff.* The events related of Meribath-Kadesh (see MASSAH AND MERIBAH), and the evidence of the name 'Well of Judgment' as applied to Kadesh (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט, Gen. 14 7;[5] cp Nu. 33 36 [L]), suggest that Kadesh was renowned both

2. Sanctity.

[1] It is doubtful whether AL omit; *βαιθθηρ* [AI, *βαιθουρ* [L] may represent this name or possibly Bethzur, cp *βεθσουρ* (Ald. and 121 HP *ad loc.*).

[2] According to Eusebius the 'desert of Kadesh' extends to Petra, and includes Hazazon-Tamar, Hormah, and *εννα* (see ZIN); but the statement requires criticism.

[3] Cp the variation in Nu. 33 36 where after 'Zin' 𝔊BAF reads 'and they departed from Zin, and came to the wilderness of Paran, which is Kadesh'; 𝔊L has the interesting reading 'to the Well of Judgment, which is Kadesh.'

[4] The instances where 'Mizraim' in these narratives refers to the N. Arabian Muṣri are to be specially noted (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).

[5] According to Wi. (*GI* 2 33) 'En-mishpat' is localised in Gen. 14 7 by an arbitrary conjecture, and the Kadesh originally meant by the gloss was Kedesh-Naphtali (see SODOM). Possibly, however, 'En-mishpat' is a scribe's error for 'Ir-misrepbath,' *i.e.* Ir Ṣarefath, 'the city of Zarephath' (Che.). See SODOM, ZAREPHATH, and cp MISREPHOTH-MAIM.

for a theophany (cp also Gen. 16 7 *ff.*) and for some divinely given decision or legislation.[1] These, unfortunately, are not directly mentioned; but it is not impossible that they may be found buried away under a mass of redactional matter in Ex. 33 *f.*,[2] the antiquity of the main part of which chapters is generally admitted; see EXODUS i., § 6.

The covenant in Ex. 34 is admittedly older than either the Decalogue, or the code in 20 *ff.*; and the theophany (33 18 *ff.* 345) in which Yahwè reveals his name and manifests his presence is not only superfluous after the preceding history of the Exodus given by J, but is in a marked degree cruder and more anthropomorphic than the similar theophany in Ex. 3 *f.* (see esp. 33 20-23).[3]

3. 'Exodus' tradition.

The conjecture that Kadesh was the scene of what might appear to be the first manifestation of Yahwè to Moses, explains the words of Hobab in Nu. 10 30 ('I will depart to my own land and to my kindred') which, on the usual assumption that the scene is laid in Horeb, hard by Hobab's home (Ex. 3 1), are somewhat unnatural. Moreover, this new importance of Kadesh makes it probable that it is to be connected with a specific tradition, certain traces of which are to be found imbedded in JE's account of the wanderings. It has been shown elsewhere that the details of the journey from Egypt to Sinai are borrowed from a later stage of the wanderings (EXODUS i., §§ 5 *ff.*). Traces of a similar tradition following the departure from Kadesh may perhaps be discovered in Nu. 21 1-3, where the wanderers have proceeded N. to HORMAH (*q.v.*), and the continuation of the march (in the same direction) finds them in Beer (21 16-18*a*, *i.e.* Beersheba to the N. of Hormah, or Beer-lahai-roi 7).[4] The rest of this narrative is not directly recoverable; its historical value will depend upon the view taken of the origin of the tribe of JUDAH (*q.v.*).

Accepting Schiele's view that the 'city of palm trees' (Judg. 1 16) is to be located in the extreme S. of Judah (cp the name TAMAR)—its identification with Jericho being due to mistaken glosses—we may be justified in emending the unknown דרך האתרים ('way of Atharim,' Nu. 21 1) on the road to Hormah, into עיר התמרים ('the city of palm trees').[5] To the journeying referred to above, which started from Kadesh, we may possibly assign the capture and occupation of Hebron and the surrounding districts (see HEBRON, § 1, JERAHMEEL, § 2). It may be conjectured further that the journey from Kadesh northwards to Judah is a 'levitical' tradition. In support of this it may be noticed that tradition seems to associate the 'Levites' with Kadesh (see LEVITES), and a close inspection of their name-lists makes it highly probable that previous to their diffusion throughout Israel they had come from the south. The same evidences show that 'Levite' is no ethnic, but a class-name (Hommel perhaps correctly connects with the S. Arab. *labiw*, 'temple-servant,' *AHT* 278 *f.*) applied to special members of several closely related clans and families. See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v.].

In view of this relation between Kadesh and Judah it may be noticed that tradition sends David himself to the wilderness of Paran (1 S. 25 1, see PARAN), perhaps his original home, and that, as Prof. Cheyne suggests, 'En-gedi' (עֵין־גֶּדִי), in 1 S. 23 29 24 1, as well as in Josh. 15 62, 2 Ch. 20 2, should, under the circumstances, probably be emended to עֵין־קָדֵשׁ, cp En-mishpat (§ 2 above); see also *AJSL*, 1900, p. 177 n. [See further JERICHO, JUDAH, § 5, NEGEB, PARAN, SODOM, ZAREPHATH.]

2. Kadesh, on the left bank of the Orontes. The most southern city of the Hittites, situated on an eminence about 5 m. from the lake called in the middle ages Buheiret el-Ḳades.[6] Representations of it are given on the walls of the Ramesseum at Thebes, and the heroic deeds of Rameses II. before the city form the subject of a well-known epic.' No reference to it occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions; apparently it had been destroyed by the Syrians of Damascus. According to some critics it is mentioned in the OT, in the account of David's numbering of the people, 2 S. 24 6 (see TAHTIM-HODSHI). If this view were correct, it would show that the Hittites still held Kadesh in the time of David. It has also been found by critical conjecture in Judg. 4 2 13 16 (see HAROSHETH), and in Judg. 5 21 *f.*, underlying the corrupt text of which we may probably detect something like this:—

Then fought the Kidšonim;
KidSon—its mighty ones were stunned.
The Kidšonim dyed the torrent Kishon,
The Hadrakkim dyed it like wool.[2]

The form Gadašuna may have belonged properly to the people of Kadesh; it occurs in a corrupt form in the epic of Pentaur and in the treaty between Rameses II. and the Hittites.[3] The men of Kadesh (the place of residence of Sisera, Judg. 4) and of Hadrach fought in the army of Sisera against the Israelites. For another Kidshon, see BEZAANANNIM, KISHION. Cp SISERA.

(1) S. A. C., (2) T. K. C.

KADMIEL (קַדְמִיאֵל, 'God is in front,' as leader, καδμιηλ [BKA], κεδ. [L]), a Levitical name mentioned with JESHUA (7) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA ii., §§ 9, 13*d*), Ezra 2 40 = Neh. 7 43 (καβδιηλ [B], δεκμιηλ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 26 (AV CADMIEL, κοδοηλου [B], καδμιηλου [A]); also among those officiating at the constitution of the 'congregation' (see EZRA ii., §§ 12 and 13 *f.*), Neh. 9 4 *f.* (see BANI, 3); also amongst the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 9 [10].

See also Ezra 3 9 (on which see EZRA), and Neh. 12 8 24. In the last-cited passage, 'the son of Kadmiel' should be 'Binnui (or Bani) Kadmiel' (see BINNUI, 2). The name should perhaps be read in 1 Ch. 27 17 for KEMUEL (3); see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [i.] n. Both names may come from Jeraḥme'el (Che.).

KADMONITES (הַקַּדְמֹנִי—*i.e.*, 'men of the east,' κελμωναιους [*sic D*], κελμωναιους [L]). Inhabitants of the Syrian desert, like the bne Kedem (see EAST, CHILDREN OF THE), Gen. 15 19†, R. Cp KEDEMAH (קֵדְמָה), a 'son' of Ishmael.

Not improbably, however, 'Kadmonite' is a corruption of Jerahmeelite (cp REKEM). This suits their position next to the Kenizzites, and, if correct, favours the view that the 'Hittites' of Palestine are the 'Rehobothites' (a textual corruption; see REHOBOTH).

KAIN (קַיִן), Nu. 24 22 RV; RV^mg. and AV, 'the Kenite(s).' See AMALEK, § 6 *f.*; CAIN, § 5; KENITES.

KALLAI (קַלַּי; καλλαι [ℵ^c.a mg.inf.], Bℵ*A om., καλμει [L]), a priest in Joiakim's time (see EZRA ii., §§ 6b 11), Neh. 12 20. Cp SALLAI.

KAMON (קָמוֹן), Judg. 10 5 RV; AV CAMON.

KANAH (קָנָה; κανθαν [B], κανα [A], καναει [L]), a place on the boundary of Asher (Josh. 19 28). At first sight it appears as if Kanah should be near Zidon, but the description probably means only that from the former place the border stretches northward to Zidon; and that no places requiring to be mentioned in

1 See also JEALOUSY, TRIAL OF, § 1. The budding of Aaron's rod in token of the pre-eminence of the Levites is placed at Kadesh by P in Nu. 16 *f.* Cp LEVITES.

2 The necessity for any renewal of the covenant (as these chapters have been at times explained) disappears when it is realised that the story of the calf-worship belongs to E2.

3 Verse 20 can scarcely be explained after such passages as 24 10 *f.* etc.

4 The wilderness in *v.* 18b 19 is that of Arnon in *vv.* 13. Verse 18b follows immediately upon *v.* 15.

5 Or, better still, into דרך הר אמרי, 'the way of the mountain-land of the Amorite' (Che.). Kadesh was in fact close to the Amorite mountain-region (Dt. 1 20).

6 See Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 140 *ff.* 391 *ff.*; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 212 *ff.*

1 See Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 393, n. 1.

2 See Che. *JQR* 10 536 ('98). *vv.* 21 and 22 are transposed. Read נלחמו for הלמו. עקבי סוס is a scribe's attempt to make sense of קרשונים (= קרשׁונים). The above is a modification of Ruben's very acute restoration in *JQR* 10 552 *f.* ('98). Ruben reads קְדֵשִׁים, 'men of Kadesh,' in *l.* 3 above, but misses the point in lines 1 and 2. He detected חֲדְרָכִּי, 'the Hadrakkite' in תדרכי, and נַפְסִישׁ, 'like wool' (Ass. *nabâsiš*, 'like red-coloured wool,' Del. Ass. *HWB* 4456; cp ASUR-BANI-PAL, § 6, n. 2), in נפשי עז; נרפם (rather צרפם) he explained from the Ass. inscriptions as meaning 'dyed it' (צָ֫ם, suff. of 3rd sing. masc.). The poem was written by some one who had Babylonian culture. Note ספל אדר, perhaps 'a bowl of bronze' (Ass. urudû), *v.* 25*b*. See JAEL.

3 See *As. u. Eur.* 335, cp 94 104 (cited by Ruben).

this part of the border occur to the writer (so Di.). Kanah may therefore be the modern village of *Ḳānā*, 7 m. SE. of Tyre.

Kanah was identified by Eus. and Jer. *(US)* with CANA OF GALILEE.

KANAH (קָנָה, 'reeds' ?), the name of a torrent and wādy (נַחַל, AV 'river,' RV 'brook') mentioned in the definition of the borders of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh. 16 8 17 9). The same form Kanu appears as that of a principality in the Am. Tab. 251.

𝔊's readings are, ἐπὶ χελκανα, ἐπὶ φάραγγα καρανα [B], ἐπὶ χειμάρρουν κανα, ἐπὶ φάραγγα καναι [A], ἐπὶ χειμάρρου κανα, ἐπὶ φάραγγα [ἐπὶ λίβα κατὰ φάραγγα ιαειρ] [L], *in vallem arundineti.*

The border of Ephraim 'goes out from Tappuah westward to the torrent Kanah, and ends at the sea' (16 8), while that of Manasseh 'descends to the torrent Kanah, southward of the torrent' (17 9). Similarity of sound at once suggests that the torrent Kanah may be the *Wādy Kānah*, SW. of Shechem, which, passing into the W. Ishkar, joins the 'Aujā, and so reaches the sea. There is indeed one phonetic difficulty (*k* is distinct from *ḳ*); but on the whole this theory (which has been adopted by Conder) suits the other topographical indications best. On the other hand, apart from these indications, a plausible case is made out by Guérin for the ***Nahr el-Fāliḳ***, a little to the N. of Arsūf, the Rochetaillie beside which the English crusaders under Richard I. tarried on 6th September 1191. 'It is bordered,' Guérin says, 'and even filled with a forest of reeds of different kinds,' and he goes on to identify this river with the Nahr el-Ḳaṣab ('stream of reeds') of the Moslem historian Bahā ed-Din. The latter river, however, is rather that now known as the Nahr el-Mefjir, which reaches the sea about 13 m. N. of the Nahr el-Fāliḳ, and therefore cannot be the torrent Kanah. And even the Nahr el-Fāliḳ can be identified with the torrent Kanah only if En-tappuah is placed where Guérin places it, to the NE. of Shechem.

KAREAH (קָרֵחַ, 'bald,' § 66; cp KORAH), father of JOHANAN (*q.v.*, 9); Jer. 40 8 *ff.* 41 11 *ff.* 42 18 43 24 *f.* (καρηε [BKAQ]); also 2 K. 25 23 (AV CAREAH; καρηθ [BA], καρηε [L]).

For another possible Kareah, restored in Judg. 10 1 by Hollenberg, see Moore's note *ad loc.* Cp ISSACHAR, col. 2293, n. 4.

KAREM (καρεμ [BAL]), in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned only by 𝔊 (Josh. 15 59). It is no doubt the modern *'Ain Kārim*, W. of Jerusalem, identified elsewhere with Ænon (see SALIM), BETH-CAR, BETH-HACCEREM. Its ancient name ('Vineyard') was well justified.

KARIATHIARIUS (καριαθιαριος [A]), 1 Esd. 5 19 RV, AV KIRIATHIARIUS.

KARKAA, or (RV) Karka (הַקַּרְקָעָה, with art. and the locative ending; την κατα δυσμας καδης [BAL]), apparently a place on the S. border of Judah (Josh. 15 3). According to Wetzstein (Del. *Gen.*[4] 586) the Makrah-plateau is meant (see NEGEB). The fact, however, that the ‖ passage (Nu. 34 4) says nothing of 'the Karka',' and the oddness of the expression (קַרְקַע means 'ground,' 'pavement,' 'bottom') provokes criticism. For a probable emendation see HAZAR-ADDAR, JERAHMEEL, § 4. T. K. C.

KARKOR (קַרְקֹר; καρκα [A], -ρ [BL]), the place to which Zebah and Zalmunna had fled from Gideon, and where they were surprised by him (Judg. 8 10†). It is the *Ḳarḳar*, S. of Hamath, mentioned by Shalmaneser II. (*KB* 1 173). See GIDEON, § 2, and cp Niebuhr, *Studien*, 1 20. T. K. C.

KARTAH (קַרְתָּה), given as a levitical city in Zebulun, Josh. 21 34, but according to most only a variant of KATTATH (*q.v.*). Kartah, however, may be another form of KARTAN (*q.v.*). 𝔊[B] reads καδης—*i.e.*, Kadesh (καροα [A], καριθα [L]).

KARTAN (קַרְתָּן), a city in Naphtali (Josh. 21 32†; θεμμων [B*], τε. [B^ab vid.], την νοε [A], την καρθαν [L]), called Kiriathaim in 1 Ch. 6 76 [61]. It has been overlooked that both names may be and probably are corruptions of כִּנֶּרֶת—*i.e.*, the ancient city of CHINNERETH [*q.v.*], perhaps the later Chorazin (see GENNESARET). The name Kartan does not occur in the list of Naphtalite cities in Josh. 19 32-38, where Chinnereth is found. See KARTAH. T. K. C.

KATTATH (קַטָּת; κατανααθ [B], κατταθ [A], κοτ. [L]), a town in Zebulun (Josh. 19 15).

A Talmudic statement (Talm. J. *Meg.* 1 1) identifies it with the later Ḳeṭūnīth, which is probably the modern *Ḳuṭeineh*, W. of the Merj-ibn-'Āmir. This identification, however, does not meet the requirements of the list in Joshua. Kattath should be near Shimron (*Semūnīyeh*). Judg. 1 30 suggests that Kattath = KITRON (*q.v.*). T. K. C.

KEDAR (קֵדָר; κηδαρ [BℵADL]), a son of Ishmael (Gen. 25 13 1 Ch. 1 29), appears as a representative Eastern people, Jer. 2 10 (opposed to Chittim), as flock-owning, Is. 60 7 (‖ Nebāiōth), Ezek. 27 21 (‖ עֲרָב), and tent-dwelling, Jer. 49 28 (cp *v.* 29); hence its חֲצֵרִים, Is. 42 11, are probably encampments; the tents of Kedar are used in figures, Ps. 120 5 (with Meshech) Cant. 1 5. Only in Is. 21 16 *f.* (see ISAIAH ii., § 8 [7]; a fragment of doubtful date) are the men of Kedar spoken of as warriors; here, too, the tribe of Dedan, in contrast to Gen. 10 7 and 25 3, is reckoned as part of Kedar. In later times the name seems to have been used so as to include all the wild tribes of the desert, who were naturally disliked by the peace-loving Judæans, and thus Kedar quite usurped the place of Ishmael. See further ISHMAEL, § 4 (2). F. B.

KEDEMAH (קֵדְמָה, 'east'; κεδμα [BAL]), an Ishmaelite tribal name, Gen. 25 15 [P] (κεδμαν [D], κεδεμα [L]), 1 Ch. 1 31 (κεδαμ [A]). Possibly a corruption. Cp KADMONITES.

To compare the Ḳdm or Ḳdma of the story of Sanehat with Maspero (*PSBA* 18 106 ['96]) is rash, for Ḳdm, whither the wandering Egyptian betakes himself, is clearly a general term for the region in the SE. or E. of the Dead Sea. T. K. C.

KEDEMOTH (קְדֵמוֹת), a town which gave its name to the wilderness whence Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of Heshbon (Dt. 2 26 κεδ[α]μωθ [BAFL]). It was probably situated on the upper Arnon at the northern extremity of the wilderness, a more westerly position being unsuitable since Israel did not enter Moab (cp Nu. 21 13, Dr. *Deut.*, *ad loc.*).

The account of the sending of the messengers in *Nu.* 21 21 *f.* finds a close parallel in the embassy to Edom Nu. 20 14 *ff.*, where the scene is laid at Kadesh. Are the two accounts derived from one (ם and ש are easily confused)? Elsewhere Kedemoth is found only in P, as a city given to the Reubenites (Josh. 13 18, βακεδμωθ [B], κεδημωθ [A], κα. [L]), and as a levitical city (Josh. 21 37, δεκμων [B], γεδσων [A], κ. [L] = 1 Ch. 6 79 [64], καδαμως [B], καμηδωθ [A], καδημωθ [L]). It has been conjecturally identified with Umm-er-reṣāṣ, whose ruins prove it to have been at one time a place of some importance (cp Baed.[3] 177). See JAHAZ. S. A. C.

KEDESH (קֶדֶשׁ; for meaning cp KADESH).

1. (καδης [B], κεδες [AL]), a city on the extreme southern border of Judah (Josh. 15 23). It is perhaps the same as Kadesh-barnea[1] (see WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF), which will otherwise have been omitted from the list. Dillmann, however, identifies it with the *Ḳādūs* of Muḳaddasi, one day S. of Hebron. Hebron, Ḳādūs, and Zoar were, in Mukaddasi's time, stations on the S. caravan-route. Wetzstein (Del. *Gen.*[4] 574 *ff.*) wrongly identified Ḳādūs with Kadesh-Barnea.

2. (κεδες [BL], κεδεε [A]) in 1 Ch. 6 72 [57], a levitical city in Issachar. The parallel passage in Josh. 19 20 (cp Josh. 19 20) has Kishion; the name Ḳidšun (if the view taken in KISHION is correct) accounts for both forms. Conder identifies this Kedesh with *Tell Abu Ḳudēs*, near Lejjūn (*PEFM* 2 69), and a critical conjecture of Wellhausen's depends on its existence (see DEBORAH, § 2).

3. (καδης [B], κεδες [AVL]), an ancient sanctuary which preserved its rights of asylum even under the Priestly Code; it is the Ḳidši, Ki-id-ša, Ki-id-ši, Gi-id-ši, Gid-ši of Am. Tab.

1. References.

[1] See also CHADIASAI.

{see *KB* **540*** [Index]; and cp Pap. Anast. **i.** 191; *RP* **1** 109; *As. u. Eur.* **213** n.).

It is usually called simply 'Kedesh' (Josh. 12 22 'the king of Kedesh,' 19 37 καδες [B], Judg. **4** 9 κειδες [A], καδης [L], 4 10 κειδες [A], 4 11 κεδες [B], 2 K. 15 29 κενεζ [BAL], 1 Macc. 11 63 κηδες [Aℵ] 73), but occasionally also **Kedesh-Naphtali** (Judg. **4** 6 καδης [L], Tob. 1 2 κυδιως [BK], κυδιων [A]), or **Kedesh in Galilee** (Josh. 21 32 καδες [B], 1 Ch. 6 61 [76] κεδες [B] καδης [L], and once 'Kadesh in Galilee, in the hill-country of Naphtali' (Josh. 20 7). On the geographical definition in Judg. 4 11, see BEZAANANNIM.

It was the home of Barak (see DEBORAH, § 2), and apparently the rallying-place from which the war of liberation was fought. Lying as it did on the northern frontier of Palestine (cp TAHTIM-HODSHI), it had to bear the brunt of the first incursion of the Assyrians, and with other neighbouring places (see ABEL-BETH-MAACAH, etc.) it was in **734** B.C. captured by Tiglath-pileser, its inhabitants being carried away to Assyria (2 K. 15 29). It is twice mentioned (1 Macc. **11** 63 73) in connection with the defeat of Jonathan the Maccabee near Hazor, and Josephus, who calls it καδασα, κεδασα, κεδεσα, κυδασα, κυδισα, describes it as 'between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee' (*Ant.* xiii. 5 6), as 'belonging to the Tyrians' (*BJ* ii. 18 1), or as 'a populous and well-fortified inland village of the Tyrians' (*BJ* iv. **2** 3) which was the scene of various warlike incidents in his own time. Eus. (*OS* 271 55) describes κυδισσος as situated 20 m. from Tyre, near Paneas. In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela visited Kedesh, and found there the tomb of Barak and several Jewish saints (*Early Travels in Pal.* 89).

Kedesh still retains its ancient name (*Kades*). J. L. Porter (Kitto, *Bib. Cycl. s.v.*) well describes it: 'High up among the mountains of Naphtali is a little green plain, embosomed in wooded hill-tops. On its western side is a rounded *tell*, on which the modern village stands. From the tell a low, narrow ridge projects into the plain, with flat top and steep sides, covered with rank vegetation. Both ridge and tell are strewn with ruins. In the plain, at the northern base of the ridge, round a little fountain, lie the most interesting remains of Kedesh. A number of sarcophagi serve the purpose of water-troughs. Near these are the ruins of two beautiful buildings, but whether mausoleums, temples, or synagogues, it is difficult to determine. Between them is a very remarkable group of sarcophagi standing on a massive platform of solid masonry. These are doubtless the tombs of which Benjamin of Tudela and Brocardus speak (chap. 7 173); and they show that down to a comparatively late period the Jews still regarded Kedesh as a sanctuary. The plain beside Kedes and the surrounding hills is thickly covered with terebinth and oak forests, among which the writer saw at several places the black tents of a nomad tribe which frequents this region.'

2. Situation.

See Rob. ***BR*** 3 367-369; Stanley, *S and P* 332, 282; *Lectures on Jewish Church*, 317: baed. *Pal.*(3) 298; Buhl, *Pal.* 235 *f.*

EEDESHAH (קְדֵשָׁה), RV$^{mg.}$ Gen. 38 22 Dt. **23** 17; also KADESH (קָדֵשׁ) RV$^{mg.}$ Dt. 23 17. See CLEAN, § 1, col. **837,** DOG, § 3 (end), HIGH PLACES, § 4, IDOLATRY, § 6, and cp ASHTORETH, RITUAL, SACRIFICE.

KEHELATHAH (קְהֵלָתָה; μακελλαθ [B], -ελαθ [AF], -αδ [L]; **Nu.** 33 22 *f.*). See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

KEILAH (קְעִילָה; κεειλα [BℵA], κειλα [L]: but κεειλαμ in Josh. [B], καιειλα in Neh. 3 17 [ℵ]), one of the towns 'in the Shĕphēlah' of Judah (Josh. 15 44). It was an important place in the fifteenth century B.C., being several times mentioned as Ḳilti in the Amarna tablets. David found a temporary shelter within its 'gates and bars' (1 S. **23** 1 *ff.*). After the Exile it gave its name to **an** administrative district mentioned after Beth-zur (Neh. 3 17 *f.*). The Chronicler, after his fashion, introduces the 'father of Keilah' (whom he connects with the clan called the GARMITE) into a genealogy in conjunction with Eshtemoa (1 Ch. 4 19).

Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 270 33 109 19) identify Keilah with the village of Kela, situated 8 (the Greek text by an error has 17) m. from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Hebron, which is no doubt the modern *Beit Kāḥil*, about **4** m. NNE. of Ḥalḥūl. This place, however, is situated on a steep mountain, where there is no arable land, and so cannot be the Keilah of 1 S. 24. There is also a ruined village called *Ḳīlā* (cp the κίλλα of Jos. ***Ant.*** vi. 13 1), 7 m. E. of Beit Jibrin and about **7** m. NE. of Ḥalḥūl, which is not quite so deep in the mountains as Beit Kāḥil and is identified with Keilah by Guérin (*Judée*, 3 351). The only objection to it is drawn from Josh. **15** 44, where Keilah stands almost at the end of a long list of 'cities' in the Shĕphēlah. Dillmann and Muhlau consider this so serious that they are led to reject this identification. It is to be noted, however, that not far from *Ḳīlā* we find Beit Naṣīb, which must be the ancient Nezib, and Mareshah (*Mer'ash*) is already pretty far to the E. Evidently the Shephēlah is to be distinguished from the maritime plain which it adjoined (GASm. *HG* 202). This is one of the cases in which travel appears to throw great light on the old Hebrew narratives. The terraced sides of the hill of *Ḳīlā* are even to-day covered with corn, and their luxuriance must have been greater still when the terraces were cared for. No wonder that the Philistine raiders (or, as we should perhaps read, 'the Pelethites' —*i.e.*, the Zarephathites; see ZAREPHATH) swarmed up the Wādy eṣ-Ṣūr to rob the threshing-floors. The citizens of Keilah were powerless to drive them away, and were even poor-spirited enough to plan the surrender of David, their deliverer, to Saul. Ahithophel (Ahipelet?) may perhaps have been the man who facilitated David's escape. See GILOH, DAVID, § 4, JUDAH.

It is doubtful whether the 'springs of water,' etc., of Josh. 15 19 Jndg. 1 15 are really proper names (see GOLATH-MAIM). Since the names cannot properly be translated as Hebrew, they are supposed to be pre-Israelitish. More probably the text is corrupt. The passage contains a statement that the land of the Achsah clan being barren (גַּלְמוּד), Caleh granted it אֶת קְעִילָה וְאֶת בֵּית־תַּפּוּחַ, 'Keilah and Beth-Tappuah.' DEBIR probably lay hetwedn these two places, which were subject to **it.** See Che. *Crit. Bib.*

'Golath' (sing.) is attested by, Pesh., by γολαθμα of Eus. (*OS*(2) 245 34), *Golathamaim* of Jer. (*ib.* 127 27), and 𝔊 in Josh. γωλαθμαιμ . . . γωλαθ τὴν κάτω [A], γωλαθμαιμ . . . γωλαθμαιμ τὴν ἄνω κ. τὴν γωλαθμαιμ τ.κ. [L]; τὴν βοθθανεις . . . γοναθλαν . . . γοναιθλαν τ.κ. [B]).[1]

T. K. C.

KELAIAH (קֵלָיָה, § 33, cp KOLAIAH [𝔊 readings]) is mentioned, with the note 'the same is Kelita,' among the Levites in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 23 (κωλεια αὐτὸς κωλιευ [Bℵ*], κωλαα αὐτὸς κωλιτας [A], κωλεια αὐτὸς κωλιταυ [ℵ^{a} vid.], κωλιας αὐτὸς κωλειτα [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 23, 'COLIUS who was called CALITAS' (κωνος οὗτος καλειταις [B], κωλιος ob. ἐστιν καλιτας [A], κωλιας οὗτος καλλιτας [L]). See KELITA.

RELITA (קְלִיטָא, 'dwarf'?; καλλιταc [L]), a Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 10 [11] (καντα [B], κανθαν [ℵ*], καλιτα [ℵ$^{c.a}$], -ν [A]), mentioned also in MT among the expounders of the law (see EZRA **ii.**, § 13 [*f.*]; cp i. § 8, ii. § 16 [5], § 15 [1] c) Neh. 8 7; BNA om. = 1 Esd. 9 48, CALITAS (καλειτας [BA]). In Ezra 10 23 Kelita (= Calitas, 1 Esd. 9 23) is identified with KELAIAH.

KEMUEL (קְמוּאֵל; καμουηλ [BAFL]).

1. Son of Nahor by Milcah and father of Aram (Gen. 22 21, J), a statement at variance with that in 10 22 *f.* (P), and in itself most improbable. Di. is content with pointing out that Aram seems to have **a** narrower reference here. Gen. 22 21, however, is corrupt and should run, 'Uz his firstborn and Ahibuz, and Jerahmeel, and Abiram.' See JERAHMEEL, § 4, and note that Ahibuz (see AHI, i.) and Michael (a corruption of 'Jerahmeel') are brought into connection with Salecah (miswritten 'Milcah' in Gen. 22 20), and with 'Gilead in Bashan' (= Ṣalḥad; see MILCAH, SALECAH) in 1 Ch. 5 11 16. Observe, too, that Abiram is a Reubenite name (Nu. 16 1), and that Reuben was a trans-Jordanic tribe.

2. 'Prince' of the tribe of Ephraim, temp. Moses; **Nu.** 34 24 [P].

[1] 𝔊^{A} of Josh. omits the first name. In Judg. 𝔊^{BAL} has λύτρωσιν ὕδατος (thus associating גֻּלֹּת with גְּאֻלָּה) followed by λύτρωσιν μετεώρων καὶ λ. (+ λ. [A]) ταπεινῶν.

3. Father of Hashabiah who was over the tribe of Levi, temp. David; 1 Ch. 27 17 (σαμουηλ [B], κεμ.[L], ܩܡܘܐܝܠ [Pesh.]). See KADMIEL (end). T. K. C.

KENAN (קֵינָן), 1 Ch. 1 2; also Gen. 5 9, RV; AV CAINAN.

KENATH (קְנָת, ΚΑΑΝΑΘ [A]; in Ch., ΚΑΝΑΑΘ [B], ΚΑΝΑΘ [AL]; in Nu. ΚΑΑΘ [B], ΚΑΝΑΑΘ [L]). A place on the other side of the Jordan, also called NOBAH (*q.v.*) after the clan so named (Nu. 32 42). In 1 Ch. 2 23† it is stated[1] that 'Geshur and Aram took the Havvoth-Jair with Kenath and its dependencies' from the Israelites. Eusebius and Jerome (OS 269 15 109 1) identify Kenath with Canatha (κανaθα), which is described by them as a still existing 'village' of Arabia in Trachonitis, not far from Bostra, and probably this place is meant when the Talmud includes Kenath among the frontier cities of Palestine.[2]

In Jos. *BJ* i. 19 2 Kenath is reckoned to Cœlesyria, while Ptol. (v. 15 23) and Plin. (*HN* v. 18 74) reckon it to the DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*, § 2). For its history, see Schürer (*GJV* 2 95-97).

Canatha is the modern *Ḳanawāt*, on the W. slope of the Jebel Ḥaurān, 4068 ft. above the sea-level, and 16 or 17 m. NNE. from Bostra on the Roman road to Damascus. The ruins are among the most important in Eastern Palestine (see plan in Baed. *Pal.*(3) 194). From the point of view adopted in JAIR, JEPHTHAH, NOBAH, there is no hindrance to identifying this interesting spot with the biblical Kenath.[3] See, however, G. F. Moore on Judg. 8 11. T. K. C.

KENAZ (קְנַז; ΚΕΝΕΖ [BADEL], the original pronunciation being probably Ḳiniz) figures in the genealogy of the Edomites as a clan belonging to them—Gen. 36 11 (ΕΝΕΖ [D]) = 1 Ch. 1 36 (ΚΕΖΕΖ [A]) 15 42 (ΚΕΝΕϹ [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 53. On the other hand the Judæan hero Caleb, who is said to have obtained possession of Hebron the capital of Judah but in reality is the personification of a family originally distinct from the Judæans (see 1 S. 30 14 Josh. 15 13, and cp 1 S. 25 3), appears as a **Kenizzite** (RV, **AV Kenezite**; הַקְּנִזִּי, ὁ κενεζαῖος [BAL]; Nu. 32 12 ὁ διακεχωρισμένος [BAL], Josh. 14 6 14). Moreover, Caleb's mythical son-in-law OTHNIEL (*q.v.*) is a son of Kenaz: Josh. 15 17 (= Judg. 1 13 κενεχ [A]) Judg. 3 9 11 1 Ch. 4 13. Again, in 1 Ch. 4 15 Kenaz is apparently a grandson of Caleb. From all this we may conclude either that Kenaz was originally an independent tribe, of which one portion became incorporated with the Edomites and another portion with the neighbouring Judæans, or else that a part of the old Edomite tribe Kenaz settled among the Judæans at a very early period. In any case it is tolerably clear that Kenaz and Caleb were at first strangers in Judah, afterwards became close allies, and finally were absorbed in the surrounding population. Such changes have been by no means rare (see EDOM, § 3).

In Gen. 15 19-21 an attempt is made to enumerate the various peoples who inhabited Palestine before the Israelite invasion; that the Kenizzites are included in the list serves to show that their foreign origin had not yet been forgotten. Cp CALEB, § 2. T. N.

KENITES (הַקֵּינִי, ΟΙ Κ[Ε]ΙΝΑΙΟΙ or Ο -ΟϹ [BAL]); Gen. 15 19 (οἱ κεναιοι [D], καιν. [L]), Nu. 24 21 (ὁ κεναιος [B], ο καινεος [A], -αιος [L]), 1 S. 15 6*a* (*b*?); but הַקֵּינִי in 1 S. 27 10 (ὁ κηνει [A]) should perhaps be הַקְּנִזִּי (ὁ κενεζ[ε]ι [BL]); וּבְנֵי קֵינִי, Judg. 1 16, should be וְחֹבָב הַקֵּינִי followed by עָלָה (see JETHRO); pl. הַקִּינִים, 1 Ch. 2 55 (οἱ κιναῖοι). Also קַיִן, Nu. 24 22, and perhaps 1 S. 15 6 6 [We., crit. emend.].

A nomadic tribe, allied to the Kenizzites (Gen. 15 19) and to Amalek—*i.e.*, JERAHMEEL (1 S. 15 6), and personified as Kain (cp CAIN, § 5). They entered Canaan (more strictly, the Negeb) with the men of Judah (see JERICHO, § 2). In all probability they have left a trace of their name in KINAH (*q.v.*).

See Judg. 1 16, where MT wrongly states that the Kenites 'went and dwelt among the people,' as if the Israelitish people were meant—an impossible view doubtless. An important group of the MSS of 𝔊 (Moore's N), with the Sahidic version, adds αμαληκ; probably, therefore, we should read 'among the Amalekites.'[1] See also Nu. 24 21 *f.*, where the Kenites appear in close proximity to the Amalekites (Jerahmeelites).

Against the supposed connection of the Kenites and the Midianites, see Moore, *Judges*, 34, note. It may be noted, however, that in the opinion of the present writer מִדְיָן (Midian), in Ex. 2 15 *f.* 3 1 18 1, should most probably be מצור=מרוץ, and מִדְיָנִי in Nu. 10 29 should probably be מִצְרִי; in other words, Hobab was at once a Kenite and a Muṣrite (cp MIZRAIM, § 26).

Residing between the Judahite and the Jerahmeelite portions of the Negeb, the Kenites are equally in touch with the bne Judah and with the Jerahmeelites (see NEGEB). It is strange, therefore, to find them, in Judg. 4 11, in the N. of Canaan; cp, however, Judg. 12 15 (?), and observe that Muṣur (the region of Kadesh?) is cursed in Judg. 5 23 (read, not מרוז, but מצור; see MEROZ) for not helping the Israelites. W. M. Müller's explanation of 'Heber the Kenite' (ὁ κειναῖος, L om.) is plausible, but no more. We must at any rate admit that the narrative as it stands assumes that Heber was not a town-dweller, but a nomad (see HEBER, 1).

Another explanation is that of Sayce—that the Kenites were a tribe of wandering smiths, who were chiefly in the S. of Palestine, but might be led by their art into northern regions (against this view, repeated in Hastings' *DB* 2 834 *b*, see AMALEK, § 7).

Saul's relation to the Kenites is interesting. He recognises the old bond between them and Israel, and therefore is not offended at their relation to the Jerahmeelites; but he wishes them to remove from that section of the Jerahmeelites which was hostile to Israel (see **SAUL**). From 1 Ch. 2 55 (see HEMATH) it appears that either a section of the Kenites or the Kenite tribe as a whole also bore the name of RECHABITES (*q.v.*; if we should not rather read 'Heberites').[2] It is at any rate possible that 'Jonadab' should be read instead of 'HOBAB' [*q.v.*] as the name of the ancestor of the Kenites whose connection with Moses is asserted by a trustworthy tradition (Judg. 1 16, cp Nu. 10 29). In Nu. 24 21 a Hebrew poet plays on the name of 'Kenite' (Ḳain) which he connects with קֵן, 'nest.'

Apparently he anticipates their destruction by the Assyrians, for in *v.* 22 (RV) he continues,

> Nevertheless, Kain shall be wasted,
> Until Asshur shall carry thee away captive.

The **marg.** of RV, however, warns us that the text is grammatically obscure. Besides, Assyria had nobler prey to clutch than the Kenites. Hence the couplet needs some emendation.[3]

It was pointed out above that in the Song of Deborah the Muṣrites, with whom the Kenites were closely linked, are 'cursed' for not coming to the help of Yahwè's worshippers the Israelites (Judg. 5 23). This confirms a view which has long been considered critically probable that the Kenites and the Israelites were conscious of the identity of their early religion, and that the Kenites were indirectly at least the teachers of the Israelites. So, before Stade, Tiele maintained (*Vergel. Geschied.* 559 ['72]; cp Che. *EB*(9) 790 ['76]).[4] The progress of critical study of the documents since 1872 has in fact added considerably to the probability of this

[1] The treatment of this passage by Bertheau, *Chron.*(2) ('73), is very unsatisfactory.
[2] Neubauer, *Géogr.* 20.
[3] So Dietrich, Di., Strack, Stade (*Gesch.* 1 149 *f.*), Smend in Riehm (*HWB*(2)), GASm. (*HG* 560, n. 3; 579, n. 3). On the other side see Séjourné, *Rev. bibl.*, '98, p. 604 *ff.*

[1] אֶת־הָעֲמָלֵקִי (Budde, Moore, Driver [*TBS* 93]); לקי fell out owing to וילך which follows.
[2] According to Meyer (*Ent.* 117) we have in 1 Ch. 2 55 56 the remains of a genealogy of Kain (the Kenites) similar to the preceding genealogy of Caleb. On a connection between 'Salma' and the Kenites see SALMAH 2.
[3] Che. *Exp. T* 10 399 (June, '99); Hommel (*AHT* 245).
[4] Robertson (*Early Rel. of Isr.* 274) represents Ghillany as the authority for this opinion, but the view ascribed by Robertson to Ghillany is decidedly less sober than that of Tiele and his followers.

view, which has been lately reasserted by Budde (*Rel. of Isr. to the Exile*, 21). See ISRAEL, § 3 *f.*, AMALEK, § 6.
T. K. C.

KERAS (κηρας [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 29 RV = Neh. 7 47 = Ezra 2 44, KEROS.

KERCHIEFS (מִסְפָּחוֹת, Ezek. 13 18 21 EV); see DRESS, § 8, col. 1141.

KEREN-HAPPUCH (קֶרֶן הַפּוּךְ), the name of one of Job's daughters (Job 42 14; αμαλθ[ε]ιας κερας [BℵC], adnot. ευθυμων υγια [B vid. mg.], αμαλθιας κ. [ℵ*], μαλθεας κ. [A], *CORNUSTIBII* [Vg.]).
Can one of Job's ideal daughters really be named 'Box of eye-paint'? Or can we attach the least importance to 𝔊? Cant. 7 8 [9] 25 suggests an emendation. Read probably רֵיחַ תַּפּוּחִים, Rēăḥ-tappūḥīm, 'scent of apples.' 𝔊 may have read קֶרֶן פָּתוּחַ. Cp JEMIMA, and see *Crit. Bib.*
T. K. C.

KERIOTH. 1. A Moabite city (קְרִיּוֹת, Jer. 48 24 καριωθ [BℵAQ]; הַקּ׳, Jer. 48 41 ακκαρων [Bℵ], -ριωθ [A], καριωθ [Q]; Am. 2 2 AV KIRIOTH, των πολεων αυτης [BAQ], της καριωθ [Q mg.]), also mentioned in Mesha's inscription, line 13 (קרית), as a sanctuary of Chemosh. Identified by Seetzen with Ḳuraiyāt, at the W. end of Mt. Ataroth ('Aṭṭārūs). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* 269 10 108 27) call this place *καριαθα*, Coraitha, and place it 10 R. m. from Medeba, but identify it wrongly with KIRJATHAIM [*q.v.*, 1]. See Noldeke (*Inschr. Mesa*, 25). Others (cp Driver on Am. 2 2) think that AR-MOAB and Kerioth were two names for the same city. More plausibly Buhl (*Pal.* 270) identifies Kerioth with Kir of Moab (*i.e.*, *Kerak*); indeed, if Kir-heres (undeniably = Kir of Moab) was really named Kiriath-hadashath (see KIR-HERES) this appears a still more probable view. Cp KIRJATH-HUZOTH.

2. A city of Judah (Josh. 15 25, RV **Kerioth-hezron**, קְרִיּוֹת חֶצְרוֹן), often, but wrongly, supposed to be the birthplace of JUDAS ISCARIOT. See HAZOR, 4.
T. K. C.

KEROS (קֵרֹס, קֵירֹס; κορες [L]), a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra. 2 44 (*καδης* [B], *κηραος* [A]) = Neh. 7 47 (*κειρα* [B], -ς [ℵA]) = 1 Esd. 5 29, CERAS, RV KERAS (*κηρας* [BA]).

KESITAH (קְשִׂיטָה), a word recorded in RV mg., of Gen. 33 19 [Josh. 24 32], Job 42 11; EV 'piece of money.' 𝔊 Onk. Vg. render 'lambs,' 'a lamb' (Tg. Jon. 'pearls'). It has been suggested that *ἑκατὸν ἀμνῶν* in 𝔊 of Gen. 33 19 was originally *ἑκ. μνῶν* (100 minæ). But since 𝔊 gives *ἀμνάδων* in Josh. 24 32, and *ἀμνάδα* in Job 42 11, Schleusner (*Lex. in Vet. Test.* 1 191) feels obliged to reject the hypothesis. Nevertheless it appears that 𝔊 is nearer the truth than the critics who adhere to MT. In Gen. 31 41 𝔊's *δέκα ἀμνάσιν* corresponds to עֲשֶׂרֶת מֹנִים; surely 𝔊 read מָנִים, 'minæ.' Possibly, too, in Gen. 33 19 *μνῶν* stood in the original 𝔊 as the equivalent of מנים. Looking closely at 33 19 we can divine that the text originally ran, מִיַּד בְּנֵי חֲמוֹר בְּמָנֶה כַּרְכְּמִישׁ, 'at the hand of the sons of Hamor for a mina of Carchemish,' and so too in 23 15, where Abraham's purchase of Machpelah is described, we should read אַרְבַּע מָנוֹת[1] כַּרְכְּמִישׁ, 'four Carchemish minæ,' and in *v.* 16 the same once more with the addition of חָרוּץ '(in) gold.'

In 33 19 אבי שכם and קְשִׂיטָה are both misreadings of ברכמיש and in 23 16 שקל כסף עבר are, all of them, attempts to make sense of dislocated fragments of ברכמיש; לסחר comes from חרוץ.

The same emendation is to be made in Josh. 24 3 (harmonised in the received text with Gen. 33 19). Probably also in Job 42 11 קשיטה אחת ואיש נזם זהב אחד has taken the place of מָנֶה כַּרְכְּמִישׁ אֶחָד, 'one Carchemish mina of 'gold.' Duhm truly remarks that a little piece of money and a nose-ring or ear-ring from each of Job's friends would not do much to restore his fortune, Yet the context (see *v.* 12) is most intelligible if we suppose that they did each make a considerable present; the ring (נזם) can well be spared!

Note that 2 Ch. 9 16 gives מֵאוֹת (read מָנוֹת) where 1 K. 10 17 has מָנִים. This supplies an analogy for the emendation of מֵאוֹת in Gen. 33 19 into מָנוֹת. We are thus relieved from the necessity of connecting קְשִׂיטָה with Ar. *Ḳisṭ*, 'a balance,' which is unknown in N. Semitic,[1] and forcing a sense out of עֹבֵר לַסֹּחֵר.

On the commercial importance of the *maneh* of Carchemish, see CARCHEMISH, § 2, and cp SHEKEL.
T. K. C.

[1] Comparing 2 Ch. 9 16 (on text, see top of next col.).

KETAB (κηταβ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 30 RV, AV CETAB (*q.v.*).

KETTLE (דּוּד), 1 S. 2 14; elsewhere 'basket,' 'caldron,' 'pot.' See COOKING UTENSILS, § 5 (i.).

KETURAH (קְטוּרָה, as if 'incense'; χεττουρα [BADEL]), Abraham's second wife (Gen. 25 1 4 1 Ch. 1 32 *f.*).[2]
She is, in J, the ancestress of no fewer than sixteen (Arabian) tribes (six *directly* and ten at one or two removes), on which see the special articles. A tribe called *Ḳaṭūrā* which dwelt near Mecca, with the tribe Jurhum, is mentioned by Ibn Koteiba (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 12 19 *ff.*). Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 450) maintains that the Keturah-tribes are the remains of the old Minæan people (see MEUNIM, and cp Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 42).
F. B.

KEY (מַפְתֵּחַ), Is. 22 22 Judg. 3 25. See DOOR.

KEZIA, RV **Keziah** (קְצִיעָה, § 71 'cassia'; κασιαν [BHC], κασς. [A]), the name of one of Jobs daughters (Job 42 14†).
See CASSIA, 2, and cp KEREN-HAPPUCH (the emended form of the name is strictly parallel to Keziah).

KEZIZ, VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק קְצִיץ), Josh. 18 21 AV, RV EMEK-KEZIZ (*q.v.*).

KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH (קִבְרוֹת הַתַּאֲוָה; EV mg. 'the graves of lust'; μνηματα [της] επιθυμιας [BAL], *SEPULCHRA CONCUPISCENTIÆ*), a stage in the wilderness wanderings, for the name of which an Etiological legend was provided (see QUAIL), Nu. 11 34 *f.* 33 16 *f.* Dt. 9 22. It has already been noticed that Taberah (Nu. 11 1-3) does not occur in the list of stations in Nu. 33, and Dillmann rightly holds that the account of Taberah in E's narrative corresponded to the account of Kibroth-hattaavah in J's. We must, however, go further. Taberah (תבערה) and Hattaavah (התאוה) presumably represent the same word in the original story, and the real name of the locality referred to was probably Kibroth-tab'ērah—*i.e.*, Graves of Taberah. Taberah (of which Hattaavah will be a corruption) is probably the name of a hill or mountain, and the graves are pre-Israelitish cairns or stone circles, which either had, or were supposed to have, a sepulchral purpose. In the Desert of the Tīh such primitive stone monuments abound on the hill-sides.
They are sometimes called *nawāmīs*, and the current story is that they were built by the Israelites as a protection against a plague of mosquitoes (E. H. Palmer). See NEGEB, § 6: WANDERINGS.
T. K. C.

KIBZAIM (קִבְצַיִם; cp, if the reading is correct, JEKABZEEL, KABZEEL, and on the form see NAMES, § 107; καβσαειμ [A], -σεμ [L], B om.), a levitical city in the territory of Ephraim, Josh. 21 22† = 1 Ch. 6 68 [53], JOKMEAM.

[1] Such a connection would suggest קְשִׁיטָה, *kĕšīṭā*, which Ball actually substitutes for קְשִׂיטָה.

[2] [In the Midr. *Ber. rabba* (61) Keturah is identified with Hagar; so too the Targums (Jon. and Jer.), which explain the name 'bound one' (Aram. קְטַר = קָשַׁר). Cp Jer. *Quæst. in Gen.* 25 1).]

KID (גְּדִי, etc.), Gen. **38** 17 etc. See GOAT, § 1.

KIDNEYS (כְּלָיוֹת). See REINS. On 'kidney fat of wheat,' Dt. **32** 14, or 'fat of wheat,' Ps. 81 16 [17], **147** 14, see FOOD, § 1 *6*.

KIDRON, THE BROOK, once in AV CEDRON [Jn. 15 1]; RVmg. 'of the Cedars' (נַחַל קִדְרוֹן; [ὁ] χειμάρρους [τῶν] κεδρων [BAL]; in Jer. **31** 40 ναχαλ κ. [Bא], χ. κεδρων [AQ] Vg. *torrens Cedron* (hut *convallis* in 2 K. **186**).

NT, Jn. 18 1† ὁ χειμά. τῶν κέδρων (א^c BCLY, Treg., **WH**), τοῦ κεδρων (AΔ, Vg. τοῦ κέδρου [D Tisch.]; Cedri *a.b.*; Theb., Memph.; Lachm., Lightf., Weiss). Probably τοῦ κεδρων is the correct reading; being misunderstood, it would easily he corrected into τοῦ κέδρου or τῶν κέδρων.

1. Etymology.

Gesenius derives from קדר, 'black, turbid,' cp Job **6** 16. **But** נחל and קדרון are certainly in apposition; **it** is the ravine which is called *Kidron*. 'Black ravine would not be a probable explanation; hence Hort ('Notes on Select Readings,' NT **2** 90) suggests 'ravine of the dark [trees],' taking קדרון to be '**an** archaic (? Canaanite) plural of קדר.' He even suggests that κεδρος may he of Phœnician origin—comparing קדרום in Buxtorf, 1976—**and** adds (cp Plummer, *St. John*, **318**) 'that 'patches of cedar-forest may have survived from prehistoric times in sheltered spots.' This is most improbable. Even in a ravine which is quite *dry* in summer we do not expect *to* hear of cedars; the cedars on the Mount of Olives (*Ta'ănīth*, **44**) give no support *to* the theory. The form *too* is perfectly good Hebrew; it describes that which belongs to or is connected with קדר (whatever קדר may be). More probably קִדְרוֹן is a phonetic variation of גִּדְרוֹן, 'a spot with enclosures for cattle'; cp **GEDERAH**, 1, where it is suggested that κεδρων in 1 Macc. corresponds to the גְּדֵרָה of Josh. **15** *36* and to the modern Ḳaṭra. It will be noticed that there is at one point of the Kidron valley (where it joins the valley of Hinnom) **a** level tract now devoted to the cultivation of fruit and vegetables. Here we can imagine that in remote times there were enclosures for cattle. May not Kedar (קֵדָר, **Ass.** *ḳidri*) have a similar origin?

2. Biblical references.

The remarkable depression on the E. of Jerusalem (see JERUSALEM, **§ 3**) is referred to in 2 S. 15 23 1 K. 2 37 15 13 2 K. 23 4 6 12 Jer. 31 40 2 Ch. 15 16 29 16 30 14, and twice in the short title הַנַּחַל, 'the ravine,' 2 Cb. 33 14 Neh. 2 15. Josephus twice calls it ἡ φάραγξ κεδρων (*Ant.* ix. 7 3 *BJ* v. 6 1); in *BJ* v. 2 3 he refers to its great depth.

In 2 K. 23 4 Jer. 31 40 (Kr.) we hear, according to the ordinary view, of the 'fields' (שְׁדֵמוֹת; 𝔊B σαλημωθ, 𝔊A σαδημωθ, in Jer. 𝔊 follows Kth) of Kidron, which might refer to the fertile tract in the S. of the valley (see below), where of old was the 'King's garden' (Neh. 3 15). **But** the word שׁדמות being most probably corrupt elsewhere (see **GRAPE**, 3), it seems better to read מִשְׂרְפוֹת (𝔊L ἐν τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ τοῦ χειμάρρου Κεδρων)—*i.e.*, furnaces for making lime, **or** for smelting (Klo.). 'The fields of Kidron,' is, in fact, hardly **a** sufficiently clear phrase to have been used, especially in this context.

It is in the touching account of David's flight that we are first introduced to the 'Brook Kidron'; and we hear of it for the last time in a still more pathetic NT narrative. King David 'stood (read עֹמֵד with We., H. P. Smith, and most critics) by the ravine Kidron, while all the people passed over before him' (2 S. 15 23); and Jesus 'went forth with his disciples over the ravine (RVmg.) Kidron, where was a garden' (Jn. **18** 1; but see **§ 3**). The other references to Kidron (except those in the topographical passages, 2 Ch. **33** 14 Neh. **2** 15) occur in accounts of the destruction of idolatrous objects at the mouth of Hinnom (see history of Asa, Hezekiah, Josiah), and 1 K. 2 37, where Shimei, that violent partisan of Saul's house, is forbidden by Solomon (as the text, now stands) to cross Kidron. This is one of the many cases where commentators have been satisfied with a plausible but not quite satisfactory explanation, instead of questioning the correctness of the text. It is said, *e.g.*, by Benzinger, that Kidron is mentioned because Solomon thinks it most probable that Shimei would seek to cross the eastern boundary of the city on a visit to his home at Bahurim. But something more would certainly have been added to make this clear, and, just before, the phrase used is perfectly vague, אָנָה וָאָנָה, 'any whither.' The true reading is surely בְּכָל־דֶּרֶךְ, 'by any road.'[1]

The designation 'Valley of Jehoshaphat' dates back to the fourth century A.D. It also appears in OS 273 89 111 13. It is based on Joel 3 [4] 2 12, but the expression עֵמֶק (which means a deep but broad valley, like those of Rephaim and Elah, see VALE, 1), is sufficient proof that the interpretation of that difficult passage (see JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF) is erroneous. The constant term for the Kidron valley in the OT is נחל, a wādy or ravine. Popular tradition, however, takes no account of such minor matters. It is the greatest boon that a dying Jew can ask to be buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat—*i.e.*, of Kidron, because he believes that this ravine will be the scene of the great judgment. The whole of the left bank of the Kidron opposite the Ḥaram, far up the W. side of the Mount of Olives, is covered with the white tombstones of the Jews; the burial-place of the Moslems is on the E. side of the mount.' At the resurrection, the valley is expected to receive an expansion by the moving farther apart of the opposite sides.

3. Topography.

The Valley of Kidron is now called *Wādy Sitti Maryam*, or Wady of the Lady Mary. It contains the bed of a streamlet; but during the whole summer and most of the winter, it is perfectly dry; in fact, no water runs in it except when heavy rains are falling on the mountains round Jerusalem.

On the broad summit of the mountain ridge of Judæa, a mile and a quarter NW. of Jerusalem, is a slight depression; this is the head of the wkdy, which runs on for about half a mile towards the city. It then bends eastward, and in another half-mile is crossed by the great northern road coming down from the hill Scopus. On the E. side of the road, and the S. bank of the wādy, are the celebrated 'Tombs of the Kings.' The channel is here about half a mile due N. of the city gate. It continues in the same course about a quarter of **a** mile farther, and then, turning S., opens into **a** wide basin containing cultivated fields and olives. Here it is crossed diagonally by the road from Jerusalem to Anathoth. **As** it advances southward, the right bank, forming the side of the hill Bezetha, becomes higher and steeper, with occasional precipices of rock, on which may be seen a few fragments of the ancient city wall; while, on the left, the base of Olivet projects, greatly narrowing the valley. Opposite St. Stephen's gate the depth is fully 100 feet, and the breadth not more than 400 feet. The olive trees in the bottom are so thickly clustered as to form a shady grove; and their massive trunks and gnarled boughs give evidence of great age. This spot is shut out from the city, from the view of public roads, and from the notice and interruptions of wayfarers. If Gethsemane was really in the wkdy, it would be better to place it here than on the more public traditional site some distance farther down. From Mk. 14 32, however, compared with *v.* **26**, we should rather suppose that it was somewhere on the W. slope of the Mount of Olives. (See Keim, *Jesu von Naz.* **3299**, but cp Weiss, note on John 18 1, and see GETHSEMANE, **§ 2**.) But we must not linger on this disputed point. **A** zigzag path descends the steep bank from St. Stephen's gate, crosses the bed of the valley by an old bridge, and then divides. One branch leads direct over the top of Olivet (cp **2** S. 15 **23**). See OLIVES, MOUNT **OF**. Another branch runs round the southern shoulder of the hill to Bethany, and has a deep and sacred interest, for it is the road of Jesus Christ's last entry (Mt. 21 1 *ff.* Lk. 19 **37**). Below the bridge the wkdy becomes still narrower, and

1 Pāsēk after וְהָיָה indicates **a** doubtful text. דרך was first of all corrupted into קדר; then בכל easily became [את] נחל. The best part *of* the emendation belongs to Klo., who suggests אחת מכל דרכיך, 'anyone of all the roads'—a needlessly elaborate phrase.

here traces of a torrent bed first begin to appear. Three hundred yards farther down, the hills on each side rise precipitously from the torrent bed, which is spanned by a single arch. On the left bank is a singular group of tombs, comprising those of Absalom, Jehoshaphat, and St. James (now so called); whilst on the right, 150 feet overhead, towers the south-eastern angle of the temple wall. The ravine runs on, narrow and rocky, for 500 yards more; there, on its right bank, in a cave, is the fountain of the Virgin; and higher up on the left, perched on the side of the naked cliffs, the ancient village of Siloam. A short distance farther down, the valley of the Tyropœon falls in from the right, descending in terraced slopes, fresh and green, from the waters of the Pool of Siloam. The ravine of Kidron here expands, affording a level tract for cultivation (see above), which extends down to the mouth of Hinnom, and is about zoo yards wide. A short distance below the junction of Hinnom and the Kidron is the fountain of Bir Eyyiib, 'the Well of Job' (see EN-ROGEL). The length of the valley from its head to En-rogel is $2\frac{3}{4}$ m., and here the historic Kidron may he said to terminate.

The Kidron Valley was first described accurately by Robinson; hut in recent years fresh points of interest have come to light. Such, for instance, are the true bed of the Kidron ($38\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the present channel), and the great rock-cut aqueduct in the Kidron-valley, south of Bir Eyyūb, both found in **'68-'69** by Sir C. Warren (***Recovery of Jerusalem***, 135 *ff.* 256 *ff.*).

See JERUSALEM, §§ 3 *ff.* 37 and cp Porter's art. in Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.* from which some descriptive passages of the above have been adapted. T. K. C.

KIDRON (κεδρων [ANV]) 1 Macc. 1539 41, RV. See GEDEROTH.

KILAN (κ[ε]ιλαν [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 15, RV, AV CEILAN.

KINAH (קִינָה; ικαμ [B], κ[ε]ινα [AL]), a Judahite city on the border of Edom (Josh. 15 22†). The name appears in 1 Ch. 412 in the corrupt form TEHINNAH. See KENITES, NEGEB, § 2 (6) n.

KING (מֶלֶךְ, βασιλευς). The term *mélek* 'king' has a somewhat wide range of meaning. We find it in the description of the old condition of things in Canaan, when many of the cities were in the enjoyment of relative independence under 'kings' or princes of their own (see, *e.g.*, Gen. 14 2 20 2 Josh. 10 1 11 1 Judg. 5 19). Winckler has pointed out that in Tiglath-pileser's time the Syrian 'kingdoms' were more like German *Grafschaften* (*AOF* 1 19); we might also compare the petty Syrian kings with the Indian rājas or the Italian dukes of the Middle Ages. This remark may illustrate Is. 10 8, where the king of Assyria ironically asks, 'Are not my generals (שָׂרַי) altogether kings (מְלָכִים),' perhaps alluding partly to the fact that many petty vassal kings served under his orders at the head of their respective contingents. As late as the Book of Job we find & used in the limited sense of 'chieftain' (Job 19 25, hut hardly 15 24 [𝔊 στρατηγός] which seems to be corrupt). From the etymology of the term (Ass. and Aram., 'to counsel, decree') we may infer that the king was originally the most gifted and powerful member of a council of chiefs or elders (cp Mic. 4 9 'king' ‖ 'counsellor'). The term preferred by the Babylonians and Assyrians was *šarru* (= Heb. שַׂר), which is used both for the divine 'king of the gods,' and for the 'great king' of Assyria (or Babylon); see PRINCE, 3. Possibly this term (√ *šarāru* 'to he radiant,' like a star) was chosen in preference to *maliku* or *malku* (= Heb. מֶלֶךְ, Ar. *malik*^{un}) to indicate pre-eminence among kings, though *maliku* is explained in the syllabaries by *šarru*. It is worth noticing that 'princes (שָׂרֵי) of Midian' in Judg. 7 25 and 8 3, corresponds to 'kings (&) of Midian' in Judg. 8 5 (cp GIDEON). On the history of Hebrew royalty see ABIMELECH; GOVERNMENT, §§ **16-22**; ISRAEL, §§ **13-44**; TAXATION; and on the religious use of מֶלֶךְ see MOLECH, MESSIAH.

It is unfortunately doubtful whether the poetical phrase מֶלֶךְ בַּלָּהוֹת, EV 'king of terrors,' in Job 18 14 is correct. The supposed biblical parallels will hardly bear pressing, the text being very uncertain. On Ps. 49 17 see Che. *Ps.*(2); on Rev. 9 11 see LOCUSTS, § 3. T. K. C.

KINGDOM OF GOD, See ESCHATOLOGY, Index (col. 1389), *s.v.* 'kingdom'; MESSIAH.

KINGS (BOOK)

1. General structure. The hooks of Kings, which form the last part of the series of OT histories known as the Earlier Prophets, were originally reckoned as a single hook (cp CANON, § 13).

Modern Hebrew Bibles follow the bipartition which we have derived from 𝔊, where they are called the third and the fourth hooks of kingdoms (*βασιλειῶν*), the first and the second being our hooks of Samuel.

The division into two hooks is not felicitous. Even the old Hebrew separation between Kings and Samuel must not he taken to mean that the history from the birth of Samuel to the Exile was treated by two distinct authors in independent volumes. We cannot speak of the author of Kings or of Samuel, hut only of an editor or successive editors whose main work was to arrange in a continuous form extracts or abstracts from earlier hooks. The introduction of a chronological scheme and a series of editorial comments and additions, chiefly designed to enforce the religious meaning of the history, gives to the hook of Kings as we now read it a kind of unity; but beneath this we can still distinguish a variety of documents, which, though sometimes mutilated in the process of piecing them together, retain sufficient individuality of style and colour to prove their original independence. Of these documents one of the best defined is the vivid and exact picture of David's court at Jerusalem (2 S. **9-20**), of which the first two chapters of 1 K. are manifestly an integral part.[1] As it would be unreasonable to suppose that the editor of the history of David closed his work abruptly before the death of the king, breaking off in the middle of a valuable memoir which lay before him, this observation leads us to conclude that the books of Samuel and of Kings are not independent histories. They have at least one source in common, and a single editorial hand was at work on both. The division, however, which makes the commencement of Solomon's reign the beginning of a new hook is certainly ancient; it must be older than the insertion of the appendix 2 S. **21-24**, which now breaks the continuity of the original history of David's court.

From a historical point of view the division is very convenient. The subject of the hook of Samuel is the creation of a united Israel by Samuel, Saul, and David. Under Solomon the creative impulse has already died away; the kingship is divorced from the sympathies of the nation; and the way is prepared for the formation of the two kingdoms of Ephraim and Judah, the fortunes of which, down to their extinction by the great empires of the East, form the main subject of the book of Kings.

It is probable, however, that the editor who made the division had another reason for disconnecting **2. Successive redactions.** Solomon from David and treating his reign as a new departure. The most notable feature in the extant redaction of the hook is the strong interest shown in the deutero-

[1] See the arguments in detail, We. *CH*(2) 260. The verses 1 K. 2 1-12 27 have no connection with the rest of the chapter, and are due to a later hand. [But cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 263; *Ki. Kön.* 13 *f.*]

nomic 'Law of Moses,' and especially in the centralization of worship in the temple on Zion as prescribed in Deuteronomy and enforced by Josiah. This interest was unknown to ancient Israel, and is quite foreign to the older memoirs incorporated in the book; amidst the great variety in style and manner which marks the several parts of the history[1] the interest in question is expressed always in the same stereotyped phrases and unvarying style; in brief, it belongs to the editorial comments, not to the original sources of the history. To the deuteronomistic editor, then, the foundation of the temple, which is treated as the central event of Solomon's reign, is a religious epoch of prime importance (see especially his remarks in 1 K. 3 2 *f.*), and on this ground alone he would naturally make Solomon's reign commence a new book—the history of Israel under the one true sanctuary.' [Burney (Hastings' *DB* 2 859 *ff.*) gives a careful list of deuteronomic phrases and expressions wholly or nearly peculiar to the editor of Kings.]

When we say in general that the book of Kings was thrown into its present form by a deuteronomistic redactor we do not affirm that he was the first who digested the sources of the history into a continuous work. Indeed the selection of materials, especially in the earlier parts of the narrative, has been thought to point to an opposite conclusion. Nor, on the other hand, must we ascribe absolute finality to his work. He gave the book a definite shape and character; but the recognized methods of Hebrew literature left it open to additions and modifications by later hands. Even the redaction in the spirit of Deuteronomy seems itself to have had more than one stage, as Ewald and other critics recognize. The book was not closed till far on in the Exile, after the death of Nebuchadrezzar and Jehoiachin (2 K. 25 27 *ff.*). The fact that it closes with the pardon, not with the death, of Jehoiachin is very well explained by Meyer (*Entst.* 78) as being due to the narrator's looking upon the king's elevation as the first step towards the realization of the Messianic hopes; and the fall of the kingdom of Judah is presupposed in such passages as 1 K. 8 44 51 9 1-9 2 K. 17 19 *f.* [21 7-15 22 15-20][2] 23 26 *f.* These passages, however, are mere interjected remarks, which seem to be added to adapt the context to the situation of the Jews in captivity. The main redaction, though subsequent to the reformation of Josiah, which supplied the standard applied to all previous kings ('the high places were not removed'), does not point to the time of the captivity. Thus, for example, the words 'unto this day' in 2 K. 8 22 14 7 16 6 are part of the 'epitome' composed by the main redactor (see below, § 7), and imply that he wrote before the destruction of the Judæan state.

Even the second redaction (see § 2) did not absolutely fix a single authoritative recension of the book, as appears in detail from a comparison of 𝕲 with the Hebrew text.

3. Different recensions.

The LXX—*i.e.*, $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$ ($\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ follows MT closely, and is perhaps based upon Origen's recension [so Silberstein, *ZATW* 13 1 *f.* 14 1 ff.])—of Kings is not a corrupt reproduction of the Hebrew *receptus*; it represents another recension. Neither recension can claim absolute superiority. The defects of 𝕲 lie on the surface, and are greatly aggravated by the condition of the Greek text, which has suffered much in transmission, and particularly has in many places been corrected after the later Greek versions that express the Hebrew *receptus* of the second century of our era. Still 𝕲 not only preserves many good readings in detail, but also throws much light on the long-continued process of redaction (at the hand of successive editors or copyists) of which the extant Hebrew of Kings is the outcome. Even the false readings of the Greek are instructive, for both recensions were exposed to corrupting influences of precisely the same kind. The following examples will serve to illustrate the treatment through which the book has passed.

1. Minor detached notices such as we should put in foot-notes or appendices are inserted so as to disturb the natural context.

Thus 1 K. 4 27 [5 7] must be taken continuously with 4 19, and so $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$ (inserting between them *v.* 17) actually reads. In like manner $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$ omits 1 K. 6 11-14, which breaks the context of the description of the temple. Again, in $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$, 1 K. 9 26 follows on *v.* 14, so that Solomon's dealings with Hiram are recorded continuously. The notices intervening in *vv.* 15-25 (in a very unnatural order) belong to a class of floating notes about Solomon and his kingdom which seem to have got stranded almost by chance at different points in the two recensions.

2. There are direct or indirect indications of transpositions and insertions on a larger scale.

Thus in $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$ the history of Naboth (1 K. 21) precedes chap. 20, and in fact chaps. 20 and 22 are parts of one narrative, obviously quite distinct from the history of Elijah. Again, the story of Abijah's sickness and Ahijah's prophecy is not found in $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$ at 1 K. 14 1-20[1]; at 12 24 appears another version of the same narrative, in which there is no reference to a previous promise to Jeroboam through Ahijah, and the prophet is introduced as a new character. This version (12 24), which places the prophecy of the destruction of Jerohoam's house between his return from Egypt and his elevation to the throne, is no doubt a mere legend; hut it goes to prove that there was once a version of the history of Jeroboam in which 11 29-39 had no place. In truth, after 11 26-28 there must once have stood some account of a rebellion in which Jeroboam 'lifted up his hand' against king Solomon. To such an account (not to the incident of Ahijah and the cloak related in *vv.* 29-39), *v.* 40 is the natural sequel. Thus all that is related of Ahijah falls under suspicion of being foreign to the original history. Compare JEROBOAM 1. It is noteworthy that in a passage peculiar to $\mathfrak{G}^{BL}$ [in the ed. of Swete 1 K. 12 24 *a-z*] the incident of the tearing of the cloak is related of Shemaiah and placed at the convention at Shechem, showing how much fluctuation there was in the tradition. In 2 K. 13 22 $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ has an addition which affects both history and geography (see APHEK, § 3 *a*, HAZAEL) on the conquests of Hazael. According to Kittel (*Kön.* p. vi) such passages have been inserted by later editors from older sources which were still accessible to them in their completeness.

These instances show that there was a certain want of definiteness about the redaction. The mass of disjointed materials, not always free from inconsistencies, which lay before the editor in separate documents or in excerpts already partially arranged by an earlier hand, could not have been reduced to real unity without critical sifting, and an entire recasting of the narrative, in a way foreign to the ideas and literary habits of the Hebrews. The unity which the editor aimed at was limited to chronological continuity in the events recorded, and a certain uniformity in the treatment of the religious meaning of the narrative. Even this could not be perfectly attained in the circumstances, and the links of the history were not firmly enough riveted to prevent disarrangement or rearrangement of details by later scribes.

The continued efforts of successive redactors can be traced in the chronology of the book. The chronological method of the narrative appears most clearly in the history after Solomon, where the events of each king's reign are thrown into a kind of stereotyped framework of this type:—

4. Chronological methods.

'In the twentieth year of Jeroboam, king of Israel, Asa began to reign over Judah, and reigned in Jerusalem forty-one years.' . . 'In the third year of Asa, king of Judah, Baasha began to reign over Israel, and he reigned in Tirzah twenty-four years.'

The history moves between Judah and Israel according to the date of each accession; as soon as a new king has been introduced everything that happened in his reign is discussed, and wound up by another stereotyped formula as to the death and burial of the sovereign; and to this mechanical arrangement the natural connection of events is often sacrificed. In this scheme the elaborate synchronisms between contemporary monarchs

1 With this it agrees that the later appendix 2 S. 21-24 does not seem to have passed under the hand of the deuteronomic redaction. See We. *CH*(2) 302.

2 [The following passages also may safely be assigned to the second—*i.e.* to the exilic or post-exilic—deuteronomist (= D_2): 1 K. 3 3 15 5 4 [18] *f.* 6 1 11 9 6 10 16 12 *f.* 2 K. 17 7-17 29-34 *a* 24 2-12 15-25; perhaps too all those chronological notices which aim at establishing a synchronism between the kings of Judah and those of Israel.]

1 In $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ etc., it is added from the version of Aquila.

of the N. and S. give an aspect of great precision to the chronology.

In reality, however, the data for Judah and Israel do not agree [260 years of the kings of Judah correspond to 241 years, 7 months, 7 days, of the kings of Israel], and Wellhausen, following Ewald, has shown that the synchronisms were not in the sources, but were calculated from the list of the years of each reign (*JDT* 605 *f.* ['75]). Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 6f: It appears further that these years of reign are not all derived from historical tradition, but are in part due to conjectural subdivision of **a** cycle 480 (twelve generations of forty years) assigned **in** 1 K. 6 1 to the period from the 'exodus' to the foundation of the temple, and (according to the Judæan list of kings) to the period from the foundation of the temple to the end of the captivity (536 B.C.).[1] In the early part of the Judæan history the first dates not accessions are connected with the temple, and apparently derived from temple records. Of these the most important is the twenty-third year of Joash, which the chronological scheme makes the one hundred and sixty-first year of the temple, trisecting the four hundred and eighty years cycle. Other one hundred and sixty years bring us to the death of Hezekiah, and the last third of the cycle begins with the accession of Manasseh, whose sins are treated as the decisive cause of the Exile. Within these limits **a** few dates were given by the sources; the rest, **as can** easily be shown, were filled in with reference to a unit of forty years.[2] Again, the duration of the kingdom of Israel, according to the northern lists, was two hundred and forty completed years—viz., eighty years before the first expedition of Benhadad, eighty years of Syrian wars, forty of prosperity under the victorious Jeroboam II., whose first year belongs to the period of **war,** and forty years of decline. The trisections in each case and the round numbers of 480 and 240 point strongly to a systematization of the chronology on the basis of **a** small number of given dates, and the proof that it is *so* is completed when we learn from the exactly kept lists of Assyrian chronology that the siege of Samaria fell in 722, whereas the system dates the captivity from 737 (535 + 480 − 37 − 241). Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 11.

The key to the chronology is 1 K. 6 1 which, as Wellhausen has shown, was not found in the original 𝔊, and contains internal evidence of post-Babylonian date. In fact the system as a whole is necessarily later than ***535*** **B.C.**, the fixed point from which it counts back.

Another aspect in the redaction may be called theological. Its characteristic is the application to the old history of a standard belonging to later developments of the OT religion.

5a. Religious principle.

Thus, as we have already seen, the redactor in 1 K. **3** regards worship in high places as sinful after the building of the temple, though he knows that the best kings' before Hezekiah made no attempt to suppress these shrines. *So,* too, his unfavourable judgment on the whole religion of the northern kingdom was manifestly not shared by Elijah and Elisha, nor by the original narrator of the history of those prophets. This feature in the redaction displays itself, not only in occasional comments or homiletical excursuses, but also in that part of the narrative in which all ancient historians allowed themselves free scope for the development of their reflexions—the speeches placed in the mouths of actors in the history. Here also there is textual evidence that the theological element is somewhat loosely attached to the earlier narrative, and underwent successive additions.

We have seen that 𝔊BL omits 1 K. 6 11-14, and that both prophecies of Ahijah belong to the least certain part of the textual tradition. So, too, an indication that the long prayer of Solomon (**1 K.** 8 14-53), the deuteronomistic colour of which is recognized by all critics, did not stand in the oldest account of the dedication of the temple is preserved in the fact that the ancient fragment, *v.* 12 *f.,* which in the Hebrew text is imperfect, appears in 𝔊BAL after *v.* 53 in completer form and with **a** reference to the book of Jashar as its source (βιβλίον τῆς ᾠδῆς = ספר השיר = ספר הישר: cp JASHAR, BOOK OF, § 3). The redactional insertion displaced it in one recension and led to its mutilation in the other. The older parts of this chapter have also been retouched in conformity with later (even post-exilic) ritual and law. The Levites who appear at 7 4 in contrast to the priests, in **a** way unknown to the pre-exile history, are not named in 𝔊BL, and the post-exilic 'congregation' (*'ēdah*) at *v.* 5 is also wanting. The processes illustrated by these examples were doubtless at work in many places where external evidence fails us, and may often be detected by **a** careful use of internal evidence alone. See especially Wellhausen's detailed analysis (*CH* 269 *ff.*).

The insertions due to later editors and copyists are many and not all of the same kind.

5b. Later insertions.

For insertions made subsequently to the deuteronomistic redaction see 1 K. 4 46 13 (from חַוֹּת to לוֹ), 6 5 (the words סביב את־ק׳ הבית), 6 16 (the last two words), 7 24 (*ID* מקפים את־הים), 42*c* (from לכסות onwards), 47-50 8 1 (from וְאֶת to שלמה), 2*a* (as far as יִשְׂרָאֵל), 4 (beginning at וְאֶת), 5 *f.* (אל־ק׳ הק׳), also probably *vv.* 7 *f.* 65 (from ושבעת י׳ onwards). Add to these 9 22 11 24 (בהרג ד׳ אתם), 12 3*a* 12 (יָרָבְעָם וְ), 17 21-24 27*c* (from ושבו onwards), **32-13** 33*a* 14 31 (from ושם to העמ׳, cp 21), 15 5*b* (from רק onwards), *6* (cp 14 30) 16 1-4 (?), 11 (לא־השאיר לו מ׳ ב׳, cp 14 10), 17 6 (read לחם: בבקר ובשר בערב), 18 19 (ונביאי הא׳ ארבע 113, cp 22 40), 31-32*a* 19 9*b*-11*a* (to לפני י׳), 21 23 25 *f.* 22 28*b* (cp Mi. 2 1), 31 (שלשים וש׳, cp 20 1 24), 35 (from וַיִּצֶק onwards), 38 2 K. 1 9-17 7 17*b*-20 10 66 (?) 11 10 12 17 (?), 17 34*b*-40 21 3-6 22 4*b*-5*a* 6 *f.* 9 (beginning at ויתנהו), 23 4 (beginning at לְהוֹצִיא), 5 7b 14 16-18 24 13 *f.*

The latest glosses in 2 K. are: 1 16 (from המבלי to בדברו, cp 6) 2 15 (אשר־ביר׳), 3 19 (וכל־עיר מ׳), 5 22 *f.* (ושתי חל׳ ב׳ 1), 8 1 (וגם־בא), 9 4 (הנער הנביא), 10 19 (כל־עבדיו, cp 21), 11 6 *f.* (אל־המלך), 11*b* 13 (הרצים), 15 (אל־מבית לש׳ and את־שרי המ׳), 19 (נאת כל־עם הא), 13 12 *f.* (cp 14 15 *f.*) 18 17 (את־תרתן ואת־רב־ס׳ ו, cp Is. 36 2), 19 10*a* (to יהודה), 20 11 (במעלות א׳ ירדה, cp Is. 38 8), 18 (א׳ תוליד), 22 4 8 and 23 4 del. הגדול (cp 22 10 12), 23 33 (ממלך ביר׳, cp 2 Ch. 36 3).

Of quite another sort and sometimes of great historic value are a series of notices and parallel accounts, derived from other sources, and worked into the principal narrative to the best of the editor's ability. To this class belong—1 K. 9 23 2 K. 11 13-18*a* 18 14-16 19 10-35 (**a** parallel to 18 13 17-19 9*a* which, as Stade has recognized, is artificially united to the preceding narrative by 19 9*b*).

To gain an exacter idea of the main redaction of Kings and of the nature of the original sources, we may divide the history into three sections:—

6. Divisions: 1 K. 3-11.

(1) the conclusion of the 'court history,' 1 K. 1 *f.*, the further consideration of which belongs to the criticism of **SAMUEL** (*q.v.*, ii. § 6); (2) Solomon, 1 K. 3-11; **(3)** the kingdoms of Ephraim and Judah.

(2) The main source of this section, as we learn from 1 K. 11 41, was a book called *Acts of Solomon.* This work can hardly have been a regular chronicle, for the history founded on it contains no continuous narrative. All that is related of Solomon's reign is grouped round the description of the royal buildings, particularly of the temple, and the account of the dedication of the house (chaps. 6-9); and the greater part of the latter account is either due to the redactor or largely rewritten. The whole section is descriptive rather than narrative, and the accurate details might have been arrived at by actual observation of the temple at *a* date long subsequent to Solomon. In fact, they are not all due to a single hand. Thus we can still reconstruct a shorter text of 6 17-21, which says only that 'the house before the oracle was forty cubits long, and the oracle in the midst of the house within where the ark of Yahwè's covenant was to be placed was twenty cubits in length, in breadth, and in height; and he overlaid it with gold and made an altar of cedar [the table of shewbread] before the oracle and overlaid it with gold.' The original author used the BOOK OF JASHAR (*q.v.* **§ 3**) for the account of the dedication, and had access to some exact particulars as to dates, the artist Hiram, and so forth, which may have been contained in the temple records. The immediate environment of this section, if we set aside the floating elements in chap. **9** already referred to, is occupied with Solomon's dealings with King Hiram, who aided him

[1] Compare Krey's investigations in ***ZWT***, '77, p. 404 *f.*

[2] See the details in an article by WRS *J. Phil.*, vol. x. no. 20 [cp also Stade, *GVI* 1 88 *ff.*; Kamphausen (*ZATW* 3 193 *ff.* ['83], and *Chron. der hebr. Könige*, '83); and Konig ('Beitr. z. bibl. Chron.' in *ZKW*, '83 Heft 6, 8, 9, 12) are more conservative. Rühl ('Chron. der Konige von Israel u. Juda' *in Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswissensch.* xii. 145 *f.* ['94]) adduces weighty reasons for the view that we have here not the so-called Babylonian method (so We.; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 9), but the reckoning according to which the last year of each king was counted also **as** the first of his successor; in this way the above-mentioned inconsistencies are to an important extent diminished.] Cp further, T. Lehmann, 'Quelques dates importantes de chronologie du 2e temple' in ***REJ***, 1898, July-Sept. p. 1 *ff.*; Goldschmied, 'zur Chronologie der Königsbücher' (*ZDMG*, 1900, **p.** 17 *ff.*).

in his architectural schemes and in the commercial enterprises which procured the funds for such costly works (chap. 5 [5 15-32] and chap. 9 10 *f.*). On each side of this context lies a complex of various narratives and notices illustrating Solomon's wisdom and greatness, but also, in chap. 11, his weakness and the incipient decay of his kingdom. It is evident that the rise of the adversaries who, according to 11 25, troubled Solomon through all his reign cannot originally have been related as the punishment of the sins of his old age. The pragmatism as usual belongs to the redactor (114). We have seen that there was once another version of the history of Jeroboam. On 1 K. 11 1-8, cp further SOLOMON, § 8, and see the commentaries of Benzinger and Kittel.

(3) For the history of the divided kingdom the redactor, as we have seen, follows a fixed scheme determined by the order of accessions, and gives a short epitome of the chief facts about each king, with an estimate of his religious character, which for the schismatic north is always unfavourable. The epitome, as the religious standpoint shows, belongs to the same hand throughout—*i.e.*, to D; but so much of it as relates to Judah is plainly based on good written sources, which from the nature of the particulars recorded may be identified with the book of Royal Chronicles referred to under each reign, which seems to have been a digest of official notices. [A reference to the 'Book of the History of the Kings of Judah' (or, Israel) is wanting only in the cases of Ahaziah, of Jehoahaz, of Jehoiacbin, and of Zedekiah among the kings of Judah, and in that of Joram and Hoshea among those of Israel. Both the Judahite and the Israelite work (unless with Reuss we are to suppose a single work, cited by different titles) were evidently compilations of private origin, prepared shortly before the exile on the basis of older chronicles and special treatises.]

7. 1 K. 12-2 K. the epitome.

If the chronicle named for the kings of Israel actually lay before the editor he at least did not make such excerpts from it as we find in the Judæan history, for the epitome for Ephraim is very bare of concrete details.

Besides the epitome and the short excerpts from the Judæan chronicles which go with it. the history includes a variety of longer narratives, which alike in their subject-matter and in their treatment are plainly distinct from the somewhat dry bones of the properly historical records. The northern narratives are all distinguished in a greater or less degree by the prominence assigned to prophets. In the southern kingdom we hear less of the prophets, with the great exception of Isaiah; but the temple occupies a very prominent place.

8. Prophetic narrative.

The narrative of the man of God from Judah (1 K. 13) is indubitably of Judæan origin. Its attitude to the altar at Bethel—the golden calf does not appear as the ground of offence—is diverse not only from that of Elijah and Elisha, but even from that of Hosea.[1] The other narratives that deal with the history of Ephraim are all by northern authors (see, for example, 1 K. 19 3 2 K. 9 6), and have their centre in the events of the Syrian wars and in the persons of Elijah and Elisha. They are not all, however, of one origin, as appears most clearly by comparing the account of the death of Naboth in the history of Elijah, 1 K. 21, and in the history of Elisha and Jehu, 2 K. 9. In the latter narrative Naboth's 'field' lies a little way from Jezreel, in the former it is close to Ahab's palace (? in Samaria, see *v.* 18 and variants of 𝔊 in *v.* 1), and is described as a vineyard. The 'burden' quoted by Jehu is not in the words of 1 K. 21, and mentions the additional fact that Naboth's sons were killed.[1] In other words, the history of Jehu presupposes events recorded in the extant accounts of Elijah, but not these accounts themselves. Moreover, the narrative in 2 K. seems to be the more accurate; it contains precise details lacking in the other.

Now it is plain that 1 K. 21 belongs to the same history of Elijah with chaps. 17-19. The figure of the prophet is displayed in the same weird grandeur, and his words (with the omission of the addition already noted in *vv.* 20*b* 21) have the same original and impressive force. This history, a work of the highest literary art, has come down to us as a fragment. For in 1 K. 19 15 Elijah is commanded to take the desert route to Damascus—i.e., the route E. of the Jordan. He could not, therefore, reach Abel-meholah in the Jordan valley, near Bethshean, when he 'departed thence' (*v.* 19), if 'thence' means from Horeb. The journey to Damascus, the anointing of Hazael and Jehu, must once have intervened; but they have been omitted because another account ascribed these acts to Elisha (2 K. 8 7 *f.* 9). Cp SHAPHAT. Now there is no question that we possess an accurate historical account of the anointing of Jehu. Elisha, long in opposition to the reigning dynasty (2 K. 3 13), and always keeping alive the remembrance of the murder of Naboth and his sons (6 32), waited his moment to effect a revolution. It is true that the prime impulse in this revolution came from Elijah; but, when the history in 1 K. represents Elijah as personally commissioned to inaugurate it by anointing Jehu and Hazael as well as Elisha, we see that the author's design is to gather up the whole contest between Yahwè and Baal in an ideal picture of Elijah and his work. No doubt this record is of younger date than the more photographic picture of the accession of Jehu, though prior to the rise of the new prophecy under Amos and Hosea.[2] [For the later criticism of the Elijah-narratives, see ELIJAH, § 4, also Ki. *Kön.* 159-162, appendix on chaps. 17-19 21.]

The episode of Elijah and Ahaziah, 2 K. 1, is certainly by a different hand, as is seen even from the new feature of revelation through an angel; and the ascension of Elijah, 2 K. 2, is related as the introduction to the prophetic work of Elisha.

The narratives about Elisha are not all by one hand; for example, 4 1-7 is separated from the immediately subsequent history by a sharply marked grammatical peculiarity (the suffix כִי); moreover, the order is not chronological, for 6 24 cannot be the sequel to 6 23; and in general those narratives in which the prophet appears as on friendly terms with the king, and possessed of influence at court (*e.g.*, 4 13 6 9 6 21 compared with 13 14), plainly belong to the time of Jehu's dynasty, though they are related before the fall of the house of Omri. In this disorder we can distinguish portions of an historical narrative which speaks of Elisha in connection with events of public interest, without making him the central figure, and a series of anecdotes of properly biographical character. The historical narrative embraced 2 K. 3 6 24-7 20 9 1-10 28—in fact, the whole account of the reign of Joram and the revolution under Jehu; and, as 2 K. 3 has much affinity to the history of Ahab and Jehoshaphat in 1 K. 22, we may add the earlier history of the Syrian wars (1 K. 20 22) to the series. The evidence of style is hardly sufficient to assign all

[1] The expression 'cities of Samaria' (*v.* 32) appears elsewhere only after the deportation of Ephraim (2 K. 17 26), and seems to have come in here from 2 K. 23 19. Even in this passage the last clause of *v.* 18, which alone refers to details of the history of 1 K. 13, is clearly erroneous; the old prophet did not come from Samaria. [The passage must be of late origin (see Kuenen, *Ond.*(2) 2 § 25, n. 4); it seems not unconnected with the history of Amos; see AMOS, § 3.]

[1] The standing phrases common to 1 K. 21 20*b* 21 2 K. 9 7-10*a* belong to the redaction, as is plain in the latter case from 9 3.

[2] Some expressions that point to a later date are certainly added by another hand—*e.g.*, the last part of 18 18. In old Israel, up to the time of Hosea, the Baalim (pl.) are the golden calves, which have no place in this context. A late insertion also is the definition of time by the stated oblation in the temple at Jerusalem, 18 29 36. At *v.* 36 this is lacking in 𝔊; at *v.* 29 the insertion of 𝔊 reveals the motive for the interpolation—viz., to assimilate Elijah's sacrifice to the legal service.

these chapters to a single hand (for example, רכב is a single chariot in the history of Jehu, but in 1 K. 20 a collective, the single chariot being מרכבה); but they are all full of fresh detail and vivid description, and their sympathy with the prophets of the opposition, Micaiah and Elisha, and with the king of Judah, who takes the prophets' part, does not exclude a genuine interest in Ahab and Joram, who are painted in very human colours, and excite our pity and respect. To the historian these chapters are the most valuable part of the northern history.

In the more biographical narratives about Elisha we may distinguish one circle connected with Gilgal, Jericho, and the Jordan valley to which Abel-meholah belongs (4 1-7 ? 38-44; chap. 5 ? 6 1-7). Here Elisha appears as the head of the prophetic guilds, having his fixed residence at Gilgal. Another circle, which presupposes the accession of the house of Jehu, places him at Dothan or Carmel, and represents him as a personage of almost superhuman dignity. Here there is an obvious parallelism with the history of Elijah, especially with his ascension (compare 2 K. 6 17 with 2 11, 13 14 with 2 12); and it is to this group of narratives that the ascension of Elijah forms the introduction.

Of the Judæan narratives there is none to rival the northern histories in picturesque and popular power.

9. Judæan narrative. The history of Joash, 2 K. 11 *f.*, of Ahaz's innovations, 16 10 *f.*, and of Josiah's reformation, 22 3-23 25, have their common centre in the temple on Zion, and may with great probability be referred to a single source. The details suggest that this source was based on official docnments. Besides these we have a full history of Hezekiah and Sennacherib and of Hezekiah's sickness, 18 13-20 19, repeated in a somewhat varying text in Is. 36-39 (cp ISAIAH i. § 6, ii. § 15). The history of Amaziah and Joash in 2 K. 14 8-14 with the characteristic parable from vegetable life, may possibly be of northern origin.[1]

When we survey these narratives as a whole we receive an increased impression of the merely mechanical

10. Advantage of mechanical redaction. character of the redaction by which they are united. Though editors have added something of their own in almost every chapter, generally from the standpoint of religious pragmatism, there is not the least attempt to work the materials into a history in our sense of the word; and in particular the northern and southern histories are practically independent, being merely pieced together in a sort of mosaic in consonance with the chronological system, which we have seen to be really later than the main redaction. It is very possible that the order of the pieces was considerably readjusted by the author of the chronology; of this indeed 𝔊 still shows traces. With all its imperfections, however, as judged from a modern standpoint, the redaction has the great merit of preserving the older narratives in their original colour, and bringing us much nearer to the actual life of the old kingdom than any history written throughout from the standpoint of the exile could possibly have done.

11. Literature. Since Ewald's *History*, vols. 1 and 3, and Kuenen's *Ond.*(2) 1 332 *f.*, the most thorough and original investigation of the structure of the book is that in Wellhausen's fourth (not in the fifth and sixth) edition of Bleek's *Einl.* ('78) (reprinted in *CH*(2) 266-302), with which the corresponding section of his *Prol.*(4) (275 *ff.*) should be compared. Stade (*SBOT*,: cp *Gesch.* 1 73 *f.*) must, however, be compared. Cp also Kittel, *Hist.* 2 49 *ff.* 207 *ff.*; Driver, *Introd.*(6) 185-203, König, *Einl.* 263 *ff.* ('93); Holzhey, *Das Buch der Könige* ('99). On the *text-criticism* cp especially Stade, *ZATW*, '83, p. 123 *f.* (on 1 K. 5-7), '85, p. 275 *f.* (on 2 K. 10-14), and '86, p. 160 *f.* (on 2 K. 15-21); Klostermann, *Sam. u. Kö.* ('87); F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the translation of Aquila from a Cairo MS* ('97); and *Crit. Bib.* Among commentaries see those of Thenius ('49; (2), '73), C. F. Keil ('64; (2), '76; ET, '72); Bähr in Lange's *Bibelwerk* ('68; ET, '77); Rawlinson in the *Speaker's Comm.*, Reuss in *La Bible*, vol. 1; Lumby ('86-'87); Farrar (*Expositor's Bible*, '93-'94); Benzinger, *KHC* ('99); Kittel in Nowack's *HK* (1900). See also C. F. Burney, art. 'Kings' in Hastings' *DB* 2.

W. R. S.—E. K.

[1] Note, in *v.* 11, 'in Beth-shemesh which (belongs) to Judah.' Cp the similar phrase in 1 K. 19 3.

KING'S GARDEN (גַּן הַמֶּלֶךְ, ο κηπος του βασιλεως), 2 K. 25 4 Jer. 39 4 (𝔊 om.) 52 7 Neh. 3 15 (𝔊ᴺᴬ τη κουρα τ. β.). A plantation between the two walls of Jerusalem, close to the pool of Shiloah; see KING'S POOL.

KING'S POOL (בְּרֵכַת הַמֶּלֶךְ, [η] κολυμβηθρα του βασιλεως), Neh. 2 14, possibly the same as the pool of Siloam; it may have been so called on account of its proximity to the KING'S GARDEN. Cp POOL.

KING'S VALE (RV), or **King's Dale** (AV), (עֵמֶק־הַמֶּלֶךְ), Gen. 14 17 ([το] πεδιον βασιλεως [ADL]) 2 S. 18 18 (τη κοιλαδι του βασιλεως [BAL]); cp. Jos. *Ant.* vii. 10 3. See SHAVEH [VALE OF]; MELCHIZEDEK, § 3; ABSALOM, col. 31.

KINSHIP. The bond by which the social and political units of the Hebrews—their clans and their

1. Feeling of kinship. tribes—were held together in the older historical period was neither more nor less than a genuine and operative feeling of kinship (see GOVERNMENT, § 2 *ff.*). Hebrew theorists, like Arab genealogists, understood this kinship in the same sense as we understand it,—as due to derivation from a common ancestor; a tribe consisted entirely of blood relations (see GENEALOGIES i., § 2).

At the very outset this theory requires at least some modification; for even in historical times physical descent was not the only way in which blood relationship could be constituted. Adoption was equally effective. So also was the method of blood covenant. Not individuals only, but whole clans could in this way enter into a lasting union and become fused into a single community. The various ceremonies observed in making such a covenant (cp COVENANT, § 3, and Robertson Smith's excellent exposition in *Kin.* 47 *ff.* 261 *f.*, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 314 *f.*) have all one meaning; they were originally intended to create a physical and literal community of blood, or, in accordance with later ideas, they were intended, at least symbolically, to represent the creation of such a bond. This shows itself with unmistakable clearness when, for example, two men actually open their veins and mix their blood, or when the protected smears with his blood the tent-pole of his protector; but it is still discernible, though in a more disguised form, in the rule of hospitality by which even now the person of the guest who has eaten with a host remains inviolable for at least a certain time—the time, to wit, during which the meal of which they have together partaken is supposed to be still sustaining them. In the Hebrew domain compare the covenant described in Ex. 24, where the people and the altar of Yahwè are sprinkled with the same blood.

There is another point in which the old Semitic conceptions of blood relationship differ from those of

2. Idea of relationship. modern times: there was no gradation of relationship. We take account of the degrees by which relations are removed from the common ancestor; in the Semitic field relationship is absolute: a man either belongs to a given family circle, or he does not. Relationship is participation in the common blood which flows with equal fulness in the veins of every member of that circle; on this idea rest all the rights and obligations between the individual and his clansmen. There can therefore be no such thing as aristocracy of birth in our sense of the expression. Within the *gens* none are high-born, none are low-born; there is no blue blood. This is clearly shown in the law of blood revenge (WRS *Kin.* 22 *f.*, and elsewhere). The duty falls on every member of the clan to which the murdered person belonged, and their

vengeance seeks every member alike of the murderer's clan.

This said, it must not be denied that a feeling of relationship in our closer sense of the word also began to show itself from a comparatively early period. Indeed, the Hebrews from the earliest times to which our historical records carry us may be said to have been distinguished by the energy of their 'family' feeling. As the limits of society extended, the primitive conception of blood-kinship described above would naturally grow weaker; that of *near* kinship in our sense of the word can retain its vigour and efficiency only within the narrower circle. Within the larger federation of tribes (the people or nation of Israel) the feeling was never very strong; bloody wars between individual tribes were not unknown, and it was long before the sense of oneness had thoroughly pervaded all portions of the body politic. In the end it was not by the conception of blood kinship but by the political organisation of the monarchy that this sense was called into being and maintained.

3. National kinship.

The question as to what constituted national kinship was answered by the genealogists. Each individual tribe was held to be derived from an ancestor whose descendants bore his name as their tribal name; the mutual relations of the tribe and the varions clans comprising it were determined by the relationship of the ancestor of each clan to the patriarch from whom all alike claimed descent. In other words, the formation and development of tribes were held to have taken place under the dominion of the patriarchal system (GENEALOGIES i., § 2). Moreover, it is an actual fact that so far as our knowledge goes the patriarchal system was prevalent among the Hebrews from the earliest historical times. The head of the family is the man; the woman passes over to the clan and tribe of her husband, who is master both of herself and of her children (FAMILY, § 3 *ff.*; MARRIAGE, § 4 *ff.*). Kinship, tribe-connection, inheritance, are determined by the man.

4. Matriarchy.

Robertson Smith (*Kinship, passim*), however, has incontrovertibly shown that among the Semites as well as many other widely separated peoples matriarchy must at one time have prevailed. By this expression, as distinguished from patriarchy, is meant not the dominion of the woman in the household, but rather that arrangement of family- and clan-relations in accordance with which the relation of the children to the mother was regarded as by far the more important, that to the father being of quite subordinate moment. It is the mother who determines the kinship. The children belong to the mother's clan, not to the father's. The wife is not under the power of the husband, but under the guardianship of her male relations. The head of the family is not the father but the maternal uncle, who has supreme authority over the mother and her children. Inheritance is not from father to son, but from brother to brother, from (maternal) uncle to nephew.

The existence of this matriarchy among the Semites is shown (among other proofs) by the existence of ancient words, common to various branches of the Semitic family, denoting relationship derived from the mother. In like manner there are feminine tribal names, and tribal heroines pointing to the same inference. With the Arabs down even to the days of Mohammed a kind of marriage (see below) was still kept up which entirely belonged to the matriarchal system.

For details as to matriarchy among the Semites in general the discussions of Robertson Smith,[1] Wellhausen,[2] and Wilken[3] must be referred to. What specially interests us here is the fact that in the OT also traces of the existence of this institution among the Hebrews can still be found. Even if these were not absolutely convincing in themselves, they would become so after the demonstration of the existence of the institution among the Arabs and other Semitic peoples. Alongside of the masculine tribal names we have a series of feminine ones:—Hagar, Keturah, Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, Zilpah. Stade conjectures that at one time there was a genealogical system according to which the tribes were all of them wives of Jacob (*GI* 1 146). Such feminine names at all events cannot be regarded as mere poetical adornments of the legends to which they belong; they must originally have been integral parts of the genealogical system.

5. Marriage between relations.

Marriages of brother and sister, that is to say between children of different mothers, had nothing offensive to the moral sense of the older period (see MARRIAGE, § 2); it is a relic of the times when relationship was determined not by the blood of the father but by that of the mother, and when accordingly community of descent on the mother's side was the only bar to marriage. This explains also the possibility of the custom according to which the son could marry the stepmother, the father the daughter-in-law (see MARRIAGE, § 2). Notwithstanding the express prohibition of such unions they seem to have been not unknown down to a time as late as that of Ezekiel, although, on the other hand, marriages between maternal relations, between father and stepdaughter, father and daughter, mother and son were from the first regarded with horror (cp Gen. 19 30 *ff.*); in D express prohibition is not deemed necessary.

6. Meaning of 'brother.'

How deeply rooted was the view that relationship was constituted through the mother is shown by passages such as Gen. **42** 38 **43** 29 **44** 20 27 *ff.* Judg. **8** 19 **9** 3, where the designation of brother in the full sense of the word is reserved for sons of the same mother; as also by such narratives as that of Judg. 9 2 *f.*, where Abimelech is regarded by his mother's relations, the Shechemites, as one of themselves, and his maternal uncles are his natural allies. The prevalence of the same view is seen also in the practice of adoption by the mother (not the father) (Gen. **30** 3), in the right of inheritance through the mother, as implied in Gen. 21 10 ('the son of this handmaid shall not inherit with my son'), in the right of the mother to give the name as shown in the older sources of the Pentateuch, though in P it is always the father who does so. In Eliezer's negotiations for Rebekah it is not her father Bethuel ('and Bethuel,' Gen. **24** 50, is a late redactional insertion) but her brother who is her guardian and carries on the transaction.

7. Tribal relations.

Another characteristic feature of matriarchal marriage is that it is not the woman who enters the man's tribe but the man who enters the woman's; she continues to belong to her own tribe. This also can be shown to have been the case in the Hebrew domain. Too much stress indeed must not be laid on the expression בּוֹא אֶל־אִשָּׁה, 'to go in unto,' the usual phrase in Hebrew and Arabic for the consummation of a marriage; but it is certain that among the Hebrews, as with the Arabs, the woman always figures in particularly close connection with the tent, and frequently as its mistress. In such cases as Gen. 24 67, indeed, we may be in the presence only of a custom which, in the case of wealthy people, allowed such wife (as with a rich sheikh at present) to have a separate tent. The narrative of Judg. 4 17 *ff.* (cp 5 24 *ff.*), however, is clear enough; it is Jael who owns the tent, who receives the fugitive into it, and who accords to him its protection. This is in exact accord with the present rights of Arab women as regards fugitives seeking protection. The story of Eliezer's wooing of Rebekah also assumes the possibility that the girl may not consent to leave her home, but may insist that her future husband should marry into her own tribe and

[1] *Ut supra.*
[2] 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern' in *Gött. gel. Nachr.* 431 *ff.* ('93).
[3] 'Het Matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren' in *Oester. Monatsschrift f. d. Orient,* 1884.

clan (Gen. 24 5). Similarly Jacob fears lest Laban should refuse to let his daughters go, but should insist—in accordance with his undoubted right—on their staying at home; hence his secret flight (Gen. 31 31). The phrase, 'shall leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife,' in Gen. 2 24 may be an old saying dating from remote times when the husband went to the house (tent) of the wife, and joined her clan. Still the passage may be merely the narrator's remark, and even if it be an old proverb, we cannot be sure that it really carries **us so** far back in antiquity.

Another instance of **a** matriarchal marriage requires notice: that of Samson (Judg. **14)**. The case is thoroughly exceptional; it is exogamy, but reversing the relations. The husband is the alien, and visits his wife, who remains in her own home, and it is in the house of her relations that the marriage feast is held. Samson himself indeed does not become a Philistine; but neither does his wife become Israelite; the intention is that they shall meet only from time to time. Parallels are not wanting in pre-Islamic Arab history; as already said, such marriages were nothing ont of the common up to the period immediately preceding that of Mohammed. The important point lies here:—the wife continues to belong to her own tribe, and the children, naturally, so belong also. It is thus the mother's blood that is the determining factor. This kind of marriage, it is plain, could originally have arisen only under the influence of matriarchal institutions.

8. 'Beena'-marriage.

From the facts adduced Robertson Smith draws the conclusion that this kind of marriage—which (after J. F. M'Lennan) he proposes to call beena-marriage (from the Singhalese)—had been the form universally prevalent among the Semites in the period before the separation of the tribes. After the separation, the Hebrews from the same starting-point arrived at monandrous baal-marriage (cp MARRIAGE, § 2) long before the Arabs did.

Such an inference, however, would be too sweeping. Robertson Smith himself regarded it as not improbable that patriarchy can be carried back to primitive Semitic times (*Kin.* **178)**; and Wellhausen (*op. cit.* **479)** has proved it. The existence of such old Semitic words as *ḥam* for wife's father-in-law (see HAMU, NAMES WITH) and *kalla* for the daughter-in-law is, with other cases that might be adduced, conclusive. Wellhausen calls special attention to the fact that in the word *'amm*, Arab., Heb., Syr., and Sab., unite the senses of 'people' and 'relations on the father's side' (see AMMI, NAMES WITH). 'Whatever the time and place of origin of this mode of speech, the father's relations must also have been the political ones when it arose.'

9. 'Baal'-marriage.

Robertson Smith's concession, it is true, is limited to polyandrous baal-marriage—a form of patriarchal marriage which is well attested for the old Arabians (Strab. xvi. **4** 25; cp WRS *Kin.* 133 *f.*, We. *op. cit.* 460 *ff.*). In this description of marriage a group of brothers or nearly related men had the wife in common; the children belonged to the tribe of the fathers. Smith finds a trace of this form of polyandry still surviving in the levirate marriage of the Hebrews (see MARRIAGE, § 7 *f.*). The duty of inheriting the wife is originally a right, which, as Smith thinks, must have had its origin in an original community of possession. Wellhausen (*op. cit.* **461)** remarks further that the beginning of the law on the subject in D (Dt. 255 'if brethren dwell together') finds no explanation in the present context, but would fit in well with the explanation suggested by Smith. Hebrew levirate marriage, however, admits of sufficient explanation from the simple fact that in Hebrew baal-marriage wives in general are property that can be inherited. The right of inheriting became a duty in this one special case as soon as the first son of such a marriage

10. Levirate.

came to be regarded as son of the deceased husband, and this last finds its explanation in the Hebrew view of the evils of childlessness (cp MARRIAGE, § 5 *ff.*).

Obviously the form of marriage just described must be older than monandrous baal-marriage; indeed there is not in the nature of things any reason for regarding it as more recent than even the earliest form of matriarchal marriage. Baal-polyandry was originally in any case marriage by capture. As such it is hardly likely to have been a development of a form of marriage in which the husband married as an alien into the tribe of the wife. It may therefore be best to abandon all attempt to make out a genetic connection or evolutionary relation between the various kinds of marriage, and to concede that marriage by capture as well as matriarchal polyandry (which, strictly speaking, cannot be distinguished from absolute promiscuity) may date from the most remote times. One tribe might count kin from the mother, being endogamous, or else marrying its young women to men of alien tribe only when the men consented to join the tribe of the wife and the children remained with the mother. Another tribe counted kin from the father and therefore sought for its wives, so far as these could not be found within the tribe, by capture of such welcome additions from other tribes.

11. Earliest practice.

For literature, see FAMILY, § 15. I. B.

RIR (קִיר; ΚΥΡΗΝΗ etc., see below; *CYRENE;* ܩܝܪ) is mentioned in Am. **97** (ΕΚ ΒΟΘΡΟΥ [BAQ]) **as** the primitive home of the Aramæans, and warriors from Kir are introduced in the description of an Assyrian army threatening Jerusalem in Is. **226** (om. BℵAQΓ; *parietem;* ܫܘܪܐ).

The name also appears in Am. 1 5 (**ἐπίκλητος** [BAQΓ], *i.e.*, קרה = קָרָא; **κυρήνην** [Aq.]; 2 **K. 169** (om. B; **κυρήνηνδε** **[A** and **Aq.],** τὴν πόλιν **[L]) where it may possibly have been introduced from Am.** 1 5, **'which contains a prophecy of the** deportations **of the** Aramæans **to Kir.**

Winckler (*AF* 2 254 *ff.*) has given reason to think that 'Ḳir' should rather be 'Kor' (קוֹר), and identified with the Karians mentioned by Arrian (iii. 8 5) with the Sittakenians; see also *SBOT*, 'Isa.' (Heb.), 197, and cp KOA. This people seems to have dwelt in the land of Jatbur, the plain between the Tigris and the mountains towards Elam (cp Sargon's Khorsabad inscr., B. 153, 5). For other views see Furrer, *BL* **3** 534, who thinks of *Cyrrhestica*, between the Orontes and the Euphrates (refuted by Schr. *HWB*(2) 845), and Halévy, *REJ* 11 60 *f.*, who prefers S. Babylonia.

KIRAMA (ΚΕΙΡΑΜΑC [B], ΚΙΡΑΜΑ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 20 RV = Ezra 2 26, RAMAH.

KIR-HERES (קִיר חֶ֫רֶשׂ, Is. 16 11, AV **Kir-haresh;** ק׳ חֶ֫רֶשׂ Jer. 48 31 36), **Kir-hareseth** (ק׳ חֲרֶ֫שֶׂת, see col. **2677,** n. 2) 2 K. 3 25, AV **Kir-haraseth;** ק׳ חֲרֶ֫שֶׂת [var. ק׳ חרשת] Is. 16 7) or **Kir of Moab** (קִיר־מוֹאָב; Is. 15 1†). The name is generally supposed to mean 'city of the sun' (שׂ for ס); see NAMES, § 95. When, however, we consider (1) that this explanation is unknown to the ancients; (2) that Kir is nowhere supposed to mean 'city' except in the compound names Kir-heres, Kir-hareseth, and Kir-Moab; **(3)** that חרם, 'sun,' nowhere bas a fem. ending; and (4) that in Is. 16 7 𝔊 and Aq. indicated, not *r*, in the second part of the name, the question arises whether we should not emend the text and read קִרְיַת חֲדָשַׁת, 'new city' (cp HADASHAH).

1. OT References.

Vg. **gives** *murus fictilis* **(Jer.),** *murus cocti lateris* **(Is.** 16), **and** *murus Moab* **(Is. 15)**; 𝔊, **τὸ τεῖχος τῆς** Μωαβ[ε]ίτιδος **in** Is. **15;** δεσεθ[1] (? δε σε [ℵ^c.a.]) [BℵAQΓ] **in Is. 167;** τεῖχος ὁ [om. B.] **ἐνεκαίνισας** [BℵAQΓ] *ib. v.* 11; **κειράδες** [**κιδαρας, κειδαρεις,**

[1] **Aq.,** τοίχῳ ὀστράκου; **Syrn.,** τείχει τῷ ὀστρακίνῳ; **see Field, Swete. Deseth,** quod **Aquila** transtulit **parietem,** Symrnachus murum (*OS* **116** 18 **251 79). Apparently the only reference to Kir in** *Onom.*

etc.] αὐχμοῦ in Jer. In 2 K. 𝔊 does not recognize any place-name (see note 2). Tg., Is. 15 1, renders Kir-Moab, כרכא דמואב, *Kĕrakkā of Moab*, and Kir-hareseth, כרך תוקפהון, 'their strong city'; Ptolemy (v. 17 5) has χαράκωμα; Steph. Byzant. Καρακμῶβα.

That the three names given above (to which we may perhaps add KERIOTH, KIRJATH-HUZOTH) represent the same place, is undeniable. When Jehoram of Israel invaded Moab, Kir-haresheth (so MT) was the only city which held out against the Israelites (2 K. 3 25-27); obviously it was the capital, *i.e.*, Kir Moab.' It was famous for its vines. In Is. 16 7 mourning is anticipated 'for the *grape-clusters* of Kir-hareseth' (see FLAGON, § 3); and in 2 K. 3 25, after the description of the stopping up of the fountains and the felling of the fruit trees, we should probably read, 'until there remained not a cluster of its grapes in Kir-hareseth'[2] (see *Crit. Bib.*), or, if the above reading of the name is correct, 'in Kiriath Hadāshath.'

2. Situation. It stood near the S. frontier of Moab;[3] the Arabic geographers knew it under the name Kerak. Commanding as it did the caravan route from Syria to Egypt and Arabia, its possession was hotly disputed by the Franks and the Saracens. The former held it from 1167 to 1188, when Saladin became master of both Kerak and Shōbek (6) hrs. from Petra). They mistook Kerak for Petra, and established a bishop's see there under the title of 'Petra deserti.' At an earlier time Kerak had been the seat of a bishopric in the province of *Palæstina Tertia* (Reland, 705).

El-Kerak (see fig. in *SBOT* 'Isa.,' 169) is placed on an extremely steep rocky hill, surrounded on all sides by deep ravines. It is about ten miles from the south-east corner of the Dead Sea, and some 3370 feet above sea-level. To the N. and S. it is protected by the mountains, which are passable only on the N. by descending the Mōjib (the great gorge of the Arnon), which runs E. and W., and on the S. by the wild gorge called the Wādy Kerak. To the W. there is the Dead Sea, since 1897 navigated by a mail steamer which plies from the N. bank to el-Lisān (see DEAD SEA, § 5), whence a carriage road is to be constructed (1897) to Kerak The city is still partly enclosed by a wall with five towers. Originally there were but two entrances, both consisting of tunnels in the rock. On the southern side stands the citadel, a strong building separated from the adjoining hill by a deep moat hewn in the rock. It is a fine specimen of a Crusader's castle. Beneath it is a chapel, with traces of rude frescoes. The present population of Kerak numbers from 20,000 to 22,000, of whom about one-fourth are Greek Christians. Their strong position, numbers, and daring character made them till a few years ago practically independent of the Turkish government. Here Burckhardt was plundered, De Saulcy held to ransom, and Tristram greatly harassed; Gray Hill's account of his own detention is vivid.

See Bnrckhardt, *Syria*, 387; De Saulcy, *Journey round the Dead Sea*, 1 366-98; Lynch, *Expedition*, 263 *f.*, English ed.; Tristram *Land of Moab*, 70 *ff.*; Gray Hill, *With the Beduins*, 193-231; Porter, *Handbook*, 1 59 *ff.*; Baed. *Pal.*(3) 178 *f.*

T. K. C.

1 The statement of E. H. Palmer (quoted in Che. *Proph. Is.* 1 102) that the eminences on which the old Moabite towns stand are 'invariably called *Hāriths* by the Arabs' does not help us. Even if we substitute שׁ for שׂ, some *distinctive* name is required for the capital city.

2 Read עד לא) עַד לֹא הִשְׁאִיר אֶשְׁכֹּל עֲנָבֶיהָ בְּקִיר חֲרֶשֶׂת with 𝔊L and Tg. Jon.). Klo. suggests כִּי אִם אַנְשֵׁי ק׳, a weak reading, nor could MT's ה׳ ?> אבניה easily have arisen out of it. MT gives עַד־הִשְׁאִיר אֲבָנֶיהָ בַּקִּיר חֲרָשֶׂת—*i.e.*, 'until one left its stones in the wall as potsherds' (Gi. has חרשׂת; but what could this mean?). 𝔊B ἕως τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου καθῃρμένους [𝔊A reads καταλειπεῖν, καθημένους]; 𝔊L ἕως τ. μὴ καταλιπεῖν λίθον ἐν τοίχῳ τεκτονικῆς. Vg., *ita ut muri tantum fictiles remanerent—i.e.*, חרשׂת.

3 That there is no connection between Kir Hareseth and the קרחה of Mesha's inscription (*ll.* 3, 21, 24) was pointed out long ago by Noldeke (*Inschr. des Kön. Mesa* ['70], 8 *f.*).

KIRIATH (קִרְיַת), Josh. 18 28 RV. See KIRJATH, KIRJATH-JEARIM. § 1 (a).

KIRIATHAIM (קִרְיָתַיִם), Nu. 32 37, RV, AV KIRJATHAIM.

KIRIATH-ARIM (קִרְיַת עָרִים), Ezra 2 25 RV (AV KIRJATH-ARIM) = Neh. 7 29 KIRJATH-JEARIM (AV).

KIRIATH-BAAL (קִרְיַת־בַּעַל) RV, AV KIRJATH-BAAL, Josh. 15 60 18 14. See KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1.

KIRIATH-HUZOTH (קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת), Nu. 22 39, AV KIRJATH-HUZOTH.

KIRIATHIARIUS, RV KARIATHIARIUS (1 Esd. 5 19†: καρταθειαρειος [B], καριαθιαριος [A], -ρειμ [L]) = Neh. 7 29 KIRJATH-JEARIM.

KIRIATH-JEARIM. (קִרְיַת־יְעָרִים), Neh. 7 29 RV, AV KIRJATH-JEARIM.

KIRIOTH (קְרִיּוֹת), Am. 2 2, RV KERIOTH (*q.v.*).

KIRJATH, RV KIRIATH (קִרְיַת), an imperfect place-name in Josh. 18 28. Di. reads קרית־יערים, Kirjath-jearim (ιαρειμ [B], και πολις ιαρ[ε]ιμ [AL]); but see KIRJATH-JEARIM, § 1 (a).

KIRJATHAIM,[1] RV KIRIATHAIM (קִרְיָתַיִם), 'two cities,' or 'place of a city'; on form of name see NAMES, § 107; καριαθαιμ [BAFQL]).

1. A town on the Moabite plateau mentioned in Nu. 32 37 (καριαιθαμ [B], -ιαθεμ [L]) and Josh. 13 19, as having lain within the former dominions of Sihon, and as having been assigned by Moses to Reuben. Mesha, in his inscription (*l.* 10), calls it קריתן, and says that he 'built' or fortified it; it is represented as Moabite also in Jer. 48 (Jer. 48 1 καραθαιμ [ℵ*], καριαθαιμ [ℵc.a. (?)], 23 καριαθεν [N]) and by Ezekiel (Ezek. 25 9, πόλεως παραθαλασσίας [BAQ]). In OS (108 27, 269 10) it is described as a Christian village called *Coraitha* or καριαθα 10 R. m. W. of Mādebā. This is no doubt the modern Ḳuraiyāt, but whether Coraitha is not rather KERIOTH (*q.v.*) is disputed. Kiriathaini gave its name to Shaveh-kirjathaim or the 'plain of Kiriathaini' (Gen. 14 5). See MOAB.

2. See KARTAN.

KIRJATH-ARBA (קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע), RV KIRIATH-ARBA, Josh. 14 15 etc., an earlier name of HEBRON (*q.v.*, § 1).

According to Winckler (*GI* ii. 39) Kirjath-arba means 'city of the god Arba'; some god is intended whose name was written with the cuneiform sign for 'four' (analogously Beer-sheba = well of the god Shebâ'). Long before him, Tomkins had proposed the same view (*Life of Abraham*). Winckler brings these names into connection with a lunar myth of Abraham and Jacob (*GI* 2 48 57). The original Kirjath-arba, according to him, was not Hebron, but at or near Dan—*i.e.*, in the far north (41, 49). If, however, חברון in Gen. 37 14 is an error for ארות, חברון in Gen. 23 2 may he an error (of P?) for רְחֹבוֹת. It was probably Rehoboth that was the 'city of four' (see REHOBOTH), at least if ארבע, 'four,' is correct and is not really a corruption of רחבות, 'REHOBOTH.'

T. K. C.

KIRJATH-HUZOTH, RV KIRIATH-HUZOTH (קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת; πολεις επαυλεων [BAFL]—*i.e.*, Kerioth Hazeroth, 'cities of villages'), the place to which Balak took Balaam first of all on his arrival in Moab, according to the Yahwist (J), and where this writer probably made him deliver his first prophecy, Nu. 22 39 (with which *v.* 40 [E] plainly conflicts).

The name ('city of streets' or of 'bazaars'), if correctly read in MT, indicates a place of importance. Very possibly the Yahwist means the city called in Am. 2 2 Jer. 48 24 41 Kerioth. Note that Amos speaks of the 'palaces' of Kerioth. The Elohist has instead 'the city of Moab, at the farthest border' (*v.* 36).

KIRJATH-JEARIM (קִרְיַת־יְעָרִים, 'city of dense copse'?—καριαθιαρ[ε]ιμ [BAL]), a city of Judah, in the Gibeonite group (Josh. 9 17).

1 In the list of towns in Palestine against which Šošenḳ (Shishak) warred, occurs the name *Ḳadtm*. Muller (*As. u. Eur.* 166 n. 3) would emend this to *Ḳartm* (ר and ד beng as easily interchanged in Eg. as in Heb.), and identify with the Moabite Kirjathaim.

The earliest record of the name (if we suppose it to have been correctlv transmitted) is probably Judg. 18 12. See also Jer. 26 20 (κα|ριαθειαρειμ [ℵ]), Josh. **9 17** (πολεις ιαρειν [B], π.-μ [AFL] **18 14** *f.* (*v.* 14 καριαθιαρειν [B]), 1 Ch. 2 50 52 *f.* (*v.* 53 πολεις ιαειρ [B], καριαθιαειρ [A], om. L) 13 5 (πολις ιαρειμ [BℵAL]), 2 Ch. 1 4 Ezra 2 25 . . . (KIRJATH-ARIM [RV KIRIATH-ARIM, καριωθιαρομ (B)] should he 'Kirjath-jearim'); Neh. 7 29 (καριθιαρειμ [Bl). Kirjath-Baal (קִרְיַת־בַּעַל; καριαθβααλ [BAL]), and Baalah, with the explanation, "that is, Kirjath-jearim,' occur in Josh. **18 14**; Josh. **15 60**; 1 Ch. **13 6** (εἰς πόλιν δαυειδ, BNA). Baalah alone in Josh. 15 10 (herq and in *v.* 9, 𝔊 has 'Baal' except in *v.* 10 𝔊[B] ιεβααλ). Baale-Judah,' without explanation, occurs in 2 S. 6 2 (on 𝔊 see below); hut Dozy, Kuenen, We., Dr., Ki. read 'Baal-'; Klo., Bu. 'Baalath-'.

1. Names.

Evidently the earliest name of the place included the divine name Baal; but how came the same place to be afterwards called Kirjath-jearim? It is not a superfluous inquiry. The most obvious explanation—viz., that, in the course of religious progress, 'Baal' came to be discredited as a divine name—is insufficient. We should have expected some better divine name to be substituted for 'Baal,' not the reconstruction of the place-name on an entirely different plan. Moreover, we do not find that Baal was entirely removed from the southern place-names (Baalah, Josh. 15 29; Bealoth, Josh. 15 24, both in **P**). The first step towards a solution of the problem is to show (*a*) that the original name of the place was Baal- or Baalath- (hag) gibeah—*i.e.*, 'Baal of the hill,'—and (*b*) that the full name under which the Deity was worshipped in this Gibeah ('hill') may have been Baal-yarib ('Baal contends').

(*a*) In 1 S. 7 1 (EV) the ark is said to have been brought into 'the house of Abinadab in the hill' (בַּגִּבְעָה); cp the same phrase in **2 S. 6 3** RV (AV RVmg. have 'in Gibeah'). It looks as if, in the original writing, גבעה, 'Giheah,' was the name of the town where Abinadah lived; that the description 'on the hill' refers to 'the hill on which the town was built' (H. P. Smith), is surely improbable. Near the latter of these passages (2 S. 6 2) 𝔊 has the strange rendering ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ιουδα ἐν [τῇ] ἀναβάσει [τοῦ βουνοῦ]; two readings are *combined*, viz., מִבַּעֲלֵי יְהוּדָה and בעלת[ה] הַגִּבְעָה[1], the latter of which is misrendered, and really means 'to Baalath of the hill.' Probably the latter reading is the original one (see Klo. on 2 S. 6 2); observe the Pasek after ויקם, which warns us that the text is doubtful. Nor must we overlook the close of the list of the cities of Judah in Josh. 18 28, which runs thus in AV, 'and Jehusi, which is Jerusalem,, Giheath, (an?) Kirjath [RV KIRIATH].' The current opinion is that Giheath' means 'Gibeah of Saul,' and that 'Kirjath' is an error for 'Kirjath-jearim.' But it is more in accordance with the analogy of textual errors elsewhere to suppose that 'Kirjath' is an editor's correction of Gibeath, and that the original reading was 'Gibeath-jearim,' though '-jearim' itself may turn out to be incorrect.

(6) **We** have reached the conclusion that an early name for the ,place afterwards called (at any rate by scribes) Kirjath-jearim was 'Baal of the hill.' Analogy entitles ns to assume that the local Baal had a fuller title describing his chief attribute: cp Baal-hanan, El-iashib, etc. The second part of this title ought to underlie the second part of the name Kirjath-jearim, for of course such a name as Baal-jearirn (Baal of the woods) would be contrary to analogy. We can hardly doubt what that second part was; it was either jarim (*yārīm*) or (more probably) jarib (*yārīb*). *b* and *m* are interchangeable; cp ιαρειμ (𝔊[B] Hos. 5 13 10 6) for the Heb. יָרֵב, *yārēb*. 'Baal contends' was the name; cp יְהוֹיָרִיב, Jehojarih, and יָרֶב בּוֹ הַבַּעַל, 'Let the Baal contend with him,' Judg. **6 32**. Our further conclusion is that Kirjath-jearim is a late distortion of an older name, Gibeath-baal-yarib, which was current side by side with Baal hag-gibeah. It is hardly necessary to suppose that Har-jearim (Josh. 15 10) is a distortion of Har-baal-jarib; hut this is of course a possible view.

According to Winckler (GZ 2 104), 'Kirjath-jearim,' or 'city of forests,' is 'nothing but a half-suggesting, half-concealing reproduction' of the name Baal-Tamar (Judg. **20 33**) which name (of mythological origin) was, he thinks, converted into Baal(e)-judah (2 S. 6 2) in the time of David, when this locality ceased to he Benjamitish, and became Judahite. See, however, JUDAH, § 3, TAMAR.

In identifying the place which we may conventionally call Kirjath-jearim, we must be careful not to lay equal stress on all the biblical data. We must not, for instance, be too confident that Kirjath-jearim and Beth-shemesh

2. Identifications.

[1] הגבעה was corrupted into הגבה, the ע having dropped out; this became indistinct, and was misread הורה, to which י was prefixed by conjecture.

were near one another. The description of Jos. (*Ant.* vi. 1 4, Niese), γείτονα πόλιν τῆς Βήθης κώμης (Naber, τοῖς Βηθσαμίταις), appears to be suggested by the narrative in 1 S. 6 *f.*, as it now stands, and cannot be treated as authoritative; Josephus was not writing a handbook of geography. Nor is it at all necessary that the site of Kirjath-jearim should be in a wooded or bushy neighbourhood, *jearim* being probably only an artificial distortion of 'jārīb.' The clearest and most certain of all the data is the statement in Josh. *9 17*, that the dependent cities of the Gibeonites were Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim. Now GIBEON, CHEPHIRAH, and BEEROTH (*qq.v.*) are securely identified, and Kirjath-jearim must not be placed too far off from the other members of the group. If in addition to this we require a city on the border of Judah and Benjamin, there is, it would seem, only one site which is available, and that is *el-Ḳarya* or *Ḳaryet el-'Enab*[1] (city of grapes). Eusebius places καριαθιαρειμ at the ninth milestone from Jerusalem towards Diospolis or Lydda. This suits the position of Karyet el-'Enab, which is about three hours from Lydda. The high authority of Robinson supports this view. The nearness of the mountain Neby Samwil (see MIZPEH), which Eusebius expressly states (*OS*(2) **278 96**; cp 138 13) to be near Kirjath-jearim, is no slight confirmation. The village of el-Karya is but a poor one; there is a Latin church of great interest dedicated originally to St. Jeremiah, owing to a mistaken identification of the place with Anathoth. Prof. G. A. Smith (*HG* 225 *f.*) speaks with somewhat more hesitation than the present writer thinks necessary. For the rival site (*Kh. 'Ermā*) near Bēt 'Aṭāb, the principal argument is its greater nearness to Beth-shemesh ('Erma is about 4 miles E. of 'Ain Shems). This, however, is hardly an argument for critics to use (see ARK, § 5), and, on the other hand, Kh. 'Ermā is too near Zorah and Eshtaol to suit the narrative in Judg. 18 11 *f.*,[2] and also in the wrong direction (S. of Keslā). Moreover, for el-Karya it may be urged (but without laying much stress upon it) that this village marks the point of departure of the rough bushy country[3] (יַעַר, see FOREST, 3); hence the later name, 'city of dense copse,' was not an inappropriate one. That it fits the position of Kirjath-jearim on the N. border of Judah and Benjamin, is also beyond refutation, though different views as to the line of demarcation are no doubt tenable.

The following is Conder's description of the new site at *Kh. 'Ermā*.

'The surrounding hills are more thickly clothed, even at the present day, with dense copse, than is any part of the district in which the town can be sought. The ruin is situate on the southern brink of the great valley which broadens into the valley of Sorek, and it is about four miles E. of the site of Beth-shemesh, thus agreeing with the words of Josephus.' According to Conder the boundary line W. of 'Ermā can be drawn in a satisfactory manner (see *PEFQ*, '79, p. 98 *f.*, and cp Henderson, '78, p. 196 *ff.*).

Cp H. A. Poels, ***Le sanctuaire de Kiriath-jearim*** (Louvain, '94). Kirjath-jearim and Gibeon are here thought to have been on opposite sides of the same hill; their common sanctuary being on the summit of the hill.

When Kirjath-jearim became an Israelitish city is uncertain. It must, however, have been at least partly inhabited by Judahites in the time of David (2 S. 6 2 *ff.*; cp ARK, § 5). In later times it produced a prophet in the style of Jeremiah, who fell a victim to Jehoiakim's tyranny

3. Biblical references.

[1] The latter name is said to occur first in the fifteenth century. A still more modern name is Abii Ġōsh (from a sheikh so called, who lived at the beginning of this century, and left a name of fear). In support of this identification cp Clermont-Ganneau, ***Archæological Researches***, ii. ('99).

[2] Cp MAHANEH-DAN.

[3] 'There are *waars* on every side almost and some very impracticable pnes N. and SW. of it' (Thdmson, *LB*, ed. '94, p. 666). Aujourd'hui encore on est frappe de l'aspect different des deux versants; à ce point precis de maigres taillis commencent, qui ne demanderaient qu'à grandir' (Lagrange, ***Revue biblique***, '94, p. 140).

(Jer. 26 20-24; see URIJAH). One can imagine that the name of the city (was it Kirjath-jarib, 'city of the [divine] adversary'?) was not without its influence on Urijah's sensitive mind. Another apparent reference is a purely imaginary one. Though Wellhausen and Duhm render, in Ps. 132 6—

We have heard that it is in Ephrathah,
In the Field of Jaar we found it,—

and explain the 'Field of Jaar' as 'the country district near Kirjath-jearim' (We.), or as a synonym for that place-name (Du.), a close examination of the text shows that this interpretation is improbable (see Che. *Ps.*(2)). It is true, however, that a recollection of the story of the fortunes of the ark, and of a passage in Chronicles (1 Ch. 2 50), according to which that town was founded by descendants of Ephrathah, the wife of Caleb, enabled a late editor to draw a semblance of meaning from an indistinctly written and corrupt passage. On the obscure notice of Kirjath-jearim in 1 Ch. 2 50 52 *f.*, see SHOBAL. T. K. C.

KIRJATH-SANNAH (קִרְיַת־סַנָּה; πολις γραμματων [BAL]; ܩܪܝܬܣܢܐ; *CARIATHSENNA*), called also Debir (Josh. 15 49), is a most problematical name.

There is no satisfactory explanation of the name סנה, and no apparent reason why an old Canaanite name distinct from Kirjath-sepher should be mentioned in the list. Since דַּנָּה precedes it is natural to suppose that סנה is a scribal error for ספר, and that we should restore KIRJATH-SEPHER (cp 𝔊 Pesh.).

Sayce explains 'city of instruction,' and identifies with Bit'sāni, said to he mentioned on the Amarna tablets (Sayce, *RP*(2) 5 73, *Crit. Mon.* 54 n.), and situated W. of Gath. Wi., however, gives bit(?)-sa-a-ni, and leaves it untranslated. See EPHRAIM, § 7, n. 4. T. K. C.

KIRJATH-SEPHER (קִרְיַת־סֵפֶר, as if 'house of books'; πολις [των] γραμματων [BAL] Josh. 15 15 *f.*; καριασσωφαρ, πολις γραμματων [B], noh. γρ. [AL], Judg. 1 11; also called KIRJATH-SANNAH (קִרְיַת־סַנָּה, πολις γραμματων [BAL]), Josh. 15 49†, and DEBIR (דְּבִיר [Judg. 1 Ch.], דְּבִר, δαβειρ [BAL]), Josh. 15 15 49.

A place in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned between Dannah and Anab (Josh. 15 49), formerly inhabited by Anakim (Josh. 11 21), and the seat of a king (Josh. 10 39 12 13). In Josh. 15 17 and Judg. 1 13 its conquest is ascribed to OTHNIEL [*q.v.*], in Josh. 10 38 *f.* to Joshua. P includes it among the cities of refuge (Josh. 21 15 1 Ch. 6 58).

It has often been assumed (*e.g.*, by Quatremère, 1842) that the name implies the presence of a library of some kind in the place (cp the Babylonian city Sippara[1] [?]). According to Sayce, if was 'the literary centre of the Canaanites in the S. of Palestine, whilst Debir,—*i.e.*, 'the sanctuary,' was 'the temple wherein its library was established' (*Pat. Pal.* 220 *f.*). As Sayce himself, however, following Max Muller (*As. u. Eur.* 174), records, the form attested by the Papyrus Anastasi I. is Bai-ti-ṭu-pa-ïra, perhaps = קִרְיַת־סֹפֵר, *i.e.*, 'House of the scribe.' That the Canaanitish archives were centralized at Debir is most improbable. If this were the case, Debir must have been the religious capital of Canaan; hut of this we have no evidence whatever. Its name may be wrongly vocalized;[2] 'sanctuary' is not a probable name for a city. Kirjath-sepher may be an alteration of some half-Hebrew name, such as *Kirjath sephûr*, 'enclosed city'[3] (cp ERECH).

Various identifications have been proposed, but only one has much plausibility. First proposed by Knobel (note on Josh. 15 15 49), it has been warmly advocated by Conder (*PEFQ*, '75, p. 53), who says that the modern eḍ-Doherīyeh (or rather eḍ-Ḍāharīyeh), a village four or five hours SW. of Hebron, is the only site which fulfils all the biblical requirements. The objections are three in number. (1) Petrie (according to Sayce, in Hastings' *DB* 1 578*a*) found no traces at eḍ-Ḍāharīyeh of anything older than the Roman period. (2) The equivalence of the names Dāharīyeh and Dehir (as if 'the back side') supposed by Knobel and Conder is fanciful in the extreme. (3) The passage (Judg. 1 11-15 Josh. 15 15-19) on which most reliance is placed, because it may seem to point to the beautiful springs about 7 miles N. of eḍ-Ḍāharīyeh (see ACHSAH), is partly corrupt. See KEILAH.

The question now presents itself whether not only Kirjath-sepher but also Debir may not be incorrect. Place-names are liable to suffer both by corruption and by abbreviation. May not דביר, Debir, be a corruption of תבור 'Tabor,'[1] and this, like the same word in Judg. 8 18 (cp also THEBEZ in Judg. 9 50), be a corruption of Beth-Sur? That such an important city as 'Debir, that is, Kirjath-sepher,' must have been, should be nowhere referred to in subsequent history, is scarcely credible. We know that it was situated in a dry spot, and that it was not far from Hebron. This description applies to the famous city of BETH-ZUR [*q.v.*] which occupies an impregnable position on a Tell 4½ m. N. from Hebron. It is also in favour of Beth-zur that it stands between Keilah and Beth-tappuah, the two places which (if the suggestion made under KEILAH is correct) Caleb presented to his daughter-in-law Achsah. That Kirjath-sepher is the true name of the city so-called is difficult to believe. It is *possible*, however, that Debir, or perhaps rather Beth-zur, had an additional descriptive title, Kirjath-sephiir, 'inclosed city.' It is no objection to this theory that the names Debir and Beth-zur both occur in the list in Josh. 15; such double mentions occur elsewherein P s geographical lists. See also JABEZ.

The Anab of Josh. 15 49 now becomes more uncertain. W. M. Müller's suggestion of 'Annābeh, SW. of Lydda, the Betoannabe of the *Onom.*, deserves consideration. T. K. C.

KISH (קִישׁ, 'lord, husband'?[2] cp KISHON, KUSHAIAH; κ(ε)ις [BAL]).

1. h. Abiel, a Benjamite of the clan of Becher (1 S. 10 21, crit. emend., see BECHER, MATRI, and cp BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. [B]), the father of Saul (1 S. 9 1, etc., in 1 Ch. 9 36 א reads κιρ; Acts 13 21, AV CIS). In MT of 2 S. 21 14 his home is placed at ZELA, but the text is plainly corrupt. The clan of Becher (the Bicrites) appear to have lived at Gibeah of Benjamin (see GIBEAH i., 2). Kishs brother, Ner, the father of Abner (1 S. 14 50 *f.*, but see NER) is strangely represented in 1 Ch. 8 33 (= 9 39) as his father, but the text is in disorder; 'Ner' should probably he 'Nadab' = Abinadab, which appears to be a second name of the father of Kish, a rival of 'Abiel' or 'Abibaal'[3] (see NER). The names may have been already mutilated and corrupt in the (late) document upon which the Chronicler is dependent. We meet with Saul's father again in the fictitious genealogy of the Benjamite Mordecai, Esth. 2 5 (κ[ε]ισαιου [BKA]) 11 2 (CISAI, RV KISEUS; *id.* BאAL$^{a\beta}$). See GENEALOGIES i., § 6; MORDECAI; and cp ESTHER, § 1, end.

2. The occurrence of the name in Levitical genealogies is of no historical interest. Kish b. Mahli represents an important subdivision of the Merarite Levites (1 Ch. 23 21 *f.* 24 29); Kishi b. Abdi is the father of the famous Merarite ETHAN (1 Ch. 6 44 [29]; see also KUSHAIAH), and the same designation attaches to

1 According to a popular etymology, see Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 168 n.; Del. *Par.* 210.

2 Moore (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, Oct. '90, p. lxx) proposed קִרְיַת־סְפָר, 'frontier-town,' but he has now withdrawn this (*Judg.* 27). Geographically, such a name would have been very suitable.

3 Ass. *supûru* = 'an enclosure with walls.'

1 The phonetic interchange of ר and ת is not unexampled; cp the variant readings ער and עת in Ezek. 22 4, אחר and אחת in Is. 66 17.

2 [The interpretation suggested follows *RS*(2) 170, n. 4, and Wi. *AF*(2) 62, n. 1. The name is probably the same as the old Ar. divine name *Kais* (Nab. קישא, קישה), which is found in Ar. proper names,' either alone (cp We. *Heid.*(2) 67, also Sin. קישו) or in compounds (*e.g.*, the well-known Imrau'lkais). It is plausible to connect the name with the first element of the Ass. compound *Ku-u-su-ia-da'* on a contract tablet (Peiser, *ZATW* 17 348 *f.* ['97]), perhaps also with the Edomite *Kaus*, ק(ו)ס (see EDOM, § 12). Peiser (*l.c.*) identifies קיש (קוש) with the second element in Elkosh (see ELKOSHITE). S. A. C.]

3 That Abiel (1 S. 9 1) is an *alteration* of Abibaal is pointed out by Marq. (*Fund.* 15), who refers to the fragmentary name 'Baal' in 1 Ch. 8 30 (9 36). Cp BEELIADA, ELIADA.

a prominent Merarite of the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29 12). Evidently the names Kish and Abdi are derived from names in 1 Ch. 830 (936). We need not correct Abdi into Abinadab; the Chronicler may already have found the corrupt form Abdon, whence Ahdi, in his document (see above). T. K. C.

KISHI (קִישִׁי), 1 Ch. 644 [29], see KISH, 2; KUSHAIAH.

KISHION (קִשְׁיוֹן, cp קִישׁוֹן, and see KISHON, end; ΚΕΙϹΩΝ [B], ΚΕϹΙΩΝ, ΚΙϹΙΩΝ [A], ΚΒϹΙWΝ [L]), a Levitical city in the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19 20 21 28 [where AV 'Kishon']). The parallel passage 1 Ch. 657 [72] has KEDESH (קֶדֶשׁ), which most critics (*e.g.*, Kittel) treat as a corruption of Kishion.

The true reading, however, in Josh. and Ch. must surely be קִדְשׁוֹן. Whether this Ḳidšun is an echo of Gadašuna, which is the name of a principality mentioned in Am. Tab. 267, and therefore of the Kitsuna of the Palestinian name-list of Thotmes III.,[1] may be left open.

Miihlau identifies Kishion (Ḳidšun) with Tell Keisān, 6 m. SE. of Acre. Kishion being in Issachar, we shall do better to adopt Conder's identification of Kedesh (Ḳidšun) with Tell Abii Ḳudēs (see KEDESH, 2). T. K. C.

KISHON (קִישׁוֹן; ΚΕ[Ι]ϹΩΝ [BKARTL]), a torrent famous as the scene of the overthrow of the Canaanite coalition under Sisera (Judg. 47 5 21;[2] cp Ps. 83 9 [10], AV **Kison**; ΚΙϹϹΩ [A]), and also of the destruction of the prophets of Baal by Elijah (1 K. 18 40). It is also called the 'waters of Megiddo' (Judg. 5 19).

The Kishon (mod. *el-Muḳaṭṭa'*, 'cut') flows through the plain of Jezreel, nearly due NW. between Samaria and Galilee, and enters the Mediterranean in the lower extremity of the bay of 'Akkā, on the E. of Ḥaifā. It is fed by the waters coming from Carmel, Gilboa, Hermon, and Tabor. Its exact source is uncertain; according to some it rises on the W. side of Mt. Tabor (cp Jer. *OS*(2) 110 22, who speaks of its being near Tabor), whilst others prefer to place it near Jenin (see ENGANNIM).

The battle in which Sisera was defeated must have taken place in the winter. In summer the Kishon is a diminutive and insignificant stream, but in winter it overflows, and floods the surrounding country, turning it into a morass. The fate of Sisera's army finds a parallel in the battle between the French and Turks near Tabor on April 16th, 1799, when many of the latter were drowned while attempting to pass the morass in their flight (cp Burck. *Syr.* 339).

The district of the Kishon in olden times enjoyed an especial reputation for sanctity. North of it flowed the rivers Adonis (Nahr Ibrāhīm) and Belus (Nahr Na'mān), both famous for their sacred character; and Mt. Carmel itself was a sacred mountain. Hence, just as the above-mentioned rivers are named after gods, it is very probably that the Kishon may derive its name, not from its

1 These two names are identified by W. M. Muller, Sayce, and Flinders Petrie (*Hist. of Eg.* 2323).

2 In Judg. 5 21 the phrase 'the torrent Kishon' is followed immediately by the difficult words נַחַל קְדוּמִים. According to an improbable, but well-supported, ancient view, it was the name of a torrent distinct from the Kishon (χειμάῤῥους καδησ[ε]ιμ [A Theod., perhaps thinking of Kedesh in Issachar, cp 'waters of Megiddo,' *v.* 19; so Klo. *Gesch.* 123, adopts קְדֹשִׁים, *i.e.*, the planet-gods viewed as givers of rain]; καδημειμ [L]; *torrens Cadumim* [Vg.], cp Pesh. and Ar.; καυσωνων [Aq., see Field, *ad loc.*]). Among modern explanations may he mentioned (1) 'Stream of antiquity' (EV, Bachmann, cp 𝔊B χ' ἀρχαίων, and the paraphrase of Targ.): (2) 'Onward-rushing stream' (G. A. Cooke, *Hist. and Song of Deborah*, 48; Ew., 'stream of boldness in attack'—a primitive personification); (3) 'stream of encounters' (Briggs, Kohler, after Ahulw.); (4) stream of the holy (*i.e.*, divine ones)' (Klost., Marq., cp. Symm. ἁγίων φάραγ). For a fifth view, for which 𝔊A καδησειμ may also he referred to see KADESH. 2. Of these (1), (3), and (5) may he classed as historical, the plain of the Kishon having been a great battlefield, from the time of Thotmes III. onwards, whilst (2) and (5) have such appropriateness as is involved in a reference to the circumstances of *this* battle, in the one case to the swollen condition of the torrent, in the other to the bloodshed which dyed the waters.

'bending' course (Ar. *ḳāsa*), but from the old god קיש (Kish?) = Ar. *Kais*. So WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 170, n. 4; see KISH, n.

2. (Josh. 21 28), RV KISHION (*q.v.*). S. A. C.

KISS (נשק; φιλέω, καταφιλέω, φίλημα). See SALUTATIONS.

KITE. 1. (אַיָּה, *'ayyāh*; perhaps onomatopoetic, cp Di. *Lev. ad loc.*; ἴκτιν, γύψ), Lev. 11 14*b* Dt. 14 13; and Job 28 7†, where AV renders by VULTURE, RV always FALCON (*q.v.*).

2. (דָּאָה, *dā'āh*; *i.e.*, דַּיָּה; γύψ; Lev. 11 14*a*†), AV VULTURE. The Red Kite, *Milvus ictinus*, is common in Palestine in winter but during the summer mainly gives place to the Black Kit; *M. migrans* (*M. ater*), which returns from the S.; this species is less harmful to poultry, etc., lives more on garbage and fish, and is a welcome guest. *M. ægyptius*, the Egyptian kite, also occurs, but less abundantly, as does *Elanus caeruleus*, the black-winged kite, a singularly beautiful bird which strays from Africa.

3. (דַּיָּה, *dayyāh*; דַּיּוֹת, *dayyōth*; Dt. 14 13 *Is.* 34 15†), AV VULTURE, VULTURES. See above (2). A. E. S

KITHLISH, RV **CHITHLISH** (כִּתְלִישׁ; ΜΑΑΧΩϹ [BA], ΚΑΘΑΛΕΙϹ [L]), apparently a place in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 40).

Probably the name is a corruption of לַחְמָס, LAHMAS (*q.v.*), which precedes. The geographical lists of P are sometimes expanded by the insertion of variants or corruptions. T. K. C.

KITRON (קִטְרוֹן; ΚΕΔΡΩΝ [BL], ΧΕΒ. [A]), an unidentified place in the nominal territory of Zebulun, tributary to Israel (Judg. 1 30). From a comparison with Josh. 19 15, it appears that KATTATH (rather perhaps Katrath) was the same place as Kitron. See KARTAH.

A Talmudic doctor (*Meg.* 6 *a*) identifies Kitron with Zippori, *i.e.*, Sepphoris (the modern Ṣaffūriyeh ?) and the etymological Midrash attached to the latter name gives no adequate reason for rejecting this view, which may be correct. At any rate there is no finer site than Sepphoris in the neighbourhood marked out by the context (see Rob. *BR* 3 201; Baed.(3) 276).

KITTIM, AV except in Gen. and Chron.; less correctly CHITTIM (כִּתִּים, so usually, but כִּתִּיִּים in Jer. 2 10 in Bab. MSS and Kt. Palest. of Is. 23 12, and in Bab. MSS of Ezek. 27 6, in which last the Palestinian reading is כִּתִּים; 𝔊 reads χεττειν, Ezek. 27 6 [B]; but χεττιειμ, *ib.* [AQ], cp Jer. 2 10 [BAQ], 1 Ch. 1 7 [L], 1 Macc. 1 1 [AℵV]; -ν, Jer. *l.c.* [ℵ]; κητιοι, Gen. 10 4 [A], 1 Ch. 1 7 [A*vid.]; κιτιοι, Gen. *l.c.* [DELI, 1 Ch. *l.c.* [BA*a*], cp [for κητ- κιτ-, with various terminations] Is. 23 1 12 [κητιειμ, A], Dan. 11 30 [Theod. BAQ? Q* prefixes χεττιειμ, for 87 see below], Num. 24 24 1 Macc. 8 5. The Phœn. form is כת or כתי).

One of the sons of Javan (Gen. 10 4 1 Ch. 1 7). Also in six other passages—none of them very early (on Is. 23 1 12 see GEOGRAPHY, § 14). In Ezek. 27 6 we find אִיֵּי כִּתִּיִּים—*i.e.*, Cyprus and other islands of the Mediterranean, among the traders of Tyre. The identification with Cyprus in all these is satisfactory (see CYPRUS). The name Kittim is usually derived from the Phœnician city *Kition* (Larnăka), on the SE. shore of the island. According to Max Muller, however (*As. u. Eur.* 345), it is a loan-word, originally = *Ghattites*, *Khattites* = *Ḥāttē*, *Hittites*. From this the city Kit(t)ion is supposed to have derived its name; this implies that Kit(t)ion was *not* a Phcenician city.

There is a strange reference to Kittim in Nu. 24 24 (not very early; see BALAAM, § 6). In Jer. 2 10 אִיֵּי כִּתִּיִּים is used for the western regions in general (opposed to Kedar the East), and כִּתִּים in Dan. 11 30 (see Bevan) has a speciiio reference to the Romans (𝔊 καὶ ἥξουσι ῥωμαῖοι [87]), as in 1 Macc. 1 1 (AV CHETTIIM, RV CHITTIM) 8 5 (AV CITIMS) it is explicitly used of the Macedonians. F. B.

KNEADING-TROUGH (מִשְׁאֶרֶת; *miš'éreth*; cp מַשְׂרֵת, 'pan'?; Ex. 8 3 [7 28] 12 34, also Dt. 28 5 17† RV; 𝔊BFL φύραμα in Ex. [for 8 3 [7 28] see Field], ἐγκαταλ(ε)ιμμα [BAF], καταλ. [L] in Dt.). See BREAD, § 1; COOKING UTENSILS, § 2.

KNEELING (בָּרַךְ; ΓΟΝΥΠΕΤΕΩ). See SALUTATIONS.

KNIFE. Five words are rendered 'knife in EV:

1. מַאֲכֶלֶת, *ma'ăkéleth* (μάχαιρα [ADL], ῥομφαία [B], but in Prov.

τομίς [BC] στομίς [ℵA]), Gen. 22 6 10 Judg. 19 29 Prov. 30 14†, in Gen. add Judg. in the special sense of a sacrificial knife. The root אכל means not only 'to eat,' but 'to tear in pieces';[1] cp Ass. *akalu*, whence *makaltu*, 'an instrument chiefly used by Mag-ians' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 56 *a*).

2. חֶרֶב, *ḥéreb*, so in Josh. 5 2 1 K. 18 28, where implements of cutting are meant. SWORD [*q.v.*] or 'dagger' is the usual rendering. Cp WEAPONS.

3. תַּעַר, *táʿar* (Jer. 36 23). The *taʿar* (ξυρόν) of the scribe here spoken of is elsewhere rendered 'razor' (see BEARD).

4. שַׂכִּין, *śakkīn* (an Aramaic word), Prov. 23 2*a*, but the text is corrupt. Read probably כִּי־תִסְכַּן תִּסָּכֵן בְּכִסְלָךְ, 'for thou wilt endanger thyself by thy folly' (Che.).

5. מַחֲלָפִים, *maḥălāphīm* (Ezra 1 9†). The traditional Jewish interpretation is 'knives' (so *Middōth*, 4 7; Rashi. Saadia, so Vg.). This is suggested by Syr. *ḥĕlāphā*, 'knife,' but is 'unknown to 𝔊 (παρηλλαγμένα [A], -μέναι [L], παρηγμένα [B]) and to 1 Esd. 2 13 (θυίσκαι=מַחְתּוֹת; EV 'censers'), and is against the context. The true reading must be צַלָּחוֹת, 'dishes' (Che.; cp 2 Ch. 35 13); the corruption was produced by assimilation to the preceding אלף, cp Syr. of 1 Esd.

Thus, of the above words, two are corruptions, one (3) refers to the sharp cutting instrument of the barber or the writer, and one (2) is confined to ritual (and to warlike) uses. The remaining word (1) may be used either generally or in a special sense. The ritual knives spoken of in Josh. 5 2 were 'knives of flint' (חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים, see AV^mg. and RV, and cp צֹר, 'the flint,' Ex. 4 25), and knowing how conservative of old forms ritual is, we may safely assume that the flint or other hard mineral (obsidian perhaps[2]) used for ritual purposes was in more remote ages in general use for cutting. To have used metal knives, in sacred functions, would have seemed irreverent (cp HANDICRAFTS, § 2). It is noteworthy, however, that, from motives of ceremony, flint knives continued to be used in daily life in Egypt long after 2000 B.C. (see EGYPT, § 36).

Some idea of the various forms of knives used by the Hebrews may be gathered from Bliss's sketches of the flint implements found at Tell el-Hesy (*Mound of Many Cities*, 37, 124) and from the specimens of cutting instruments of the ancients which are still preserved, or are figured on the monuments. See the Roman and Egyptian instruments in Kitto (*s.v.* 'Knife,' nos. 1 and 2), and Rich, *Dict.*, *s.v.* 'culter,' 'cultellus,' and cp SICKLE, PRUNING HOOK.

That knives were used by the Hebrews during a meal has been inferred from Prov. 23 2 (cp MEALS, § 10); but this passage, being very probably corrupt (see above, 4), cannot safely be appealed to. The food perhaps was brought to table already cut up; the flat cakes of bread were not cut but broken (Is. 58 7, etc.). Herod, however, we are told, was wont to use a knife to pare an apple (Jos. *BJ* i. 33 7; *Ant.* xvii. 7 1).

KNOP. For *kaphtōr* (כַּפְתּוֹר), Ex. 25 31, etc., see CANDLESTICK, § 2; for the *pĕḳāʿim* (פְּקָעִים) of 1 K. 6 18 7 24,† see GOURD (end), TEMPLE, SEA (BRAZEN).

KOA (קוֹעַ; γχογε [B, Symm., Theod.; ו precedes], λογλ [A], κογε [Q]; ܩܘܥ; Vg. *principes* [cp Aq. κορυφαιον]), a people mentioned with Pekod and Shoa as contributing warriors to the Babylonian army (Ezek. 23 23). Identified by Delitzsch (*Par.* 236) with the Kutu (or Ku, whence the Hebrew form), a nomadic people E. of the Tigris but N. of Elam. Very early mention occurs of a 'mighty king of Guti' (see TIDAL), and some scholars think that Guti or Gutium (which represents the same name) has found its way in a mutilated form into Gen. 14 1 (see GOIIM, but cp SODOM). T. K. C.

KORATH (קְהָת—*i.e.*, Kehath; meaning unknown; cp, perhaps, Ar. *wakiha* 'to obey,' Ass. *akū*? καaθ [BKADFL] but καaλ Nu. 3 17 [A], καθ Nu. 4 2), the largest and most important of the triple division of Levites (Gen. 46 11 Ex. 6 19 etc.; only in P and Ch.); see GERSHON, MERARI. To the KOHATHITES (הַקְּהָתִי, ὁ καaθ[ε]ι [BAFL] Nu. 26 57) belonged Aaron, and hence the Kohathites are sometimes subdivided into 'the children of Aaron the priest,' and 'the rest of the children of Kohath' (cp Josh. 21 4 *f.*). They were intrusted with the care of the sanctuary during the wanderings in the wilderness (Nu. 4 15 7 9), and their cities are placed in Ephraim, Dan, and half Manasseh (Josh. *l.c.* 20-26). The Korahites (see KORAH, i. 3) were also reckoned in this division. See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iii. *c*).

KOHELETH, the Hebrew title of Ecclesiastes, and according to MT the name of the supposed speaker of the monologues in that book. Elsewhere (see ECCLESIASTES, § 1) the word is treated on the assumption that MT is correct. The word, however, is admittedly so difficult, and so very unlikely as a designation of a king of Israel, and the textual errors in Ecclesiastes are so serious, that the time seems to have come for raising the question whether the reading is correct. Must it not be due to an early editor's attempt to extract some meaning out of a corrupt text?

הקהלת (*haḳ-ḳōhéleth*)—for this (see 7 27 [crit. emend.] 12 8), not *ḳōhéleth*, is the earlier form of the wrong reading of MT—may be the result of a series of changes; it is plausible to hold that ultimately it springs from the faulty repetition of four words in 1 2. The book originally began thus,—'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity (הבל הבלים הכל הבל); the two last Hebrew words הכל הבל were miswritten by the next scribe in such a way as to suggest הקהלת. To this the editor prefixed אָמַר, 'saith.' Interpolation propagated the error (1 12 7 27 12 8, but in 1 12 *n* felt off); then the writer of 12 9 *f.* in the Epilogue, and the scribe who prefixed the title, adopted it (without initial ה). It is an extremely plausible view that *haḳ-ḳōhéleth* was also adopted by the editor who prefixed the title to the strange little poem in Prov. 30 1*b*-4, which title must originally have run thus—or very nearly thus:

'The words of the guilty man *Haḳ-ḳōhéleth*[1] to those that believe in God.'

That the poem which follows is controverted in *vv.* 5 *f.* is an old and reasonable opinion.

Thus the mysterious 'Agur, son of Jakeh,' and 'Ithiel and Ucal' disappear, nor can we lift up a lamentation for them. See *Critica Biblica*. T. K. C.

KOLAIAH (קוֹלָיָה, § 33; cp KELAIAH).

1. Father of the prophet AHAB; Jer. 29 21 (BℵAQ om.; κουλιου [Q^mg., but attributed to Aq., Theod.]).

2. In list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5*b*, § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 7 (κοδια [B], κολεια [ℵL], κω. [A]).

KONÆ (κωνa [B], -c [ℵ^c.a A], κωλa [ℵ*]), substituted by RV for AV's 'the villages' (κωμac [243, 248, 249; Compl. Ald.]; τac κωμac [58], *in castella et vicos* [Vet. Lat.]), in the description of the defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes (Judith 4 4).

Κωνας and κωμας must be corrupt, two MSS (19 108) read κεϊλα, which is but a poor conjecture. Almost certainly the correct reading is κωνα [B], = κωνα = κυαμῶνα. Cyamon occurs again in 7 3, together with Bel-men = Belmaim. (Syr. reads 'and to the towns of Bethhoron,' omitting the second 'and against almost all the Greek MSS.) T. K. C.

KORAH (קֹרַח, hardly 'ice'; cp rather KAREAH and Sin. קרחה, קרחו; κορε [BAL]).

1. An Edomite clan (so in Gen. 36 5 14 18, which belong to one of the latest sections of the Pentateuch); in 1 Ch. 1 35 their ancestor is said to have been a son of Esau, or, in Gen. 36 16, a son of Eliphaz, son of Esau, though this last passage is wanting in the Samaritan text.

2. The 'son' of Hebron, 1 Ch. 2 43 (κορεε [B], καρηε[ι]). The clan claimed descent from Caleb, who in turn belonged to the Edomite clan Kenaz (Judg. 1 13 etc.), and is incorporated with Judah.

3. The legendary progenitor of a levitical guild, the KORAHITES (הַקָּרְחִים, 1 Ch. 9 19 31 12 6 [AV KORHITES]; οἱ κορ[ε]ιται [BℵA], οἱ κορηνοι [L]), employed as door-keepers or porters in the temple (Ex. 6 21 24 1 Ch. 6 22 [7] 9 19). Probably the b'nē Korah, a guild of singers or musicians mentioned in the titles of Pss. 42 44-49 84 *f.* 87 *f.*, were a subdivision of this guild. See WRS *OTJC*(2) 204 *f.*; Meyer, *Entst.* 162 181.

There is no reason for separating the above three names. Not

[1] Hence in 2 S. 2 26 Dt. 32 42 EV's 'devour' (אכל) should rather be 'tear in pieces,' which suits the sword better.

[2] See knives of obsidian figured in Schliemann, *Tiryns*, 174.

[1] הַגֶּבֶר הָאָשֵׁם הקהלת.

only do we find that the evidence of the levitical names points to a S. Palestinian origin, and that a close relationship subsisted between Edom, Judah, and other tribes and clans of the S., hut it is important to note that the levitizing of the clan of Korah, and its enrolment in the great levitical division of Kehath, represent later stages in the history of the clan (see GENEALOGIES i., §§ 5 [cp n.], 7 [ii. v]).[1] See art. below.

KORAH, REVOLT OF. In the preceding article it has been seen that the Korahites, as known in the history of Israel, were either Edomites incorporated with Judah or a division of the Levites. This double use of the name has an important bearing on the story of Korah's rebellion as told in Nu. **16** *f.*, which is the subject of the present article.

This story comes, at least in the main, from the school of the priestly writer (P), though, as has been shown in a previous article (see DATHAN AND ABIRAM), the account of Korah's rebellion against the priestly prerogative of the Levites has been mixed up with an older and quite independent account of the resistance made by Dathan and Ahiram to the civil authority of Moses. Here, however, an important question arises. P is not an inventive or original writer so far as historical incidents are concerned. Legislation is the sphere in which he finds himself at home, and with regard to narrative he is usually content to borrow and modify the material supplied by his predecessors. It is not therefore unreasonable to ask whether P did not adapt the story of Korah's revolt from some older source, and whether any fragments of the story in this primitive form remain in Nu. **16.** Bacon (*Triple Tradition of Exodus*, 190), developing a hint of Dillmann's, has contended with no small ingenuity but hardly with success that we have before us the fragments of such a narrative by the Yahwist.

1. Present text.

He attributes to him a few words in 16 1-3, the whole of 13-15 27*b*-31 33*a*, so producing the simple story that when Korah the Edomite and On the Philistine would fain intrude into the sanctuary, Moses withstood them, and the earth swallowed them up. Apart from other equally decisive arguments, it cannot he regarded as certain or even probable that PELETH (*q.v.*) has any connection with the Philistines.

We may now give the substance of the priestly narrative in its original form. It is contained in 16 1*a* 2*b*-7*a* 18-24 27*a* 32*b* 35 41-50 [17 6-15] 17 and runs thus. Korah at the head of 250 princes of the congregation protested against the exclusive rights of the Levitical tribe as represented by Moses and Aaron, and declared that the whole congregation was holy. It is quite possible that Korah, in the intention of the priestly writer, belonged to the tribe of Judah, and it is certain that his confederates were by no means exclusively Levites. They were 'princes of the congregation' as a whole, and in 27 3 (P) it is clearly implied that, *e.g.*, Manassites might be found in his company. Moses invites them to establish their claim by taking their censers and offering incense at the sanctuary. This they do: the people are warned to withdraw from the tabernacle,[2] and the rebels are consumed by fire from Yahwè. Next day the people murmur because the 'people of Yahwè' (not, observe, 'our brethren the Levites') have been destroyed. But for the intercession of Moses, and the fact that Aaron stands with his censer 'between the living and the dead,' Israel would have been swept away by the divine wrath. Even as it is, 14,700 perish by the plague. Afterwards rods inscribed with the names of princes representing each tribe are laid in the sanctuary. The rod inscribed with the name of Aaron, and that alone, buds and bears ripe almonds.

2. P's original form.

[1] By the Korahites of 1 Ch. 12 6 it is uncertain whether the Chronicler is referring to Levites or to Edomites who had hecome incorporated in the tribe of Judah : cp DAVID, § 11 [*a* ii.].

[2] The word מִשְׁכָּן is never used in prose of a human habitation, and, in *vv.* 24 27, the original reading seems to have been 'the tabernacle of Yahwè.' See Dr. *Introd.* 61.

The account which we have examined hitherto, comes from the priestly legislator, as is plain from its literary style. True, it does not confirm the favourite and characteristic point of the priestly legislation,—viz., the essential difference between the priests, the sons of Aaron, and mere Levites. But of course the priestly code also emphasises the general distinction between the clergy of whatever rank on the one hand and the laity on the other. Here the priestly legislator is content to advocate the claims of the levitical tribe as a whole. However, a later writer of the same school was not satisfied to stop here. Moved, perhaps, by the remembrance that there was a levitical guild known as 'sons of Korah,' he made various alterations in the text and added 7*b*-11 16 *f.* 36-40 [17 1-5]. In this second stratum Korah is unmistakeably a Levite, and not only so, his whole company are Levites, and their sin consists in a sacrilegious claim to act as priests. The censers of these 'sinners against their own lives' are by divine command beaten into plates and used as a covering for the altar. They are to be a perpetual memorial that no one who Is not of Aaron's seed may dare to offer incense. In 26 9-11, a very late passage—for it must have been added by some one who had read **16** and **17** as they stand in our present Hebrew text—we are told that the 'sons of Korah' did not perish with their father and his band. The author felt that he had to explain the continued existence of the Kohathite guild in the temple.

3. Later account.

The NT mentions Korah only once, viz. in Jude 11 where Korah is the type of Gnostic heretics who 'set at nought dominion, and rail at dignities.' The author of 2 Tim. **2** 16 *f.* had Korah in view; at least *v.* 19 is derived from Num. **16** 5 **26** in 𝔊.

The division of documents advocated in this article is that of Kue. *Th.T* **12** 139, and *Hex.* §§ **6** n. 37 16 n. 12, to which Wellhausen now adheres. It is also adopteh by Kittel (with a little hesitation) by Baudissin (*Priesterthum*) and by Dr., *Introd.*[(6)] 65. Nor hoes the view of Dillmann 'differ materially here, except with regard to the point mentioned at the end of the article DATHAN AND ABIRAM. W. E. A.

KORE (קֹרֵא; ΚΩΡΗ [BA], ΚΟΡΕ [L]). A doorkeeper, or guild of doorkeepers, of the b'ne Asaph, assigned to the Korahites (see GENEALOGIES i., § 7, ii.).

The name is given to the father of Shallum (1 Ch. **9** 19, κωρηβ [B], χωρη [A]), or Meshelemiah (1 Ch. 26 1, κωρηε [A]). In 2 Ch. **31** 14 Kore (κωρη [L]) appears as the son of Imnah (יִמְנָה), hut the latter may be nothing more than a slip for Heman (הֵימָן; cp 𝔊B), who was actually associated with Korahites and doorkeepers; see GENEALOGIES i., § 7, iii. c.

S. A. C.

KORE, THE SONS OF (בְּנֵי הַקָּרְחִי; οι yioi κορε [AL], . . . κααθ [B]), 1 Ch. 26 19, RV THE SONS OF THE KORAHITES. See KORAH i.

KOZ (הַקּוֹץ), **Ezra 2 61** Neh. **3** 4 21 **7** 63 AV, **RV** HAKKOZ.

KULON (ΚΟΥΛΟΝ [BA], -ΑΜ [L]), a city in the hill country of Judah mentioned by 𝔊 only (Josh. 15 59). An identification with Ḳulōnīyeh, NW. of Jerusalem (see EMMAUS, 2), is inadmissible, since this name is derived from 'colonia' (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 166).

KUSHAIAH (קוּשָׁיָהוּ, § 27; hardly 'Yahwè's bow'; Peiser [*ZATW* 17 348 *f.* ('97)], explains 'Kuš is Yahwè'; cp Edomite divine name Kauš, and Gottheil, *JBL* 17 199-202 ('98), hut is there a parallel for such a name in the OT?),[1] father of Ethan, a Merarite; 1 Ch. 15 17 (κ[ε]ισαιου [BℵAL]. The readings of 𝔊 presuppose קישיהו (קִישָׁיָהוּ? Ki. *SBOT*), with which agrees the other form of the name, viz. KISHI (קִישִׁי 1 Ch. 6 44 [29], κεισαι [B], -σαν [A], κουσει [L], *i.e.*, perhaps קִישִׁי). The form Kishi, which Gray (*HPN* 297) prefers, is, according to Gottheil, anahhreviated form (קישי, *i.e.* קישיהו). See KISH.

[1] For another suggested etymology, see NAMES, § 27 n.